Pondering the Abyss:

a study of the language of settlement on the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers

Barry Corr

www.nangarra.com.au
Publishing details

_Pondering the Abyss_ has been progressively published online since 2008:
- because of a personal belief that Aboriginal history should not be a vehicle for profit;
- as one small contribution to reducing the amount of paper in circulation;
- to provide ease of access for an international audience;
- to increase access to primary source material available on the Internet;
- so that I am not a gatekeeper between knowledge and the reader;
- because it is ongoing, recognising the deep divisions that still remain; allowing updates, corrections and the incorporation of constructive criticism; and
- because I keep tinkering with it as the mood takes me.

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Preface

*Pondering the Abyss* uses the traditional historical tools of gathering and assessing historical documents in addressing the Language of the settlement of the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers.

*Pondering the Abyss* may take the reader further and deeper into the darkness of the settlement of the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers and what subsequently rolled out inexorably over much of Australia, than either the “blindfold” or “black armband” sides of the “History Wars”.

Layout and style

*Pondering the Abyss* is somewhat unusual in that it contains large amounts of primary sources in their entirety. All primary sources in this work are italicised for the aesthetic reason that it is easier to distinguish them from my comment. Where I have included a primary source within my commentary I have contained it within double inverted commas. Where the primary source is in a standalone format I have used single inverted commas. This is an imperfect response to the vagaries of grammatical usage in the primary sources.

Extracts from primary sources in my commentary that are unreferenced have been drawn from a nearby original source that is referenced.

While attempting to maintain the structure and presentation of the original sources as much as possible, I have made some changes. I have replaced the long ſ which looked like an
italicised f with a normal s. It was disappearing from printing presses around 1800, though it persisted in handwriting for longer. I have removed the space between the last word and following colon, full stop, etc. Spelling of names has been a problem. John Macarthur spelt his name in at least three different forms. Transcribing longhand can be frustrating, e.g., one of the men killed on Tarlington’s farm may have been a Malloy, a Malone, a Marlowe, or even a Malong. The transcription of Aboriginal names is often harder. I use Yellomundee, which is Watkin Tench’s transcription, in this work. Yarramundi is a variant, popularised by the Sydney Gazette, which has entered popular usage. The scarcity of printing presses also contributed to the fluidity in the spelling of names. My spelling of names is unapologetically as inconsistent as the original sources.

Acknowledgements
During my research and writing I avoided reading almost all secondary works published between 2002 and 2014, instead focusing on primary sources. However, it would be churlish of me to pretend that secondary works have not had any bearing on Pondering the Abyss. Two works alerted me to how centuries of colonial experience and Enlightenment thinking impacted on the settlement of the Hawkesbury:

– Isabel McBryde’s Guests of the Governor – Aboriginal Residents of the First Government House, 1989, and

The three most important sources for my writing on the development of racial theory have been Textual Spaces, 1 Race and Racism in Australia, 2 and The Forging of Races – Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000. 3 It would be almost impossible to write on the Hawkesbury without referencing: Land Grants, 1788-1809, 4 A Hawkesbury Story, 5 The Parramatta Native Institute and the Black Town, 6 Shut out from the World, The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946, 7 Losing Ground 8 and Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed. 9

I also owe immeasurable debts to:

– Kipling’s Sir Richard Dalyngridge, who in 1066 was “set to conquer England three days after I was made knight. I did not then know that England would conquer me;” 11
– Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness, 1902; and

7 In this work I have used both Institute and Institution, which appears to be consistent with contemporary usage.
Introduction

*Pondering the Abyss* is a study of the Language of the settlement of the Hawkesbury. *Pondering the Abyss* began in 2002 as an exploration of the following questions:

- What happened and where did things happen?
- How do we know and how reliable are the sources?
- Were there patterns, trends, discernible causes and effects?
- Are there gaps in the story, and if so, how can they be explained?
- Are we through the written record able to ascertain some idea of what cultural values and beliefs informed the actions of Aboriginal people and settlers?
- Is it possible to make some sort of estimation of the Aboriginal population and population trends in the period?
- What processes led to the disappearance of what was probably once common knowledge about the interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers?
- How has the Heritage identity of the Hawkesbury been formed?

Histoiography, perspectives and frameworks

The following quote from Keith Windschuttle’s *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* profoundly affected the structure and nature on this work.

‘Historians, however, have a public responsibility to report the facts accurately and to cite their sources honestly. To pretend these things do not matter and that acceptable interpretations can be drawn from false or non-existent evidence is to abandon the pursuit of historical truth altogether.

*It is important that we get this history right. The debate over what happened to the Aborigines is not only about them. Ultimately, it is about the character of the Australian nation and the calibre of the civilisation that Britain brought to these shores in 1788.*¹²

Windschuttle’s expectation that historians have a “responsibility to report the facts accurately and to cite their sources honestly” has led to *Pondering the Abyss* being published online to allow primary sources to be included in their entirety, rather than selected highlights that favour my arguments. As well, in accordance with Windschuttle’s above dictum, I have, with one small exception, made a deliberate decision to include only written sources in the main document.¹³

*Pondering the Abyss* thus began as a search for “facts” but, in response to Windschuttle’s concern “that acceptable interpretations can be drawn from false or non-existent evidence”, took an entirely new course with the realisation that only one single source dealing with the settlement of the Hawkesbury was written by a Aboriginal person and very few by women. An analysis of the *facts* of settlement on the Hawkesbury reveals that they have been obscured by silence, omission, distortion and denial. Self-interest is the patina of history.


¹³ While I have begun to collect a number of contemporary oral histories I have included them in a separate file. I am highly conscious of the vagaries of oral sources. The exception is to do with the location of the Killarney race course.
An analysis of the language and linguistic tools used in the recording of the few available facts shows that the “historical truth” of the settlement of the Hawkesbury is a blur of history, mythology and Heritage. A curious feature of many primary sources; including despatches, letters, newspaper reports, and major works written by closet speculators who never visited the Hawkesbury; is the communal rhetoric of the authors, seemingly informing and reinforcing each other’s “prejudices”, particularly in the usage of the Romantic metaphor.

The subjective nature of the written sources has led to Pondering the Abyss not being an empirical and positivist history of the frontier wars on the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers. Windschuttle’s stress on getting “the history right” is simplistic. It ignores the likelihood of new evidence, it excludes the emergence of unforeseen consequences and perhaps most importantly it implies the surplanting of historical research and revisionism with closure and memorialisation. Similarly Windschuttle’s “historical truth” is controversial. If “historical truth” is not a point in time, but a continuum, then the distinction between primary and secondary sources becomes blurred and observers become participants not so much in a history as a polemic.

Pondering the Abyss is constructed within a linguistic literary, philosophical, religious, and psychological framework which analyses sources within their contexts, to gain insights into the complex interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers on the Hawkesbury and to hold up a mirror for white Australia to reflect on.

This model also establishes a self-reflexive process of engagement not merely with history but also with the Self, my Self; self-situating within time and space sharing both western chronology and the Dreaming where both the material and the spiritual live side by side in a continuum of past, present and future.

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14 This model of “historical truth” was first put forward by Sigmund Freud. My interpretation of Freud’s model is that “historical truth” is the heart of a discourse, rather than a material fact fixed in time. In a 1976 interview with the editors of the French magazine Héroïote, Michel Foucault claimed that Nietzsche transformed the question of truth by asking not, “What is the surest path to Truth?”, but, ‘What is the hazardous career that Truth has followed?’ “Page 175, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden, Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography, Ashgate, 2007; reprinted from pages 63-77, Colin Gordon, Ed., Power/Knowledge; Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Pantheon, New York, 1980.


16 An equally wonderful term used by Sir Joseph Banks upon first sighting Aboriginal people.

17 The quotes below signal some of the parameters of this process.

“For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.” Corinthians I, 13:12.

“Lord, how can man preach thy eternal word?
He is a brittle crazy glass;
Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford
This glorious and transcendent place,
To be a window, through thy grace.”
George Herbert, The Windows

“It was as if he had walked under the millimetre of haze just above the inked fibres of a map”. Michael Ondaatje, The English Patient, 1992.
Pondering the Abyss does not have an “Aboriginal perspective” as the term is simplistic, particularly as Aboriginal identity and experience is so diverse and complex. Does it mean:

- one person's experiences or collective experiences
- from where the person is standing;
- the way in which the person looks at things;
- what the person is looking at;
- from the viewpoint of an individual or all Aboriginal people; or
- a fixed point in time, or over a period of time?

This is not to say, however, that I approach my research within the western context of an unconstrained right to know. My findings are constrained by Aboriginal sensitivities. There are things of a specifically Aboriginal nature which I know of and are highly relevant to this work which I choose not to include for a variety of reasons.

Initially the spatial and chronological boundaries of this work were the freshwater Hawkesbury and its tributaries from first contact in 1788, to the first centenary of Macquarie’s five towns in 1910. This has been extended into the 1930s with the death and burial of Martha Everingham. Because the focus is on both the recording and memorialising of settlement, the distinctions between primary and secondary sources are somewhat blurred. The sources range over several millennia and paused for a while with D. G. Bowd’s Macquarie Country published in 1962, which was the last serious work to take the view that the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury were extinct. I am currently extending this study of the language of settlement to include more recent works.

**Boundaries and Terminology**

Pondering the Abyss is not about the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers as a geographical expression. Rather, Pondering the Abyss is about the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers as a concept as visualised through the Biblical and Classical ideas that the settlers brought with them and imposed upon the Hawkesbury Nepean landscape.

It includes the Parramatta Native Institution because Aboriginal children from the Hawkesbury were taken and placed there. It goes up into the Nepean in 1814 because the division between the Nepean and the Hawkesbury is completely artificial.

It does not address the issues of Aboriginal identity in western Sydney and on the Hawkesbury, except to recognise Maria Lock as the daughter of Yellomundee and the granddaughter of Gombeeree; and that many Aboriginal people who consider themselves as traditional owners of the Hawkesbury and western Sydney trace their ancestry to Maria. The descendants of Maria Lock and her contemporaries now identify as Darug.

After many changes I use the phrase “Aboriginal people” in this work out of respect for Maria Lock’s description of herself as an “Aboriginal native, of New South Wales.” This also addresses the fact that the Nepean Hawkesbury catchment encompasses Eora, Darug, Gurringai, Darkinjung, Tharawal, Wiradjuri and Kamilaroi country and that borders are not clear.

Pondering the Abyss somewhat reluctantly (given the sensitivity of the issue in Aboriginal communities) addresses Aboriginal archaeology on the Castlereagh from a historical perspective, examining changing non-Aboriginal attitudes.
Languages and anthropology are areas that I have no skill in and I choose not to address them.
Map of Hawkesbury Reaches

Legend
1  Freeman’s Reach            15  Cambridge Reach. Formerly known as Sawyer’s Reach and Jack of the Green Reach
2  Argyle Reach               16  Sussex Reach
3  Windsor Reach              17  Gloucester Reach
4  Wilberforce Reach          18  Flatrock or Liverpool Reach
5  York Reach                 19  Upper Half Moon Reach
6  Canning Reach              20  Lower Half Moon Reach
7  Clarence Reach             21  Bathurst Reach, also known as Milkmaid Reach
8  Swallow Rock Reach         22  One Tree Reach
9  Upper Crescent Reach       23  Trolley Reach, the lower section was formerly known as Nelson Reach
10 Lower Crescent Reach
11 Portland Reach             24  Gunderman Reach
12 Sackville Reach            25  Sentry Box Reach
13 Kent Reach                 26  Haycock Reach
14 Cumberland Reach, originally known as Boston’s Reach and then Knight’s Reach

**Pondering the Abyss and literary allusion**

When Watkin Tench stood on Prospect Hill on the 26th of June 1789, “surveying ‘the wild abyss; pondering our voyage’” many of his readers probably interpreted “the wild abyss” in its simplest meaning of a great divide. Some may have recognised Tench’s reference to John Milton’s Satan, pondering his voyage across the Abyss, without necessarily realising the symbolism of Satan as the first great coloniser in seducing Adam and Eve.

> ‘Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend
> Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,
> Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith
> He had to cross.’

The Abyss is a complex concept in Western thought. Milton’s *wilde Abyss*, was

> *The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,
> Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
> But all these in their pregnant causes mixt
> Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight,
> Unless th’ Almighty Maker them ordain
> His dark materials to create more worlds.*

Prospero, in *The Tempest*, added another layer of meaning of great significance to the historian, when he asked Miranda, “What seest thou else in the dark backward and abysm of time?”

As well, the apocalyptic *bottomless pit* in Revelations, Chapter nine, Verse eleven, provides an additional meaning of unspeakable pit horror which was explored by Friedrich Nietzsche:

> ‘He who fights with monsters should look to it that he himself does not become a monster.
> And when you gaze long into an abyss the abyss also gazes into you.’

As *Pondering the Abyss* is about the settler gaze, it is important to recognise two other images that had an important bearing on how this work is constructed:

> ‘For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.’

and

> ‘Lord, how can man preach thy eternall word?
> He is a brittle crazie glasse;
> Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford
> This glorious and transcendent place,

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18 P153-155, Captain Watkin Tench, *Sydney’s First Four Years*, Library of Australian History, 1979
21 The word “dark”, in its Seventeenth Century sense of filtered or concealed is a potent metaphor for the omission, silence, distortion, denial, erasure and renaming that has so distorted and effectively buried our understandings of the settlement of the Hawkesbury in the period 1788-1910.
23 Friedrich Nietzsche, Aphorism 146, 1886.
To be a window, through thy grace.  

While it may appear that there is a physical abyss between past and present ("The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there"), Pondering the Abyss demonstrates that the past has a far-reaching hand.

**Pondering the Abyss: Findings**

**The language of the settlement of the Hawkesbury: God’s dark materials**

> a dark illimitable Ocean without bound,  
> Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,  
> And time and place are lost.  

In the minds of some, the settlement of Australia evokes images of a continuous narrative stretching link by link into the distant past: Joseph of Aramithea landing at Cornwall, Roman galleys plunging into the darkness of the fens; a mist-shrouded barge carrying a dying king to the isle of Avalon; Viking long ships bringing darkness and horror; William seizing a kingdom on the hill of Senlac; Drake bringing the Golden Hind home, her round flanks full of treasure; Captain Cook charting his way across the oceans on a sturdy Whitby collier to claim half of a barely populated continent for King George; Governor Phillip building a new society, without slavery or an established religion, that embodied the latest Enlightenment thinking on reforming criminals through penal servitude; Governor Macquarie building enduring monuments to civilisation; hardy settlers battling blacks, floods, fire and drought to tame the wilderness; darkness driven away by the light of civilization.

**Pondering the Abyss** attempts to show through the language of settlement how these triumphant mythic "historic truths" continue to occupy the consciousness of Australia by excluding any other voices. In this work, "historical truth" is not a collection of separate, but linked events in the distant past; rather it draws heavily upon Sigmund Freud’s 1939 work *Moses and Monotheism* in which he distinguishes between a material fact fixed in time, and a "historical truth" that is the heart of a discourse and effectively blurs the distinction between observer and participant.

Through exploring the language of settlement on the Hawkesbury Pondering the Abyss demonstrates the truth of Friedrich Nietzsche’s judgement.

> ‘What then is truth? A mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and anthropomorphisms -- in short, a sum of human relations, which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished poetically and rhetorically, and which after long use seem firm, canonical, and obligatory to a people: truths are illusions about which one has forgotten that is what they are; metaphors which are worn out and without sensuous power; coins which have lost their pictures and now matter only as metal, no longer as coins."  

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28 In this paragraph I have attempted to emulate the style of past masters by not acknowledging my sources. In cheerfully admitting to being plagiaristic I can only claim post-modernism in my defence. There are no prizes for identifying the sources.  
The settlers brought with them words which we often use in a neutral geographic sense, without realising their earlier meanings and connotations. Governor Phillip’s instructions to establish a “settlement” at Botany Bay carried a sense of “peopling or colonising a new country”, despite the government’s awareness of the presence of Aboriginal people.30

Territories, regions, provinces and districts were lands that had been conquered or were under the dominion of a ruler.31 A farm was originally a payment in money or kind, before it became a unit of agricultural production.32

Many of these common words have a military source. A town was an enclosed place and its etymology can be traced back to the Celtic “dun” meaning “a fortified place”.33 A fence, that great definer of Terra Nullius, has military connotations and was originally a defensive barrier.34 A paling fence traces its origins back to the palisade, also a defensive barrier.35 Our backyard can be traced back to the Old English “geard” also meaning a fence.36

Given the extent of deforestation in Britain, it is quite surprising to see the frequency with which Australian forests were described as woods. This may be due to the fact that in England forests, such as William’s Windsor or New Forest, were essentially royal hunting grounds. Bush has both a French (bois) and Germanic (bos/busch) etymology meaning woods. “Wood wrath” is an archaic and dialectic extension.

The metaphor of the Abyss, with all its connotations, became the stimulus for Pondering the Abyss: a study of the language and thoughts embodied in the myriad of Governor’s despatches and orders from England; the minutiae of government orders, memorandums, payments, court transcripts, land grants and surveyor notebooks; memorials; private letters; journals; newspaper reports, obituaries; and books written by expatriates, travellers, closet speculators and the children and grandchildren of the original settlers.

Any attempt at finding a true and accurate record of the interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers on the freshwater Hawkesbury and its tributaries using the available primary resources is frustrated by silence, omissions, denial, self serving distortions, low levels of literacy, and a fairly chaotic system of keeping public records. Primary sources are often unreliable in relation to distances and place names. The editor of the Sydney Gazette may have deliberately mislocated Cuddy’s and Crumby’s farms in 1805 and shifted the Branch natives to the Lower Nepean to create the impression in London that the Aboriginal people

around Richmond and Windsor were domesticated.37 Some secondary writers have been sloppy in their use of primary sources, e.g., Boston’s pig lived on the east side of Circular Quay, not on the Hawkesbury; Tedbury was shot at Parramatta, not Richmond; and Robert Luttrell may have been killed at a camp on the Nepean, not the Hawkesbury. 38 Despite these problems: a number of private letters; the actions of Mary Archer in revealing that her neighbours had murdered two Aboriginal lads; various recollections; a plethora of Hawkesbury newspapers and the efforts of David Scott Mitchell to collect these and other regional newspapers; enables a fairly accurate understanding of settlement to be made.

Of the vast amount of written sources dealing with the settlement of the Hawkesbury, only one was written by an Aboriginal person. A few women, including the only Aboriginal writer, provided valuable insights through letters and journals. Low levels of literacy on the Hawkesbury in the Nineteenth Century and the stigma of a convict background restricted the voices of the convict settlers. Opportunistic, often self-made, men thwarted by the barriers of class and inherited-wealth from realising their ambitions in Britain have left us many records darkened by self-interest, silences, omissions, obfuscation, denial and blame shifting. A small number of soldier and convict voices come second hand, on oath, through court records. A close study of these seriously misbalanced sources shows evidence of a self-reflective relationship between the process of settlement and the language of settlement which not only rationalised and justified the destruction of Aboriginal people as a small and worthwhile price for the replication of a piece of England in an alien land; but also bound the beneficiaries of those actions into a state of wilful blindness. 3940

Metaphor was, and continues to be, the most powerful, subtle and pervasive linguistic tool in the Language of Settlement. By portraying one thing as another, the metaphor is vastly more sophisticated than the simile which simply compares one thing to directly to another.

37 The farms of Cuddy and Crumby were on South Creek, not Portland Head. During the hostilities of 1805 Governor King made strenuous efforts to create the impression that the upper Hawkesbury was settled. Sydney Gazette, 16th June 1805. See also Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 12th May 1805.

38 I have chosen not to identify the authors or their works. I am conscious of how easy it is to make an honest mistake.

39 This last phrase borrows heavily from Nietzsche.

40 I have realised upon a later reading that I was also referencing Stanner. It may be that W. E. H. Stanner also drew upon Nietzsche in his image of “indifference”: founded upon “a sightlessness towards Aboriginal life, and an eyelessness towards the moral foundation of Australian development.” Pages 93-122, ‘The History of Indifference Thus Begins’ (1963), W. E. H. Stanner, The Dreaming & other essays, Black Inc. Agenda, 2009
Metaphors are never used without motive; the metaphor is a screen or filter that “selects, emphasises suppresses and organises.”  

Many of the names used in the primary sources carry metaphorical meanings. “Settler” can be traced back to the Old Norse “setr”, found in our word sunset. The word “settle” was used in the Book of Ezekiel, Chapter 36, to describe God’s fury that Israel had become “a prey and derision to the residue of the heathen that are around about.” In Verse 11, Ezekiel prophesied the restoration of Israel, setting a model for later colonisers who fancied themselves as the Children of God: “And I will multiply upon you man and beast; and they shall increase and bring fruit: and I will settle you after your old estates, and will do better unto you than at your beginning: and ye shall know that I am the Lord.” “Settler” has been used in the sense of a colonist since 1695. Over a century before, in 1560, the word “plant” was used to describe the process of colonising a place with settlers. Coming as it did between the American and Napoleonic wars the settlement of New South Wales was largely driven by army and navy officers stood down on half-pay. The example used by the Oxford English Dictionary, “The half-pay provincial officers are valuable settlers 1786” has particular relevance to the Hawkesbury. Settlers were neither immigrants nor refugees. I have used the word “settler” throughout this work, not just because the settlers used it themselves as colonists but because of its additional meanings of “does for, a finisher; a crushing or finishing blow”. It is an appropriate term, whether used to describe the authorities, the farmers or their assigned servants.

Like their earlier New England counterparts, the settlers invoked the metaphor of The Promised Land to legitimise their settlement. The Reverend Richard Johnston drew upon the powerful Psalm 116 which gave thanks to God for delivering his people from the Egyptian yoke in preaching his first sermon on Australian soil. The Reverend Samuel Marsden, perpetually torn between God and Canaan, called his South Creek property “Mamre” from where Abraham received a divine visitation; referred to the western plains as the “Land of Goshen” and in the 1830s preached from the pulpit of St John's that “Abraham was a squatter on Government ground.” The anonymous 1901 Memoirs of William Cox, maintained the metaphor in describing how George Cox and William Lawson settled the Western Plains: “So the squatters, in the genesis of the world, selected their stations, and the story is old and hoary, thousands of years old. But so also did William Lawson and George Cox, and that day is but little over 75 years from us.” Unlike their Puritan counterparts in New England, the settlers of New South Wales constrained by the Governor’s orders to protect the Aboriginal people, made no written reference to them as Canaanites.

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42 For the purists, some of these words may be metonyms or synecdoche. However, I believe that they all share a commonality of being constructed and used with intent. This also includes the personifications and euphemisms.
43 Ezekiel, 36:4, The Bible, King James Version.
44 Ezekiel, 36:11, The Bible, King James Version.
46 Genesis, Chapter 18, King James Version, The Bible.
49 Pages 126-132, Anon, Memoirs of William Cox, William Brooks, 1901. Richard Cox, on page 143 of his William Cox, Blue Mountains Road Builder and Pastoralist, Rosenberg, 2012, suggests William’s great-granddaughters were the authors.
Metaphor in all its byways of metonym and synecdoche was used extensively in the nomenclature of settlement. Identity rapidly became a key discriminator in the Language of Settlement. Governor Phillip’s orders contained both “native”, originally meaning “born in bondage” and “savage” “originally relating to “woodland” and later taking on the meaning “savage wilde beasts.” In pontificating upon why Aboriginal children ran away, Barron Field, never at a loss to display his eruditeness, not only ridiculed Dryden’s “noble savage”, but also reduced the humanity of Aboriginal children taken by settlers: “They have been brought up by us from infancy in our nurseries, and yet the woods have seduced them at maturity.” There are no early records that tell us what the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury called themselves. There was only one primary record that suggests the importance of Aboriginal women in traditional society. Maria Lock’s “marriage portion” letter in 1831 confirms the importance of Aboriginal women in Aboriginal society.

Metaphors also have the capacity to shift from a figurative sense to a new literal meaning. “Ponder”, originally meant a weight. The act of assessing a weight became “pondering”, and we soon had a new word for contemplation. The word “drive” has a long and unpleasant meaning that can be traced back to the Hawkesbury. Lieutenant-Governor Paterson wrote to the Home Secretary, Henry Dundas in June 1795 regarding the sending “a detachment of two subalterns and sixty privates of the NSW Corps to the river, as well to drive the natives to a distance, as for the protection of the settlers.” It was an action to be repeated by subsequent Governors. It was not long before a “drive” became a metaphor in the colony for extermination parties.

The *Sydney Gazette* quickly reduced Aboriginal defences to the actions of criminals. On the 24th June 1804, the *Sydney Gazette* referred to “hostile hordes on the maraud.” On the 16th of September 1804 the *Sydney Gazette* described Aboriginal people as “savage banditti.”

Governor Lachlan Macquarie coined “Ab-origines” in an 1814 despatch describing his “Endeavour to Civilize the Ab-origines of this Country so as to render them Industrious and Useful to the Government, and at the same time to Improve their own Condition.” Macquarie used the word “Ab-origines” in the sense that they were “Scarcely Emerged from the remotest State of rude and Uncivilized Nature.” Macquarie spelt it “Ab-origines”, but it was George Howes’ spelling, “aborigines”, that introduced the word to the general public in 1814.

At the same time that settlers were removing the Aboriginal presence from the Hawkesbury they were imposing their own racial identity as an improved diet increased female fertility.

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55 *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 5th May, 1805.
and greater genetic diversity produced larger and healthier babies. The mid-wife Margaret Catchpole was probably the first to record an increased fertility among the convict women. In 1802 she wrote “it is a very Bountiful place in deed for i under stand them that niver had a child in all their lives hav sum after they com hear”. In 1807, Margaret amplified this observation with the comment that “It is a wondfull Country for to have children in very old women hav them that never had non before”. In an 1807 letter she implied that there was an early onset of puberty in the colony “for the young Gairles that are born in this Countrey marry very young at 14 or 15 years old.”

Settlers were preoccupied with racial degeneracy. After Margaret Catchpole, Thomas Bigge was probably the next to record that something unusual was happening in New South Wales. “The class of inhabitants that have been born in the colony affords a remarkable exception to the moral and physical character of their parents: they are generally tall in person, and slender in their limbs, of fair complexion, and small features. They are capable of undergoing more fatigue, and are less exhausted by labour than native Europeans; they are active in their habits, but remarkably awkward in their movements. In their tempers they are quick and irascible, but not vindictive; and I only repeat the testimony of persons who have had many opportunities of observing them, that they neither inherit the vices nor the feelings of their parents.” As a result, “Native” was quickly appropriated by the settlers. In describing the children of settlers as “native born youths” Thomas Bigge was one of the earliest users of “native”.

Around the same time as discourses of denial and doomed savagery were evolving, a discourse of difference was evolving with the emergence of the Hawkesbury “cornstalk”. In 1831 Benjamin Chalker was probably the first Hawkesbury man to be described in writing as “corn-stalk.” In his account of one of the Killarney Races held in the early 1830's Toby Ryan recounted: “There could be seen the three Chalker's, the Cosgrove's, the Meglin's, of South Creek, the Dargan's, the Dight's, the Doyle's, the Norris's, and others, of Windsor. They were immense men standing from six to six feet four inches high, from fifteen to seventeen stone in weight, without any superfluous flesh, and as straight as a whip. But they, like our native singing birds, are nearly - all gone.”

“Hawkesbury Native” referring to settlers was first used by The Sydney Monitor, 4th February 1832 in a letter from “Corn Stalk Cottage, Windsor”. The Sydney Herald, 6th August 1832, reported a Hawkesbury cricket match which was “played for £10 aside, between two parties of natives”. By this time the metaphors of “sterling” and “currency” were used to distinguish the British born from the colonial born. William Cox used a variation of the

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61 These reasons for the emergence of the corn-stalks are informed speculation upon my part. I have found no scientific research upon the matter.

62 Pages 130 and 132, Laurie Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P Forth, 2012

63 Pages 82-83, Thomas Bigge, The Bigge Reports, London, 1823, Facsimile Edition No. 70, Adelaide, Libraries Board of South Australia


66 http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32076853 The last written record that I have found for Hawkesbury native was in 1955, however, the 2014/15 Historic Windsor: free visitor guide on page 22 carries a variation in Windsor natives. On the previous page it uses lower case aboriginal. It will be a long walk.

metaphor of worth when he referred to a “half cast child” in 1816.69 “Cast” is derived from the Latin “castus” meaning pure. This devaluing of Aboriginal identity was realised in an 1890 edition of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette: “In a year or two hence, rum and ‘civilization’ will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain, and perhaps it will be a good thing, too, not only for themselves - as they most, most assuredly, hang out a most miserable existence - but for our boasted civilization, - as it will have removed one of the eyesores which most people who believe this is an age of progress and enlightenment see in the remnants of an ignorant, uncultivated, unintellectual and inferior race, such as the dusky natives of this Colony have proved themselves to be.”70

Throughout the Nineteenth Century settler societies continued the denigration of First People’s identity. The word “nigger” was first used by The Sydney Monitor, 20th May 1838, in reporting the case of a young Aboriginal man who came before the courts.71 “Nigger” had an insidious source because of its origins in the American minstrel shows. Not only was it an appropriation of slave culture, but it was also used to assert the superiority of Whites over Blacks. In 1839, Thomas Buxton published The African Slave Trade and its Remedy, in which he coined the phrase, “kingdom of darkness.”72 It did not take long for the anti-slavery movement to be parodied. In Australia, darkey first appeared in the Sydney Herald in 1840, as a joke reprinted from English papers.73 One of the earliest examples of the word “darkey” being used to describe an Aboriginal person can be found in the description of a foot race at the Hawkesbury in 1845.74 In 1842 the Royal Victoria Theatre advertised that ‘Mr. Phillips will then have the honor to appear, and sing the celebrated Nigger Song, "Jem along Josey," with the quash holloa chorus; or the double back snatch ober the dabble.’75 “Nigger show” was first used in the Hawkesbury in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette in 1888 and “Nigger”, to describe a Hawkesbury Aborigine, in the same year.77

In this work I use “Aborigine”, “Aboriginal person”, “Aboriginal people” or “First Peoples”, largely as a result of Maria Lock in 1831 describing herself as an “Aboriginal native of New South Wales”. This is not an anthropological work and I have not used the word “tribes”. Interestingly, Maria Lock referred to her people as the “Richmond Tribes” in the plural. Settlers were obsessed with finding or creating tribal structures such as the “Woods Tribe”, “Richmond Hill tribe”, “Creek tribe”, so that they could play one off against another. “Branch natives” was used between 1804-11 with reference to Aboriginal people between the MacDonald and Colo branches. The one time “Branch natives” was used outside this area was either deliberately or accidentally misused.78 I have not seen “Branch Tribe” used in any primary sources. Aboriginal words that have been linked with “tribes” do not necessarily convey legitimacy. In 1791 Colbee introduced “Bêr-ee-wan, of the tribe of Boorooborongal”

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69 Pages 188-194, Sir William Dixon - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853
ML, reel CY2743; DL Add 81, State Library of NSW
70 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 31st May 1890
72 Bell’s Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer, 13th December 1845,
73 Australasian Chronicle, 25th January 1842
75 Sydney Gazette, 1st May 1805, describing an attack made upon a Aboriginal camp at or near Shaw’s Creek on the Lower Nepean.
to Watkin Tench. This was the first of two mentions of the Boorooberongal and its meaning remains unclear. Captain Hunter who was not on the expedition recounted the following: “Though our natives appeared to be on very friendly terms with their new acquaintances, yet they certainly had no particular affection for them, and spoke of them very lightly when they were out of hearing; particularly Ballederry, who said the youngest man of the two was bad: his name was _Yal-lah-mien-di_; they supposed him to be the old man’s son, and the child to be his grandson. The old man called himself Go-me-be-re, and said the child’s name was Jim-bah; they were of the tribe of Bu-ru-be-rong-al.”

79 Complexity is added by Maria Lock describing herself in 1831 as the daughter of “the Chief of the Richmond Tribes”.

The 1828 census mentioned “John Nolan – Chief of Mangroo Tribe”, which was a typographical error for “Nowland” of the “Mangrove Creek Tribe” who did not attend the 1834 return. The 1834 return includes the “Wollambine tribe”. 80 Robert Matthews, talking to Joe Gooburra and Charley Clark of the Sackville Reserve, identified the “Darkinung Tribe” in an 1897 paper. 81 “Darkinung” is still in use, though also spelt ‘Darkinjung’. The Hawkesbury Advocate in 1900 claimed “the Kamilaroi tribe”, as the tribe “which inhabited this district in days of yore”, an unlikely assertion. Having no expertise in the area of linguistics or anthropology I have avoided using terms such as “Darug”, “Boorooberongal” and “Darkinung.” I have done this because I cannot find enough historical evidence to use these terms with any certainty, let alone identify who belonged to what or where. I have also not used “Indigenous” as it has been appropriated by some Australians of European descent.

There was in the Nineteenth Century an extraordinary flourishing of Romantic metaphor to explain and predict the disappearance of First peoples. Thomas Malthus’ Essay on the Principle of Population had a profound effect upon the Language of Settlement, enabling the responsibility for the devastating impacts of settler societies to be shifted onto impersonal forces or the native populations themselves. Through a highly selective use of David Collins’ An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, 82 Malthus argued in Chapter III, Of the Checks to Population in the Lowest Stage of Humanity, 83 that Aboriginal populations were thinly scattered and could never increase because of their poor physical appearance and the apparent hard labour involved in gathering food. Malthus drew upon Collins work to assert that Aboriginal men treated their women badly, practised child sexual abuse and infanticide. As well, he asserted that miscarriage was common, and that in polygynous marriages, sexual relations only took place between the husband and the first wife. He asserted that drudgery, the nomadic nature of Aboriginal life, violence, epidemics and droughts limited the capacity of Aboriginal society to increase. “The knowledge and industry, which would enable the natives of New Holland to make the best use of the natural resources of their country, must, without an absolute miracle, come to them gradually and slowly; and

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80 Dr. Geoff E. Ford pointed out this connection. AONSW, Reel 3706, dealing with “Blanket Returns” is somewhat difficult to navigate as it does not appear to have been indexed. L. North’s letter to the Colonial Secretary which begins the sequence can be best located by looking for the number 0224 at the bottom of the reel.
81 Matthews’ notebooks are in the NLA, Canberra. I have not yet had an opportunity to consult them.
82 An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, the first volume of which was published in 1798 and the second in 1802.
even then, as it has amply appeared, would be perfectly ineffectual as to the grand object.\footnote{Appendix I page 17, Thomas Malthus, An Essay on the Principles of Population, John Murray, London 1826, http://www.econlib.org/library/Malthus/malPlong.html#} Malthus’s assertions were far reaching.

Thomas Malthus was also largely responsible for the metaphor of “Nature”, as God’s handmaiden, sweeping away the detritus of His Plan. In the 1803 second edition of An Essay on the Principle of Population, Malthus proposed that “A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At nature’s mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders, if he does not work upon the compassion of some of her guests.”\footnote{Page 531, Thomas Malthus, An Essay on the Principle of Population, London, 1803. http://books.google.com.au/books?id=---stOAAAAcAAI&q= The passage was removed from later editions. However, in the 6th edition Malthus wrote: “Natural and moral evil seem to be the instruments employed by the Deity in admonishing us to avoid any mode of conduct which is not suited to our being, and will consequently injure our happiness.” Book IV, Chapter 1, Line 4. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Essay_on_the_Principle_of_Population} Arguably Malthus’s metaphor of “Nature” provided the literary basis for the Romantic Discourse of Doomed Savagery that emerged in the 1820s.

Several authors used the theme of melting snow to continue Malthus’ personification of Nature as the agent of the Aboriginal disappearance: “They have melted away, not the victims of oppression or illtreatment or from any diminution in their means of obtaining food, but as another instance of a result: I believe must ever take place when the savage comes in contact with civilized man.”\footnote{Theoretically John Macarthur Junior wrote A few Memoranda respecting the aboriginal (sic) natives some time after his return to Sydney in 1817. As young John left in 1801 and never returned, it is more likely that it was written by James or William who did return in 1817. John Macarthur Junior, Macarthur Papers, 1823-97, A4360, CY2378, Mitchell Library.} In 1835 the Colonist drew upon the same image of melting snow in the following simile “European vice and European disease gradually thin the ranks of the wretched Aborigines, and speedily disappear from the haunts of their forefathers, like the snow from the southern mountains at the return of spring.”\footnote{The Colonist, 5th November 1835, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31717176.} The following passage, while written in 1858 referred to Samuel Marsden’s return to Sydney from New Zealand in 1823. “They were already wasting away in the presence of the European colonists like snow before the sun.”\footnote{Page 184, Rev. J. B. Marsden, (ed.), Memoirs of the life and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, London, The Religious Tract Society, 1858. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41258/41258-h/41258-h.htm#Page_129} While it is unlikely that the Reverend J.B. Marsden was aware of the Macarthur metaphor, it is likely that he had seen the Colonist’s simile.

Charles Darwin’s observations of Aboriginal people on his visit to New South Wales must be read with caution. In the matter of First Peoples Darwin appeared to be prone to the suggestions of others. Captain Robert Fitzroy’s missionary zeal probably informed Darwin’s incorrect assertion that the Tierra del Fuegans practiced cannibalism.\footnote{http://creation.com/darwin} During his 1836 visit to New South Wales Charles Darwin met a group of Aboriginal people near Penrith and observed: “It is very curious thus to see in the midst of a civilized people, savages, although harmless, wandering about without knowing where they will sleep & gaining their livelihood harmless, wandering about without knowing where they will sleep & gaining their livelihood

\footnote{http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41258/41258-h/41258-h.htm#Page_129}
by hunting in the woods”.\(^{91}\) It was a stark contrast to John Dryden’s “When wild in woods the noble savage ran”.\(^{92}\) Darwin’s assertion about Aboriginal people that: “The decrease in numbers must be owing to the drinking of Spirits, the European diseases, even the milder ones of which such as the Measles are very destructive & the gradual extinction of the wild animals. It is said, that from the wandering life of these people, constantly great numbers of their children die in very early life; When the difficulty in procuring food is checked of course the population must be repressed in a manner almost instantaneous compared to what can take place in civilization life, where the father may add to his labor without destroying his offspring,”\(^{93}\) echoed Collins, Malthus, Field and Macarthur. In his return from Wallerawang it was likely that Aboriginal people were a topic of conversation at King’s Dunheved property and at Vineyard, near Parramatta, where Darwin lunched with Hannibal Macarthur, King’s brother-in-law.\(^ {94}\) In his 1839 Journal, Darwin polished the idea of a “mysterious agency” even further. Darwin’s opinion that “the white man, who seems predestined to inherit the country of the thoughtless aboriginal”\(^{95}\) echoed and amplified the opinions of Thomas Malthus and the young Macarthur. Personifying Death as the agency of destruction removed any moral considerations from the actions of the colonists by not mentioning any acts of war and killings.

In the 1837 Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, the chairperson, Thomas Buxton echoed Malthus: “the speedy extinction of the Aborigines is inevitable. Their extermination, it would seem, is an appointment of Heaven, and every attempt to avert their doom, must, therefore, of necessity prove utterly unavailing.”\(^{96}\)

Buxton’s gloomy prediction was no doubt shaped by the evidence of Bishop Broughton and James Dunmore Lang, both of whom displayed their capacity for metaphor: Bishop Broughton shifted the responsibility of their looming extinction onto Aboriginal people “They do not so much retire as decay; wherever Europeans meet with them they appear to wear out, and gradually to decay: they diminish in numbers; they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth.” and Dr. Lang, the minister of the Scotch church, writes, “they present merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes.”\(^{97}\) Dr. Lang thought that “their number is evidently and rapidly diminishing in all the older settlements of the colony”. Dr. Lang thought their decline in numbers was due to “the prevalence of infanticide, from intemperance, and from European diseases”. Despite the failure of missionary activity Lang continued to assert the progress of extinction could be checked “by the zealous exertions of devoted missionaries”.\(^{98}\)

The anonymous, Original Poetry. The Aboriginal's complaint was probably written by Charles Harpur, who was born and educated in Windsor. The poem is interesting in that Harpur turned the idea of Aboriginal people retreating around and expressed it from an Aboriginal perspective: “And with insolent pride we are driven away”. The concluding lines

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\(^{96}\) (Page ix Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, London, 1837, http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n14/mode/2up)
\(^{97}\) Pages 10-13, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements.)
\(^{98}\) Pages 10-13, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements.) Reprinted with comments by the “Aborigines Protection Society.” London, 1837 http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n30/mode/2up
belonged very much to the discourse of doomed savagery and probably would have elicited little empathy from the readers of the Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 29th August 1844.

‘And we - we have nought but extinction to hope for. And soon in the forests our race will not range; Our rights, nay, our freedom, 't were madness to cope\textsuperscript{99} for, And the course we'll pursue is deep, deadly revenge!'\textsuperscript{100}

In 1849 the Legislative Council debated an Aborigines Evidence Bill. Mr Nichols and Mr Wentworth both invoked Smith, Banks, Malthus, Macquarie and Harpur in the metaphors of savages retreating before the militaristic “march of civilization”: “Mr. NICHOLS: There was no doubt that such a race as this must give way before the march of civilization; they could not be instructed, and must eventually perish from the earth, as white men approached to occupy it. And Mr. WENTWORTH: The civilized people had come in, and the savage must go back.”\textsuperscript{101}

In April 1857, the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld clothed Biblical tradition, Calvinistic predestination and Malthus in a Romantic metaphor when he wrote to Sir George Grey that: “The Aborigines of this colony are fast passing away from this stage of existence. … The Sons of Japhet are being enlarged and caused to dwell in the tents of Shem.”\textsuperscript{102}

James Bonwick in 1870 noted the hypocrisy of Threlkeld and Lang in invoking “inscrutable Providence” for the demise of Aboriginal populations. The “missionary to the Blacks of New South Wales, Mr. Threlkeld, seems to find some comfort, in his natural astonishment at the rapid diminution of his charge, from feeling that it “is from the wrath of God, which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.” He utters this sentiment when standing in a colony constructed out of the refuse crime of Britain, and rapidly filling the land with their prosperous descendants! The Rev. Dr. Lang, of Sydney, more mildly observes: ‘It seems, indeed, to be a general appointment of Divine Providence that the Indian wigwam of North America and the miserable Aborigines of New Holland should be utterly swept away by the flood-tide of European colonization.”\textsuperscript{103} The Rev. Dr. Lang’s metaphor of a “flood-tide of European colonization” drew its legitimacy from Genesis, Chapter 7.

Through the concept of random natural selection, Charles Darwin in Origin of Species, 1859 and The Descent of Man, 1871, swept “Nature” from her pedestal of God’s handmaiden in cleaning up the untidy bits and into the dead ends of evolution. While Darwin used sexual selection to demonstrate the evolution of morality, religion, psychology, aesthetics and gender in his 1871 work, The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, 1871; he seemed unaware that he only replaced “Nature” with “Civilization” in predicting that: “At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will

\textsuperscript{99} “Cope” is probably a typographical error for hope.
\textsuperscript{100} Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 29th August 1844, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66377816
\textsuperscript{102} Page 301, Editor: Niel Gunson, Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Affairs, 1974.
\textsuperscript{103} Pages 374-376, James Bonwick, Last of the Tasmanians, London 1870 http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421
almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the savage races throughout the world." ^104 While it may be tempting to argue that his approach was clinically objective, Darwin’s correspondence reveals a darker side to his views. In the midst of proofing his 1859 work he wrote to J. D. Hooker on the 11th of May 1859, “on my life no nigger with lash over him could have worked harder at clearness than I have done”.^105 In response to doubts expressed by the geologist, Charles Lyell; Darwin wrote on the 11th of October 1859, “I can see no difficulty in the most intellectual individuals of a species being continually selected; and the intellect of the new species thus improved, aided probably by effects of inherited mental exercise. I look at this process as now going on with the races of man; the less intellectual races being exterminated”.^106 His 1881 letter to William Graham continued in the same unscientific vein: “Looking to the world at no very distant date, what an endless number of the lower races will have been eliminated by the higher civilised races throughout the world”.^107 In Darwin’s hands, “civilisation” replaced “Nature”, as a convenient metaphor for cleaning up all the messy bits. In all these variants of the Discourse of Doomed Savagery morality was sidelined as savages were made responsible for their own demise. Darwin would have had no problems with the concept of “Social Darwinism”.

An 1864 debate on The Extinction of Races within the Anthropological Society of London highlighted some of the absurd positions being taken at the time. Richard Lee continued to blame First Peoples for their declining population, asserting that the First peoples of Australia were “exceedingly susceptible to cold” and that deaths arising from this had been exacerbated since settlement “through the careless use or disuse of warm coverings” provided by settlers. His judgement was that the First peoples were “only an illustration of humanity, in its crudest form, shrinking and passing away before a phase of humanity enlightened with intelligence, and endowed with vast intellectual superiority.”^108 Dunmore Lang was one of his authorities:” It seems, indeed, to be a general appointment of Divine Providence, that the Indian wigwam of North America, and the miserable aborigines of New Holland, should be utterly swept away by the floodtide of European colonisation.”^109 and “That by some divine interference the aborigines melted away before them.”^110

Lee’s opponent, Thomas Bendyshe, took a conventional Malthusian approach arguing that “moral restrain” prevented overpopulation in civilised countries; whereas in other parts of the world “promiscuous intercourse, artificial abortion, infanticide, wars, diseases and poverty” kept populations in check.111 He went on, inconclusively, to explore “those parts of the world where the aborigines appear to be dying out, and who therefore may be merely undergoing one of those retrograde periods of numerical diminution which are common to all races of mankind, or whether there is some particular cause superadded to those

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105 http://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?itemID=F1452.2&viewtype=text&pageseq=226
106 http://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?itemID=F1452.2&viewtype=text&pageseq=226
107 http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-13230
109 History of New South Wales, 1852, vol. i, p. 25. John Lort Stokes was on the Beagle with Darwin.
enumerated by Malthus, which will continue to operate until its victims cease to exist, and the exact nature of which it is at present impossible to explain."\textsuperscript{112}

One of Thomas Bendyshe’s more unsubstantiated claims was that “The tribe that inhabited the country around Port Jackson and Botany Bay, which Governor Philip on his arrival found to number about 1,500 individuals, is now extinct. The last of its members died in 1849, little more than sixty years after the occupation of their lands by the Anglo-Saxon.”\textsuperscript{113}

In the same debate a Mr. G. Witt, who apparently “having resided in Australia, swayed the audience with his assurance that there was no indiscriminate slaughter of the natives. He knew a case of a man who put arsenic in bread; but the man who did it was hanged for it. He was once at a dinner party where one of the guests said he meant to destroy some blacks who annoyed him, when Sir George Gibbs said to him, "If you do, I'll hang you." He knew of other men going out after the aborigines shooting them; but all these cases were done entirely against the wish of the people and government of the colony. He felt bound to say that everything was done by the government to protect the aborigines.”\textsuperscript{114} The only reference I have found to Mr. G. Witt was of a printer in Leicester Square. I cannot find any evidence to substantiate any of the claims that he made.

The “Corn-stalks”, first noted in the 1830s received international attention; Herbert Spencer in 1867 assured his readers that “if we may trust to the descriptions of observers, we are likely soon to have another such example in Australia”.\textsuperscript{115} Andrew Ross was particularly worried about racial degeneracy among the settlers in Australia. He argued that for a European to be healthy in Australia: “They ought to be uniform and well developed, especially furnished with broad shoulders and well-formed chest, characters, however, utterly at variance (except in the Hawkesbury ones, the finest race in the colony), with the generality of the natives”.\textsuperscript{116}

Towards the end of the Nineteenth Century the original settlers were long buried. The completion of the Lithgow Zig Zag in 1867 and the crossing of the Hawkesbury River by a railway bridge in 1889 left Windsor a romantic backwater. The 1888 Centenary, Federation in 1901 and the first Centenary of the Macquarie Towns in 1910 were opportunities to memorialise the genealogies of pioneers; to tell glowing stories of the corn-stalks; and to weave into their mythologies dark threads of distortion and denial to erase the presence and memory of the original owners of the land.

John Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick, 1862-1932, was born at Moama. His family moved to Windsor in 1869 and in 1880 he moved to Melbourne. He returned in 1888 to found the


Windsor and Richmond Gazette. As the editor he was probably responsible for some of the virulence in the pages of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette. In the piece from which the following extract is included he brought together millennia of thought and tradition. His use of the collective metaphor of “Civilisation” removed individual responsibility from the settlers; and “rum”, the only example of civilisation that he cited, shifted the responsibility for its effects upon Aboriginal people. “Civilisation, and rum - which is an outcome of the former - have almost effectually wiped out the original - or aboriginal - inhabitants of this country, and will be as effectual in all other parts where the experiment is tried.”

Shortly after, he returned to the same theme, predicting the extinction “the few genuine aboriginals who remain”. The implication of this passage being that the descendants of settlers and Aboriginal people would disappear into the shadows. “In a year or two hence, rum and "civilization" will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain, and perhaps it will be a good thing, too, not only for themselves - as they most, most assuredly, hang out a most miserable existence - but for our boasted civilization, - as it will have removed one of the eyesores which most people who believe this is an age of progress and enlightenment see in the remnants of an ignorant, uncultivated, unintellectual and inferior race, such as the dusky natives of this Colony have proved themselves to be.”

In 1900 William Dymock published Fitzpatrick’s work, The Good old days: being a record of facts and reminescences (sic) concerning the Hawkesbury district compiled from the columns of the "Windsor Richmond Gazette" which contained virtually the same text as Yeldap’s, V. – The ABORIGINES, part of a series called The Good Old Days, published in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette during the 1890s. Yeldap, i.e., James Padley, acknowledged that his account was based on the recollections of an “old resident”. Yeldap’s claim that “The Blacks were never very troublesome about this district,” was wrong and his assurance “I don’t remember any disturbances” was equally wrong. Fitzpatrick’s 1900 reworking of Yeldap’s material contained no reference to the “old resident”. As Fitzpatrick was born in 1862 and Padley was born the year before, their eyewitness accounts of killings at Emu Plains and Bathurst were untrue; though this is not to say that the incidents had not happened at an earlier date.

Given that John Henry Fleming led, and deserted, his companions in the Myall Creek Massacre to flee to a Hawkesbury bolthole, resurfacing to marry and become a justice of the peace, a magistrate and church warden; it was no surprise that his obituary in the Windsor & Richmond Gazette; Saturday, August 25, 1894, contained the following masterpiece in metaphorical understatement: “Deceased used to tell some stirring stories of the early days of settlement in the colony, and the trouble he had with the Blacks.”

Another important factor that helped define the somnolent heritage of the Hawkesbury was the presence of artists such as Sydney Long, Charles Conder, Julian Ashton and Arthur Streeton, who produced many of Australia’s most iconic paintings. It was not a rugged frontier that attracted these painters; rather it was the “quaintness” of the transformed landscape that attracted them. When Arthur Streeton painted The Purple Noon’s Transparent Might, looking up the Hawkesbury from The Terrace in 1896, he was inspired by Shelley’s

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118 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 8th September 1888.
119 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 31st May 1890.
120 Dr. Geoff E. Ford has pointed out that Yeldap was James Padley, a reporter for the Windsor and Richmond Gazette. Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 9th September 1893, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72543762
“Blue isles and snowy mountains” near Naples, not some incipient sense of Australian nationalism. David Henry Souter’s 1899 article in *The Australian Magazine* described an autumnal vision of the Hawkesbury, framed by Keats’ “Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness” and concluded with “the swift coming of the dark”. There was no Aboriginal presence in these works.

The editor of the *Mudgee Independent* in 1890 expressed a fear of racial degeneracy when he asked Prosper Tuckerman, who stood “a good six feet two in his stockings.” Tell, Mr. Tuckerman, do you think the men of today are equal to the earliest colonists, or are we degenerating? A similar regret was voiced eight years later by the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* in an article entitled The Hawkesburyites of Old.

‘In those days the natives (of course we do not mean the blacks) were to a large extent raised on corn. They knew little of the luxuries of beef and mutton and sugar and white meal. The natives of Camden, Hawkesbury, and Windsor districts were all big men - most of them standing 6 feet 2 inches in height. They were giants in those days. And they had little else to live upon save maize, either in the cob (roasted or otherwise), or made into cakes or porridge (hominy), or served up in some other form. And to this Mr. Thornton attributes their fine physique, and their splendid powers of endurance.” Samuel Boughton rhetorically asked a similar question around 1900: “Who can say the Hawkesbury native is degenerating?"

J. H.M. Abbott was little distracted by the facts in claiming that the free settlers of the Hawkesbury were the original Cornstalks. His assertion that “The first of the free settlers who commenced the march westwards 'squatted' there, and owned the land by right of occupation” while interesting for its Biblical and militarist styling was wrong. Ticket of Leave convicts were the first settlers on the Hawkesbury and all the early settlers had land grants. It was not only Aboriginal people who were being swept away.

‘Years ago, we of the present generation are told, if you should see anywhere a particularly tall, brawny, well-made, big man, you might be morally certain that he hailed from the farms upon the Hawkesbury River flats. The first of the free settlers who commenced the march westwards 'squatted' there, and owned the land by right of occupation. If they could obtain them, they took wives unto themselves, and reared up families. And the families subsisted principally upon pumpkin and ground maize, and wore no boots in their childhood, and led a free, wild, untrammelled sort of life. So they grew into tall, clean-limbed, deep-chested men, and sturdy, comely women, and spread North and West and South over the land and their offspring were the fathers and mothers of the Cornstalks of to-day.”

The *Memoirs of William Cox*, published anonymously in 1900, is an important work in shaping an elegiac evocation of tradition and dynasty in the heritage of the Hawkesbury: “The town, is old and sleepy. … No storms come to Windsor. The fevered life of modern, days has...
gone over the ranges, or north, or south, leaving Windsor to sleep and dream.\(^{128}\) By focusing on Clarendon, Hobartville, Belmont and the graveyards of the Cox and Belmont families\(^{129}\) the author mythologised the Coxes and Bells as “grand old families and the forefathers of the great race that fills the land to-day”. Images such as: “As you ride along the fences you are shaded by the great big English oaks that were planted there by the boy from Queen Elizabeth’s Grammar School at Wimbourne Minster” reinforced the continuity of English tradition and heritage. There was no place for convicts, the Irish, Aboriginal people or the descendants of settlers and Aboriginal people in this myth. In concluding the work the author tied the settlement of Australia to a vision of an empire that stretched across the world.

‘For the old blood runs in Briton's sons, and, tho' the seas exile,
We bridge the wave with banners brave that float from isle to Isle —
The flag of the Little Islands, and the flag of the Great South Isle!’\(^{129}\)

The anonymous author paralleled the endeavours of William Lawson, George and Henry Cox in “a wild, hard land” with Abraham's taking of the Promised Land; continuing and extending the metaphor of New South Wales being the Promised Land. The author provided a continuity of nation building by linking the personal achievements of these “brave” and “masterful” men with Sir Robert Garran’s poem, One People, One Destiny. In asserting that they “made Australia for us” the anonymous author created a debt to these men and excused “the morality of the men who made Australia”.

In the remainder of the extract the author constructed a simplistic interpretation view of the destruction of Aboriginal society on the western plains. Aboriginal people were “dangerous ... plentiful and exceedingly treacherous”. While to shoot them was “repellant to English ideas” the author was quick to reassure the gentle reader that the blacks really exterminated themselves. As the district became more populous they moved further back, or stayed in the villages and drank themselves to death, with the result that the present generation has scarcely seen a black in the district. For the benefit of the “hypercritical” the author spelt out in no uncertain terms the indebtedness of the present generation to these men. “When we find a number of gentlemen prepared to give up all the comforts of civilized life, and brave the dangers of an unknown region, to herd with felons and risk their lives amongst savages, to be cut off for months from all communication with the friends and relatives they left behind them, shows that they were men whom we, their descendants, should delight to honour, and we owe them a debt of gratitude for all they have done for us.”\(^{130}\) This theme was carried onto the last chapter and prophesied that: ‘Some day men will travel to Windsor to see where sleep "the rude forefathers"\(^{131}\) of Australia. They will stand beside the Hawkesbury and read from its stolid flood the romance of the earlier days.’\(^{132}\)

\(^{128}\) It is an enduring curiosity of this work that the anonymous author referenced a Hamlet soliloquy which continues:

‘to sleep, perchance to dream, Aye, there’s the rub,
For in that sleep of death, what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause.’

William Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act III, Scene I lines 71-74. Both Friedrich Nitzsche and William Shakespeare were well aware of the capacity of the past to come back to haunt.

\(^{129}\) Pages 140-144, Anon, Memoirs of William Cox, William Brooks, 1901.

\(^{130}\) Pages 126-132, Anon, Memoirs of William Cox, William Brooks, 1901.

\(^{131}\) From Thomas Gray’s Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.

\(^{132}\) Pages 140-144, Anon, Memoirs of William Cox, William Brooks, 1901.
Denial became quite strident with distance. James Padley, Yeldap, claimed in 1893 that: “The Blacks were never very troublesome about this district, and I don’t remember any disturbances”. Both parts of the statement may have been true: the first because the aggression may have come from the settlers and the second because Padley was born in 1861, well after the killings. In April 1904 the Windsor and Richmond Gazette began a series of articles by Charles White entitled Story of the Blacks. The chapters relating to the events of 1816 are confusing and make no mention of the punitive expeditions in the latter half of the year. Charles White used “Civilization” as a euphemism for acts of extermination and suggested that the past would be forgotten with their passing. “The aborigines as a race have been practically civilized off the face of the earth which was their inheritance, and those who occupy the land once theirs are like to forget that ever a black man lived upon the soil.” In 1910 the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, went so far as to remove Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury and replace them with “an aggressive tribe of blacks” who lived near Parramatta. “The early settlers needed plenty of strength and much courage. Between them and Parramatta dwelt an aggressive tribe of blacks, who contracted a habit of making periodical raids on the homesteads. No sooner would trouble from this quarter be checked than the river would come down in flood, and farms, houses, and crops would accompany it to the sea.”

The Reverend James Steele, minister to the Windsor Presbyterian Church 1912-18, made only one reference to Aboriginal people in his 1916 Early Days of Windsor. When “the natives were troublesome, some troops from the N.S.W. Corps were sent up, and the settlement of Windsor, then called Green Hills, was fairly launched”. This legacy of forgetfulness, or wilful blindness, is one that still lives with us.

In 1907 an article appeared in the Freeman’s Journal which suggested that the corn-stalks were an endangered species. Exactly what he meant by “inter marriage” is unclear.

‘HAWKESBURY NATIVE.

The splendid physique of the Hawkesbury native is: proverbial. Dan Mayne, in a Windsor paper, ascribes to the absence of inter marriage, ‘the use of good plain food such as the best’ of beef and mutton, poultry and bacon. They grew too much to sell — feasted on it themselves. The boys grew into man hood without drinking alcohol or smoking.

The favourite quencher was lemon syrup, ginger beer, or cloves. Now the natives begin to smoke at 8 or 10, and drink very soon, afterwards, and in another 30 years the race may be too small even for jockeys!”

Seventeen years later George Reeve continued to sanctify the Hawkesbury, not only as the birth-place of the Commonwealth, but as the home of a distinct white race. “THERE is no place in Australia quite like Windsor — there are no people anywhere like the Hawkesbury natives. They are typical Australians of our time. For are they not the direct descendants of the first real Australians. The Hawkesbury Valley is the cradle of the Commonwealth, and it was from these rich lands that Australia was really colonised.”

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Between 1917 and 1927 the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* carried a number of curious and virulent references to events which probably never happened, i.e., the alleged burning of Henry Lamb’s and Abraham Yeouller’s farms in 1805 by hordes of spear waving natives. It was certainly one of the most curious distortions of the Hawkesbury’s historical record particularly as the *Sydney Gazette* of 7th July 1805 reported that a young Aboriginal girl taken by the Lamb’s was responsible for firing the Lamb and Yeouller farms. The fact that no-one questioned this reporting strongly suggests that the Aboriginal history of the Hawkesbury had been largely forgotten by settler society. The first regurgitation of the alleged attack was by Henry Fletcher in 1917. The second was by George Reeve in 1924. A fortnight later George Reeve returned to the same theme. The heavy-handedness of this reporting may, to those of a cynical persuasion, have had something to do with the death on the 19th of October 1926 of Martha Everingham, “one of the original Hawkesbury aboriginals”. Shortly after her death the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* on the 5th of November reported that the Reverend Stanley Howard, rector of Pitt Town and Wilberforce proposed “to appeal for subscriptions to erect a tombstone over the grave of Mrs. Martha Everingham, the last member of the full-blooded aborigines of the Hawkesbury, who was buried in the Church of England cemetery at Sackville on Wednesday of last week”. On the 12th of November 1926 the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* brought the Reverend Stanley Howard’s apparent altruism into perspective with the following correction.

‘Martha Everingham Memorial

THE Rev. Stanley Howard, M.A., wishes us to state that our reference last week to the above was without his authority. He suggested a simple kerb and headstone, similar to that erected by Newcastle people in memory of Jack Dillon, the last full-blooded Hawkesbury male.

Mr. Howard will back up his suggestion by guaranteeing five pounds, if nine other gentlemen will do likewise within six months from date. The 'Gazette' will be pleased to receive cash and promises, pending the appointment of a committee. Reminiscences of the Hawkesbury tribe and further suggestions will be welcome.

As will be seen, the donations were not forthcoming.

The *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* on the 26th of January 1927 reported the 118th anniversary of the Ebenezer church and again reprinted the 1805 *Sydney Gazette* account of Aboriginal people attacking the Lamb farm. On the 29th of April 1927, George Reeve travelled over the same ground and mentioned another attack on the Lamb farm in 1808, of which there is no historical record.

Five years after the Reverend Stanley Howard had appealed for “nine other gentlemen” to each donate five pounds for Martha Everingham’s headstone the *Evening News* on the 20th of February 1931 reported that “residents of the district are making arrangements to erect a
memorial over the grave of Mrs. Martha Everingham, the last member of the full-blooded Hawkesbury aborigines”.\textsuperscript{147} Unfortunately it would appear that not enough residents of the district could be found to make the arrangements as Martha’s grave remains unmarked.\textsuperscript{148}

No piece of historiography would be complete without an example of what Edward Said\textsuperscript{149} described as Orientalism, particularly where it oozes sexual frisson, even more so when it was part of an “INTERESTING ADDRESS BY MR. J. A. FERGUSON, B.A. during the HISTORIC EBENEZER CHURCH ANNIVERSARY DAY CELEBRATIONS” on the 26\textsuperscript{th} of January 1927. After a brief tribute to the earliest heroes of Australian history such as Cook and Phillip, he moved onto “the Ebenezer Pioneers. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that no section of our early heroes did more for Australia than those, who, by their peaceful penetration of this country, developed its latent wealth, and by the efforts of themselves and their descendants raised Australia to its present proud position”.\textsuperscript{150} Whether there were blushes or sniggers remains unrecorded. As John Alexander Ferguson was Procurator to the New South Wales General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at this time, and later went on to become a judge in the Industrial Court, it is highly unlikely that he was aware of the sexually-charged metaphors of his speech, or that the settlement of Australia was more akin to rape rather than “peaceful penetration”.

In 1931 J. H. M. Abbott returned to his theme of the uniqueness of the “Hawkesbury Native” and the special place of the Hawkesbury in Australian history. While acknowledging the dispossession of Aboriginal people Abbott made it clear that this was clearly an “old-time” thing and not one to inquire about.

“There is no district in all Australia quite like the Hawkesbury, no race of people altogether similar to the “Hawkesbury Native,” and no other town of such a sort as Windsor.

The casual visitor to the Hawkesbury, who wishes to see for himself the cradle of the Australian race — that is to say, of the race that disposessed (not without some regrettable strife and bloodshed) the original Australians — and who has not much time to fool about with an inquisitive nose for old-time things, there is no better place to spend a day or two in than Windsor.\textsuperscript{151}

Chapter 6 of D. G. Bowd’s 1961 Macquarie Country: A History of the Hawkesbury was a watershed in its sensitive, source-based treatment of Aboriginal people. Bowd’s elegiac conclusion that the “music and laughter of the Hawkesbury tribes have been silenced, their customs forgotten, and their traditions lost”\textsuperscript{152} reflected the belief of many Australians that the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people were extinct. Fears of racial degeneracy had led to the existence of Australians of mixed ancestry being largely ignored. Significantly Bowd made no mention of the corn-stalks. They also appeared to have gone.

Bowd’s conclusion was to be the last ebb of the discourse of doomed savagery, sinking into the backwaters of historical obscurity. The 1967 Referendum; the 1983 Land Rights Act; the

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{Evening News}, 20\textsuperscript{th} February 1931, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/115399867}
\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Windsor and Richmond Gazette}, 12\textsuperscript{th} November 1926, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85950438}
\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Windsor and Richmond Gazette}, 4\textsuperscript{th} February 1927, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85950670}
\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Windsor and Richmond Gazette}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 1931, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85883897}
1993 Native Title Act led to several thousand Australians asserting their identity as First Peoples of Australia and descendants of the Aboriginal survivors of settlement on the Hawkesbury.

The “facts”: the angel of the bottomless pit

‘He who fights with monsters should look to it that he himself does not become a monster. And when you gaze long into an abyss the abyss also gazes into you.’

Perhaps the most insidious aspect of the settlement of Australia is the assumption that Cook’s act of possession and Phillip’s occupation of Australia were legal acts based on the old Roman legal concept of Terra Nullius. However, I have found no reference to Terra Nullius in any primary sources relevant to this work. Terra Nullius only began to appear gradually in English works during the Eighteenth Century and was not articulated as a justification for the colonising of Australia until the twentieth century. Henry Reynolds has pointed out in The Law of the Land, that Grotius had clarified the two meanings of Terra Nullius: ‘In things which are properly no one’s, two things are occupable; the lordship and the ownership, so far as it is distinguished from the lawship. Kings have power over all things (the lordship); individuals have property (ownership).’ It was this distinction which was ignored by both Cook, the British government and Phillip in seizing both the government and the land of Australia.

It is a central tenet of this work that the Book of Genesis and the classical concept of the Great Chain of Being were the sources for the denial and denigration of Aboriginal peoples’ humanity. Twentieth Century Terra Nullius was product of the Language of Settlement.

Nor was it true that when Cook took possession of the east coast of Australia he did so carrying out his secret instructions to find the great southern continent. In fact, Cook had sought and failed to find the southern continent in the area bounded by New Zealand and South America, as directed by his secret instructions. He was concerned, wrongly, that the observation of the transit of Venus had been a failure. Cook’s possession of the east coast of New Holland was an act of opportunism by a self-made man who was very conscious of the price of failure. Exploring and taking possession of the east coast of New Holland was not entertained by his superiors; after exploring New Zealand his Additional instructions ordered him to return to “England, either round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, as from Circumstances you may judge the Most Eligible way of returning home”. The tenuousness of the British claim was shown when La Perouse’s ships entered Botany Bay and were thought to be “Dutchmen sent to dispossess us”.

Both Cook and Banks placed the First Peoples of Australia on the very lowest levels of humanity. As the Endeavour sailed up the south coast of NSW in April 1770, Joseph Banks wrote in his journal: “In the morn we stood in with the land near enough to discern 5 people who appear through our glasses to be enormously black: so far did the prejudices which

153 Friedrich Nietzsche’s “Beyond Good and Evil”, Aphorism 146 (1886).
154 Perhaps, after the horror and stupidity of two world wars the absurd cruelty of the Language of Settlement had to be buried and a new myth created to justify the theft of land, culture and identity.
157 http://www.geocities.com/TheTropics/7557/secret.html
had built on Dampier’s account influence us that we fancied we could see their Colour when we could scarce distinguish whether or not they were men”.

Bank’s “prejudices” and Dampier’s account were part of a continuum of much older “prejudices” derived from millennia of European thought. Sir Joseph Banks observation; “naked as ever our general father was before his fall, they seemd no more conscious of their nakedness than if they had not been the children of Parents who eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge” immediately alerted his audience that Aboriginal people had either a separate Creation, or had degenerated into a state of savagery. Cook’s observation that The Land naturally produces hardly anything fit for Man to eat, and the Natives know nothing of Cultivation immediately placed a division between “Man” and “the Natives”. It showed his belief in the Biblical tradition that after the Expulsion Cain became the first farmer and Abel the first shepherd. According to the Bible there was nothing in between. When Cook claimed the east coast of Australia for King George III, it was not because Aboriginal people did not farm or fence their land; but because Cook was of the opinion that they did not belong to the rest of humanity and therefore he could disregard his orders to negotiate the annexation of land.

One of the curious serendipities of the Language of Settlement is how ideas, once expressed officially or unofficially, were picked up and used by others. The idea that the Natives would abandon their country to colonisers was a constant current in the Language of Settlement. Adam Smith in his 1776 Wealth of Nations asserted that the “colony of a civilized nation which takes possession either of a waste country, or of one so thinly inhabited that the natives easily give place to the new settlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society”. Nine years later Sir Joseph Banks made a similar assertion to the Committee on Transportation: “from the experience I have had of the Natives of another part of the same coast I am incline[d] to believe that they would speedily abandon the country to the newcomers”. From his brief presence on the coast of Australia I can find no evidence to support Banks’ claim.

In preparing the First Fleet Governor Phillip prepared a guide to settlement, Views on the Conduct of the Expedition and the Treatment of Convicts. It was a document with a rich genealogy: informed by over two millennia of European thought on the animist traditions of Nature; Classical concepts of the Great Chain of Being, savagery, barbarism and civilisation; and Biblical tradition. As well, it embodied the concepts of heritage and primogeniture imposed on England by William the Conqueror.

Prior to the discovery of the New World, with its vast woodlands and populations, Europeans had developed responses to questions about themselves and others that did not change much

159 James Cook, Captain Cook's Journal During the First Voyage Round the World, Editor, Captain W. Wharton, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8106/8106.txt


over two thousand years. There had been an almost seamless merger of Christian belief in Monogenesis, i.e., God was responsible for the creation of all things in their fullness, that Cain and Abel were the first farmers and shepherds in response to the Expulsion and God’s curse on Adam to till the land; that there had been a universal flood, that Noah’s three sons had peopled Europe, Asia and Africa; and that Man’s Original Sin had been passed down to all humanity and was redeemable by the sacrifice of Christ; with the Classical Greek Great Chain of Being which showed the place of all things in an unchanging order that was particularly appropriate to a patriarchal Mediaeval world. Women, slaves, curiosities, oddities and monstrosities each had their own special inferior places in the Great Chain. Some rather fanciful jiggling the genealogies of Noah’s sons and Biblical geography enabled not only for Africans and Asians to be included in the Great Chain but also conveniently gave Biblical justification to the enslavement of Africans by Europeans.

The unexpected discovery of the New World immediately challenged accepted wisdom about the universal nature of the Flood as scholars contemplated the possibility of Polygenesis with the chilling implication that the Original Sin had not been transferred to all humanity. The flood of silver from the New World to Europe coupled with the incredible wealth generated through slavery helped redress the trade imbalance with China and fostered the growth of the early modern state and advances in science. Unfortunately the advent of reason and empirical method only reinforced Biblical and Classical traditions that civilisation had developed through stages of herding, farming, commerce and industry and that England was a “polished nation”, at the very peak of civilisation.

Governor Phillip’s orders to “endeavour by every possible means to open an Intercourse with the Savages Natives and to conciliate their affections,” clearly demonstrated the uncertainty of the authorities about the First Peoples of Australia. For the Governors from Phillip to Macquarie the practical realities of establishing a self contained and profitable colony brought them into conflict with their instructions “to conciliate their affections, enjoining all Our Subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of Our Subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary Interruption in the exercise of their several occupations. ... It is our Will and Pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the Offence.”

Thus the First Fleet sailed into Sydney Harbour, bringing with it a highly visible cargo of over one thousand people; various horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and rabbits, an invisible cargo of small pox, influenza, tuberculosis, gonorrhoea; the “prejudices” derived from millennia of European thought; and nearly three centuries of experience in the control and exploitation of subject peoples in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Africa, America and Asia. The various accounts of early settlement, particularly that of the Hawkesbury, contain a number of reoccurring currents or themes that gave form to a Language of Settlement that elevated Europeans and their way of life over all others and doomed all First Peoples to extinction as an ultimate validation of Civilisation. Unfortunately it is an understanding that has become perpetuated in the unconsciousness of the Hawkesbury and other settler societies.

Young Newton Fowell who witnessed the ships sail into Sydney Harbour wrote home in July 1788 that Aboriginal people “at our first Arrival seemed to wish very much for our hats

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166 The full text of Phillip’s instructions is to be found on:
which plainly shows the sun hurts their head," displaying a common belief of the time that the human race had degenerated as it moved away from the Garden of Eden. He was referencing Cornelius de Pauw’s ludicrous suggestion about Africans that “The most delicate and subtle organs of the brain have been destroyed or obliterated by the fire of their native land, and their intellectual faculties have been weakened”.

Governor Phillip’s act of landing at Botany Bay, “in order to take possession of his new territory, and bring about an intercourse between its old and new masters,” was an enactment of William the Conqueror’s principle of Eritage, i.e., establishing the legitimacy of property rights through conquest; as well as laying the foundations for “Heritage” to erase the nasty bits and mythologise our understandings of the past.

The Reverend Richard Johnson, reinforced Governor Phillip’s actions by taking Verse 12, ‘What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me’, of Psalm 116, as the text for his first sermon in Sydney on the 3rd of February 1788. Psalm 116 forms part of a set of Psalms dealing with thanksgiving to God for deliverance from the Egyptian yoke, the humbling of the heathen and the dominion of Israel. One can only ponder at the nature of “the sacrifice of thanksgiving.”

The lack of Aboriginal interest in trinkets frustrated early attempts to create a culture of servitude. Aboriginal people had no obvious institutions that could be seduced or destroyed. The lack of a tribal hierarchy meant that seducing the tribal aristocracy, as the English had so successfully and recently done in Scotland was not an option. There was no obvious religion to be supplanted by an established church. The absence of temples, priests and idols frustrated any attempts to overthrow pagan practices to prove the ascendancy of the Christian God. The nakedness of Aboriginal people and their lack of shame at their nakedness defied conventional wisdom. So set in patriarchal hierarchies were the settlers that the roles of

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172 From Tony Abbott’s 1994 maiden speech to Federal Parliament: “On the corner of Castlereagh and Hunter streets in Sydney stands a monument to mark the site of the first Christian service in Australia. The preacher, the Reverend Richard Johnson, took as his text: ‘What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?’ It is just a small stone obelisk hardly noticed by the thousands of passers-by and dwarfed by skyscrapers, yet its message of faith and hope is fundamental to our nation’s success and the key to Australia’s future.

The congregation at that first service was poorer, sicker, and less trained than any conceivable group of modern Australians, yet there was nothing small about what they were to achieve. Our challenge, 200 years later, is to have hearts that are just as big. So at this opening of my time in parliament, I place on record my deep conviction that, nourished by the past and inspired by our great ideals, there is no limit to what Australia can achieve.

Also, I want to record my deep conviction that our Australian story should fill our hearts with pride and our eyes with tears. It is a story of the dispossessed and the outcast, redeemed through the innate goodness of humanity—a society challenged by nature, tested by war, enlarged by other cultures and blessed by such peace, prosperity and tolerance that we are now the envy of the earth.”


Pondering the Abyss 33 Last updated: 28/10/16
Aboriginal women in decision making almost completely escaped mention. An exchange around 1790 between William Dawes, one of the most sensitive journalists and Patyegarang clearly demonstrated the determination of settlers to change Aboriginal people to their ways and Aboriginal resistance to their efforts. ‘Tyerbarrowaryyau, I shall not become white.’ This was said by Patyegarang after I told her if she would wash herself often, she would become white at the same time throwing down the towel as in despair.  

The possibility that Aboriginal people were in conscious control of their world escaped the settlers. That Aboriginal people deliberately controlled population growth was outside the understanding of the colonisers as was the apparent absence of crops and the apparent reliance upon aimless wandering in search of grubs. Most settlers appeared to have been unaware of the reciprocal arrangements in Aboriginal society. As a result of the absence of familiar structures it probably never occurred to most settlers that Aboriginal people made rational decisions not to become civilised. It was incomprehensible to settlers, whose farming ancestors had cleared the Neolithic forests five hundred generations ago, that Aboriginal people had not done the same.

It is my contention that Aboriginal reactions to the settlers were shaped by their misunderstandings about the identity and nature of the settlers. While it is well documented that in 1788 Aboriginal people gathered on the shore and shouted at the newcomers to go; young Newton Fowell observation that “they speak very Loud and mostly all together very often Pronouncing the words Worra Worra Wea & seem quite surprised at not being answered,” suggested that Aboriginal people thought that the newcomers were unwelcome relatives not strangers. This view is confirmed by David Collins’ account of a number of convicts who had been taken in by the Port Stephens Aboriginal people after escaping in 1790. They were integrated into Aboriginal life and were told “that they were undoubtedly the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; ... On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated into other regions.” David Collins in writing about Wilson wrote “With the wood natives he had sufficient influence to persuade them that he had once been a black man, and pointed out a very old woman as his mother who was weak and credulous enough to acknowledge him as her son.” A fourth piece of evidence to support this view comes from the widespread use by Aboriginal people of the word “gubba” to describe white-fellows. Bernard O’Reilly in Green Mountains and Cullenbenbong recounted Fanny Lynch’s description “in a low voice of Gubba, a malignant spirit which hounded her tribe”. It is further supported by the efforts Aboriginal people made to mix with the settlers and learn English – a process that was not reciprocated. Tedbury and John MacArthur had a close personal relationship. Mosquito, Little George, Little Jenmy and Charley frequented the settlers and their farms with dire results. Terribandy’s daughter did not desert her people to

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173 William Dawes, Microfilm MAV/FM4 3431, Frame 865.
177 Billy and Fanny Lynch helped the O’Reilly family in the Kanimbla Valley of the Blue Mountains in the mid to late nineteenth century. Page 301, Bernard O’Reilly, Green Mountains and Cullenbenbong, W. R. Smith and Paterson, Brisbane, 1954.
live with Wimbow but did so as part of the process of inviting settlers into the reciprocal arrangements of traditional Aboriginal culture.\textsuperscript{178}

probably the first and last recognition of a common humanity in the early historical records comes from Elizabeth Macarthur and Watkin Tench. It is not difficult to sense Elizabeth MacArthur’s relief that Aboriginal people were within God’s Creation when writing in 1791 that Lieutenant Dawes “\textit{thinks they have a tradition of the Flood among them. They say one Man, and one Woman was sav’d}.”\textsuperscript{179} Around the same time, May 1792, Tench and Dawes undertook another expedition to Richmond Hill where Deedora helped Tench across the river at Richmond Hill in an act \textit{“of disinterested urbanity”} which ran counter to preconceived ideas of brute savagery.\textsuperscript{180}

Between 1788 and 1792, Governor Phillip endeavoured to find riverine land suitable for farming. In March 1788 he twice rowed unsuccessfully into Broken Bay searching for such a river. Thwarted in this approach, Governor Phillip led an overland expedition in April 1788 to a high point where he could see a gap in the Blue Mountains from where he imagined the Hawkesbury River flowed down to Broken Bay. He began to replicate an English heritage in the Hawkesbury by naming the ridge to the north of the Grose Valley, the Carmarthen Hills; and the ridge to the south, the Landsdowne Hills. Consciously or unconsciously, Governor Phillip continued to anglicise the Hawkesbury by naming Richmond Hill for its similarity to Richmond Hill near his childhood home on the Thames at Fulham.\textsuperscript{181} Endonyms, names given by the inhabitants were giving way to exonyms, names given by outsiders. Governor Phillip’s account of his journey left an impression of crossing a wilderness, which may have reflected his illness. However, the observant Newton Fowell filled in the gap of Phillip’s journal: \textit{“it was the way like a Park with Trees about 20 yards Distance from each other the country in General quite a Plain the grass about 3 feet high & paths all the Way that Natives had made”}.\textsuperscript{182} Later, on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of April 1788 Governor Phillip led another expedition to the \textit{“head of the harbour”} and pushed to the west for five days coming to a hill that he called \\textit{Bellevue from where he could see “the Carmarthen Hills, as likewise, the hills to the southward”}. They appeared to be about thirty miles away.\textsuperscript{183}

In May 1789 the Sirius returned from the Cape of Good Hope and Phillip at last had the ship’s boats and crews he need for a return to the Hawkesbury. On a third expedition to Broken Bay on the 6\textsuperscript{th} June 1789 Governor Phillip found the Hawkesbury River and rowed 20 miles upstream before returning. On the 25\textsuperscript{th} of June Governor Phillip went to Rose Hill where he probably discussed accounts of a river to the west of Rose Hill with Watkin Tench.\textsuperscript{184} On the following day, the 26\textsuperscript{th} of June 1789, Watkin Tench, stood on Prospect Hill

\textsuperscript{178} The killing of Wimbow in 1799 was almost certainly an example of the failure to reciprocate. Pages 403-422, \textit{HRA}, Series 1, Vol. II, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.


\textsuperscript{181} Whether the Richmond Hill Phillip saw in 1788 is the same hill that now bears the same name is now immaterial. The view from William Turner’s \textit{Richmond Hill}, painted around 1820, would have been very similar to its NSW counterpart as it shows the Thames Valley below the hill covered in trees.


\textsuperscript{183} Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney, Pages 138-139, \textit{Historical Records of New South Wales}, Sydney, Government Printer, 1893.

\textsuperscript{184} Page 166, LieutenantWilliam Bradley, \textit{A Voyage to New South Wales}, Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969.
surveying Milton’s “wild abyss; pondering our voyage,” referencing not only God’s “dark materials” from which all things are made, but also Satan, the world’s first great coloniser. His record of his trip to the Nepean River near what is now Penrith is puzzling in that he made no mention of seeing campfires from Prospect Hill; and while he saw evidence of Aboriginal people, he reported seeing none in his Account. However, while small pox may have wiped out the Aboriginal population, Tench made no mention of seeing bodies. Probably he was avoided as Bradley reported a group that fled Tench. 186

On the 28/9th of June 1789 Governor Phillip undertook a second trip up the Hawkesbury River, reaching Richmond Hill and Yarramundi Falls in the Sirius’ boats. He probably named the Green Hills for their similarity to the Green Hills near his childhood home on the Thames at Fulham. It is likely that others with an awareness of the origins of these names were responsible for naming The Terrace, Ham Common and Enfield, which were also Thames features.

Journalists in Governor Phillip’s expedition of 26th June 1789 to Richmond Hill recorded seeing small pox around the mouth of the Hawkesbury and skeletons at undisclosed locations on the river; confirming that small pox spread out from Sydney Harbour in 1789, not into it, as some would have. Tuberculosis, influenza, measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever and gonorrhoea were other European diseases that would make their way into the Hawkesbury. It is impossible to estimate the Aboriginal population before settlement commenced in 1794. It is possible that the Aboriginal population of the Hawkesbury may have been badly affected before contact had taken place.

When Governor Phillip led an overland expedition to Richmond Hill, in April 1791 he took Colebee and Boladaree with him, ostensibly as guides, however, he may have taken them as a form of protection. The eyewitness account written by Tench show that neither Colebee nor Boladaree were certain of the purpose of the expedition. The drollery of Colebee’s wonder at apparently seeing the Hawkesbury totally escaped the officials. Settlers rarely realised that they were the butt of Aboriginal humour, which makes their pontificating on Aboriginal people unreliable as historical evidence. 187 It was on this expedition that Phillip met Gom-

186 On page 126 of his work, A Voyage to New South Wales, Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969. Lieutenant William Bradley recorded that Tench’s party had surprised a group of Aboriginal people cooking a kangaroo on the banks of the Nepean River.
187 It is quite ludicrous that the reported surprise of the Richmond Hill mob at the “discovery” a new route across the Blue Mountains by Archibald Bell still resonates in Hawkesbury folklore. It is little known that young Archibald was in fact led astray on his first attempt and only found a way across without Aboriginal guides. The Reverend William Walker fell victim to Aboriginal humour in 1824 when he wrote to the General Secretaries, “At the Cowpastures the Blacks have been fighting: a few were killed, several dangerously wounded, and many slightly hurt. Four were eaten! The Blacks sent a piece of one to the governor! By the hands of Major Ovens! To two brothers of mine, these monsters exposed several pieces of human flesh, exclaiming as they smashed their lip, and stroked their breasts, “boodjerry patta! Murry boodjerry! – fat as jumbuck”!! i.e. good food, very good food, fat as mutton. There is no doubt of their cannibalism.” Page 74, Niel Gunson (ed), Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974. Original source: M.L., B.T.M. Box 53, 1372.

Aboriginal nakedness was a preoccupation with settlers that Aboriginal people took advantage of. Stripping settlers naked - whether they were dead or alive - as an ironic comment on the European horror of Aboriginal nakedness frequently brought down the wrath of the editor of the Gazette. Peter Cunningham’s wry 1827 observation that “the men walk carelessly about quite naked, without betraying the least shame; even many at this day parading the streets of Sydney in natural costume, or with a pair of breeches probably dangling around their necks, which the modest-meaning donor intended to be applied elsewhere” (Page 186, Editor, David S.)
beè-ree, Yêl-lo-mun-dee and Dè-eim-ba. Gomberee had scars on his face consistent with small pox. Yellomundee demonstrated his medical skills during one of these encounters. Captain Hunter, who was not on the expedition, but who I suspect obtained his materials from David Collins, recorded that Go-me-bee-re was the father of Yal-lah-mien-di and grandfather to Jim-bah. On the available evidence it appeared that Yellomundee and his family maintained positive relations with settlers during their lives. However, it was probably a costly process with children being taken by missionaries.

When contemplating the observations of David Collins and John Hunter about Aboriginal people and their food on these expeditions, it is difficult to determine whether their observations were wish-fulfilment or a genuine inability to appreciate that Aboriginal people had entirely different methods of food cultivation and gathering. It is likely that their cultural beliefs blinkered their ability to observe objectively. The negative nature of Collins’ comments may reflect the fact that Collins had to write An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales in order to revive his flagging career after losing the source of his patronage when his father died, and staying too long in Sydney. Regarding the coastal people he related the “poorness of their living”, to their dependence “entirely on fish for their sustenance; According to Collins “the few who dwell in the woods subsist on such animals as they can catch” and the “very great labour necessary for taking these animals, and the scantiness of the supply, keep the wood natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast”. He postulated “that the natives who have been met with in the woods had longer arms and legs than those who lived about us” which may have come from “their being compelled to climb the trees after honey and the small animals which resort to them, such as the flying squirrel and opossum”.

The settlement of the Hawkesbury may be unique in the evolving relationship between the process of settlement and the language used to describe and rationalise settlement. A crop of potatoes and corn planted in late 1793 began settlement. Lieut.-Governor Grose ordered the return of muskets from Norfolk Island to arm the settlers on the Hawkesbury in February 1794, before settlement had officially begun. When the harvest of the potatoes and corn begun in April 1794 Grose established a pattern of small holdings; modelled on English

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Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1968) stands out from contemporary records in showing that neither Aboriginal humour nor resistance had been crushed. The evidence of Albert Barber and Henry Barber in December 1899 “that their morals were shocked” when they saw Reginald Wilbow, James Fails and Sydney Watts, swimming in the nude at Ebenezer on a Sunday strongly suggests that traditional Aboriginal humour was alive and well. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 23rd December 1899, [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66442756](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66442756).

Another example of Aboriginal humour that probably had unfortunate consequences for some explorers concerned a report from the Wellington Mission “that there exists in the western country, many days off, a vast interior sea, where his salt is, and where whales are seen to spout! The manner in which they imitated the whale throwing up water was so completely satisfactory as to leave little doubt of the fact, as it is not likely these inland blacks could have known it but from actual observation.” X.Y.Z. A Ride to Bathurst, Letter V. *The Australian*, 27th March 1827, [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37074294](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37074294).

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practice, between South Creek and McKenzie’s Creek on the right bank of the Hawkesbury; further reinforcing the imposition of English heritage on an alien landscape. David Collins’ noted “that as the corn ripened, they constantly drew together round the settlers farms and round the public grounds, for the purpose of committing depredations”. The first killing of Aboriginal people by settlers took place in the same month. David Collins’ explanation that: “The natives, however, had given them such interruption, as induced a necessity for firing upon them, by which, it was said, one man was killed,” established an enduring and oft repeated reductionist discourse based on land ownership and property rights, whereby settlers, carrying out their legitimate duties, upon which the survival of the colony depended, were forced to defend themselves against the depredations of Aboriginal people. Over the years the model was amplified with explanations that stealing corn was a lot easier than traditional methods of gathering food such as climbing trees after possums and that the driving away of game forced Aboriginal people onto the farms. Nowhere in the primary sources was there recognition that there was an apparent relationship between settlement, drought/floods and hostilities.

Despite, or perhaps because of the one-sided nature of the reporting; consideration has to be given to the possibility that the fighting was precipitated by the settlers interrupting Aboriginal activities such as the eel harvest - rather than Aboriginal people interrupting the settlers - or that there were other undisclosed reasons for Aboriginal people being on farms and for fighting.

Fighting corresponded with the expansion of settlement and drought. By August 1794 there were seventy settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, probably on the Argyle, Windsor and Wilberforce Reaches and a road had been cut through from Parramatta. In the period 1794-99 settlement and fighting were concentrated on the right banks of the Argyle, Windsor and Wilberforce Reaches. There was drought in 1795.

In August 1794 Robert Forrester killed a Aboriginal lad on Argyle Reach. Our understanding of the violence that followed in August or September 1794 is not helped by David Collins splitting his account of the fighting that flowed from the killing of the Aboriginal lad into two parts, spread over five months in his An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, creating the impression that the various incidents were unrelated.

In September 1794 Aboriginal people sought revenge for the killing of the lad on Argyle Reach by plundering settler houses and wounding Shadrack and Akers, settlers upstream of Forrester. The settlers responded with a punitive expedition and killed six to eight Aboriginal people and took their children. John Macarthur in October 1794 carried out a perfunctory examination into the killing of the Aboriginal lad. Macarthur’s ready acceptance of Robert Forrester’s account probably encouraged a cavalier attitude to Aboriginal people that contributed to more killings of young Aboriginal people on Argyle Reach in 1799. David Collins, the Judge Advocate, probably gained his understanding about the fighting from conversations with John Wilson, a time expired convict who chose to live with Aboriginal

197 http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/Murder%20of%20Native%20Boy,%201794.htm
Source: Bench of Magistrates, Minutes of Proceedings Feb 1788 – Jan 1792, State Records N.S.W., SZ765
people rather than take up land. However, he limited his concerns at the mishandling of justice by observing that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives. His timorousness was undoubtedly due to his hopes of gaining profitable employment through his Account of the English Colony in New South Wales.

Aboriginal people considered a range of options in resisting the settlers and attempted a nonviolent course before armed resistance. Some Aboriginal people in May 1794 attempted to direct the settlers southwards to an allegedly attractive site to the south and away from the Hawkesbury. The incident on Argyle Reach showed that some settlers were tolerated, some were threatened, some had their corn taken, some were beaten, some had their farms ransacked and some were killed. These facts point to Aboriginal people mistakenly thinking that the settlers were in some strange way related and that the killing of settlers on the Hawkesbury was a measured response to the breaking of traditional Law. As well, it showed that the needs and issues of individual Aboriginal families underpinned the diversity of Aboriginal responses to invasion. It is my argument that defending and maintaining traditional Law was the Aboriginal priority and that concepts of defending the land emanate from western ideas of property ownership. When we interpret the Aboriginal response as being a defence of Law, we see Aboriginal resistance as being more nuanced and the indiscriminate destruction of that society as being more horrific.

The absence of a co-ordinated and overwhelming attack on initial settlement lent support to settler assumptions of superiority and only fostered the myth that Aboriginal people did not fight for their land. Traditional histories of settlement which began to surface around the Centenary in 1888 and Federation in 1901 celebrated the triumph of settlement as an extension of Australia’s British heritage. Denial, silence and stereotypes reinforced by the influence of militarism in the Twentieth Century were, and continue to be key features of these histories. When these histories addressed the destruction of traditional First Peoples, it was portrayed as a defensive measure and a small price for the development of a civilised nation. The fact that most Australians got their history from newspapers in the period under study only confirms this conclusion.

Revisionist histories of settlement such as Blood on the Wattle and Six Australian Battlefields, written within the context of the Land Rights, Reconciliation, the Bicentennial and Native Title; have cited heroic figures such as Pemulwuy and Tedbury as examples of Aboriginal warriors and made the invasion and defence of Land a central motif. In some ways these works have reinforced the dominance of the military tradition in our thinking and simplified our understanding of the interaction of two vastly different cultures.

In writing this work I have largely avoided using the word “war” because it has simplistic implications that obscure the complexity of Aboriginal response to the totality of the British impact. What happened on the Hawkesbury frontier and all other settler frontiers was nasty

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200 Law in a Aboriginal context refers to the rules, relationships and responsibilities that emanate from the Dreaming. It should not be confused with man-made law.
and brutish, but it was not war in the sense of clearly identified forces fighting under clearly defined rules of engagement.

Aboriginal society in 1794 was decentralised, democratic and highly individualised. There was no police force, militia or army. Individuals were responsible under highly organised structures for righting individual wrongs. An overwhelming response to settlement in 1794 was thus almost impossible, particularly if the impact of small pox on the Hawkesbury had been devastating.

Much of the Aboriginal response to invasion was targeted. As already noted settlers were warned, harassed, their crops and hurts plundered and burnt before they were wounded or killed. There is evidence to suggest that in some areas such as Addy’s Creek and the Kurry Jong slopes, settlers fled in fear from Aboriginal people. In 1799, 1804-05, 1814, 1816 and 1825, warriors from widely scattered areas fought in combination against settlers on the Hawkesbury and elsewhere. These years of fighting also corresponded with the expansion of settlement and drought, pointing to a complex relationship, which is made even more complex by an apparent almost total absence of fighting on the Hawkesbury from 1806-16. While Watkin Tench was a professional soldier and had led a punitive expedition against Aboriginal people, his observation that, “Unlike all other Indians, they never carry on operations in the night, or seek to destroy by ambush and surprise” was contradicted by Tarlington’s evidence in a 1799 murder trial that showed Aboriginal warriors delivered a masterful attack on his Prospect farm involving concealment, surprise and overwhelming force.

While it is unclear whether the killings of Burdett, Webb, Wilson, Thorp, and the two Rowes were responses to individual or collective settler and NSW Corps attacks, the victims were all on the edge of settlement which points to some sophistication in military thinking. Tench’s assertion that “they never carry on operations in the night” was contradicted by David Collins, who wrote of “midnight murders.” The surprise of a party of settlers pursuing a small party of warriors upon being confronted by a combined force of about 300 warriors in 1804 also points to a mastery of irregular warfare. While the gathering of such a large force pointed to a possible change in attitude towards settlement, it must also be understood that Aboriginal people differed from other societies in their unwillingness to accept large numbers of casualties in a military operation. This is supported by the second part of Tench’s observation: Their ardent fearless character, seeks fair and open combat only. When combined with David Collins’ recount of the experiences of the escaped convicts with Aboriginal people of Port Stephens it is possible to hypothesise that Aboriginal people quite rationally, from their perspective, took the settlers to be “the

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207 Sydney Gazette, 17 June 1804.
ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again”.

As a formalised activity, war was excluded by each Governor’s instructions. This undoubtedly impacted upon the way in which expeditions were reported. Apart from reports of approximately half a dozen Aboriginal casualties in 1795 and 1805 there are no other official reports of any other Aboriginal casualties being caused by the NSW Corps while they formed the Hawkesbury garrison. Apart from those killed on the Nepean River in the first part of 1816, only four Aboriginal men were reported killed under martial law in 1816. There were no reports of casualties in the extensive operations carried out by Magistrate Cox in the latter part of 1816. While the proclamations of martial law in 1805, 1816 and 1824, importuned settlers against aggression, they also gave ample grounds for settlers and soldiers to claim that they acted in self defence. Thus, while settlers used the word war on a number of occasions, it is possible that they used it to exaggerate the extent of Aboriginal hostility and to justify indiscriminate killings.

From a purely military perspective, however, the elements of ambush, betrayal, changing loyalties, concentration of force, dawn attacks, deception, destruction of food and property, fear, hostages, killing of women and children, logistical disruption, mutilation, night-time operations, raids, revenge, surprise, terror and torture were no different on the Hawkesbury than any other colonial war or most modern wars.

What distinguished the conflict on the Hawkesbury was that when the cumulative effects of disease and killings became apparent, settlers did not express remorse but anticipated and looked to the complete destruction of Aboriginal culture. The tragedy of the Hawkesbury is that there was no closure. What happened remains unfinished business.

Sixty seven land grants, totalling 2010 acres in October and November 1794, increased pressure upon Aboriginal people and conflict escalated throughout 1795. Drought and increasing numbers, particularly those of soldier settlers impacted upon Aboriginal people. In 1795 there were 87 grants of 2375 acres, most of which went to the officers and men of the NSW Corps.

The year 1795 began with the construction of a storehouse and Captain Macarthur ordering a guard under Serjeant Goodall “for the express purpose of defending the Settlers from the attacks of the Natives in consequence of the representation from the Settlers that they were in Danger of being murdered by the Natives”. In evidence at the 1799 murder trial Goodall testified that: “Parties of Soldiers were frequently sent out to kill the Natives.”. No record of how many Aboriginal people were killed by these parties exists. At the same time there were three references to Aboriginal boys preparing the ground for crops. Some were there because they had been taken, but others were probably there of their own volition or because their families were gathering around the farms of settlers who were perceived to be sympathetic, or who sought protection by having Aboriginal people on their farms. Richard

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210 None of the Aboriginal casualties reported in the 1799 murder trial were officially reported.

211 Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst 7th & 8th October 1814, Page 313, HRA, Volume VIII.

212 I have avoided using the concepts of massacre and genocide in this work. I feel that they are very emotionally laden concepts and that their use in this work would only distract.

Atkins was of the opinion that at least one officer, possibly Cummings, was experimenting with slavery.

Burdett was the first settler killed on the Hawkesbury in late 1794 or early 1795.\(^{214}\) Webb, Wilson and Thorp were killed in the first months of 1795. This, combined with the plundering of Shadrack’s hut before he and Akers were assaulted plus the plundering of Webb’s hut before he was speared; strongly suggests that the Aboriginal response to the settlers was limited, measured and deliberate. It demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of strategy and tactics. Strategically, each of these attacks targeted an isolated farm at the extremities of settlement with the aim of containing the settlement. Burdett’s farm was at the junction of South and East Creek. Thomas Webb’s farm was downstream of the main settlement on the left bank of Canning Reach. Joseph Wilson’s was across the river on the right bank.\(^{215}\) Tactically these attacks allowed a rapid escape for attackers and avoided implicating any Aboriginal people on the farms. It is often asserted that Aboriginal people were driven to plundering settler huts in a desperate attempt to survive. Consideration should be given to the alternative that Aboriginal people attempted to drive the settlers out by destroying their stores and huts. Killing may well have been a last resort.

Historical records show that in the years 1794-95, seven settlers were killed, one of whom was a child. My assumption is that there were no other killings of settlers, however, there may have been unrecorded killings and paddock burials. At least two settlers had been wounded. In the same period approximately twenty Aboriginal people were recorded as being killed. This figure includes one woman, and one child. It does not include the child that died at birth in captivity.

The punitive expeditions of June 1795 clearly display two of the defining features of the Language of Settlement: - silence and denial. Our knowledge of the punitive expeditions of June 1795 is derived from a number of official and unofficial records that provide varying accounts of the expedition. The Britannia sailed out of Port Jackson on 18th June 1795, carrying: the Acting Governor’s despatch describing the expedition, as well as his private letter to Sir Joseph Banks that that contradicted his official despatch; a private letter by David Collins to Edward Laing that contradicted his later Account of the English Colony in New South Wales; and a letter by the Rev. Fyske Palmer to Doctor Disney that provided the most comprehensive account of the 1795 punitive expedition.\(^{216}\) Officially the punitive expeditions were sent to protect the settlers from Aboriginal attacks. Paterson’s report that “five people have been killed and several wounded” in his despatch to Dundas of the 15\(^{th}\) of June 1795, was contradicted by his private letter of the 14\(^{th}\) of June 1795 to his patron Sir Joseph Banks which reduced this to “several” deaths. In the weeks prior to the expedition the only settler deaths recorded were those of Webb, Wilson and Thorp. And it was highly unlikely that

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\(^{214}\) Burdet’s farm was on the south side of the junction of South Creek and East Creek. Page 32, Ed RJ Ryan, Land Grants 1788-1809, Australian Documents Library, 1974.


Grose would mount a campaign to avenge the death of Webb given their previous dealings. While it was likely that the punitive expedition was to secure the grain harvest; it was also highly likely that Grose, Paterson and Collins distorted the public record to as they extended the settlement along the banks of Freemans Reach for the officers and men of the NSW Corps, such as Lieutenant Abbott who was acquired Haycock farm on Freeman’s Reach near the limit of upper settlement.\(^{217}\) It would appear that Aboriginal attempts at negotiation were rejected and Lieutenant Abbott and sixty soldiers were sent to the Hawkesbury. The official report was that at least 7-8 Aboriginal people were killed and a number of men, women and children were taken prisoner in an unsuccessful attempt to steal crops from a field. Some historians assert that there was a “Battle of Richmond Hill”. I can find no evidence to support this; and logistically, a march from Windsor to Richmond Hill across Rickaby’s Creek and the Chain of Ponds was implausible. The logic is that the fighting took place along Argyle Reach and Freeman’s Reach. The Rev. Fyshe Palmer in a letter to Doctor John Disney, 11\(^{th}\) of June 1795, provided a damning account of a surprise attack upon a friendly camp, where a young Aboriginal lad was forced to act as a guide. His source was almost certainly his neighbour and drinking companion, David Collins, his tongue loosened by liquor.\(^{218}\) It is my conjecture, given the relatively small number of muskets involved, their inaccuracy, and slowness in reloading; that the Rev. Fyshe Palmer’s account is most likely to be accurate, i.e., a volley fired into a closely packed camp while the occupants were still sleeping; followed by a charge to butcher the wounded and the shooting at leisure of those who in their terror climbed trees to escape. Captain Wallis’ attack on an Aboriginal camp in 1816, Toby Ryan’s account of an attack in 1816 and the attack on a friendly camp near Putty in 1825 are consistent with the attack described by the Rev. Fyshe Palmer. It is worth noting at this point that dogs were one of the few things that Aboriginal people wanted from the settlers, because dogs unlike dingoes bark and would provide a warning to sleeping camps.\(^{219}\) On the same night that the Rev. Fyshe Palmer was writing to Doctor John Disney, David Collins was writing to his friend Edward Laing that the “natives at the Hawkesbury are murdering the settlers. Abbott and MacKellar with Co soldiers are in turn murdering the natives (but it cannot be avoided)”. In An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales written on his return to England, Collins contradicted his private letter, writing that “that several of these people were killed”. In assessing the reliability of the sources little weight can be placed upon official records. Given their instructions to protect Aboriginal people, Governors were almost bound to under-report Aboriginal casualties. The punitive expedition of 1795 was the only one where our understanding is informed by several accounts.

Shortly after, in what was probably a retaliatory attack for the NSW Corps activities, William Rowe and his child were killed and Rowe’s wife wounded on their isolated farm on the right

\(^{217}\) See Part One, Jan Barkley-Jack, Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed, Rosenberg, 2009

A letter written by John Batman on 7\(^{th}\) September, 1829, to police magistrate Thomas Anstey, details a surprise attack upon a camp of sleeping Aboriginal people.

‘At about 11 o’clock pm we arrived within 21 paces of them. The men were drawn up on the right by my orders intending to rush upon them before they could arise from the ground, hoping that I should not be under the necessity of firing at them, but unfortunately as the last man was coming up, he struck his musket against that of another party, which immediately alarmed the dogs (in number about 40) they came directly at us. The natives arose from the ground and were in the act of running away into a thick scrub, when I ordered the men to fire upon them, which was done, and a rush by the party immediately followed.’

bank of the River near the current North Richmond Bridge. In response another punitive expedition was sent out after Rowe was killed. The 1799 trial transcript reveals that the NSW Corps kept no records of expeditions against Aboriginal people.  

Fighting moved with the expansion of settlement along the river and its tributaries. There was also a correlation of violence with the drought which lasted from 1797 till 1799. The NSW Corps appeared to have been collectively detested by Aboriginal people. Late in 1795 Aboriginal people plundered the farms of the military settlers around Addy’s Creek, resulting in another punitive expedition. Four Aboriginal men and one woman were killed; a child was badly wounded and four males were taken prisoner.

In January 1796 John Lacey was speared in a boat and mortally wounded. In February 1796 the two brothers of Patrick Hyndes were speared to death on their farm at Bushell’s Lagoon on the left bank of Freeman’s Reach. We only know of these killings through a memorial by Patrick Hyndes, they do not appear in official documents.

In February 1796 Governor Hunter blamed settlers for their problems. He gave orders against fraternisation and ordered settlers to band together, initiating a model that was copied by Governors King and Macquarie. He recommended that Wilson and Knight be secured to prevent them from assisting Aboriginal people in attacks on farms. Collin’s frequent references to convict runaways leading Aboriginal people astray raised the possibility that a significant number of convict runaways were accepted into Aboriginal society to begin new lives. That Wilson, Knight and the Port Stephens escapees were accepted supports my contention that Aboriginal people were mistaken in their understanding of the true nature of the settlers. The issue of runaway convicts and their relations with Aboriginal people remains a tantalising mystery. Wilson reported seeing the bodies of fifty runaway convicts in the woods. Their cause of death was unknown. Lists and descriptions of runaway convicts were frequent in the pages of the Sydney Gazette. Almost certainly some of the convicts were accepted by Aboriginal people. Joseph Holt who began to collate his memoirs in 1818 recorded “I have seen Toney’s in that country, for I assure you that some of the convicts from England and Ireland cohabits with the blacks and gets childer with them and it will in time

have a mixt breed” . The children of these unions were largely ignored because of fears of racial degeneracy.

In March 1796 there was an attack on boats at Portland Head and in June 1796 it was reported that a man had been killed. It was not clear when or where this happened. Land grants continued with two grants totalling 200 acres in September 1796; and nine grants of 270 acres in December 1796.

During this period Aboriginal tactics changed. Attacks on boats, the burning of farms and attempts to seize firearms displayed sophisticated thinking about target selection. That the farms were not collectively burnt out signifies that Aboriginal people were still taking measured steps and still perceived the settlers to be reincarnations that had taken a strange form rather than ordinary mortals from another place bent on taking their lands. In January 1797 Governor Hunter went up the Hawkesbury. He stopped at where Addy’s farm had been destroyed. In January 1797 there was one grant of thirty acres. In April 1797 Aboriginal people burnt a farm house and a stack of wheat belonging to a settler after having plundered him. In May 1797 there were 36 grants totalling 1245 acres and 17 grants totalling 565 acres in June 1797. In October 1797 a Hawkesbury boat was taken and the crew (2-5) killed. Another attack on a boat by Aboriginal people in canoes was repelled and a number of Aboriginal people were killed. In January 1798 6 grantees received a total of 141½ acres and 175 acres were granted to 7 grantees in February 1798. The years 1796 and 1798 stand out because in both those years there were settler deaths and no record of settler or military reprisals. It would have been most unusual if there had not been settler retribution in response.

In 1798 and 1799 a number of Hawkesbury Aboriginal men and lads were involved in a number of attacks on settlers. In doing so they appeared to have gone outside what are conventionally considered to be tribal boundaries to fight the settlers. In February 1798 Little Charley, McNamara, Major White, Little George, Terribandy, Jemmy and thirty to forty others made an attack on Tarlington’s farm at Prospect. They killed Redman, Collins and Malong/Malloy/Malone/Marlowe. Tarlington and his wife were wounded. There were no Aboriginal casualties in what was a masterful example of irregular warfare involving subterfuge, concealment, surprise and overwhelming force. Later in the same month Terribandy killed a settler on the race ground a few days after the attack on Tarlington’s farm. Charley was present and later said that Major White was involved in the killing. Later still, in February, David Brown, a constable, was wounded on his Wilberforce farm.

230 It is my contention that the race ground was the high relatively level ground that stretched northwest from Mulgrave station.
In April 1798, 5 grantees received a total of 130 acres and in May 1798 there were two grants totalling 95 acres. Two convicts, who stole horses from Parramatta in April 1798, were reported dead north of Kurrajong. One was killed by Aboriginal people and the other died from hunger. After that peace descended on the Hawkesbury for nearly a year.

In seeking an explanation of hostilities on the Hawkesbury there is an easily demonstrated link between the expansion of settlement, as recorded by R. J. Ryan in Land Grants, 1788-1809; records of settler and Aboriginal casualties; drought and flood. The reasons for the correlation are less obvious. Settlers developed a simplistic deficit model based on food to explain hostilities. The main strand of the argument was that stealing corn was easier than hunting. Corn was certainly attractive to Aboriginal people; it could be eaten on the spot without any preparation. A more complex strand was that settlement depleted the Aboriginal food base, forcing Aboriginal people to take corn from the settlers. Margaret Catchpole’s observation in her letter of 21st January 1802 that “it is a very Bountifull place in deed for i under stand them that niver had a child in all their lives hav sum after thay com hear” raises the possibility that hunting by settlers provided increased protein in the diet of convict women, which would impacted upon Aboriginal food supplies and been a cause of conflict. A dispute of the ownership of a kangaroo killed on the Race Ground sometime between October 1798 and 1799 challenged the orthodoxy that settlers killed Aboriginal people only in defence of their own. A settler killed a kangaroo on what was quite clearly Aboriginal land and then killed the Aboriginal man who protested at the killing and taking of the kangaroo. James Bonwick argued that kangaroos “suffer no diminution, but are greater pests to the settlers than ever the Blacks were, destroying crops or monopolizing the choicest pastures. Battues of thousands fail sensibly to thin the kangaroo army. The Native dog, or dingo, is nearly poisoned off, and the emu is hunted from the plains; but the fleet kangaroo conceals himself in the scrub by day to feed on the squatter's grass by night, as if he believed that he had a right to the land from which his dark-skinned hunter had been driven”. In 1819, Jaques Arago, an artist on Louis de Freycinet’s expedition was told by John Oxley, a settler since 1808, that Aboriginal people were “disappearing little by little, especially since our fire-arms deprive them of resources they used to have before our conquest”. This simplistic argument that Aboriginal people stole settler food reinforced perceptions about primitiveness and avoided any reference to hostilities as a reason for declining Aboriginal numbers. Certainly there was a correlation between food and conflict, however, the conventional wisdom that settlers fought defensively to defend their crops is disingenuous. It is likely that settlers supplemented their limited food resources by intruding upon Aboriginal hunting grounds, particularly during droughts. As well, it is likely that settlers and their pigs destroyed Aboriginal bird, fish and animal traps, depriving Aboriginal people of a valuable food source. Drought probably increased pressure on both Aboriginal people and settlers to find food and clean water.

The simplistic assumptions of an out and out war on the frontier were also contradicted by the warning that Aboriginal people gave the settlers of impending floods in March 1799. Other letters of Margaret Catchpole elaborate on this theme. Pages 69, 130 and 132, Laurie Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P. Forth, 2012.

233 Other letters of Margaret Catchpole elaborate on this theme. Pages 69, 130 and 132, Laurie Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P. Forth, 2012.
In this history of the interaction of settlers and Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury there was only one person who, out of her sense of right and wrong, reached across the borders of race and culture to say that something terrible had been done. That person was Mary Archer. On the 19th of September 1799 Mary Archer went to Thomas Rickaby, the chief constable at the Hawkesbury and told him that on the previous night two Aboriginal lads had been murdered on a neighbouring Argyle Reach farm. The following sequence of events has been reconstructed from the limited chronological information provided in the trial.

Sometime in early August 1799 a NSW Corp soldier called Cooper killed an Aboriginal woman and child. The killing may have been as part of a military expedition. Smallsalts, a Hawkesbury settler, was attacked on the Parramatta road soon after. Around the same time Hodgkinson engaged Little Jemmy, Little George and a third lad, possibly Charley to go hunting with him. While this may appear in hindsight to have been foolish, it also suggests that relations were good between some settlers and some Aboriginal people. The three lads absconded when they saw that Wimbow was to accompany Hodgkinson, probably because Little Jemmy’s niece was living with Wimbow. Major White and Terribandy, the older brother of Little Jemmy and the father of the young woman living with Wimbow took the place of the three lads. Terribandy and Major White killed Hodgkinson and Wimbow at Yellow Rock on the southern side of the Grose Valley. 237

In mid August, after the killing of Hodgkinson and Wimbow, Major White speared Goodall, near Bella Vista. Charley was present. Goodall had been the serjeant in charge of a party of NSW Corp soldiers sent out by Macarthur in 1795 “for the purpose of driving the natives away”. Lieutenant Hobby, the commander at Windsor sent out a party to recover the bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbow in late August. The party was led by a serjeant, accompanied by Archer, Freebody, Fuller, Metcalfe, and possibly Timms. Later in early September Yellowgowy told Archer that Major White and another had killed Hodgkinson and Wimbow. Archer asked for Hodgkinson’s gun to be returned. On the 7th of September at 9:00 at night Joseph Phelps reported to Corporal Farrell at the barracks, that the natives involved in spearing Goodall were on Burnes’ farm, on the left bank of South Creek, upstream of Bladey’s and near where modern Fairey Road bends to the south west. Corporal Farrell, a private and Phelps went to John Burnes farm where they captured Charley. Cappy was shot and wounded while escaping. Lieutenant Hobby, probably in a calculated move, ordered Farrell and Lambe to escort Charley to the Governor who apparently said “that he could not take upon himself to punish the native in cool blood, but that the Commanding Officer at the Hawkesbury should have punished him on the spot where he was taken”. 238 The Governor released Charley into the custody of Cummings. Shortly after Charley escaped.

Fear emerged in the trial as an obvious and totally unreported feature of life on the Hawkesbury during early settlement when farms were isolated. In September two groups of warriors met Blady while he was out hunting on South Creek. Major White, Jemmy and another were in one group. Major Worgan, Charley and 12 others were in the other group. They said they were angry with the soldiers. When he returned to his farm, just north of modern James Meehan Street, Blady found it had been plundered.

Sometime after this, Little George, Little Jemmy and a third lad, who was probably not Charley, went to Forrester’s farm to return Hodgkinson’s musket. Major Worgan probably

237 Not at Yellow Rock further south.
went with them as far as the farm. The settlers quizzed the boys, tied them up and took them outside. One of the boys called out to other Aboriginal people. Little George and Little Jemmy were killed on Powell’s farm. Widow Hodgkinson almost certainly witnessed and incited the killings. Timms and others buried the bodies.\textsuperscript{239}

If it was not for the courage of Mary Archer the very existence of Little George and Little Jemmy would have been unknown. In reporting their murders to the authorities Mary Archer ensured that there would be a trial and a historical record. Powell, Freebody, Metcalfe, Timms and Butler were charged with the murder of Little George and Little Jemmy. After hearing the evidence the officers of the court were split in their judgement. The naval officers found the men guilty and recommended corporal punishment. The NSW Corps officers recommended that the case be referred to higher authority in England, which flouted the Governor’s authority. This was done and the men returned to their farms. After two years the only punishment was that Powell lost his position as special constable. The legal ramifications of Mary Archer’s actions may have been that the declarations of martial law in 1805, 1816 and 1824 were designed not so much as to give carte blanche to the settlers but to protect them from prosecution in “cases of mistake”.\textsuperscript{240}

The trial stood out for several reasons. It showed that in a patriarchal society women did have power. Mary Archer, an Irish Catholic convict, stands out across the centuries as the only person of principle in a patriarchal society dominated by arrogance, prevarication, self-interest, and avoidance of responsibility. The trial gives us a sense of the impact that the brutality of the killings of the Aboriginal woman and child and the mutilation of Hodgkinson and Wimbow had on both Aboriginal people and settlers and the ways in which revenge came to dominate interactions. The fear of Isabella Ramsay and the grief of the heavily pregnant widow Hodgkinson were palpable triggers that the men would have ignored at their peril.

The trial also highlighted the fact that many Aboriginal children who came into contact with settlers fared badly. It was a feature of early settlement that there appeared to be a large number of Aboriginal children around the farms. Some were undoubtedly taken, e.g., the little girl taken by Henry Lamb at Lane Cove and the two children taken at Prospect after their parents were killed. Some may have been ended up on farms after small pox killed the rest of their families. Musquito may have come into contact with Samuel Marsden in this manner.\textsuperscript{241} For some there is no explanation as to how they got there. We know that Teague was brought up by the Luttrells. He went with Dr. Luttrel to Tasmania and fretted away after not being given his reward for shooting Musquito. Some of these children may have been members of Aboriginal families that lived on or around the farms. Some of these children were undoubtedly of mixed parentage. A young Aboriginal boy killed on Argyle Reach in August or September 1794 may have been taken as a hostage or labourer. At least one Officer


\textsuperscript{240} “I am not aware that the soldiers can be indemnified in certain possible cases of mistake, without martial law being proclaimed in a limited district.” Pages 96-98, Saxe Bannister, Statements and Documents relating to proceedings in New South Wales in 1824, 1825 and 1826, Capetown, Printed by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht, 1827.

\textsuperscript{241} Marsden bought fifty acres on South Creek from Privates Thomas Westmore and William Anderson in the late 1790s. This property appears to have been downstream from Ann Blady’s farm and on the north side of the new bridge across South Creek. It was probably on this farm that Marsden encountered Musquito for the first time. Pages, 110-111, 149-150 and 283, Jan Barkley-Jack, Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed, Rosenberg, 2009. Page 347-9, Niel Gunson, Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L. E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974.
of the NSW Corps attempted unsuccessfully to introduce slavery in early 1795. Little George and Little Jemmy who had grown up on the farms at Argyle Reach were murdered there in 1799. James Bath, who was one of two boys taken at Prospect after his parents were killed in 1793, died of dysentery in 1804. The girl taken by Henry Lamb from Lane Cove and apparently guilty of burning a number of farm buildings disappeared from the historical record in 1805. John Pilot Rickerby died of disease in 1806. Charley, who almost certainly grew up on Cummings’ Parramatta farm, was shot in 1805, despite taking up farming. Tedbury who grew up on MacArthur’s farm was shot in 1810 and died soon after. One of the children taken by Marsden died around 1810. Tristan who had been “taken from its mothers breast” ran away from Samuel Marsden in Rio de Janerio in 1807 when being taken to London – possibly to be shown off to William Wilberforce. Tristan was brought back to Sydney by Captain Piper and died shortly after. Both Tristan and Tedbury shared a fondness for spirits. Both John MacArthur and Samuel Marsden were known as Master to Tedbury and Tristan. Daniel who had gone to England with Caley went bush on his return and in 1816 was hung for rape. Some children taken in as experiments in social engineering escaped back to their families. The “Rev. E. Johnstone, took two native girls into his house, for the express purpose of educating them; they were fed and clothed like Europeans; but in a short time they went into the woods again.” One of the children taken by Marsden “took to the bush.” As in all aspects of interaction, the settlers took no responsibility for the failure of their initiatives and blamed Aboriginal people. Thus in May 1797 Collins commented on the “distress” caused to settlers by children returning to their parents. Perhaps the most bizarre explanation of why these children chose to run away came from the pen of Barron Field, “the most persevering attempts have always been made, and are still making, to induce them to settle, and avail themselves of the arts of life; but they cannot be fixed nor is it possible, by any kindness or cherishing to attach them. They have been brought up by us from infancy in our nurseries, and yet the woods have seduced them at maturity.” Between 1814 and 1820, thirty-seven Aboriginal children were taken and placed in the Parramatta Native Institution. At least eight of them came from the Hawkesbury. Seven ran away, one was taken by her father and five died in the Institution. The taking of children by settlers on the Hawkesbury, officers of the NSW Corps and clerics such as

243 Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 2nd December, 1804
Johnston and Marsden was an arrogant exercise in power, impossible to rationalise as a manifestation of “Civilization”. The taking of children continued unabated through the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Even in this century the separation of children is touted as a social necessity, despite every indicator pointing to the contrary.

The 1799 trial was also important because Serjeant Goodall’s evidence showed that the NSW Corps appeared to have kept no records of operations against Aboriginal people or casualties imposed. This absence of records is not unsurprising given the orders given to the early Governors regarding the treatment of Aboriginal people. During the 1799 trial evidence was provided that clearly demonstrated that Governor Hunter did not want to deal with prisoners, he wanted them dealt with at a local level.\(^{252}\) As the NSW Corps were engaged in real estate activities on the Hawkesbury they had a vested interest in not reporting their land-clearing activities. The transcript strongly suggests that there appeared to have been a pattern of armed parties of soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides being sent out after attacks on farms and the killing of settlers. The killing of a mother and child by Private Cooper suggests that these parties needed no provocation.

In 1799 there were thirty five grantees receiving a total of 2631 acres and in 1800, 1,045 acres were granted to 21 individuals. In November 1801 there was more trouble on the frontiers. As the harvest was being got in “the natives have been exceedingly troublesome and annoying”.\(^{253}\)

If it were not for private letters our knowledge of the improprieties and excesses of some authorities would remain unknown. We only know through the letters of George Caley, naturalist, to his patron, Sir Joseph Banks how Samuel Marsden, who was an ordained minister, a farmer and a magistrate, ran roughshod over the justice system in November 1801 by arresting George Caley’s assigned servant who refused “to conduct a large party of soldiers and others for to apprehend the natives by force in the night”. In the argument with Caley that followed, Marsden said according to Caley that “there never would be any good done, until there was a clear riddance of the natives”.\(^{254}\) It was the beginning of a long feud between Marsden and Caley and Marsden may well have gained a certain satisfaction from his appearance as a witness in the 1816 rape trial of Daniel Moowattye, Caley’s former assistant.\(^{255}\)

Around 1804 the Reverend Samuel Marsden continued the metaphor of the Promised Land by naming his South Creek property, Mamre; drawing upon the coming of the Lord to Abraham “in the plains of Mamre” to promise that “all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him”.\(^{256}\)

A drought which started in 1803 and an escalation in land grants and growing Aboriginal resistance culminated in fighting that stretched from Castlereagh to Portland Head, much of it on the left bank in 1804-05. Drought and grants in 1804 provide the most obvious insight that violence was related to settlement. In 1804 Governor King allocated 10,000 acres in land


\(^{256}\) Genesis, 18:18, King James Version, *The Bible*. 
grants (approximately 17,000 acres had been allocated 1794-1803) and over 20,000 acres in commons on the Hawkesbury. The following year, 1805, saw the fighting peak. The correlation is confirmed by the records for 1801 and 1807. In 1801 and 1807 there were no recorded land grants and no recorded Aboriginal or settler deaths. In June 1804 a handful of settlers confronted about three hundred Aboriginal warriors at Portland Head. In the same month a body of 150 warriors burnt the farms of Cuddy and Crumby on the South Creek at Llandilo. In somewhat puzzling circumstances Terribandy and Major White were killed by a party of the NSW Corps at Richmond Hill.\(^{257}\) The despatches of the Governor deliberately obscured events on the Hawkesbury. Governor King’s despatch of the 14\(^{th}\) of 1804 to Lord Hobart conveyed the impression that the troubles were on the lower Hawkesbury and that upstream, “the natives have been very quiet and in a great measure domesticated”. He did this by claiming that Major White and Terribandy were from the Colo River. This was untrue. All records of Major White and Terribandy place them around Windsor and Richmond. Governor King blamed Aboriginal people for the problems. He made no mention of his record breaking land grants on the Hawkesbury as a cause of hostilities. Some Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury were reportedly working with the settlers against other Aboriginal people in achieving this peace as evidenced by Andrew Thompson’s action of 1805 upstream of the Grose River on the Nepean River. In his despatch to Earl Camden, of the 20\(^{th}\) of July 1805, Governor King claimed that the conflict of that year involved the deaths of four settlers and six natives and that his “General Orders”, of 28th April, 1805, achieved peace through by Aboriginal people “voluntarily giving up the Aggressors”.\(^{258}\) The Sydney Gazette may have relocated Cuddy’s and Crumby’s farms to Portland Head in 1805 to maintain the fiction that Richmond and Windsor were quiet.\(^{259}\) Whatever happened, fighting rapidly decreased after that date as a peace appears to have been cobbled together that lasted for nearly ten years. It can be attributed to Governor King’s General Order banning Aboriginal people from the farms; a Bidjigal peace initiative at Prospect; and Magistrate Marsden taking nine Aboriginal people hostage which resulted in the capture of Bull Dog and Musquito and the subsequent release of Tedbury. The details of what happened in 1804-05 will remain hidden. No private letters have emerged to contradict the official accounts.

In understanding the quiet which descended upon the Hawkesbury after 1805 it can be argued that the Aboriginal population declined significantly. In October 1808 “a few stragglers” attempted to destroy Singleton’s crops resulting in Aboriginal deaths. This incident also stands out because it was not on the edge of settlement. Singleton’s farm had been settled for a number of years and the crop allegedly being destroyed, hops, was not a food crop and would not have been in flower at that time of year. An 1810 letter to the Gazette noted the absence of Aboriginal people around Sydney.\(^{260}\) Perhaps the most telling guide to declining Aboriginal numbers is the lack of any reference to Aboriginal people in Governor Macquarie’s Journal when he visited the Hawkesbury in December 1810.\(^{261}\) I have not included Tedbury in any casualty calculations as there is very clear evidence that Tedbury was wounded by Edward Lutterell in 1810 at Parramatta and not at the Hawkesbury as some writers would have it.

\(^{257}\) Even in 1810 the name Richmond Hill encompassed the modern town of Richmond.

\(^{258}\) Page 497, HRA, Series 1, Vol. 5.

\(^{259}\) Sydney Gazette, 16\(^{th}\) June 1805.


An 1810 correspondent to the *Sydney Gazette* a plea to “civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales”, reflecting the rise of evangelical fervour in Britain. Governor Macquarie was instructed against giving Aboriginal people “any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations” and had other priorities in 1810, but he was probably not unsympathetic to the evangelists.

A particularly harsh drought that began in 1812, or even earlier, saw the peace broken with one Aborigine reported killed in January and Richard Evans killed on the Colo River at what became China Farm. I have not included Robert Lutterell’s death in this study. I believe he may have been killed on the Nepean in 1812 and not the Hawkesbury. The Luttrell’s had property in the Penrith area as well as the Hawkesbury and *Mara Mara*, who appears for the first time in relation to the killing of Robert Luttrell, may well have been *Mary Mary* who was given a breast plate inscribed “Chief of Mulgowy Native Tribe 1816”.

There was violence on the Nepean in 1814. The Hawkesbury was quiet during 1814 and 1815. However, despite heavy rains and floods in 1816, settlement and fighting stretched along the upper reaches of the Nepean River, across the Blue Mountains to Glenroy at the western foot of the Blue Mountains, along the Kurry Jong Slopes, down to the Colo and MacDonald Rivers, across to Lane Cove and up to the Hunter River from March to at least November. At least a dozen white people and an unknown number of Aboriginal people were killed in the fighting.

In 1814 Governor Macquarie saw fit to undertake an “Endeavour to Civilize the Ab-origines of this Country so as to render them Industrious and Useful to the Government, and at the same time to Improve their own Condition”. Macquarie’s use of the word “Ab-origines” for the first time in any official sense was based upon his mistaken assumption that they were “Scarcely Emerged from the remotest State of rude and Uncivilized Nature”. While most people probably agree Civilisation is about improvement in the human condition; Macquarie’s intention to “Civilize the Aborigines of this Country so as to render them Industrious and Useful to the Government, and at the same time to Improve their own Condition” underpinned a belief that civilisation was a hierarchy based upon class and race. Macquarie was not alone in this belief. To a man the free settlers saw themselves as “pioneers of civilization”. A century after Macquarie penned this missive to Earl Bathurst “Civilization” was lurching to destruction on the fields of Flanders. Macquarie’s “Endeavour”, like all other interventions was frustrated by the stubborn resistance of First Peoples to decisions made for them by others.

In early March 1816 hostilities broke out again on the Upper Nepean in Bringelly. One group of settlers and soldiers fled in disarray after their attack failed; amazingly, without any casualties. Another settler expedition involved muskets being taken and used against their owners. Sometime in March 1816, Murrah, who had allegedly speared Macarthur’s overseer, allegedly carried out an attack at Glenroy, on the western slopes of the Blue Mountains. An attack was made on a government cart on its way to Bathurst around the same time. On the 18th of March Governor Macquarie wrote to Earl Bathurst signalling his intention to send out a “strong Detachment of Troops to drive them to a Distance from the Settlements of the White Men, and to Endeavour to take some of them Prisoners in order to be punished for their late atrocious Conduct, so as to Strike them with Terror against Committing Similar Acts of


Violence in future. In late March an attack was made at Lane Cove. In late March Mrs. Lewis and an assigned servant were killed on Kearn’s farm on the junction of the Grose and Nepean Rivers. While the killings on the Lewis farm were on the edge of settlement they were targeted killings related not to the breaking of traditional law but for the breaking of a commercial transaction. Governor Macquarie responded by broadening the scope of his planned operation to include a sweep of the Hawkesbury. Given the logistical challenges this was a herculean task for regular troops and basically unachievable.

In drawing up orders for the military expedition Governor Macquarie drew upon a “List of ‘Hostile’ Natives” supplied by Hannibal McArthur of Camden. The names included: Murrah, who had speared Macarthur’s overseer and who had apparently been involved in the Glenroy attack, Wallah, Yellaman, Dewall, Bellagalle-Bidjeegurry, Daniel, Goggie and Mary-Mary. Of these, Bottagellie, Murrah, Yellamun, and Wallah had been involved in the 1814 fighting near Appin and were on the list supplied to John Warbey in July 1814.

Governor Macquarie ordered the Grenadier and Light Companies of the 46th Regiment to make a converging sweep of the frontier, meeting on the Upper Nepean. In 1816 there were no large gatherings of Aboriginal warriors as reported in previous years. From the 11th to the 18th of April 1816 Captain Schaw unsuccessfully pursued about a dozen Aboriginal people around the Hawkesbury before marching south. Captain Wallis was more successful, killing about fourteen men, women and children on the 18th of April near Mr. Broughton’s farm in the Airds district. There is little evidence to suggest that the group was hostile. Significantly Wallis’s white and Aboriginal guides abandoned him before contact was made. Wallis was guided to the Aboriginal camp by local settlers. The incident points more to bickering between settlers than Aboriginal aggression.

At least two Aboriginal skulls ended up with phrenologists in Edinburgh after these killings. The collecting of skulls was not often commented on in records. After Pemulwuy speared McEntire in December 1790, a precedent was set by Governor Phillip ordering Tench to bring back severed heads, no doubt to set on pikes to inspire terror amongst Aboriginal people. In April 1794, Richard Atkins recorded in his journal after a clash at Toongabbie that “the head of one is brought in and the L. Gov. has preserved it, as a present for D’. Hunter”. Doctor John Hunter was a noted anatomist and fellow of the Royal Society. As a parting gift Lieutenant-Governor Paterson left an Aboriginal skull on his desk for the incoming Governor Hunter in September 1795. Pemulwuy’s head was sent to Sir Joseph Banks in 1802. The Sykes family had recollections of up to 19 heads be taken and sent to Sydney after Captain Wallis’s encounter near Broughton’s farm in 1814. Lancelot Threlkeld in his Reminiscences 1825-26 recorded that “forty-five heads were collected and boiled down for their skulls! My informant, a Magistrate, (possibly Saxe Bannister) saw the skulls packed for exportation in a case at Bathurst ready for shipment to accompany the Commanding Officer on his voyage shortly afterwards taken to England.” Major James Morisset was the commander of the Bathurst detachment during the declaration of martial law in 1824 and returned to England on leave in February 1825. The Reverend Samuel

265 AONSW, Reel 6065, 4/1798, page 44.
266 www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/atkins_1794.htm
Marsden and the Reverend Wilkinson presented Captain Jules S-C Dumont d’Urville, with the remains of “two Sydney natives” in 1826.²⁷⁰ What happened to thousands of Aboriginal graves scattered across the Hawkesbury remains a mystery.

In late April Serjeant Murphy was sent to protect the Government camp at Glenroy across the Blue Mountains. As Captain Schaw’s party marched into Sydney on the ⁴ᵗʰ of May Governor Macquarie issued a Proclamation that banned the carrying of weapons by Aboriginal people within a mile of any farm or settlement. No more than six Aboriginal people could approach a settlement or farm together. Gatherings for ritual punishments were banned. Any Aboriginal person who wished to have government protection could apply monthly for a passport, at Sydney. Those Aboriginal people who wished to become civilised could apply for a small land grant. Settlers were empowered to drive off hostile natives; magistrates and troops at Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor were ordered to support settlers in this. This proclamation was in effect a declaration of martial law which effectively exempted settlers from prosecution. The governor established ²⁸ᵗʰ December as the date for the annual feast at Parramatta.

In mid May Serjeant Broadfoot was ordered to scour the Nepean River from Mulgoa to Bringelly. Nurragingy, Colebee and Tindall were his guides. Serjeant Broadfoot encountered Magistrate Lowe and a party of the ⁴⁶ᵗʰ at Bent’s Basin. There appears to be no other record of Magistrate Lowe being in the field. Serjeant Broadfoot reported making no contact.

On the ⁴ᵗʰ of June as part of the royal birthday celebrations Macquarie released 15 prisoners. On the ¹⁹ᵗʰ of June 1816, Cooling and Gallagher, assigned servants of a Mr. Crowley were killed on his Grose River farm, upstream of where Mrs. Lewis and her servant had been killed. On the ⁸ᵗʰ of July, Joseph Hobson was speared to death on his farm at the Kurry Jong Brush. Another man was killed at Richmond at this time. Magistrate Cox directed parties of soldiers, settlers and native guides in pursuit of Cockey, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie. They were captured and killed in mid July on the Kurry Jong Slopes. On the ¹⁹ᵗʰ of July Governor Macquarie received a memoranda from Magistrate Cox warning the Governor of hostile Aboriginal intentions and advising him of steps to take against eight identified Aboriginal people. Governor Macquarie responded with his Proclamation of the ²⁰ᵗʰ July 1816 that outlawed and placed rewards upon ten Aboriginal men.²⁷¹ Of the ten men; only three: Murrah, Wallah, alias Warren; and Yellaman remained from the list given to Captain Schaw on ⁹ᵗʰ of April. Dewall had been captured and was exiled to Tasmania. The other six were probably dead. The seven new additions; Miles, Carbone Jack alias Kurringy, Narang Jack, Bunduck, Kongate, Woottan and Rachel, were Hawkesbury men identified by Magistrates Cox, Mileham and Cartwright on the ¹⁵ᵗʰ of July.²⁷² The lists are significant. They show that active Aboriginal resistance on the Hawkesbury in 1816 had shrunk to about a dozen Aboriginal men. Of the seven named Aboriginal men at least four survived 1816. Miles was probably the Myles who found a way across to the Hunter in 1819 and was described in the Sydney Gazette, ²ⁿᵈ September 1826 as chief of the “Richmond Tribe”. The

²⁷² On the ¹⁵ᵗʰ of July 1816, the Hawkesbury magistrates Cox, Mileham and Cartwright, supplied Governor Macquarie with a list of names of Hawkesbury warriors. Miles, Warren, Carbone Jack (alias Kurringie) and Narang Jack were the most notorious offenders in the district. Bunduck, Congeatt (or Kangate), Wootten and Rachel had been present at the murder of Mrs Lewis and Crowley’s stockmen. Cockey, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie had already been killed.
Page 187, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853, ML, reel CY2743; DL Add 81, State Library of NSW
same issue of the Gazette mentioned Narang Jack of North Richmond and Billy Congate of Richmond. Carbone Jack, alias Kurringy, was probably Karingy Jack or Captain from Cattai, who may have gone sealing on the brig Elizabeth, 1821-22.273 Bunduck may have been “Boon-du-dullock, a native of Richmond Hill”, who was sought by Marsden in 1805.

In August 1816 four children from the Hawkesbury were admitted to the Native Institution. There is no record of how they were obtained. It is logical to assume that they were obtained forcibly. In late August one of Cox’s shepherds and two hundred of his sheep were killed on the Mulgoa estate. A party was sent out in response. There were no reports of casualties. The Sydney Gazette of 31st of August 1816 also carried reports of settlers deserting farms on the Hunter River and surmised that there appeared to be “an extensive combination” of Aboriginal people in the field.

These events probably provoked the systematic scouring of the Nepean Hawkesbury Rivers by parties of soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides under the leadership of the magistrates, in particular, William Cox. No casualties were reported as a result of these operations. The apparent lack of casualties did not appear to have to prevent Governor Macquarie being generous in his rewards. Payments and land grants were made for the “pursuit of the hostile natives”, not for killing them. William Cox received on the 30th of October 1816 one payment of “£76.10.7”. On the 8th of February 1817, he received another payment of “£179 – 8 – 1”. Serjeant Broadfoot received a reward of “Fifteen Pounds Sterling,” on the 16th of December 1816. On the 8th of February 1817 “Serjeant Broadfoot, received another £15 – 0 – 0”. In 1818 Macquarie made a grant of “60 acres for Ralph Turnbull and 40 acres as a reward for chasing the Natives when hostile”.274 William Stubbs received 60 acres “for his prompt assistance to the police and aid in pursuit of the black natives at the time of the eruption and disturbance in 1816”. Significantly he received “a certificate from Captain Cox, formerly Magistrate at Windsor, under whom Wm. Stubbs served in the war”.275 If there were no Aboriginal casualties, one is left wondering why the word “war” was used. No professional historian appears to have addressed the expeditions led by Magistrate Cox under Governor Macquarie’s Proclamation of the 20th of July 1816.

Despite the lack of reports from the implementation of military law in 1816, the very peace that descended on the Hawkesbury after 1816 and an increasing number of letters, memoranda and memoirs point towards a large loss of Aboriginal lives. Cox’s memoranda to Macquarie; the correspondence of the Macarthurs; George Bowman’s Memorandum to Magistrate Scott: “The military did not attempt to take the Blacks and make prisoners of them but shot all they fell in with and received great praise from the Governor for so doing”;276 and Howe’s and Cox’s evidence at the 1824 trial confirmed that individuals, parties of soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides led by magistrates, were active in the second half of 1816. According to Prosper Tuckerman approximately 400 Aboriginal people were killed, whether he referred to the whole of the Nepean Hawkesbury Valley or just the Sackville Reach is unclear.277 Fifteen of the Parramatta Native Institution’s total of thirty-seven

273 Apart from the following reference I have not yet been able to trace whether or not Captain, from Cattai, went to sea on the Elizabeth.
274 James Meehan’s Surveyor’s Notebooks 114 and 145, p40, 2/4797 AONSW.
277 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 25th October 1890,
children, 1814-1820 were admitted in 1816.\textsuperscript{278} Despite their mistakes and contradictions, Ryan, Smith, Boughton and Tuckerman are particularly important secondary sources because their recollections were informed by eyewitnesses. Toby Ryan’s account of a soldier being killed at Springwood, and the killing of approximately twenty Aboriginal people in reprisal, while lacking other verification, was consistent with the events of 1816.\textsuperscript{279} Martial law may also have seen indiscriminate killings on the Hawkesbury. Lancelot Threlkeld and James Dunmore Lang both recalled being told of killings on the Hawkesbury around this time.\textsuperscript{280}

Governor Macquarie’s secretary, John Thomas Campbell, under the nom de plume of “Philo Free” wrote a letter to the Gazette on 4\textsuperscript{th} January 1817, which is best known for its attack on the Reverend Samuel Marsden. However, the letter is more important in the expression of a new paradigm. It was the task of the British to lift the “dark and gloomy clouds of ignorance under which it pleased Providence to permit the Aborigines of this Colony to remain unto the present time.”\textsuperscript{281} Despite Campbell’s zeal, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the various attempts to civilise Aboriginal people were at best half-hearted. Governor Macquarie’s Endeavour to Civilize the Aborigines had limited funding; it involved only a handful of Aboriginal children, most of them of mixed parentage. As well, the Native Institution had enemies. Judge Barron Field’s comment that “An intelligent and experienced member of the committee of our Native Institution (the Rev. Mr. Cartwright) feels this impediment to their civilization so strongly, that he would compel them not to come into our towns naked; but I doubt the practicability both of the means and the end.”\textsuperscript{282} offers a reason for the Native Institution being shuffled out of Parramatta once Macquarie was out of the way. Writing on the failure of Aboriginal children to be civilised Barron Field in 1822 corrupted Dryden’s “noble savage” running “wild in the woods” to authoritatively assert: “They have been brought up by us from infancy in our nurseries, and yet the woods have seduced them at maturity.”\textsuperscript{283}

Governor Brisbane’s commission of 16\textsuperscript{th} July 1825 contains a significant shift in his instructions: “that you take such measures as may appear to you with the advice our said Archdeacon\textsuperscript{284} to be necessary for their conversion to the Christian Faith and for their advancement in Civilization.”\textsuperscript{285} Sometime in the 1830s the Reverend William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, preached that Britain had been given a “great and important purpose” by God, and that God would “inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence.”\textsuperscript{286} These measures marked an assumption of the right to impose Christianity and Civilisation upon Aboriginal people, irrespective of their wishes. It was a shift in attitude by the British government towards an interventionist strategy that continues to impact upon relations between governments and the First Peoples of Australia.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{278}This figure included children from all over the Sydney Plain.
\bibitem{279}Page 4-6, James T Ryan, Reminiscences of Australia, 1894 Reprinted 1982.
\bibitem{282}Pages 224-229, Barron Field, Editor, Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, London, 1825.
\bibitem{283}Pages 224-229, Barron Field, Editor, Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, London, 1825.
\bibitem{284}Thomas Hobbes Scott.
\bibitem{286}Pages 104-106, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements.) Reprinted with comments by the “Aborigines Protection Society.” London, 1837 http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n6/mode/2up
\end{thebibliography}
Early misunderstandings evolved in various ways to become what was often perceived to be general truths. Whether Sir Joseph Banks was opportunistic or simply wrong when it came to Aboriginal people is hard to say. His bland assertion to the parliamentary committee in 1785 that “I am inclined to believe that they would speedily abandon the country to the newcomers” was critical to the decision to settle NSW in 1788. Governor Macquarie, who would have known better, cynically recycled this mistake to his advantage in his despatch of 27th of July 1822 to Earl Bathurst. “Considering the poor Black Natives or Aborigines of the Colony entitled to the peculiar protection of the British Government, on account of their being driven from the sea coast by our settling thereon, and subsequently occupying their best Hunting Grounds in the Interior, I deemed it an act of justice, as well as of Humanity, to make at least an attempt to ameliorate their condition and to endeavour to civilize them in as far as their wandering habits would admit of.” While written some twenty years later James Backhouse’s acknowledgement of the “positive destruction” to which Aboriginal people had been subjected contradicted Macquarie’s patronising apologia. ‘In some quarters, in Great Britain, an idea prevails, that as the land toward the coast of Australia becomes occupied by Europeans, the Blacks retire into the interior. This, however, is a mistake. These people have their hunting grounds, which are more or less defined, in the various parts of the country, and though their tribes can scarcely be said to be organized, or to be more than family compacts, led by some man of prowess among them, these tribes fear each other, and cannot fall back one upon another, without being in danger of destruction. Instead of the tribes who once inhabited the part of New South Wales, which has been longest occupied by the British, having fallen back, they have, to use the expressive language of the Episcopal Bishop of Australia, “faded away.” They have become diminished, or have ceased to exist; from the combined influence of the habits of Europeans, which are uncongenial to them, the vices that have been introduced among them, the positive destruction to which they have often been subjected, and the reduction of their means of subsistence.”

One can only conclude that Macquarie used such an obvious untruth to gloss over the military expeditions and imposition of martial law in 1816, none of which was mentioned in the despatch listing his achievements. Given the close relationship between Macquarie and Wentworth it was not unsurprising that W. C. Wentworth in his 1823 poem *Australasia*, should pen a somewhat a similar idea.

‘... the mournful genius of the plain Driv’n from his primal solitary reign Has backward fled, and fix’d his drowsy throne In untold wilds, to muse and brood alone.’

John Macarthur, junior, born 1794, theoretically wrote *A few Memoranda respecting the aboriginal (sic) natives* sometime between his return from England in 1817 and his death in 1831. Given that he never returned to New South Wales after leaving in 1801 it is more likely that the document was written by James or William. The observation on returning from

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England in 1817 that of “the numerous tribes I remember during my boyhood belonging to Parramatta, South Creek, Pennant Hills, not one native now remains” is an important primary source illustrating the impact of settlement. However, the stylistic construction of “They have melted away, not the victims of oppression or ill-treatment or from any diminution in their means of obtaining food, but as another instance of a result; I believe must ever take place when the savage comes in contact with civilized man” was masterful in initiating concepts of doomed savagery and the removal of any responsibility for their demise from the settlers.

However, apart from its stylistic manoeuvring, and the contemporary lack of understanding of the causes of disease, the extract is important for its details of the impact of influenza, tuberculosis and gonorrhoea on the Aboriginal population. “The influenza is always very fatal. They appear to suffer much under any catarrhal affliction. – The women producing few or no children, there are none growing up to supply the places of those carried off by disease.”

Peter Cunningham, a naval surgeon and superintendent-surgeon on four convict ships between 1819 and 1828; and a Hunter Valley settler between 1825-6 displayed a similar ignorance of the causes of gonorrhoea and a not uncommon willingness to blame its spread upon Aboriginal women. “From their natural filthiness, the women soon became diseased with gonorrhoea, and propagate this infectious malady amongst the convict-servants who cohabit with them.”

Judge Barron Field’s Journal of an Excursion across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales Commencing 7th October 1822, contains many references to Aboriginal people. He was a masterful user of denial in explaining reasons for declining Aboriginal numbers. He blamed game being driven away by settlement and the “pernicious association with the convicts, who sow the seeds of drunkenness in the prolific soil of savage indolence” for the woes of Aboriginal people. His comparison to the futureless Will Wimble and Tom o’ Bedlam was a wishful and patronising anticipation of the “decay or extermination of the simple race of Australia”. Contained within a footnote, Field made a bizarre and erroneous reference to the settler’s fear of racial degeneracy. ‘The few children of the half blood are the results of "casual fruition." Great as is the disproportion of white women to men, there is no instance of even a convict permanently living with a black woman; so that there will be no class of cretin in Australia ’. Field’s use of the phrase “casual fruition” comes from Lines 765-767, Book IV, Paradise Lost: “not in the bought smile of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendear’d casual fruition”. This comment of Barron Field largely explains why there were so few

292 The reference to influenza suggests the Memorandum was written after 1820. Macarthur Papers, 1823-97, A4360, CY2378, Mitchell Library.
293 Page 202, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966. On Page 95 of the same work, Cunningham confidently assured his readers that gonorrhoea is exceedingly common, and very virulent while it lasts, though always yielding readily to low diet, rest, and frequent ablutions.
295 His reference to cretinism was in keeping with his times, being a general descriptor of stupidity and deformity, rather than an exact medical term. Pages 434-438, Appendix, Chapter 2, Journal of an Excursion across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales Commencing 7th October 1822. Barron Field, Editor, Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, London, 1825. http://ia600301.us.archive.org/19/items/geographicalmem00fiegog/geographicalmem00fiegog_djvu.txt
references to the children of settlers and convicts in the period under study. The denial of the existence of these people enabled settler society to maintain a myth of racial purity and superiority. Lancelot Threlkeld in a letter to Richard Cull, 25th June, 1856, about the Macquarie Lakes mission wrote that “the daughter of a very respectable settler I knew eloped with the young Aborigine into the bush. ... She became his wife and afterwards they were married according to the law of the Land. There was no deficiency of intellect in either of the parties when they eloped together.”

Ignorance of the nature and causes of diseases allowed the responsibility for declining Aboriginal numbers to be shifted from the settlers to Aboriginal people. Declining birth rates were attributed to the harshness of a nomadic lifestyle, infanticide, internecine war, etc., not sterility caused by intercourse with settlers infected with gonorrhoea. Consumption was blamed upon Aboriginal susceptibility to cold, not contact with settler carriers of tuberculosis. Lancelot Threlkeld, in rejecting Lieutenant William Breton’s opinion that “I entertain very little more respect for the Aborigines of New Holland, than for the ourang-outan; in fact I can discover no great difference,” exposed the brutal reality underlying the discourse of doomed savagery. “it was maintained by many in the colony that the Blacks had no language at all but were only a race of the monkey tribe! This was a convenient assumption, for if it could be proved that the Aborigines of New South Wales were only a species of wild beasts, there could be no guilt attributed to those who shot them off or poisoned them as cumberers of the earth.”

The metaphor of the Promised Land marched westward with the expanding frontier. In 1822, the Reverend Marsden who was returning from across the Blue Mountains exclaimed to Elizabeth Hawkins, who was on her way westward, “Oh,” he said, “I congratulate you. You are all going to the Land of Goshen.” It was not a casual comment by Marsden. Goshen was the first acquisition on the western edge of the Promised Land by the Israelites. Shortly after, Barron Field paused on Mount York, just above where Elizabeth Hawkins encountered Samuel Marsden and wrote “This Big Hill, as it is alone called, should have been named Mount Pisgah, for it affords the first view of the promised land of Australia, after the wilderness of the Blue Mountains.”

W. C. Wentworth in his 1823 poem, Australasia, borrowed from the Bible and Keats in describing the view, from a similar spot to where Marsden met Mrs. Hawkins, as the beauteous landscape grew, Op’ning like Canaan on rapt Israel’s view. Anne Marsden, Samuel Marden’s first daughter, married Thomas, the eldest son of Rowland Hassall. Anne, according to George Reeves who wrote a biography of Marsden’s daughters, was known as a “Mother in Israel.” James Hassall, Anne’s son,

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297 Page 196, Lieutenant William Henry Breton, *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Diemen's Land During the years 1830, 1831 1832, and 1833*. Richard Bentley, 1833. http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IDtCAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22William+Henry+Breton%22&source=bl&ots=4uyQRAWgJ&sig=AdtQYCK1zM-kcy3XRVq7YQnU8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Nt4yULiIMcuSiQfw4HwDg&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false
writing about a sermon preached in St John’s at Parramatta, by his grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Marsden recalled, “A High pulpit stood in the middle of the church. I remember my grandfather preaching from it about the patriarchs and saying that Abraham was a squatter on Government ground”.

There was drought in 1824-5, and violence on the western plains and in the Hunter; but significantly for this study, there appears to have been only two incidents in the Hawkesbury in 1824 and both involved warriors from the Hunter.

Valerie Ross has put together an account of an Aboriginal warrior known as both Bumblefoot, because of a foot deformity, and Devil Devil, who came from the Mangrove area. He murdered Jeremiah Buffey, on September 19, 1824, in the Newcastle area and then made his way to the Lower Hawkesbury. In early October he knocked a settler senseless, taking his food and clothes. Informed by local Aboriginal people, Richard Woodbury, special constable at Laughtondale, captured Bumblefoot and took him by rowboat to Windsor where he was charged with murder. In the Sydney Courts he was remanded because he could not speak English and a translator was not available. Eventually he was killed by other Aboriginal people at Bumble Hills, between Mangrove and Yarramalong.

In October 1825 Mr. Greig’s cousin and a convict servant were killed on Grieg’s Hunter River property. The killers then visited the Hawkesbury and returned via the Bulgar road, chasing some mounted settlers and stopped at a hut at Putty where they killed one man. He may have been Carr who was involved in the killings of Cockey, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie in 1816. Another man was wounded while the third escaped to Richmond. An armed party was sent out after them from Richmond and fell upon the camp of a “friendly tribe” which was scattered. We know about this incident by combining accounts from Peter Cunningham, George Bowman and Samuel Boughton.

The 1905 obituary of Keturah Butterworth, grand-daughter of the William Stubbs who drowned in 1805, carried a recollection of Keturah and the women of her family barricading themselves in their house on the Lower Hawkesbury while Aboriginal people plundered the yard. While she may have been a witness to such an occurrence, given that she was born in 1824, it is possible that the events she described happened before she was born. Some supporting evidence can be found in Valerie Ross’s reference to Thomas Dillon, a settler on the lower Hawkesbury below Wiseman’s who fled in 1825 “in a most distressed state from blacks and bushrangers to the district of Appin and the protection of the Broughton family.” However, I have been unable to locate Ross’s source. By 1834 the Hawkesbury was tranquil. Mrs. Sarah Mathew recorded frequent trips along the Hawkesbury as she accompanied her surveyor husband, Felton Mathew. Her only contact with Aboriginal people

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305 (Pages 197-198, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., *Two Years in New South Wales*, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966).


on the Hawkesbury appears to have been witnessing a wallaby hunt on the MacDonald River on the 17th of April 1834. She was, however, worried about bushrangers.\textsuperscript{308}

From the mid 1820’s reports of Hawkesbury Aboriginal people had shifted to the ways in which they helped settlers. However, it would be a mistake to see this as an act of surrender. Aboriginal people both accommodated the settlers, maintained the Law and carried out ritual obligations as shown by the trip to Newcastle and the gathering at the Windsor Courthouse in 1826.

In 1831, Maria Lock, the daughter of Yellomundee, wrote to Governor Darling, requesting that her dead brother’s land grant near the Blacktown be transferred to her. Whether Maria was advised to describe herself as “an Aboriginal Native of New South Wales”, or she took the Language of Settlement and appropriated it for herself and her descendants is now impossible to tell. What is certain is that it was a political statement about a collective and inclusive identity that resonates today.\textsuperscript{309}

During the 1820’s the children and grand-children of Hawkesbury families, both free and convict were heavily involved in the expansion of settlement and resultant conflicts. The Hunter Valley was settled in the early 1820’s, Aboriginal resistance was crushed and after the native grasses were destroyed the herds moved on to new frontiers. In 1826 Benjamin Singleton, with young Richard Otto Baldwin, son of an well-to-do, ex-convict Hawkesbury farmer opened the way onto the Liverpool Plains.\textsuperscript{310} In 1827, William Nowland, son of Michael Nowland another Hawkesbury ex-convict settler, opened up the Murrurundi route.\textsuperscript{311}

Around the same time the Coxs and Lawsons were moving northwards from Mudgee. By 1824 they had reached Dunnedoo and by 1826 the Coxs were near Coonabarabran. In 1832 Sir John Jamison, from Regentville, near Penrith, sent his men and herds northwards. The sons of other Hawkesbury settlers, Cyrus Doyle, the Baldwins, Thomas Eather, and Robert Fitzgerald, followed.\textsuperscript{312} George Hall, a prosperous Portland Head settler established, with his seven sons, a chain of stations from his Dart Brook property on the Hunter to the Gwyder River totalling more than half a million acres by 1840.\textsuperscript{313}

In the 1830’s Joseph Onus and his partner Robert Williams, Edward Cox and James Howe were early settlers on the Namoi and Gwydir Rivers. From 1836 settlement moved into the tributaries of the Gwydir. In 1836 George Bowman took up a run on Terry Hie Hie Creek, a Gwydir tributary;\textsuperscript{314} Archibald and Thomas Bell took up land on Noogera Creek another Gwydir tributary.\textsuperscript{315} In 1836 Thomas Simpson Hall, uncle of Joseph and John Henry was wounded in an attack on Bingera Station.\textsuperscript{316} Two of his men were killed in the attack. In 1837 settlement moved into Myall Creek, another tributary of the Gwydir River. Richard Wiseman

\textsuperscript{309} Page 95, James Kohen, \textit{The Darug and Their Neighbours}, Darug Link in association with Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1993. Original source:
\textsuperscript{310} Pages 51-73, Roger Milliss, \textit{Waterloo Creek}, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
\textsuperscript{311} Page 74, Roger Milliss, \textit{Waterloo Creek}, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
\textsuperscript{312} Page 75, Roger Milliss, \textit{Waterloo Creek}, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
\textsuperscript{313} Pages 52 and 74, Roger Milliss, \textit{Waterloo Creek}, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
\textsuperscript{316} There is some confusion over whether the attack was in 1836 or 1838. \textit{The Colonist}, 22nd September, 1836.
\url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31721747}
blazed a trail across this area. George Dight, son of a surgeon turned settler at Richmond, was one of the first settlers there. In March 1837, William Allen a ticket-of-leave man and overseer for Daniel Eaton, son of a successful Richmond emancipist, brought stock up to a station near the junction of the Gwydir and Slaughterhouse Creek. Joseph Fleming and his younger brother, John Henry, descendants of an early Hawkesbury family had a nearby upstream run. Fighting broke out in 1837. In early 1838 parties of military police, settlers and assigned convicts were involved in killings at Waterloo Creek, south of modern Moree; Vinegar Hill, Slaughterhouse Creek and Gravesend.  

The depth of involvement of Hawkesbury families in the massacre on Henry Dangar’s Myall Creek Run on the 10th of June 1838 is little recognised. Of the twelve known participants only their leader, John Henry Fleming, was a free man. He was the youngest grandson of Joseph Fleming a NSW Corps soldier and early Hawkesbury settler. The others were all assigned servants. Of the seven men hung, five were assigned servants to prominent Hawkesbury families. John Johnstone was assigned to George Bowman and from November 1836 worked for the Coxs. Edward Foley was assigned to Joseph Fleming of Wilberforce and was a stockman under John Henry Fleming. James Oates was one of Half's stockmen. James Parry was a hut-keeper for Daniel Eaton. John Russell was one of the Bell's stockman. There were other Hawkesbury connections. William Hobb, a free man and the superintendent on Henry Dangar’s Myall Creek station, informed the authorities of the massacre. William Hobbs was dismissed by Henry Dangar and eventually became a constable at Wollombi in 1846. Bill Allen who became a Richmond resident was ostracised by some because it was mistakenly thought he had turned Queen’s Evidence in the Myall Creek massacre.  

Sometime in July or early August 1838 John Henry Fleming became aware that he was a wanted man, abandoned his fellows and fled to the Hawkesbury. “Family legend tells of him galloping up to Dartribrook”, the Hunter Valley property of his relative George Hall. From there he went to Muswellbrook where Boshey Nowlen, son of a Hawkesbury settler, “gave Fleming a relay of horses”. John Henry Fleming then disappeared into the Hawkesbury. Despite a murder warrant and a £50 reward, he surfaced to marry Charlotte Dunstan in 1840. He became a justice of the peace, a magistrate and the warden of St John’s at Hawkesbury.

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322 Cooramill in his *Reminiscences* confused the killings that Bill Allen was involved with the Myall Creek massacre. Bill Allen with the station superintendent, Charles Eyles and a stockman, James Dunn, was involved in the killing of nine Murries on Crawford’s station on the Gwydir in November 1838.

John Henry’s grandfather had been a soldier of the NSW Corps with revolutionary war experience. Charlotte Dunstan’s maternal grandfather was Benjamin Cusley, an ex-marine with revolutionary war experience.


In the *Windsor And Richmond Gazette*, 7th August 1925 there is a reference to Alexander Bowman, MP, appointing Fleming as a justice of the peace. “When that took place the late Mr. Joseph Palmer Abbott raised a
Wilberforce. He is buried in the cemetery at St John’s, his name enigmatically facing the setting sun.

The 1849 debate in the Legislative Council regarding the Aboriginal Natives Evidence Bill became a platform for a number of speakers to use the Bill to condemn as judicial murder the execution of seven men “for the murder of the blacks at the Gwydir River”. The Attorney General, John Hubert Plunkett, who was responsible for the two Myall Creek Massacre trials threw light on the attempts of pastoralists to pervert the course of Justice and highlighted the bravery of two Hawkesbury men, Edward Hyland of Richmond and William Johnston of Pitt Town, who served on the jury in the second Myall Creek murder trial.328

George Reeve, descendant of the First Fleet surgeon John White, was a prolific writer of historical articles on the Hawkesbury for the Windsor and Richmond Gazette. The triumphal nature of his work and focus on genealogies shaped local understandings of Hawkesbury settlement. His accounts of the Myall Creek massacre in 1924 and 1925 were ambivalent at the best. He concluded one article with the following poorly constructed paragraph. “In my concluding article I shall write retrospective results, and of the blood of the pioneers and their work as pastoral settlementarians and builders of the State, as a family descended from the blood of heroes likewise. Apart from all black or native spoilation so manifestly apart as of the other names of squatters, whom history despises. Their names, are not even entitled to mention here.”329 While he may have positioned himself as a man of honour in taking such a stance it also let him off the hook when it came to naming names. A year later he had no such compunctions in defending Fleming. “One, like myself, knowing these things and happenings can find many excuses for what happened in the year 1838 at Dangar’s ‘Myall Creek’ station near what is now the beautiful town of Inverell.”330

Far to the south in April 1838, two of William Faithfull’s sons, William, born in 1806, and George, born in 1814, earned a degree of fame or notoriety through their involvement in the Broken River massacre near Benalla.331 Forced back they “abandoned their squattage on account of the depredations by the blacks who murdered six of their men”; William, the elder, retired to his father’s Springfield grant on the Goulburn Plains and George to Wangaratta and later became a member of the Legislative Council.332 The Reverend Joseph Docker, onetime curate of St. Mathews at Windsor, 1829-1833, resigned and moved south to settle in the Faithfull’s slab hut at Bontharambo. Unlike the Faithfulls, Docker got on well with the local Aboriginal people and prospered.

storm in Parliament House about it, and referred to the Myall Creek affair.’”
331 On the 8th of September 1853, in a letter to Governor La Trobe, George Faithfull concluded a description of the retributive expedition by writing “The fight I have described gave them a notion of what sort of stuff the white man was made, and my name was a terror to them ever after. ... I picked up a boy from under a log, took him home and tamed him, and he became very useful to me, and I think was the means of deterring his tribe from committing further wanton depredation upon my property; my neighbours, however, suffered much long after this.” http://www.voea.vic.edu.au/resources/curriculum/pioneerletter_georgefaithful.html
332 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30th August 1929.
Even further to the south, Oscar Luttrell, the fifth of Edward Luttrell’s sons was killed by Aboriginal people in 1838 near Melbourne.\footnote{333}{http://www.angelfire.com/realm/gotha/Part_h8.htm}

The last recorded killing in the Nepean/Hawkesbury was of a twelve year old girl, murdered in 1846 by “two gentlemen at Kerry Lodge”, near the Upper Castlereagh Uniting Church.\footnote{334}{pages 246-247, Mary Gilmore, More Recollections, A&R, 1935}

It is impossible to estimate the size of the Aboriginal population on the Hawkesbury in the period under study. Anecdotal evidence points to a rapidly declining population after 1816. The available historical documents, such as the 1828 census point to a declining population, not just on the Hawkesbury and Cumberland Plain but also across the Blue Mountains. In the same census there were 4454 settlers living in “Windsor Town and District”.\footnote{335}{Page 15, Ed. Malcolm Sainty and Keith Johnson, Census of New South Wales November 1828, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1985.}

Killings were an important factor in causing a decline in population. A compilation of casualties in the period 1794-1825, as reported in Governor’s despatches, trial transcripts, \textit{The Sydney Gazette}, David Collins, \textit{An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales}, land grant records, memorials and memorandums suggest that 35 settlers were killed, one drowned as a result of the sacking of his farm and 12 were wounded; 50 Aboriginal people were killed and several wounded. When private letters, memoirs and reminiscences are included, at least another 400 Aboriginal people can be added to the killed list for 1816 alone. Available figures suggest that approximately 470 Aboriginal people killed and several Aboriginal people wounded. Due to the paucity of military records the Aboriginal figures are likely to be significantly understated, particularly in the number of woundings.

Disease was another important cause of declining numbers. Small pox came to the Hawkesbury in 1789 before settlement commenced. Tuberculosis, influenza and gonorrhoea came with settlement. There were outbreaks of influenza in 1820, 1828 and 1838. Regimental surgeons, Inlay and Mair, of the 39th Foot, saw small pox among Aboriginal people in Bathurst in 1831 and later in the same year on the east coast.\footnote{336}{Page14, Judy Campbell, Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880, Melbourne University Press, 2002.} It did not appear to be in the Hawkesbury in 1831, however, chicken pox was.\footnote{337}{Page 54, ibid.} Gonorrhoea, unlike syphilis is not lethal, was more common, probably because it has a longer infectious period than syphilis. Left untreated it results in sterility among females, reflected in comments about falling Aboriginal birth rates.\footnote{338}{Page 17, Judy Campbell, Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880, Melbourne University Press, 2002.}

An idea of the declining Aboriginal numbers at Windsor can be gleaned from the diary of Mary Docker. Mary was the daughter of the Reverend Joseph Docker who left Richmond to settle in Victoria recorded in 1838; “It was the first time we had seen the black natives with the exception of a few about Windsor”.\footnote{339}{Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30th August 1929, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85925955}

By the 1840s Aboriginal people could be found:

- On the Lock property near the old Blacktown;
- at South Creek, probably near the junction with East Creek;
Sackville Reach;
on one or two camps on the Ham Common;
at Putty; and
on Blacktown Road, Freemans Reach.

James Bonwick in *Last of the Tasmanians*, London 1870 provided an analysis of the failure of European attempts to civilise First Peoples across the globe. He noted that the failure of “all the public efforts to convert the Aborigines in these colonies is enough to dishearten further enterprise. Missions had been organized in New South Wales from 1826, and all had failed. The Lake Macquarie Mission under Mr. Threlkeld lasted till 1841, and then expired. The Church of England Mission at Wellington lived from 1832 to 1843, costing several thousands of pounds, and failed.”

His conclusion: “We attempt too much at first If we meet with a hunting tribe, we seek to make them farmers and clerks at once. In the processes of nature, it took, perhaps, thousands of years to effect this transformation with our own ancestors, when we would fain accomplish it in a year with others.” was original.

The fact that the First Peoples of Australia have not disappeared bears witness not just to the fallacy of this discourse of settlement but also of the resistance of the First Peoples of Australia to the wishful thinking of settler society.

**Summary**

*Pondering the Abyss* is a study of the Language of Settlement that has shaped our understandings of the interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers in the freshwater Hawkesbury and its tributaries from 1788 to the present.

A close study of the written sources shows a self-reflective relationship between the process of settlement and the Language of Settlement. The records of settlement were mainly written by men, a few women, a few convicts and one memorial written by an Aboriginal woman. The records consist of: Governor’s despatches and orders from England; the minutiae of government orders, memorandums, memorials, payments, court transcripts, land grants; surveyor notebooks; private letters; journals; newspaper reports, obituaries, genealogies; as well as books written by expatriates, travellers, closet speculators, the children and grandchildren of the original settlers. The language of the settlement of the Hawkesbury reveals a sequence of four overlapping parts: records; romantic metaphors; apologia; and wilful blindness. Silence, omission, obscuration, denial, distortion, rationalisation and blame-shifting were the defining features of the language of the settlement of the Hawkesbury. Fortunately there were those whose actions or observations, whether in moral outrage or in simply passing comment, threw a light into the Abyss.

The first settlers of New South Wales brought with them at least two millennia of beliefs and expectations derived from:

– the animist traditions of Nature;
– Classical concepts of the Great Chain of Being, savagery, barbarism and civilisation;

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341 Pages 344-345, James Bonwick, *Last of the Tasmanians*, London 1870

342 See note 18.
– the Biblical traditions of Creation, Original Sin, Expulsion, God's Curse on Adam to till the land, a universal flood, the peopling of Europe, Asia and Africa by Noah's three sons;
– the concepts of heritage and primogeniture imposed by William the Conqueror; and
– centuries of experience in the control and exploitation of subject peoples through “fraud and oppression”.

These beliefs, in a variety of fixed and evolving forms that were not necessarily compatible, manifested themselves through beliefs and assumptions that:
– civilisation had developed through stages of herding, farming, commerce and industry;
– settlers were in control of their environment and First Peoples at the mercy of external factors
– Aboriginal people and their flora and fauna were at equally primitive levels of development;
– the lowly level of First Peoples on the Great Chain of Being was caused through polygenesis or by degeneracy caused in turn by climatic, geological or unknown factors;
– First Peoples could not be civilised because of the immutability of races;
– it was only through divine intervention or the intervention of a superior race that First Peoples could begin the process of civilisation;
– England was a “polished nation”, at the peak of civilisation;
– settlers had a providential right to settle and civilise the land and its people; and
– God's hand guided the development of the British Empire.

Analysing the complex interactions of Aboriginal people and settlers suggests that:
– Aboriginal people thought the settlers were their dead returning, albeit in a somewhat washed out form,
– Aboriginal people in maintaining the Law attempted to accommodate the settlers and punished them in a hierarchical manner when they broke it;
– there was a nexus between drought, the expansion of settlement and conflict;
– the steadfast resistance of Aboriginal people to be either forced or seduced into civilisation was particularly frustrating for settlers and only reinforced the polarity of settler perceptions of difference. Maria Lock’s appropriation and redefinition of Macquarie’s pejorative “Ab-origine” was a powerful affirmation of Aboriginal survival.
– settlers responded to the Aboriginal presence in a variety of ways. Some white men encouraged the presence of Aboriginal people on farms as a source of protection, labour and sexual satisfaction. Some settlers deliberately embraced an Aboriginal lifestyle. An unknown number of runaway convicts found shelter on isolated farms or with Aboriginal people and raised families with them. Some settlers killed Aboriginal people for a variety of reasons.
– most killings of Aboriginal people by settlers on the Hawkesbury were in an organised manner. The killing of Aboriginal youths in 1794 and 1799 were by groups of settlers. The killings from 1795 onwards were mainly by parties of soldiers with some assistance from young settlers and native guides. The Rev. Fyshe Palmer’s accounts of a young Aborigine being forced to act as a guide was probably not an isolated incident. The stand-alone military expeditions while celebrated were not particularly effective. William Cox probably led the most organised and sustained punitive expeditions, involving soldiers, young settlers and Aboriginal guides in mid to late 1816.

It is an almost universal truth that the perpetrators, the victims, the bystanders and the beneficiaries all want to bury and forget the horror of the abyss. Our historical records of early settlement were nearly all written by men, nearly all of whom were free; and nearly all of whom were self-made, enjoying opportunities that were denied them in Britain. Self-interest dictated that the horrors of extermination were concealed as the settlers attempted to balance instructions to protect Aboriginal people with the realities of settlement.

In the Hawkesbury the weight of Governor Macquarie’s legacy is heavy. Macquarie was the architect of the nation; the champion of the emancipist. He has a visible legacy in his buildings, some of which are the seat of power; Macquarie five towns are his highly visible legacy in the Hawkesbury and the foundation of Hawkesbury Heritage. Macquarie’s enterprise, the native Institution, is often hailed as an example of humanitarian intervention. It should be seen for what it was; a deficit model which assumed that settlers had the paternal right and duty to chastise and correct Aboriginal people as though they were wayward children. Macquarie’s declaration of martial law in the second half of 1816 appears to be surrounded by a conspiracy of silence; there was no celebration of military success; there was no report in the Gazette; there was no voice of protest. As the main Anglican minister in the colony Marsden could have protested at the Governor using the pulpit to proclaim martial law. However, in 1816 Marsden was more concerned at the Governor using the pulpit to attack him for not selling his wheat to the government. Whether Thomas Bigge was aware of what had happened is unclear. Certainly the Bigge’s Report contains a numbing silence on the matter. Perhaps the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the Aborigines, with a membership of enthusiastic evangelicals and officials combined with the convenient execution of John Kirby in 1820 for murdering Burragong at Newcastle convinced Thomas Bigge of the Governor’s probity.

A compilation of casualties in the period 1794-1825, as reported in Governor’s despatches, trial transcripts, The Sydney Gazette, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, land grant records, memorials and memorandums suggest that 35 settlers were killed, one drowned as a result of the sacking of his farm and 12 were wounded; 50 Aboriginal people were killed and several wounded. When private letters, memoirs and reminiscences are included, at least another 400 Aboriginal people can be added to the killed list for 1816 alone. Available figures suggest that approximately 470 Aboriginal people killed and several Aboriginal people wounded. Due to the paucity of military records the Aboriginal figures are likely to be significantly understated, particularly in the number of woundings. The paucity of figures for 1795 and 1805 suggest that we will never have an accurate understanding of how many Aboriginal people were killed.

The recording of the impacts of disease on Aboriginal populations was also problematic. Small pox came to the Hawkesbury in 1789 before settlement commenced. Tuberculosis, influenza and gonorrhoea came with settlement. There were outbreaks of influenza in 1820, 1828 and 1838. There was chicken pox on the Hawkesbury in 1831. Gonorrhoea, unlike syphilis is not lethal and was more common. Left untreated it results in sterility among females, reflected in comments about falling Aboriginal birth rates. Because settler understandings of the causes, nature and methods of disease transmission were so limited; settlers were able to enthusiastically cobble together romantic metaphors of doomed savagery that enabled settlers to deny any responsibility for rapidly declining Aboriginal numbers on the Cumberland Plain and shift the responsibility on to Aboriginal people themselves. The removal of “Nature” as God’s handmaiden by Darwin in 1859 was not a hindrance to the
romantic metaphor. Darwin simply replaced “Nature” in this discourse with “Civilization” and as early as 1836 expressed the opinion that the white man seemed predestined to inherit the land of the “thoughtless Aboriginal”. The vilification of convicts by the anti-transportation movement allowed the blame for killings to be shifted wholesale onto the convicts.

The crossing of the Blue Mountains provided a platform for more metaphors invoking the Promised Land. It was not a good time to be mistaken for a Canaanite. Hawkesbury families replicated the Hawkesbury frontier to the North, South and West in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. Primogeniture and the rights of older brothers, as shown by the Faithfulls and Flemings, were an important aspect in this process.

The period 1880-1931 was one of milestones. It saw the centenary of settlement in 1888, Federation in 1901, the centenary of the Macquarie Towns in 1910 and the death of Martha Everingham and the failure of attempts to memorialise her death. With the early settlers dead and buried, Heritage became a tangible symbol of the legitimacy of settlement. Old men began to tell, in local newspapers, stories which were once common knowledge but were never written down; with all the complications of oral history, as evidenced by Bill Allen, who was wrongly supposed to have had an involvement in the Myall Creek massacre. Low levels of literacy; a public education system in the Nineteenth Century that did not teach Australian history; the stigma of a convict and/or Aboriginal ancestry; the difficulties of accessing public records, many of which were in England; combined to cloud the narrative. Apologists employed the old devices of silence, omission, obfuscation, denial and blame shifting in reworking the early records and memorialising genealogies to absolve and honour the pioneers: “they were men whom we, their descendants, should delight to honour, and we owe them a debt of gratitude for all they have done for us”. In this paradigm the destruction of the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people was rationalised as a small and worthwhile price for the replication of a piece of England and the creation of an Australian Race. The period was also a death watch. It was anticipated as a good thing that in “a year or two hence, rum and "civilization" will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain”. The death of Martha Everingham in 1926 was in the eyes of most settlers, the end of the Aboriginal presence in the Hawkesbury. The presence of the descendants of settlers and Aboriginal people was only rarely addressed, and then they were referred to as Half-cast, with the connotations of racial impurity and degeneracy. The period also saw a short-lived and erroneous perception that an “Australian race”, the “corn-stalks” had emerged in the Hawkesbury.

Just as “Civilisation” replaced “Nature” has largely disappeared from the lexicon, consuming itself in a monstrous act of self immolation in two world wars; “Heritage”, in a rapidly changing world, enables us to maintain a sense of place and belonging. It is, in the Hawkesbury, an ever present current in the areas identity. Heritage is not the patina of settlement. Heritage, the lifeblood of settlement, is the ultimate metaphor of settlement. It is also the weight of ownership of the past. Through memorialisation, genealogies, centenaries and bicentenaries; Heritage, consciously or unconsciously, ensnares bystanders as beneficiaries, in a conspiracy to bury the horror and close the Abyss.

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345 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 31st May 1890.
Ultimately the Abyss is the human condition. If any man stared long into the horror and darkness of that Abyss it was John Henry Fleming.

On the southern side of the nave of St John’s, Wilberforce, there is a stained-glass memorial window installed in 1877 by John Henry Fleming who was the warden of St. John’s Wilberforce for 24 years. Rather than the ordinary themes of St. John as a young man with writing instruments, with an eagle, or at the Crucifixion, John Henry’s window has a less common and non-Biblical theme of St John and the Poisoned Chalice.

The story comes from fragments of Greek and Latin texts rewritten by later authors. Aristodemus, the high priest of Diana’s temple of Artemis challenged St. John to drink from a poisoned cup. To prove the efficacy of the poison, two criminals were killed by drinking from the cup. St. John blessed the cup and, according to various stories, a snake or a dragon, emerged from the cup. St. John drank from the cup, restored the two criminals back to life and Aristodemus was converted to Christianity.

At its simplest level the poisoned chalice story celebrates the triumph of Christianity over paganism. However, as discussed later, the elements of this window when combined suggest that it is a coded, but defiant apologia for the Myall Creek Massacre.

Of all the mysteries of the language of settlement on the Hawkesbury perhaps the greatest is the inscriptions on the grave of John Henry and Charlotte Fleming. Charlotte’s name, in accordance with Christian tradition, faces the rising sun and resurrection. John Henry’s looks into the setting sun.

It is a sad fact that in this period under study, only a few people on the Hawkesbury stand out for their moral courage and advocacy of Aboriginal people: Watkin Tench who recognised a common humanity with Deedora; Mary Archer who reported the murders of Little Jemmy and Little George in 1799; Edward Hyland, a Richmond landholder and William Johnston, a Pitt Town blacksmith, both of whom served on the jury in the second Myall Creek murder trial. It is even sadder that they are all largely forgotten.

L’envoi

9. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part.
10. But when that which is perfect is come,
then that which is in part shall be done away with.
11. When I was a child, I spake as a child,
I understood as a child, I thought as a child:
but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

346 Page 75, D. G. Bowd, Macquarie Country, Library of Australian History, 1979. Dr. Beverley Sherry, University of Sydney, has been extremely helpful in identifying the window as almost certainly coming from the London stained glass window manufacturers, Clayton and Bell. Dr. Sherry has located a similar window in All Saints church, Shrub End, Colchester. Edmund Blackett was probably the source of the window as he was importing windows from John Hardman & Co. Britain, for St. Andrews Anglican Cathedral and St Marys Catholic Cathedral at this time. http://www.dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/stained_glass
348 In one of the windows in the nave is a stainedglass memorial to the late Mr Fleming, a church warden of 24 years. Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 20th February, 1904, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85894631
12. For now we see through a glass, darkly;  
but then face to face: now I know in part;  
but then shall I know even as also I am known.’  
I Corinthians, 13, 9-12.

And the final word, of course, belongs with Maria Lock, “an Aboriginal native, of New South Wales”.

FINIS
Pondering the Abyss: The language of settlement

Monogenesis

The foundations of the Language of Settlement lie in Genesis and the Great Chain of Being. They established the idea that we began as farmers and shepherds and that we existed as part of a hierarchical order.

Monogenesis, the belief that we all have one common ancestor, has been the mainstream of western thinking since Christianity entered Europe. Written in the sixth or fifth centuries B.C., Genesis was to be the primary source of Christian thinking on the origins and history of humanity for two millennia. Genesis provided an account of monogenesis, i.e., one creation, the fall, the expulsion from Eden and God's curse on Adam to till the land. Significantly there were no hunters and gatherers in the Biblical account of the first people – they simply did not exist. Cain was a farmer, Abel was a shepherd. The earth was populated by the three sons of Noah - Japheth, Seth and Ham. The legend that Japheth's children peopled Europe, Seth's Asia, and Ham's Africa, has no Biblical authority. It was a concoction drawn from Genesis 9:25-27 where Noah cursed the sons of Ham to servitude to the sons of Shem and Japheth because Ham gossiped about Noah when he was drunk. Noah's curse on Ham's descendants was conveniently used to justify the inferior position of Africans in the Great Chain of Being and their enslavement by Christian Europeans.

Classical Greek philosophical thinking about our origins was also incorporated into western thinking. Hippocrates, who lived around 460-370 B.C., was a pioneer in arguing that environmental factors were responsible for illness rather than the malice of the Gods. This basic concept grew into an environmental theory of causation with many applications. His idea of the four humours, i.e., liquids in the human body that were kept in balance when the person was healthy was used for centuries to explain national and individual characteristics. The four humours were black bile, yellow bile, phlegm and blood. By linking the four humours with the seasons and the four elements of earth, fire, water and air, judgements could be made about the character of individuals. Blood, spring and air were linked to produce a sanguine person. Phlegm, winter and water were linked to make a person sluggish. Yellow bile, summer and fire produced a choleric person, prone to anger. Black bile, autumn and earth were linked with melancholy and sadness. The following extract, attributed to Hippocrates, well illustrates how easily this type of thinking was used to justify not only differences between people but also hierarchies of humanity. His thinking provided the foundation for the argument that unfavourable climates could produce racial degradation. It also introduced stereotyping, attributing individual characteristics to the whole group.

‘Human physiognomies may be classified into the well-wooded and well-watered mountain type, the thin-soiled waterless type, the meadowy marshy type, the well-cleared and well-drained lowland type.... Inhabitants of mountainous, rocky, well-watered country at a high altitude, where the margin of seasonal climatic variation is wide, will tend to have large-built bodies constitutionally adapted for courage and endurance.... Inhabitants of sultry hollows covered with water-meadows, who are more commonly exposed to warm winds than to cold, and who drink tepid water, will, in contrast, not be large built or slim, but thickest, fleshy and dark-haired, with swarthy rather than fair complexions, and with less phlegm than bile in
their constitutions. Courage and endurance will not be innate in their characters to the same degree, but will be capable of being produced in them by the co-efficient of institutions....

Inhabitants of rolling, wind-swept, well-watered country at a high altitude will be large-built and un-individualized, with a vein of cowardice and tameness in their characters.... In the majority of cases, you will find that the human body and character vary in accordance with the nature of the country.1

Plato, 428/-348/7 B.C., was one of the ancient Greek philosophers who laid the foundations of western culture. His theory of Forms has had an enduring appeal in European thinking, partly due to its compatibility with Christian theology. Plato foreshadowed Christian ideas of Monogenesis as described in Genesis. He held that the sensory world in which we live is only a shadow of a higher realm. In the higher realm there are Forms that embody the true nature of the pale shadows that surround us (see his Allegory of the Cave).

The Forms are a perfect constant across time and space and are a potential or blueprint for things to exist. There is a unity of all Forms, which is common to all Forms and which Christian scholars interpreted as God. Variations of things in this world are deviations, imperfections of the perfect type. Plato’s typological thinking on Forms has provided us with frameworks for classification. Concepts such as species, genus and essence can be traced to Plato.

The Great Chain of Being2 was first recorded by Aristotle, 384-322 B.C.E. It was an explanation of Nature’s gradation of life from the inanimate at the bottom, to Man at the top - a gift that he shares with God because of his ability to reason. The following passage from The Politics explores the rule of one by another. In the passage he talks about the relationship of the body to the soul, about animals and people and the inferior nature of slaves and women. Those with vested interests in patriarchal hierarchies kept these ideas afloat down the centuries.

‘For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule. And there are many kinds both of rulers and subjects (and that rule is the better which is exercised over better subjects -- for example, to rule over men is better than to rule over wild beasts; for the work is better which is executed by better workmen, and where one man rules and another is ruled, they may be said to have a work); for in all things which form a composite whole and which are made up of parts, whether continuous or discrete, a distinction between the ruling and the subject element comes to fight. Such a duality exists in living creatures, but not in them only; it originates in the constitution of the universe; even in things which have no life there is a ruling principle, as in a musical mode. But we are wandering from the subject. We will therefore restrict ourselves to the living creature, which, in the first place, consists of soul and body: and of these two, the one is by nature the ruler, and the other the subject. But then we must look for the intentions of nature in things which retain their nature, and not in things which are corrupted. And therefore we must study the man who is in the most perfect state both of body and soul, for in him we shall see the true relation of the two; although in bad or corrupted natures the body will often appear to rule over the soul, because they are in  

http://www.geocities.com/portugalidade/toynbeegen.htm
2 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_chain_of_being
an evil and unnatural condition. At all events we may firstly observe in living creatures both a despotical and a constitutional rule: for the soul rules the body with a despotical rule, whereas the intellect rules the appetites with a constitutional and royal rule. And it is clear that the rule of the soul over the body, and of the mind and the rational element over the passionate, is natural and expedient; whereas the equality of the two or the rule of the inferior is always hurtful. The same holds good of animals in relation to men; for tame animals have a better nature than wild, and all tame animals are better off when they are ruled by man; for then they are preserved.

Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind. Where then there is such a difference as that between soul and body, or between men and animals (as in the case of those whose business is to use their body, and who can do nothing better), the lower sort are by nature slaves, and it is better for them as for all inferiors that they should be under the rule of a master. For he who can be, and therefore is, another's and he who participates in rational principle enough to apprehend, but not to have, such a principle, is a slave by nature. Whereas the lower animals cannot even apprehend a principle; they obey their instincts. And indeed the use made of slaves and of tame animals is not very different; for both with their bodies minister to the needs of life. Nature would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making the one strong for servile labour, the other upright, and although useless for such services, useful for political life in the arts both of war and peace. But the opposite often happens -- that some have the souls and others have the bodies of freemen. And doubtless if men differed from one another in the mere forms of their bodies as much as the statues of the Gods do from men, all would acknowledge that the inferior class should be slaves of the superior. And if this is true of the body, how much more just that a similar distinction should exist in the soul? but the beauty of the body is seen, whereas the beauty of the soul is not seen. It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right.

But that those who take the opposite view have in a certain way right on their side, may be easily seen. For the words slavery and slave are used in two senses. There is a slave or slavery by law as well as by nature. The law of which I speak is a sort of convention - the law by which whatever is taken in war is supposed to belong to the victors. But this right many jurists impeach, as they would an orator who brought forward an unconstitutional measure: they detest the notion that, because one man has the power of doing violence and is superior in brute strength, another shall be his slave and subject.³

Paul, c.10-c.67, with the phrase, of one blood all nations of men, eloquently linked monogenesis with the universal nature of Christian truth when he spoke to the Epicureans and Stoics on the Areopagus; where five centuries earlier, Socrates had defended himself on a charge of heresy:

'24. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of Heaven and Earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;  
25. Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;

26. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;
27. That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us. 

Around 405 Jerome completed the Vulgate translation of the Bible into Latin, which effectively ended the writing of the Bible. Saint Augustine, 354–430, completed the process of locking down the Bible by imprinting the concept of Christ's redemption of our Original Sin on Christian consciousness; thereby ensuring that Genesis, with its story of Creation, Monogenesis, the Fall and God's curse on Adam to till the land became fixed in both Christian theology and western thought on our origins. In The City of God and Christian Doctrine Augustine defined the human races as being descended from Adam; he explained human deformities as being part of God's wisdom and not part of a monster race. Regarding Pliny's accounts of monster races Augustine concluded that *either these things which have been told of some races have no existence at all; or if they do exist, they are not human races; or if they are human, they are descended from Adam.* This was a strong defence of monogenesis, in terms of Augustine's Mediterranean world; however, it left room to argue that some *races* beyond Europe, Asia and Africa were not human because they were not descended from Adam.

'It is also asked whether we are to believe that certain monstrous races of men, spoken of in secular history,' have sprung from Noah's sons, or rather, I should say, from that one man from whom they themselves were descended. For it is reported that some have one eye in the middle of the forehead; some, feet turned backwards from the heel; some, a double sex, the right breast like a man, the left like a woman, and that they alternately beget and bring forth: others are said to have no mouth, and to breathe only through the nostrils; others are but a cubit high, and are therefore called by the Greeks ‘Pigmites’: they say that in some places the women conceive in their fifth year, and do not live beyond their eighth. So, too, they tell of a race who have two feet but only one leg, and are of marvellous swiftness, though they do not bend the knee: they are called Siphropodes, because in the hot weather they lie down on their backs and shade themselves with their feet. Others are said to have no head, and their eyes in their shoulders; and other human or quasi-human races are depicted in mosaic in the harbour esplanade of Carthage, on the faith of histories of rarities. What shall I say of the Cynocephali, whose dog-like head and barking proclaim them beasts rather than men? But we are not bound to believe all we hear of these monstrosities. But whoever is anywhere born a man, that is, a rational, mortal animal, no matter what unusual appearance he presents in colour, movement, sound, nor how peculiar he is in some power, part, or quality of his nature, no Christian can doubt that he springs from that one protoplast. We can distinguish the common human nature from that which is peculiar, and therefore wonderful.

The same account which is given of monstrous births in individual cases can be given of monstrous races. For God, the Creator of all, knows where and when each thing ought to be, or to have been created, because He sees the similarities and diversities which can contribute to the beauty of the whole. But He who cannot see the whole is offended by the deformity of the part, because he is blind to that which balances it, and to which it belongs. We know that men are born with more than four fingers on their hands or toes on their feet: this is a smaller matter; but far from us be the folly of supposing that the Creator mistook the number

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5 The “secular accounts” he refers to are almost certainly drawn from Pliny the Elder.
of a mans fingers, though we cannot account for the difference. And so in cases where the divergence from the rule is greater. He whose works no man justly finds fault with, knows what He has done. At Hippo-Diarrhytus there is a man whose hands are crescent-shaped, and have only two fingers each, and his feet similarly formed. If there were a race like him, it would be added to the history of the curious and wonderful. Shall we therefore deny that this man is descended from that one man who was first created? As for the Androgyni, or Hermaphrodites, as they are called, though they are rare, yet from time to time there appears persons of sex so doubtful, that it remains uncertain from which sex they take their name; though it is customary to give them a masculine name, as the more worthy. For no one ever called them Hermaphroditesses. Some years ago, quite within my own memory, a man was born in the East, double in his upper, but single in his lower half-having two heads, two chests, four hands, but one body and two feet like an ordinary man; and he lived so long that many had an opportunity of seeing him. But who could enumerate all the human births that have differed widely from their ascertained parents? As, therefore, no one will deny that these are all descended from that one man, so all the races which are reported to have diverged in bodily appearance from the usual course which nature generally or almost universally preserves, if they are embraced in that definition of man as rational and mortal animals, unquestionably trace their pedigree to that one first father of all. We are supposing these stories about various races who differ from one another and from us to be true; but possibly they are not: for if we were not aware that apes, and monkeys, and sphinxes are not men, but beasts, those historians would possibly describe them as races of men, and flaunt with impunity their false and vainglorious discoveries. But supposing they are men of whom these marvels are recorded, what if God has seen fit to create some races in this way, that we might not suppose that the monstrous births which appear among ourselves are the failures of that wisdom whereby He fashions the human nature, as we speak of the failure of a less perfect workman? Accordingly, it ought not to seem absurd to us, that as in individual races there are monstrous births, so in the whole race there are monstrous races. Wherefore, to conclude this question cautiously and guardedly, either these things which have been told of some races have no existence at all; or if they do exist, they are not human races; or if they are human, they are descended from Adam.  

The conversion of Ireland to Christianity beginning around 400 AD provides powerful insights into the language of settlement. St. Patrick was active in the 5th Century, particularly in Ulster and North Connacht. In 563 AD St Columba established a monastery on the island of Iona. Irish monastic schools became centres of learning, recording the pagan past and blending it with Christian teaching.

The peopling of Ireland provides one of the more interesting adaptations of Biblical and Irish tradition. Cessair, Noah's granddaughter, had been excluded from the ark by God's command and so built her own craft and took fifty women and three men with her.

Cessair came thereafter from the Island of Meroe, fleeing from the Flood: for she thought it probable that a place where men had never come till then, where no evil nor sin had been committed, and which was free from the reptiles and monsters of the world, that such a place should be exempt from a Flood. And her wizards, indeed, told her that Ireland was in that

http://bestiary.ca/prisources/pstexts1757.htm or Christian Classics Ethereal Library
case, and that on that account she should come to Ireland. Wherefore Cessair arrived, in search of Ireland.²

An even more fascinating account of the way in which the Irish accommodated their pagan past with the coming of Christianity is found in a description of an encounter between Saint Columba and a youth who described the land in the past.

“It was yellow, it was flowery, it was green, it was hilly: it was rich in liquor, and strewn rushes, and silver, and chariots. I have grazed it when I was a stag; I have swum it when I was a salmon, when I was a seal; I have run upon it when I was a wolf; I have gone around it when I was a human.” For half a day Columba spoke to the youth “about the heavenly and earthly mysteries” before they parted and the youth disappeared.³

A stronger Christian emphasis can be found in a similar encounter involving Finnen of Maghe Bile who lived around the same time as Columba. In this exchange Tuan, son of Cairell told of the five times that Ireland had been peopled after the Flood. Tuan was the sole survivor of the first peopling and grew old in a waste land. He saw his father’s brother come into Ireland with his people and in his sleep he was turned into a stag. Eventually his uncle’s people all died. He then took the form of a great boar and was a mighty warrior. He grew old, fasted for three days and turned into a great hawk. Again he grew old and fasted for three days and woke as a mighty salmon. This time God intervened, he was caught, roasted and eaten by Cairell’s queen. He entered her womb and when he was born he became a seer. When Patrick came to Ireland he converted.⁴

By the time of the early modern world the Great Chain of Being was a convenient way of linking the secular hierarchies of feudal society with God’s Creation of the world and all things in it as ministered by the Church. An additional link was placed at the top of the Great Chain to accommodate God and all heavenly beings. Underneath were the classifications of animal, vegetable and mineral.

The emergence of protestant religions did not see any significant change in this thinking. The young John Calvin, 1509-1564, had an epiphany around 1530 that led to a break with Catholicism, and an increasing role in the Protestant reformation. His major work, Institutes of the Christian Religion, published in a number of editions between 1536 and 1559 drew strongly from Saint Augustine to maintain the legitimacy of his arguments and continuity with the apostles. Amongst Protestants Calvin reinforced the link between Christ's sacrifice and the literal truth of monogenesis, original sin, shame and God's curse on Adam to till the land. While Calvin personally thought that God's Plan was immutable; his Augustinian idea of predestination - that some had hope of salvation and some were damned - found favour among those who saw their material wealth as a manifestation of God's Plan. Calvin's ideas went with the settlers to the New World and beyond.

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² Ed. R. A. Macalister, Lebor Gabála Érenn The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part II, Educational Company of Ireland, 1939.
³ Pages 3-7, John Carey, A Single Ray of the Sun, Celtic Studies Inc, 1999
Polygenesis

Just as a river, when it encounters a disruption, will form an anabranch that will rejoin the mainstream further on, so thinking on monogenesis split in the sixteenth century. Until then, there had been few disruptions to the main current of thought. Fossils of mega fauna and dinosaurs had been minor eddies, relatively easily explained as being Antediluvian creatures that had not been chosen to go into the ark and were therefore proof of the Flood. Flint arrow heads were remnants of the fairy world. In England, the remnants of coastal forests drowned by rising sea levels were popularly known as Noah’s Woods, evidence of a universal flood.¹

Mainstream European thinking on God’s Creation entered into turbulent waters attempting to deal with the challenge posed by the discovery of hunters and gatherers in the New World, Oceania and Australasia. The First Peoples of Australia; who wore no clothes – and hence had no shame or awareness of original sin, no agriculture, no herds, no hereditary chiefs and no visible signs of religion; were a particular challenge to Christian thought on the expulsion of Adam and Eve, the universal nature of Flood and the rise of civilisation.

The conventional wisdom of Monogenesis was that the two creation stories in Genesis were related to the one creation and for the unity of mankind. Polygenesists argued that there had been more than one creation. Over the centuries three main polygenesist arguments developed, all of which were speculative and lacking in Biblical authority:

– firstly, that there had been a pre-Adamite creation;
– secondly, that there had been separate creations in different places; and
– thirdly, that Eve fell pregnant to the serpent. Invariably the progeny of this unholy union were dark in colour.²

Michel de Montaigne, 1533-1592, in his essay, On Cannibals, 1575, ranged across classical and Biblical knowledge to dismiss some fanciful accounts of the origins of the New World. He dismissed speculation that the landmass of Atlantis had been pushed to the west by the Flood or that Carthagians had colonised the New World. He recognised the New World as being something new and unknown.

‘Plato brings in Solon, telling a story that he had heard from the priests of Sais in Egypt, that of old, and before the Deluge, there was a great island called Atlantis, situate directly at the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, which contained more countries than both Africa and Asia put together; and that the kings of that country, who not only possessed that isle, but extended their dominion so far into the continent that they had a country of Africa as far as Egypt, and extending in Europe to Tuscany, attempted to encroach even upon Asia, and to subjugate all the nations that border upon the Mediterranean Sea, as far as the Black Sea; and to that effect overran all Spain, the Gauls, and Italy, so far as to penetrate into Greece, where the

¹ Page 66, Clement Reid, Submerged Forests, Cambridge University Press, 1913, reprinted 2011. Clement Reid’s reference to Noah’s Woods may have saved this wonderful folk idiom from extinction. A self taught geologist, Clement Reid’s study of drowned forests around the coast of Britain was a remarkable pioneering work. Reid probably should have put his money on folk wisdom as he mistakenly thought that the drowning of the forests was caused by subsidence rather than rising sea levels after the end of the last Ice Age. Charles Fenner, on page 59 in Bunyips and Billabongs: an Australian out of doors, Angus and Robertson, 1933, made a similar mistake. He correctly recognised that Sydney Harbour was a drowned valley, but mistakenly thought that “the coast here was subjected to forces that caused it to sink gradually below sea level”.
Athenians stopped them: but that sometime after, both the Athenians, and they and their island, were swallowed by the Flood.

It is very likely that this extreme irruption and inundation of water made wonderful changes and alterations in the habitations of the earth, as 'tis said that the sea then divided Sicily from Italy -

“Haec loca, vi quondam, et vasta convulsa ruina, Dissiluisse ferunt, quum pro tenus utraque tellus Una foret.”

- Cyprus from Syria, the isle of Negropont from the continent of Boeotia, and elsewhere united lands that were separate before, by filling up the channel between them with sand and mud:

“Sterilisque diu palus, aptaque remis, Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum.”

But there is no great appearance that this isle was this New World so lately discovered: for that almost touched upon Spain, and it were an incredible effect of an inundation, to have tumbled back so prodigious a mass, above twelve hundred leagues: besides that our modern navigators have already almost discovered it to be no island, but terra firma, and continent with the East Indies on the one side, and with the lands under the two poles on the other side; or, if it be separate from them, it is by so narrow a strait and channel, that it none the more deserves the name of an island for that. ³

He also made a most informed observation on the propensity of People to see their own as being the best of all possible worlds.

'I find that there is nothing barbarous and savage in this nation, by anything that I can gather, excepting, that every one gives the title of barbarism to everything that is not in use in his own country.

As, indeed, we have no other level of truth and reason, than the example and idea of the opinions and customs of the place wherein we live: there is always the perfect religion, there the perfect government, there the most exact and accomplished usage of all things.

They are savages at the same rate that we say fruit are wild, which nature produces of herself and by her own ordinary progress; whereas in truth, we ought rather to call those wild, whose natures we have changed by our artifice, and diverted from the common order. In those, the genuine, most useful and natural virtues and properties are vigorous and sprightly, which we have helped to degenerate in these, by accommodating them to the pleasure of our own corrupted palate. And yet for all this our taste confesses a flavour and delicacy, excellent even to emulation of the best of ours, in several fruits wherein those countries abound without art or culture.

³ Michel de Montaigne, Chapter IV, On Cannibals, Essays, 1575. 
http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/montaigne/montaigne-essays--2.html#IV
Neither is it reasonable that art should gain the pre-eminence of our great and powerful mother nature.⁴ We have so surcharged her with the additional ornaments and graces we have added to the beauty and riches of her own works by our inventions, that we have almost smothered her; yet in other places, where she shines in her own purity and proper lustre, she marvelously baffles and disgraces all our vain and frivolous attempts.⁵

In the Christian world the implications of polygenesis for Christ’s sacrifice led to an increasing affirmation of the literal truth of the Bible. At the same time as the Mughal Emperor Akbar, 1542-1605, was holding religious debates with Sikhs, Hindus, atheists and Christians, Giordano Bruno, 1548-1600, was burnt at the stake as a heretic. Bruno was widely read in the classics, familiar with Aquinas and Copernicus and developed a Christian pantheist form of hylozoism.⁶ He rejected the idea that the universe was hierarchical, arguing that God is the alpha and omega of all things, immanent, and present everywhere, which effectively denied the doctrines of transubstantiation and the Trinity. He proposed that space and time were infinite and that the universe was made by physical laws. Bruno argued that the planets revolve around the sun, for which a future Archbishop of Canterbury joked that Bruno believed “the opinion of Copernicus that the earth did go round, and the heavens did stand still; whereas in truth it was his own head which rather did run round, and his brains did not stand still”.⁷ His thought that God was capable of infinite creations, which meant polygenesis, which was anathema to the orthodox doctrine of Monogenesis. Bruno’s beliefs flew in the face of Catholic and protestant orthodoxy and he burnt at the stake as a result. Galileo, who went on trial shortly after, and warned by Bruno’s example, saved himself by abjuring. The deadliness of these contentious issues was illustrated by John Milton’s ambiguity in describing the movements of the heavenly bodies in Paradise Lost, published in 1667.

One of the earliest explorations of Polygenesis took place on a secular stage. Somewhere between 1603 and 1611 William Shakespeare, c.1564-1616, wrote The Tempest, a comedy about an exiled lord on a bare island. One of the important characters, Caliban (described in the Dramatis Personae as a savage and deformed slave), was on the island before Prospero. His father was a demon and his mother, who had brought him to the island, was a witch. Caliban’s name, drawn from the New World, was an amalgam of Carib and Cannibal. Shakespeare owned a copy of Montaigne’s essay, On Cannibals, though it does not seem to have shaped the play. An early speech of Caliban’s is chillingly prescient of the colonial experience.

'This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,  
When thou cam'st first,  
Thou strok'st me and made much of me, wouldst give me  
Water with berries in't, and teach me how  
To name the bigger light, and how the less,  
That burn by day and night; and then I lov'd thee,'

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⁴ Mother Nature is an ancient and almost universal personification of life giving and nurturing forces. In the medieval world she existed somewhere between the divine and the human worlds.  
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mother_Nature  
⁵ Michel de Montaigne, Chapter IV, On Cannibals, Essays, 1575.  
http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/montaigne/montaigne-essays--2.html#IV  
⁶ Hylozoism in the Ancient Greek world was a belief that life is inseparable from matter. Bruno adapted it to the express the concept of God’s presence in all things.  
⁷ http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/ciencia/ciencia_giordano03.htm
And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile.
Curs'd be I that did so! All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king; and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' th' island.  

Trinculo’s discovery of Caliban prompted thoughts of the wealth that could be generated in England by exhibiting the body of a dead indian and provides us with an insight into a less than pleasant form of Seventeenth Century English entertainment.

‘What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; kind of not-of-the-newest Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian.’

Hugo Grotius, 1583-1645, was one of the founders of international law. As a prodigiously talented young person he quickly attracted official attention and represented Dutch interests in several international disputes over the freedom of the seas. Between 1604 and 1609 he wrote two works on natural law and the freedom of the seas. Henry Reynolds discounted the theory of terra nullius in his pivotal The Law of the Land, drawing upon Grotius’ Rights of War and Peace, to explore the two meanings of Terra Nullius: “In things which are properly no one’s, two things are occupable; the lordship and the ownership, so far as it is distinguished from the lawship. Kings have power over all things (the lordship); individuals have property (ownership).” It was this distinction which was ignored by both Cook and the British government in seizing Australia. Further Reynolds drew upon Grotius’ Mare Liberum in rejecting Cook’s act of possession: “the act of discovery is sufficient to give a clear title of sovereignty only when it is accompanied by actual possession.”

The unity of Monogenesis was fragmenting into many diverse streams as scholars considered the possibilities of polygenesis causing differences between people in regard to skin colour and physiognomy. The rise of Protestantism and individual study of the Bible led a Dutch Calvinist, Isaac La Peyrere, 1596-1676, to float a number of ideas that were vigorously attacked for at least the next century. From his studies he claimed that there had been a pre-Adamite Creation, that the Bible did not tell a universal story and that the Flood had not been worldwide, but had only covered Palestine. To escape charges of heresy, La Peyrere converted to Catholicism and recanted his heresies before the Pope.

La Peyrere opened the floodgates of speculation about the origins and nature of Humankind. Georgius Hornius, 1620-70, a Protestant professor of History at Leiden University defended

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traditional Biblical orthodoxy. He argued in *Arca Noae sive historia imperium et regnorum*, 1666, that the Americas were unpopulated before the deluge and were settled after the flood by sailors, probably from Europe, but possibly from China.\textsuperscript{12} He was also keen to use Biblical authority to advance the superiority of the Gauls and Britons, (he had close links with British Presbyterians) arguing that they were the descendants of Japheth (*Genesis* 9:27, “God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem: and Canaan shall be his servant”) and that the Chinese were descendants of Cain.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} The theory of ship wrecked sailors populating waste lands had substantial currency well into the nineteenth century. There was a theory at one time that Australia was populated by slaves escaped from a shipwreck.

\textsuperscript{13} \url{http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/gatt/criticism/catalog.asp?CN=85}
Degradation

With the notable exception of Francois Bernier, few of the authors, philosophers, scientists, and economists who theorised on the human condition in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries left Europe. It was the age, to paraphrase Watkin Tench, of closet speculators, largely regurgitating earlier works, spinning fanciful concoctions of what may have been. Two English writers, of the second half of the seventeenth century, each put some words together that would catch the imagination and polarise thinking about First Peoples for the next several centuries. Significantly both works were largely secular in nature. Neither Hobbes nor Dryden did any favours to First Peoples by connecting savagery with Nature. Hobbes referred to “naturall lust”, Dryden to when “nature first made man”. It was not until 1859 that Darwin broke the link between God and his handmaiden, “Nature”, and replaced her with “Civilization”.

Thomas Hobbes, 1588-1679, published *Leviathan* in 1651, a pioneer work in the area of political philosophy. Written in the context of the English Civil War Hobbes argued that Man in his natural condition was either in a state of peace or a state of war. Thus, strong central governments were needed to avoid chaos or civil war. In Hobbes’ words, this time of chaos was when “men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man”.

In the time of war “there is no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain; and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious Building; no Instruments of moving, and removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short”.¹

Hobbes’s solution was a reinterpretation of the concept of “natural law”. He argued that reason guided men in establishing a compromise between what they sought and what they feared. His solution was an absolute monarchy. Apart from anything else Hobbes, by providing a secular rationale for absolutism, contributed to the breakdown of the influence of Mediaeval Christianity.

While writing hypothetically, Hobbes’s linkage of “the savage people in many places in America” with the “solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short” life of man in a time of war has been used since in the context of Polygenesis and Evolution to condemn First peoples and deprive them of land, language and life. Hobbes provided a foundation for Malthus, and a rationalisation for the demise of First Peoples before the onslaught of colonialism.

'It may peradventure be thought, there was never such a time, nor condition of warre as this; and I believe it was never generally so, over all the world: but there are many places, where they live so now. For the savage people in many places of America, except the government of small Families, the concord whereof dependeth on naturall lust, have no government at all; and live at this day in that brutish manner, as I said before. Howsoever, it may be perceived what manner of life there would be, where there were no common Power to feare; by the

¹ Thomas Hobbes, Chapter XIII Of The Natural Condition Of Mankind As Concerning Their Felicity And Misery, *Leviathan*, 1651, [http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext02/lvthn10.txt](http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext02/lvthn10.txt)
manner of life, which men that have formerly lived under a peacefull government, use to degenerate into, in a civill Warre.\textsuperscript{2}

John Dryden, 1631-1700, in his 1670 play, The Conquest of Granada coined a phrase, “the noble savage”, that ran counter to Hobbes description of the brutishness of native Americans, and which found a particular resonance in the Eighteenth Century as European explorers ventured into the Pacific and found native people, who were not Calibans, but were tall, attractive and as unencumbered by clothes as they were of civilization. The image of “the noble savage” drew upon the Latin source of the word savage, i.e., of the woods, in a non-emotive way. The reference to “the base laws of servitude” was a refutation of Hobbes concept of strong central government.

\textbf{‘Almanz:} No man has more contempt than I of breath,  
But whence hast thou the right to give me death?  
Obeyed as sovereign by thy subjects be,  
But know, that I alone am king of me.  
I am as free as nature first made man,  
Ere the base laws of servitude began,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.\textsuperscript{3}

Hobbes’s and Dryden’s images, however cockeyed they were about First Peoples, swept into the mainstream of the Monogenesis/Polygenesis controversy and gave a new impetus to ways of looking at the theoretical and practical development of society and government.

John Locke, 1632-1704, extended the social contract debate and also contributed to the weakening of the Great Chain of Being by focusing on the present and future rather than exploring past mysteries.

\textit{‘37. The manner of sorting particular beings the work of fallible men, though nature makes things alike.}

I do not deny but nature, in the constant production of particular beings, makes them not always new and various, but very much alike and of kin one to another: but I think it nevertheless true, that the boundaries of the species, whereby men sort them, are made by men; since the essences of the species, distinguished by different names, are, as has been proved, of man's making, and seldom adequate to the internal nature of the things they are taken from. So that we may truly say, such a manner of sorting of things is the workmanship of men.\textsuperscript{4}

John Locke countered Hobbes’s grimness with his concept of the “\textit{tabula rasa}”, or blank slate, an optimistic view of the universal benefits of education and enlightenment.

John Locke was Secretary to both the Board of Trade and Plantations and the Lords and Proprietors of the Carolinas. He responded to the challenge posed by the presence of First

\textsuperscript{2} Thomas Hobbes, Chapter XIII Of The Natural Condition Of Mankind As Concerning Their Felicity And Misery, \textit{Leviathan}, 1651, \url{http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext02/lvthn10.txt}
\textsuperscript{3} Dryden, John, \textit{The Conquest of Granada}, 1670, \url{http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15349/15349-8.txt}
\textsuperscript{4} John Locke, \textit{An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding}, Volume II., 1690, \url{http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10616/10616.txt}
People in colonised lands by drawing upon Biblical tradition and classical thought to argue that in not exploiting the natural environment Native Americans were not the proprietors of the soil and that the English were the actual owners. John Locke’s chapter on property provided the authorities with a rationalisation for colonising Aboriginal land.

‘CHAPTER. V., OF PROPERTY.
Sect. 34. God gave the world to men in common; but since he gave it them for their benefit, and the greatest conveniencies of life they were capable to draw from it, it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational, (and labour was to be his title to it;) not to the fancy or covetousness of the quarrelsome and contentious. He that had as good left for his improvement, as was already taken up, needed not complain, ought not to meddle with what was already improved by another's labour: if he did, it is plain he desired the benefit of another's pains, which he had no right to, and not the ground which God had given him in common with others to labour on, and whereof there was as good left, as that already possessed, and more than he knew what to do with, or his industry could reach to.’

Francois Bernier, 1625-1688, was an early pioneer in the field of anthropology who in, Nouvelle division de la terre par les différents espèces ou races qui l'habitant (New division of Earth by the different species or races which inhabit it), 1684, classified people according to physical characteristics rather than by geographic regions as had been past practice. While he was almost unique in his field because his writings were based on his personal global travels, he also was largely speculative in his theorising. He classified the world’s people into four races. The first race included Europeans, North Africans, Middle Eastern people, South Asian people and Native Americans. East Asian, Southeast Asian and Central Asian were the second race. The sub-Saharan made the third race and interestingly, the Lapps, who were a semi-nomadic First People, made up the last and smallest group. One can see from Bernier’s classification that ideas about individual and group behaviour were inextricably linked to physical characteristics.

William Dampier, 1652-1715, visited New Holland in 1688 and 1699. He provided the first English account of the First People of New Holland in A New Voyage Around the World, 1697 and A Voyage to New Holland, etc. in the Year 1699, 1703-09. The first encounter took place in January 1688 when Dampier landed looking for food and water. This first encounter was probably quite puzzling for both sides. First People attempts to drive the intruders off were frustrated by gunfire and drumbeats. English attempts to get the First People to assist them were met with smiles and apathy. Dampier’s comparisons with other First People in terms of skin colour, hair etc, suggests that he was aware of some contemporary thinking on the classification of humans. His description, “setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes” echoes Hobbes’s work. His overall impressions were quite negative. The second encounter took place in August 1699. This time a fight took place and a man was shot.

‘The 4th day of January 1688 we fell in with the land of New Holland in the latitude of 16 degrees 50 minutes, having, as I said before, made our course due south from the shoal that we passed by the 31st day of December. We ran in close by it and, finding no convenient

6 The term Lapps is now not used as it is considered to be a derogatory term. These First People are now known as Sami.
anchoring because it lies open to the north-west, we ran along shore to the eastward, steering north-east by east for so the land lies. We steered thus about 12 leagues; and then came to a point of land from whence the land trends east and southerly for 10 or 12 leagues; but how afterwards I know not. About 3 leagues to the eastward of this point there is a pretty deep bay with abundance of islands in it, and a very good place to anchor in or to haul ashore. About a league to the eastward of that point we anchored January the 5th 1688, two mile from the shore in 29 fathom, good hard sand and clean ground.

New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea, only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay.

The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water except you make wells; yet producing divers sorts of trees; but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big. Most of the trees that we saw are dragon-trees as we supposed; and these too are the largest trees of any there. They are about the bigness of our large apple-trees, and about the same height; and the rind is blackish and somewhat rough. The leaves are of a dark colour; the gum distils out of the knots or cracks that are in the bodies of the trees. We compared it with some gum-dragon or dragon's blood that was aboard, and it was of the same colour and taste. The other sort of trees were not known by any of us. There was pretty long grass growing under the trees; but it was very thin. We saw no trees that bore fruit or berries.

We saw no sort of animal nor any track of beast but once; and that seemed to be the tread of a beast as big as a great mastiff-dog. Here are a few small land-birds but none bigger than a blackbird; and but few sea-fowls. Neither is the sea very plentifully stored with fish unless you reckon the manatee and turtle as such. Of these creatures there is plenty but they are extraordinary shy; though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much having neither boats nor iron.

The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these; who have no houses, and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, etc., as the Hodmadods have: and, setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half closed to keep the flies out of their eyes; they being so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face; and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off they will creep into one's nostrils and mouth too if the lips are not shut very close; so that, from their infancy being thus annoyed with these insects, they do never open their eyes as other people: and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads as if they were looking at somewhat over them.

They have great bottle-noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore-teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out I know not: neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short, and curled like that of the Negroes; and not long and lank like the common Indians. The

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7 Hottentots of the Cape.
colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal-black like that of the Negroes of Guinea.

They have no sort of clothes but a piece of the rind of a tree, tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs full of leaves thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness.

They have no houses but lie in the open air without any covering; the earth being their bed, and the heaven their canopy. Whether they cohabit one man to one woman or promiscuously I know not; but they do live in companies, 20 or 30 men, women, and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish which they get by making weirs of stone across little coves or branches of the sea; every tide bringing in the small fish and there leaving them for a prey to these people who constantly attend there to search for them at low water. This small-fry I take to be the top of their fishery: they have no instruments to catch great fish should they come; and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water: nor could we catch any fish with our hooks and lines all the while we lay there. In other places at low-water they seek for cockles, mussels, and periwinkles: of these shellfish there are fewer still; so that their chiepest dependence is upon what the sea leaves in their weirs; which, be it much or little, they gather up, and march to the places of their abode. There the old people that are not able to stir abroad by reason of their age and the tender infants wait their return; and what providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as makes them a plentiful banquet; and at other times they scarce get everyone a taste: but be it little or much that they get, everyone has his part, as well the young and tender, the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, as the strong and lusty. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low-water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, it is all one; they must attend their weirs or else they must fast: for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain for them to eat that we saw; nor any sort of bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewithal to do so.

I did not perceive that they did worship anything. These poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their ware or fight with their enemies if they have any that will interfere with their poor fishery. They did at first endeavour with their weapons to frighten us, who lying ashore deterred them from one of their fishing-places. Some of them had wooden swords, others had a sort of lances. The sword is a piece of wood shaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long straight pole sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron nor any other sort of metal; therefore it is probable they use stone-hatchets, as some Indians in America do, described in Chapter IV.

How they get their fire I know not; but probably as Indians do, out of wood. I have seen the Indians of Bon-Airy do it and have myself tried the experiment: they take a flat piece of wood that is pretty soft and make a small dent in one side of it, then they take another hard round stick about the bigness of one's little finger and, sharpening it at one end like a pencil, they put that sharp end in the hole or dent of the flat soft piece, and then rubbing or twirling the hard piece between the palms of their hands they drill the soft piece till it smokes and at last takes fire.

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8 an island off the coast of Venezuela.
These people speak somewhat through the throat; but we could not understand one word that they said. We anchored, as I said before, January the 5th and, seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoe to get some acquaintance with them: for we were in hopes to get some provision among them. But the inhabitants, seeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards three days in hopes to find their houses; but found none: yet we saw many places where they had made fires. At last, being out of hopes to find their habitations, we searched no farther; but left a great many toys ashore in such places where we thought that they would come. In all our search we found no water but old wells on the sandy bays.

At last we went over to the islands and there we found a great many of the natives: I do believe there were 40 on one island, men, women, and children. The men at our first coming ashore threatened us with their lances and swords; but they were frightened by firing one gun which we fired purposely to scare them. The island was so small that they could not hide themselves: but they were much disordered at our landing, especially the women and children: for we went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women, snatching up the infants, ran away howling, and the little children ran after squeaking and bawling; but the men stood still. Some of the women and such people as could not go from us lay still by a fire, making a doleful noise as if we had been coming to devour them: but when they saw we did not intend to harm them they were pretty quiet, and the rest that fled from us at our first coming returned again. This their place of dwelling was only a fire with a few boughs before it, set up on that side the winds was of.

After we had been here a little while the men began to be familiar and we clothed some of them, designing to have had some service of them for it: for we found some wells of water here, and intended to carry 2 or 3 barrels of it aboard. But it being somewhat troublesome to carry to the Canoes we thought to have made these men to have carried it for us, and therefore we gave them some old clothes; to one an old pair of breeches, to another a ragged shirt, to the third a jacket that was scarce worth owning; which yet would have been very acceptable at some places where we had been, and so we thought they might have been with these people. We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us; and, our water being filled in small long barrels, about six gallons in each, which were made purposely to carry water in, we brought these our new servants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their shoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose for they stood like statues without motion but grinned like so many monkeys staring one upon another: for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burdens; and I believe that one of our ship-boys of 10 years old would carry as much as one of them. So we were forced to carry our water ourselves, and they very fairly put the clothes off again and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in. I did not perceive that they had any great liking to them at first, neither did they seem to admire anything that we had.

At another time, our canoe being among these islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another; for they have no boats, Canoes, or bark-logs. They took up four of them and brought them aboard; two of them were middle-aged, the other two were young men about 18 or 20 years old. To these we gave boiled rice and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They did greedily devour what we gave them but took no notice of the ship, or anything in it, and when they were set on land again they ran away as fast as they could. At our first coming, before we were acquainted with them or they with us, a company of them who lived on the main came just against our ship, and, standing on a pretty high
bank, threatened us with their swords and lances by shaking them at us: at last the captain ordered the drum to be beaten, which was done of a sudden with much vigour, purposely to scare the poor creatures. They hearing the noise ran away as fast as they could drive; and when they ran away in haste they would cry “Gurry, gurry.” speaking deep in the throat. Those inhabitants also that live on the main would always run away from us; yet we took several of them. For, as I have already observed, they had such bad eyes that they could not see us till we came close to them. We did always give them victuals and let them go again, but the islanders, after our first time of being among them, did not stir for us.¹⁹

The 1699 encounter

The 30th day being in latitude 18 degrees 21 minutes we made the land again, and saw many great smokes near the shore; and having fair weather and moderate breezes I steered in towards it. At 4 in the afternoon I anchored in 8 fathom water, clear sand, about 3 leagues and a half from the shore. I presently sent my boat to sound nearer in, and they found 10 fathom about a mile farther in; and from thence still farther in the water decreased gradually to 9, 8, 7, and 2 mile distance to 6 fathom. This evening we saw an eclipse of the moon, but it was abating before the moon appeared to us; for the horizon was very hazy, so that we could not see the moon till she had been half an hour above the horizon: and at 2 hours, 22 minutes after sunset, by the reckoning of our glasses, the eclipse was quite gone, which was not of many digits. The moon’s centre was then 33 degrees 40 minutes high.

The 31st of August betimes in the morning I went ashore with 10 or 11 men to search for water. We went armed with muskets and cutlasses for our defence, expecting to see people there; and carried also shovels and pickaxes to dig wells. When we came near the shore we saw 3 tall black naked men on the sandy bay ahead of us: but as we rowed in they went away. When we were landed I sent the boat with two men in her to lie a little from the shore at an anchor, to prevent being seized; while the rest of us went after the 3 black men, who were now got on the top of a small hill about a quarter of a mile from us, with 8 or 9 men more in their company. They seeing us coming ran away. When we came on the top of the hill where they first stood we saw a plain savannah, about half a mile from us, farther in from the sea. There were several things like haycocks standing in the savannah; which at a distance we thought were houses, looking just like the Hottentots’ houses at the Cape of Good Hope: but we found them to be so many rocks. We searched about these for water, but could find none, nor any houses, nor people, for they were all gone. Then we turned again to the place where we landed, and there we dug for water.

While we were at work there came nine or 10 of the natives to a small hill a little way from us, and stood there menacing and threatening of us, and making a great noise. At last one of them came towards us, and the rest followed at a distance. I went out to meet him, and came within 50 yards of him, making to him all the signs of peace and friendship I could; but then he ran away, neither would they any of them stay for us to come nigh them; for we tried two or three times. At last I took two men with me, and went in the afternoon along by the seaside, purposely to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their fresh water. There were 10 or 12 natives a little way off, who seeing us three going away from the rest of our men, followed us at a distance. I thought they would follow us: but there being for a while a sandbank between us and them, that they could not then see us, we made a halt, and hid ourselves in a bending of the sandbank. They knew we must be thereabouts, and being 3

or 4 times our number, thought to seize us. So they dispersed themselves, some going to the
seashore and others beating about the sandhills. We knew by what encounter we had had
with them in the morning that we could easily outrun them; so a nimble young man that was
with me, seeing some of them near, ran towards them; and they for some time ran away
before him. But he soon overtaking them, they faced about and fought him. He had a cutlass,
and they had wooden lances; with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him.
When he first ran towards them I chased two more that were by the shore; but fearing how it
might be with my young man, I turned back quickly, and went up to the top of a sandhill,
whence I saw him near me, closely engaged with them. Upon their seeing me, one of them
threw a lance at me, that narrowly missed me. I discharged my gun to scare them but avoided
shooting any of them; till finding the young man in great danger from them, and myself in
some; and that though the gun had a little frightened them at first, yet they had soon learnt to
despise it, tossing up their hands, and crying pooh, pooh, pooh; and coming on afresh with a
great noise, I thought it high time to charge again, and shoot one of them, which I did. The
rest, seeing him fall, made a stand again; and my young man took the opportunity to
disengage himself, and come off to me; my other man also was with me, who had done
nothing all this while, having come out un armed; and I returned back with my men, designing
to attempt the natives no farther, being very sorry for what had happened already. They took
up their wounded companion; and my young man, who had been struck through the cheek by
one of their lances, was afraid it had been poisoned: but I did not think that likely. His wound
was very painful to him, being made with a blunt weapon: but he soon recovered of it.

Among the New Hollanders whom we were thus engaged with, there was one who by his
appearance and carriage, as well in the morning as this afternoon, seemed to be the chief of
them, and a kind of prince or captain among them. He was a young brisk man, not very tall,
nor so personable as some of the rest, though more active and courageous: he was painted
(which none of the rest were at all) with a circle of white paste or pigment (a sort of lime, as
we thought) about his eyes, and a white streak down his nose from his forehead to the tip of
it. And his breast and some part of his arms were also made white with the same paint; not
for beauty or ornament, one would think, but as some wild Indian warriors are said to do, he
seemed thereby to design the looking more terrible; this his painting adding very much to his
natural deformity; for they all of them have the most unpleasant looks and the worst features
of any people that ever I saw, though I have seen great variety of savages. These New
Hollanders were probably the same sort of people as those I met with on this coast in my
Voyage round the World; for the place I then touched at was not above 40 or 50 leagues to
the north-east of this: and these were much the same blinking creatures (here being also
abundance of the same kind of flesh-flies teasing them) and with the same black skins, and
hair frizzled, tall and thin, etc., as those were: but we had not the opportunity to see whether
these, as the former, wanted two of their foreteeth.

We saw a great many places where they had made fires; and where there were commonly 3
or 4 boughs stuck up to windward of them; for the wind (which is the seabreeze) in the
daytime blows always one way with them; and the land breeze is but small. By their
fireplaces we should always find great heaps of fish-shells, of several sorts; and it is
probable that these poor creatures here lived chiefly on the shellfish, as those I before
described did on small fish, which they caught in wires or holes in the sand at low-water.
These gathered their shellfish on the rocks at low-water; but had no wires (that we saw)
whereby to get any other sorts of fish: as among the former I saw not any heaps of shells as
here, though I know they also gathered some shellfish. The lances also of those were such as
these had; however they being upon an island, with their women and children, and all in our
power, they did not there use them against us, as here on the continent, where we saw none but some of the men under head, who come out purposely to observe us. We saw no houses at either place; and I believe they have none, since the former people on the island had none, though they had all their families with them. \(^{10}\)

Daniel Defoe, 1660-1731, based *Robinson Crusoe* on the story of William Selkirk who was marooned on Dampier’s first voyage. *Robinson Crusoe* is essentially the tale of a shipwrecked man finding salvation. In the middle of the novel Robinson Crusoe draws heavily upon Hobbes to describe his plight. His use of the word “nature” clearly indicates the way in which the concept was being debased and limited to the more unpleasant parts of God’s plan.

‘But I was merely thoughtless of a God or a Providence, acted like a mere brute, from the principles of nature, and by the dictates of common sense only, and, indeed, hardly that.’ \(^{11}\)

Robinson Crusoe’s fancy “to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them”, would not have been repugnant to most of his readers. The last remanents of villeinage, i.e., binding peasants to their lords, were not abolished in Scotland till 1799. In Eighteenth Century England there were over ten thousand slaves, most of whom had been brought to England by their masters from the sugar plantations. In 1729, ten years after the publication of *Robinson Crusoe*, the Crown’s principal law officers, without any legal rationale, were of the opinion that the status of a slave did not alter when the slave was brought to England. It was not until 1772 that Lord Mansfield from the King’s Bench ruled that slavery did not exist within English Common Law, which immediately freed the ten thousand or so personal slaves in Britain.

Jonathon Swift, 1667-1745, like many of the writers mentioned in this section was prominent in the affairs of his country before falling out of favour with the powers that be. *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*, 1726, written under the pseudonym of Lemuel Gulliver, became Swift’s best-known work. The work is divided into four voyages of which, *Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms*, set in the period 1714-15 is the most relevant to the exploration of thought on the origins and nature of Humankind.

The following passage describes Gulliver’s first contact with the inhabitants of Houyhnhnmland after being marooned by his crew who turned pirate. In this passage Swift describes his initial contact with the principal inhabitants of Houyhnhnmland. His preparations for exchanging trinkets with savages in exchange for his life, if not stereotypical by his time, were to take on a life of their own both in reality and in tales from Boy’s Own Annuals. What Gulliver did not realise was that roles were reversed in Houyhnhnmland. Not only did he not recognise the brown skinned ape like animals (yahoos) as being human, but also he was unaware that the horse (Houyhnhnm) he met was in fact the dominant life form and master of the Yahoos. In describing the Yahoos as brown-skinned Swift was anticipating Blumenbach’s description of the Malay race as being brown skinned.

‘In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best do. When I was a little refreshed,

\(^{10}\) William Dampier, Chapter Three, *A Voyage to New Holland, etc. In the Year 1699*. 1729

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15675/15675.txt

I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them by some bracelets, glass rings, and other toys, which sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly, for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind, or on either side. I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracts of human feet, and some of cows, but most of horses. At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting in trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form. Their heads and breasts were covered with a thick hair, some frizzled, and others lank; they had beards like goats, and a long ridge of hair down their backs, and the fore parts of their legs and feet; but the rest of their bodies was bare, so that I might see their skins, which were of a brown buff colour. They had no tails, nor any hair at all on their buttocks, except about the anus, which, I presume, nature had placed there to defend them as they sat on the ground, for this posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind feet. They climbed high trees as nimbly as a squirrel, for they had strong extended claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, and hooked. They would often spring, and bound, and leap, with prodigious agility. The females were not so large as the males; they had long lank hair on their heads, but none on their faces, nor any thing more than a sort of down on the rest of their bodies, except about the anus and pudenda. The dugs hung between their fore feet, and often reached almost to the ground as they walked. The hair of both sexes was of several colours, brown, red, black, and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so strong an antipathy. So that, thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion, I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian. I had not got far, when I met one of these creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways, every feature of his visage, and stared, as at an object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curiosity or mischief I could not tell; but I drew my hanger, and gave him a good blow with the flat side of it, for I durst not strike with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beast felt the smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling and making odious faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and leaning my back against it, kept them off by waving my hanger. Several of this cursed brood, getting hold of the branches behind, leaped up into the tree, whence they began to discharge their excrements on my head; however, I escaped pretty well by sticking close to the stem of the tree, but was almost stifled with the filth, which fell about me on every side.

In the midst of this distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could; at which I ventured to leave the tree and pursue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand, I saw a horse walking softly in the field; which my persecutors having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little, when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder; he viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aspect, never offering the least violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck with a design to stroke it, using the common style and whistle of jockeys, when they are going to handle a
strange horse. But this animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head, and bent his brows, softly raising up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself, in some language of his own.\textsuperscript{12}

Swift’s description of his initial contact with the Houyhnhnms poked fun at Eighteenth Century philosophers and scientists, some of whom such as Newton were involved in alchemy.

‘They were under great perplexity about my shoes and stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon.

Upon the whole, the behaviour of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded they must needs be magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a stranger in the way, resolved to divert themselves with him; or, perhaps, were really amazed at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from those who might probably live in so remote a climate.’\textsuperscript{13}

The following passage describes Gulliver’s amazement at discovering that apart from hairiness and skin colour he shared a common humanity with the Yahoos. The passage again is stereotypical in its brutalisation of “savage nations” and focuses attention on Eighteenth Century curiosity about apes and orang-utans. This passage written in 1726 is eerily prescient of Blumenbach’s 1795 description of the degeneration of animals. While I have not found the source it would seem that Swift and Blumenbach drew upon the same travel writer. Certainly it was not Volney as he did not visit Egypt till 1782. I have also found no such reference in Herodotus, Pliny or Tacitus among the ancients. Nor did I find any such reference in Christopher Columbus, Walter Raleigh, Mandeville, William Dampier, George Psalmanazar or Aphra Behn.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} Jonathon Swift, Chapter I, Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver’s Travels, 1726, http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm
\textsuperscript{13} Jonathon Swift, Chapter I, Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver’s Travels, 1726 http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm
\textsuperscript{14} ‘To find out the reason why one climate turns out this and another that kind of racial face seems extremely difficult; yet most sagacious men have made the attempt when endeavouring to explain the face of different nations; as Kant upon the Mongolian and Volney upon the Ethiopians. That accessory causes sometimes endemical to peculiar climates, such as constant clouds of gnats, may do something towards contracting the natural face of the inhabitants, may be gathered from the observation of Dampier about the inhabitants of the south of New Holland.

I am not sure whether the opinion of our Leibnitz about the similitude of nations to the indigenous animals of the country is to be interpreted as referring to the influence of climate on the conformation of man and brute animals alike; as it seems that the Lapps recall the face of the bear, the Negroes of the ape, of which also the people of the extreme East likewise partake.

Besides the climate we find it stated that the kind of life sometimes contributes to the racial form of race, as in the instance of the Ethiopians, whose thick nose and swelling lips are always attributed to the way in which, whilst in their infancy, they are generally carried on the backs of their mothers, who give them suck whilst they pound millet, or during their hard and heavy tasks.’

Johann Blumenbach, Of The Causes and Ways by which the Species of Animals Degenerate in General, 1795, http://campus.udayton.edu/~hume/Blumenbach/blumenbach.htm
‘My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure: the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the lips large, and the mouth wide; but these differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted, by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs, nuzzling with their face against the mothers’ shoulders. The fore-feet of the Yahoo differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences; which I knew very well, though the horses did not, because of my shoes and stockings; the same in every part of our bodies except as to hairiness and colour, which I have already described.’

Swift’s use of the word “brutes” twice in the following passage from a conversation between Gulliver and his Houyhnhnm master points to a familiarity with Hobbes’ concept of the life of a savage being “solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short”.

He was extremely curious to know “from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational creature; because the Yahoos (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my head, hands, and face, that were only visible), with some appearance of cunning, and the strongest disposition to mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all brutes.” I answered, “that I came over the sea, from a far place, with many others of my own kind, in a great hollow vessel made of the bodies of trees: that my companions forced me to land on this coast, and then left me to shift for myself.” It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, “that I must needs be mistaken, or that I said the thing which was not;” for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. “He knew it was impossible that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water. He was sure no Houyhnhnm alive could make such a vessel, nor would trust Yahoos to manage it.”

There is another reference to Hobbes in the use of the word brutality in the following passage that is from a conversation between Gulliver and his Houyhnhnm master about European warfare.

‘being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses’ feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcases, left for food to dogs and wolves and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying. And to set forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I assured him, “that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship, and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators.”

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15 Jonathon Swift, Chapter II, Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver’s Travels, 1726, [http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm)

16 Jonathon Swift, Chapter III, Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver’s Travels, 1726, [http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm)
I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He said, “whoever understood the nature of Yahoos, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might, by degrees, admit them with less detestation: that although he hated the Yahoos of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities, than he did a gnnayh (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself.”

The following passage describing the Houyhnhnm account of the origin and degeneration of the Yahoos predates Buffon’s *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière*, 1749-1778. It is argued that Buffon and later Blumenbach used the word “degenerate” in its literal meaning, i.e., departing from the original. However, Swift’s use of the word “degenerating” is not neutral in tone and has quite negative connotations, which has implications for how Buffon and Blumenbach used the term. Needless to say, in nineteenth century colonial discourses, degeneracy and savagery were synonymous.

‘the two Yahoos said to be seen first among them, had been driven thither over the sea; that coming to land, and being forsaken by their companions, they retired to the mountains, and degenerating by degrees, became in process of time much more savage than those of their own species in the country whence these two originals came.’

Because of the alarm that he caused, Gulliver was sent into exile by the Assembly of Houyhnhnmns. After a short sea journey he found himself on the coast of New Holland and his adventures there show quite clearly that Swift was familiar with Dampier’s work.

Looking back at the stream of human thought we can see a shift in the thinking of European people away from the Bible as the sole authority on the world we live in. We see travel opening new perspectives and people gradually shifted from religious revelation to reason and enquiry as they started to explore fundamental questions such as how do people operate as individuals and in societies; and whether human perfectibility was attainable or were people fatally flawed by natural evil or inherited Sin. However, it was not so simple and for many people in the Eighteenth Century and beyond, science was simply a tool to better understand God’s work.

Henri de Boulainvilliers, 1658-1722, was a French aristocrat and an early proponent of racial theory through his advocacy of feudalism. In his works, mostly published posthumously; he argued that the aristocracy, as the direct descendants of the Nordic Franks were the true rulers of France by right of conquest. He dismissed the absolutist French monarchy as decadent because of miscegenation that commenced with the crusades; and the third estate because they were an amalgam of the original Gauls and their Roman overlords.

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17 Jonathon Swift, *Chapter V, Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver’s Travels*, 1726, [http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm)

18 Jonathon Swift, *Chapter IX, Part IV - A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver’s Travels*, 1726, [http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/gltrv10h.htm)
While Isaac Newton, 1643-1727, is today remembered as being a great scientist who discovered the laws of gravity and motion, it has been largely forgotten that Newton saw his work as a rational attempt to understand the workings of God’s Creation. Newton’s scientific discoveries were revolutionary because they showed a Creation that was rational, universal and understandable. His discoveries had appeal over a broad cross section of English thought. They coincided with a period of considerable latitude in religious thought; where the Anglican Church was perplexed by the choice of supporting a Catholic hereditary monarchy, or a Protestant monarchy chosen by parliament. His discoveries were embraced by both the religious and the secular, though in the long term the secular world took greater advantage from his work.

Natural theology or Deism was a school of thought that benefited from Newton’s discoveries. Deism was never an organised religion and there still is considerable diversity within Deist thought. Deists believed in a supreme being, who may or may not have been the Christian God, and who was responsible for the creation and ordering of the world. Deists tended towards a belief in a non-interventionist God and a belief that rational moral behaviour was the key to the good workings of God’s Creation. Deism flourished in Enlightenment culture and provided an alternative to orthodox religion for many educated people. The discovery of previously unknown people was of great interest to many Deists who believed that there had been a natural religion in the past whose existence had been covered over by religious literature and liturgy.

Baruch Spinoza, 1632-1677, was a Dutch philosopher of Jewish background, who took the Latin name Benedictus, which like Baruch means “Blessed”; after being excommunicated from the Jewish faith in 1656 for suggesting that God and nature were one. Spinoza was a pantheist, arguing that “Deus sive Natura”, i.e., God and Nature were two names for the same reality, God is in all, and all is in God. He argued that we live in a deterministic world in which we do not really understand the complex chain of cause and effect. He argued that we presume to have free will. To Spinoza our capacity to say “yes” and understand why things happen increases our freedom, makes us more like God and leads to “true Blessedness”.

The hostility to his work led to most of his work being published after his death by his friends. In the late Eighteenth Century there was a revival of interest in Spinoza, for his ideas of a living natural God were an attractive alternative to the Newtonian prime mover concepts, or La Mettrie’s, (1709-1751), ideas of materialist man as a machine. In some forms of the nineteenth century colonial discourse, Nature was personified as God’s handmaiden and made responsible for the world of savagery.

Gottfried Leibniz, 1646-1716, is best known as a contemporary of Isaac Newton and was similar in the scope of his intellect. In 1676 he met with Spinoza and was dismayed by what he saw as Spinoza’s rejection of Christian orthodoxy.

‘Spinoza insists more or less (like an ancient Peripatetic philosopher named Strato) that all has come from the first cause or from primitive Nature by a blind and geometrical necessity,

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19 As David Hume noted in his 1742 essay Of National Characters, ‘…we may observe that our ancestors, a few centuries ago, were sunk into the most abject superstition, last century they were inflamed with the most furious enthusiasm, and are now settled into the most cool indifference with regard to religious matters, that is to be found in any nation of the world.’
with complete absence of capacity for choice, for goodness and for understanding in this first source of things.  

Bishop Ussher, 1581-1656, used Biblical genealogies to calculate that Creation began on Sunday, 23 October, 4004 B.C. His calculation that the world was less than 6,000 years old had an enormous impact on thinking about the past and where things came from. Relics of a distant past, far older than Bishop Ussher’s calculations, kept turning up without necessarily causing any great disturbance to conventional wisdom about the origins of humankind. Antiquarians recorded standing stones without comment. Flint arrow and spear heads from Neolithic times were explained by country folk as being from elf darts, i.e., the heads of darts fired by elves at people and animals. In 1715 a large flint weapon was found with the bones of an elephant, in a gravel bed near Gray's Inn Lane, in London. While carefully preserved, it aroused no great controversy, being dismissed by theologians as evidence of the Deluge. Gatherings, where mummies were unravelled in the early nineteenth century, were used to confirm the truth of Ussher's calculations because the mumified bodies were in no way different from modern man. In a twist that would have left Ussher floundering, the shortness of his chronology lent itself to polygenesis arguments.

The Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge was formalised in 1662 with the motto of “Nullius in Verba”. (On the Words of No One) i.e., the Royal Society was committed to establishing scientific truth through experiment as recorded by Thomas Sprat, 1635-1713, in his 1667 History of the Royal Society.

‘Whoever shall soberly profess, to be willing to put their shoulders, under the burthen of so great an enterprise, as to represent to mankind, the whole Fabrick, the parts, the causes, the effects of Nature: ought to have their eyes in all parts, and to receive information from every quarter of the earth: they ought to have a constant universall intelligence: all discoveries should be brought to them: the Treasuries of all former times should be laid open before them: the assistance of the present should be allow’d them: so farr are the narrow conceptions of a few private Writers, in a dark Age, from being equall to so vast a design.

While it true that the Royal Society would make a significant break with past practice, particularly with regard to the dominance of the church in scientific matters, it must be noted Aristotelian ideas about the superiority of men over women continued as unnoticed influences. In arguing that the methodology was superior to that of the Peripatetics, Sprat reinforced older, ongoing prejudices about the superiority of men over women that dated back to the Peripatetics.

‘In brief, disputing is a very good instrument, to sharpen mens wits, and to make them versatil, and wary defenders of the Principles, which they already know: but it can never much augment the solid substance of Science itself: And me thinks compar’d to Experimenting, it is like Exercise to the Body in comparison of Meat: For running, walking, wrestling, shooting, and other such active sports, will keep men in health, and breath, and a vigorous temper: but it must be a supply of new food that must make them grow: so it is in this case; much contention, and strife of argument, will serve well to explain obscure things,

and strengthen the weak, and give a good, sound, masculine colour, to the whole masse of knowledge.  

While Thomas Sprat in his *History of the Royal Society* affirmed the status of the new scientific methodology of the Royal Society he utilised older Hippocratic suppositions about the influences of climate and blood to promote what was essentially the uniqueness and superiority of English national identity.

‘there is one thing, not to be pass’d by; which will render this establish’d custom of the Society, well nigh everlasting: and that is, the general constitution of the minds of the English. I have already often insisted on some of the prerogatives of England; whereby it may justly lay claim, to be the Head of a Philosophical league, above all other Countries in Europe: I have urg’d its situation, its present Genius, and the disposition of its Merchants; and many more such arguments to incourage us, still remain to be us’d: But of all others, this, which I am now alleding, is of the most weighty, and important consideration. If there can be a true character given of the Universal Temper of any Nation under Heaven: then certainly this must be ascrib’d to our Countrymen: that they have commonly an unaffected sincerity; that they love to deliver their minds with a sound simplicity; that they have the middle qualities, between the reserv’d subtle southern, and the rough unhewn Northern people: that they are not extreamly prone to speak: that they are more concern’d, what others will think of the strength, than of the fineness of what they say: and that an universal modesty possesses them. These Qualities are so conspicuous, and proper to our Soil; that we often hear them objected to us, by some of our neighbour Satyristes, in more disgraceful expressions. For they are wont to revile the English, with a want of familiarity; with a melancholy dumpishness; with slowness, silence, and with the unrefin’d sullenness of their behaviour. But these are only the reproaches of partiality, or ignorance: for they ought rather to be commended for an honourable integrity; for a neglect of circumstances, and flourishes; for regarding things of greater moment, more than less; for a scorn to deceive as well as to be deceiv’d: which are all the best indowments, that can enter into a Philosophical Mind. So that even the position of our climate, the air, the influence of the heaven, the composition of the English blood; as well as the embraces of the Ocean, seem to join with the labours of the Royal Society, to render our Country, a Land of Experimental knowledge. And it is a good sign, that Nature will reveal more of its secrets to the English, than to others; because it has already furnish’d them with a Genius so well proportion’d, for the receiving, and retaining its mysteries."

When Edward Tyson, 1650-1708, dissected an infant chimpanzee in 1698 he opened up a new chapter of enquiry into our relationship with other primates. The difficulties Europeans


Some one hundred and sixty years later God apparently still smiled upon the English as revealed in a sermon of the Reverend Whewell, master of Trinity College. "It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?" [http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n6/mode/2up](http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n6/mode/2up)

24 Pepys’ 1661 observations of the first baboon brought to England reflected and perpetuated contemporary ignorance and speculation about the primates. "At the office all the morning and did business; by and by we are called to Sir W. Batten’s to see the strange creature that Captain Holmes hath brought with him from Guiny; it
had in accessing these animals is illustrated by the fact that it was not until 1795 that Geoffrey St. Hilaire and Cuvier were able to distinguish between chimpanzees and orang-utans.

The remainder of this section examines lesser known aspects of the work of a number of famous Eighteenth Century scholarly gentlemen, Linnaeus, Kant, Hume, Smith, Blumenbach, etc., pioneers in areas such as taxonomy, philosophy, economics and anthropology. Many of these men speculated on the natural history of Mankind in an attempt to prove the reality of Monogenesis. Man’s ability to interbreed was evidence of monogenesis for Buffon and Kant, while Blumenbach disagreed with this criterion. Buffon and Blumenbach found agreement, however, in thinking that the Caspian area was the source of the real and natural colour of mankind. Linneaus and Cuvier were more interested in classification than explaining origins and there was increasing speculation that while species were immutable prototypes fashioned in the beginning by God, varieties, on the other hand were viewed as products of time, chance and circumstance.

The unfortunate results of this speculation were the production of human hierarchies in which some, usually Europeans of a lighter skin colour, were advantageously placed at the top and others of different skin colour and physical appearance were at the bottom of a human hierarchy. Polygenesists argued that black skin colour was the Mark of Cain and that the land of Nod, to the east of Eden, where Cain found his wife and started a family, was evidence of a pre-Adamite Creation; thereby justifying their position as Christians and slave owners. For others, who maintained their belief in Monogenesis, it opened up the question of the White man’s rights and responsibilities for those who were coming under European dominion.  

Petrus Camper, 1722-1789 was a Dutch anatomist and artist who used empirical methodology to explore God’s work in his other book, i.e., Nature. Camper used his work on facial angles to confirm the universalism of Monogenesis, but unfortunately the thrust of his work was lost and it became part of the bread and butter of nineteenth century racial discourse.

Carl Linnaeus, 1707-1778, is now best remembered for his taxonomy system, which introduced a new standard of classification by calling a species by two Latin names: the genus with the first letter in upper case, followed by the species, in lower case, e.g., Homo sapiens. His Systema Naturae: Creationis telluris est gloria Dei ex opere Naturae per Hominem solum, appeared between 1735 and 1758. Linnaeus typified the study of the Bible and God’s other work, Nature, by scientists of the Early Modern World. The preface to a late edition of Systema Naturae, demonstrated his belief in Natural Theology, an ancient Classical belief system described by St Augustine of Hippo in the 5th Century. He wrote:

—is a great baboon, but so much like a man in most things, that though they say there is a species of them, yet I cannot believe but that it is a monster got of a man and she-baboon. I do believe that it already understands much English, and I am of the mind it might be taught to speak or make signs.”

http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1661/08/24/index.php
25 Elizabeth M’Arthur on the 7th of March 1791 wrote to her friend, Bridget Kingdon, about the natives of New South Wales, implying that Aboriginal people and Europeans had a common ancestry thereby confirming Monogenesis.

“Mr Dawes thinks they have a tradition of the Flood among them. They say one Man, and one Woman was sav’d”

The Earth's creation is the glory of God, as seen from the works of Nature by Man alone. The study of nature would reveal the Divine Order of God's creation, and it was the naturalist's task to construct a 'natural classification' that would reveal this Order in the universe.  

Linnaeus was not an evolutionist. When he realised that hybridisation could produce new species of plants, he considered struggle and competition as being part of God’s plan for Creation and necessary to maintain the balance of nature. Evolution at this time was an unnoticed undercurrent; the real issues were Monogenesis and Polygenesis.

Linnaeus, while a pioneer of modern science also belonged very much in the tradition of European thinking. His three classifications, Animal, Vegetable and Mineral came from the Great Chain of Being. In 1751 he proposed that Homo sapiens could be divided into four categories, Americanus, Asiaticus, Africanus, and Europeanus Linnaeus was following traditional thinking in basing his classification on place of origin, i.e., the major land masses. Later Linnaeus added skin colour, humour and posture to the system. Each race accordingly had certain characteristics that were endemic to individuals belonging to it. Thus Native Americans were reddish, upright and choleric. Africans were black, phlegmatic and relaxed. Asians were sallow, melancholy and stiff. Europeans were white, sanguine and muscular. Linnaeus did not rank these groups in a hierarchy, but others did. It was this attribution of particular characteristics to racial groups that was to dangerously shape colonial relations in the centuries to come. Daniel Solander, a student of his, accompanied Cook on his voyage to NSW.

In Eighteenth Century Europe a number of oddities and human curiosities caught the imagination of the public and intellectuals like Linnaeus. Edward Lambert, the Porcupine Man and his son had the disfiguring dermatological disorder ichthyosis hystrix. Lambert was shown before the Royal Society of London in the 1750’s and travelled Europe. Peter the Wild Boy, found wandering naked on all fours in the woods of Hanover in 1725; and a wild girl in Champagne, France in 1731; raised speculation about whether their parentage was human, animal or demonic, and how humans acquired language. As a result of these discoveries Linnaeus created another classification, Homo ferus, which included Peter and the wild girl of Champagne. He also created Homo monstrousous, which included the Patagonian giant, the dwarf of the Alps, and the monorchid Hottentot. In 1763 he coined Homo anthropomorpha, a hotch potch of classically derived troglodytes, satyrs, hydras, and phoenixes that he claimed were actually ape-like creatures.

The Scottish Enlightenment was a peculiar flourishing of intellectual thought that took place during what was essentially the culmination of the English colonisation of Scotland. Two key factors that underpinned this were Union with England in 1707 and the pioneering introduction of public education. The Scottish Enlightenment had a great bearing on the development of European thought.

David Hume, 1711-1776, was an important figure in the Scottish Enlightenment. He is best known for his pioneering work as a philosopher, historian and free trade economist. His scepticism and empirical methodology had a strong influence on Adam Smith and others.

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26 http://www.ucmp.berkeley.edu/history/linnaeus.html
His scepticism about explorers discovering anything new was remarkably prescient:

‘A traveler, returning from a far country, bring us an account of men, wholly different from any with whom we were ever acquainted; men, who were entirely divested of avarice, ambition, or revenge; who knew no pleasure but friendship, generosity, and public spirit; we should immediately, from these circumstances, detect the falsehood, and prove him a liar, with the same certainty as if he had stuffed his narration with stories of centaurs and dragons, miracles and prodigies. ’

Similarly in An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding Hume’s commentary on the universal nature of human behaviour is remarkably modern in its nature:

‘It is universally acknowledged that there is a great uniformity among the actions of men, in all nations and ages, and that human nature remains still the same, in its principles and operations. The same motives always produce the same actions: the same events follow from the same causes. Ambition, avarice, self-love, vanity, friendship, generosity, public spirit: these passions, mixed in various degrees, and distributed through society, have been, from the beginning of the world, and still are, the source of all the actions and enterprises, which have ever been observed among mankind. Would you know the sentiments, inclinations, and course of life of the Greeks and Romans? Study well the temper and actions of the French and English: ’

Hume was no stranger to controversy in his lifetime, particularly in regard to religion. He suppressed some of his religious works till after his death and there is still some controversy whether he was an atheist or Deist. His essay Of National Characters first published in 1742 in Essays, Moral and Literary has attracted considerable controversy, then and now. Given Hume’s scepticism and apparent scholarship it is surprising that he should venture into the shallow waters of national characteristics, but he did. One notorious footnote is seen as an embarrassing lapse by some mainstream commentators, but among Afro-American scholars of slavery it is merely the tip of an iceberg. Eric Morton, author of Race and Racism in the Works of David Hume, provides interesting insights into the effects of Hume’s writings. Essentially Of National Characters promoted Polygenesis. Hume began by arguing that while nature produces variations in people; moral, or cultural factors, determine the national character.

‘Where a number of men are united into one political body, the occasions of their intercourse must be so frequent, for defence, commerce, and government, that, together with the same speech or language, they must acquire a resemblance in their manners, and have a common or national character, as well as a personal one, peculiar to each individual. Now though nature produces all kinds of temper and understanding in great abundance, it does not follow, that she always produces them in like proportions, and that in every society the

29 David Hume, An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding, 1748, http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext06/7echu10.txt
30 In Hume’s time an atheist was one did not believe in a Christian God, rather than someone who has no belief in any deity.
31 Thomas Aikenhead was the last person to be hung in Scotland for blasphemy in 1697. Before that Edward Wightman was the last person to be burnt at the stake for heresy in England in 1612.
32 http://www.africanphilosophy.com/vol1.1/morton.html
ingredients of industry and indolence, valour and cowardice, humanity and brutality, wisdom and folly, will be mixed after the same manner.  

Not surprisingly Hume rejected the argument that climate had any effect on national character.

'If we run over the globe, or revolve the annals of history, we shall discover every where signs of a sympathy or contagion of manners, none of the influence of air or climate.'  

However, whatever scholarship Hume aspired to disappeared in the following paragraph.

'If the characters of men depended on the air and climate, the degrees of heat and cold should naturally be expected to have a mighty influence; since nothing has a greater effect on all plants and irrational animals. And indeed there is some reason to think, that all the nations, which live beyond the polar circles or between the tropics, are inferior to the rest of the species, and are incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind. The poverty and misery of the northern inhabitants of the globe, and the indolence of the southern, from their few necessities, may, perhaps, account for this remarkable difference, without our having recourse to physical causes. This however is certain, that the characters of nations are very promiscuous in the temperate climates, and that almost all the general observations, which have been formed of the more southern or more northern people in these climates, are found to be uncertain and fallacious.'  

In the footnote that followed the above paragraph, Hume speculated that not only did nature make an “original distinction” between “Negroes” and “whites” but also that “whites” were superior to all other species of men.

'I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the whites, such as the ancient GERMANS, the present TARTARS, have still something eminent about them, in their valour, form of government, or some other particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction betwixt these breeds of men. Not to mention our colonies, there are NEGROE slaves dispersed all over EUROPE, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity; tho' low people, without education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession. In JAMAICA indeed they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly.'  

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Hume amended the footnote for the 1753-54 edition by replacing the first two sentences with the following and left the rest of the footnote unaltered. It is highly likely that Hume did not understand the issues he was dealing with.

‘I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation.’

Not unsurprisingly Hume claimed a special position for the English.

‘We may often remark a wonderful mixture of manners and characters in the same nation, speaking the same language, and subject to the same government: And in this particular the ENGLISH are the most remarkable of any people, that perhaps ever were in the world. Nor is this to be ascribed to the mutability and uncertainty of their climate, or to any other physical causes; since all these causes take place in the neighbouring country of SCOTLAND, without having the same effect.’

In a similar vein he proceeded to make sweeping statements about Jews, Armenians, Turks and Greeks.

‘Where any set of men, scattered over distant nations, maintain a close society or communication together, they acquire a similitude of manners, and have but little in common with the nations amongst whom they live. Thus the JEWS in EUROPE, and the ARMENIANS in the east, have a peculiar character; and the former are as much noted for fraud, as the latter for probity.’

The manners of a people change very considerably from one age to another; either by great alterations in their government, by the mixtures of new people, or by that inconstancy, to which all human affairs are subject. The ingenuity, industry, and activity of the ancient GREEKS have nothing in common with the stupidity and indolence of the present inhabitants of those regions.

Where any accident, as a difference in language or religion, keeps two nations, inhabiting the same country, from mixing with each other, they will preserve, during several centuries, a distinct and even opposite set of manners. The integrity, gravity, and bravery of the TURKS, form an exact contrast to the deceit, levity, and cowardice of the modern GREEKS.
The Church in England in the Eighteenth Century was beset by a number of issues. As the established church, it saw itself as embracing many of the principles of the early reform movement, while also maintaining itself as the unbroken continuation of the apostolic and later mediaeval universal church. In the early part of the century the church was in a state of confusion over the conflict between a Catholic hereditary monarch and a Protestant claimant chosen by parliament. Certainly, as has been observed elsewhere, the Anglican Church in the Eighteenth Century was not the stuff of martyrs. The diversity of Enlightenment thought challenged many aspects of Anglican belief. This was manifested among many of the upper classes in a growing interest in Deism and may well explain why Governor Phillip was authorised to enforce religious observance but not to establish the Anglican Church in NSW. Others, like John Wesley, 1703-1791, were alarmed at what they saw as a drift away from the literal truth of the Bible. A minister within the Anglican Church, Wesley’s application of method and reason to his studies, gave rise to the term Methodism. His energy galvanised the Evangelical movement from 1740 onwards, particularly amongst the lower classes. Key features of this movement were:

- an emphasis on the Bible as a revelation of God’s truth;
- a focus on Christ’s redeeming sacrifice;
- salvation through faith;
- missionary and evangelical work, particularly penal reform and the abolition of slavery, two of the great social justice movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both of which affected the nature of British settlement in NSW.

Voltaire, 1694-1778, was a prolific writer whose attacks on individuals and institutions required frequent changes of address across Europe. While his belief in Deism was based on reason and a rejection of what he saw as the human hand in Christianity some of his polemics may have been shaped by personal experience, e.g., his anti-Semitism may have been based on personal experience and his attitude towards Negroes may have been shaped by his investment in slave trading. Needless to say he did not visit Africa or the Americas.

As I have not as yet been able to find the original sources or adequate translations, I have drawn the following quotes from http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Talk:Voltaire, and http://www.quodlibet.net/foutz-racism.shtml.

In his 1754, *Essai sur les moeurs*, he identified “the White, the Negroes, the Albinos, Hottentots, the Lapps, the Chinese, the Americans,” to be entirely different races and he projected a linear development of mankind from "savagery" to "civilization".

Voltaire separated Negroes from the rest of humanity and placed them alongside animals and basically fit only for slavery.

‘I see monkeys, elephants, negroes, who all seem to have some gleam of an imperfect reason. They have a language that I do not hear, and all their actions appear to also refer to a certain end. If I judged things by the first effect they make on me, I would have the leaning one to believe that of all these beings it is the elephant which is the reasonable animal.\(^{42}\)

*The race of the Negroes is a species of men different from ours ... we can say that if their intelligence is not from another species of our understanding, she is much lower. They are*

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not able of a great attention, they combine little and do not appear made nor for the
advantages, nor for the abuses of our philosophy. They are originate from this part of Africa
like the elephants and the monkeys; they think they are born in Guinea to be sold to the
whites and to serve them. —

I see men who appear superior to me than these negroes, as these negroes are it with
the monkeys, and as the monkeys are it with oysters and other animals of this species.

In his speculations on the origins of these racial differences Voltaire took a swipe at both the
Scriptures and Monogenesis.

‘It is a serious question among them whether [the Africans] are descended from monkeys or
whether the monkeys come from them. Our wise men have said that man was created in the
image of God. Now here is a lovely image of the Divine Maker: a flat and black nose with
little or hardly any intelligence. A time will doubtless come when these animals will know
how to cultivate the land well, beautify their houses and gardens, and know the paths of the
stars: one needs time for everything.’

‘The nature subordinated to this principle these various degrees and these characters of the
nations, that we seldom sees change. It is by there that the Negroes are the slaves of the other
men. We buy them on the coasts of Africa like animals.

Certainly Voltaire did not subscribe to the degenerative affects of climate for producing the
inferiority of Negros, suggesting an entirely different form of Polygenesis.

‘Their round eyes, their flat nose, theirs lips always thick, their differently-shaped ears, the
wool of their head, the measure itself of their intelligence, puts between them and other
species of human prodigious differences. And that which shows that they do not owe this
difference to their climate, it is that Negroes, transported in the coldest countries, there
produce animals of their species, and that the mulattos are only a bastard race of a Black
man and of a White woman, or of a White man and of a Black woman.

It is not improbable that in the hot countries monkeys subjugated girls. Herodotus, in the
Book II, said that during his trip in Egypt there was a woman who publicly coupled herself
with a goat in the province of Mendès ... It is thus necessary that these couplings were
common; and until one is better cleared up, it is to be supposed that monstrous species have
been born from these abominable loves. But if they existed, they could not influence mankind;
and, similar to the mules, who do not generate, they could not denature the other races.

His views on Native Americans were similar to those he expressed about First People
Africans.

‘All the rest of this vast continent [of America] was shared, and still is, by small societies to
whom the arts are unknown. All these peoples live in huts; they wear the skin of animals in

cold climates, and go nearly naked in the temperate ones. Some feed from hunting, others on roots that they knead. They have not sought another way of life, because one does not desire that which one does not know. Their industry has been unable to go beyond their urgent needs. Samoyèdes, Lapps, habitants of the north of Siberia, those of Kamtschatka, are even less advanced than the people of the America. Most of the Negroes, all Kaffirs, are plunged in the same stupidity, and they will stagnate a long time. 49

Emmerich de Vattel, 1714-1767, was a Swiss philosopher, diplomat and legal expert, still widely regarded as a pioneer of modern international law. The following extract, Paragraph 81 The cultivation of the soil a natural obligation, is from Chapter Seven of his best known work, The Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns, which was translated into English in 1759. Interestingly placed mankind within the law of nature, i.e., universal and determined by reason, rather than the law of God. This extract is of particular importance because Vattel qualified the right of settlers to dispossess the original inhabitants.

The cultivation of the soil deserves the attention of the government, not only on account of the invaluable advantages that flow from it, but from its being an obligation imposed by nature on mankind. The whole earth is destined to feed its inhabitants; but this it would be incapable of doing if it were uncultivated. Every nation is then obliged by the law of nature to cultivate the land that has fallen to its share; and it has no right to enlarge its boundaries, or have recourse to the assistance of other nations, but in proportion as the land in its possession is incapable of furnishing it with necessaries. Those nations (such as the ancient Germans, and some modern Tartars) who inhabit fertile countries, but disdain to cultivate their lands and choose rather to live by plunder, are wanting to themselves, are injurious to all their neighbours, and deserve to be extirpated as savage and pernicious beasts. There are others, who, to avoid labour, choose to live only by hunting, and their flocks. This might, doubtless, be allowed in the first ages of the world, when the earth, without cultivation, produced more than was sufficient to feed its small number of inhabitants. But at present, when the human race is so greatly multiplied, it could not subsist if all nations were disposed to live in that manner. Those who still pursue this idle mode of life, usurp more extensive territories than, with a reasonable share of labour, they would have occasion for, and have, therefore, no reason to complain, if other nations, more industrious and too closely confined, come to take possession of a part of those lands. Thus, though the conquest of the civilized empires of Peru and Mexico was a notorious usurpation, the establishment of many colonies on the continent of North America might, on their confining themselves within just bounds, be extremely lawful. The people of those extensive tracts rather ranged through than inhabited them. 50

Immanuel Kant, 1724-1804, German philosopher, is considered by many to be the great moral philosopher of the Enlightenment. Immanuel Kant’s theory of race formation occupies a mid ground between the environmental theory and the random variation and selection approach. He agreed with Buffon that genetic relationships were the key to natural history and that mankind were one related group, however, he was interested in the idea of classification and used skin colour as the basis of his classification system. He argued that this was the one characteristic that was inherited from generation to generation and would be

50 Emmerich de Vattel, The Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns, 1758, http://www.constitution.org/vattel/vattel_01.htm
blended between the races. He argued that there were four basic skin colours, the white of the North European, the copper red of American Indian, the Black of the Senegambian, and the olive yellow of the oriental Indian. Each of these skin colours tended to predominate in particular regions and he came to the conclusion that they corresponded with four racial groups.

His position differed from the Polygenesists in that he argued that the four different races sprung from the one common stock. Kant explained racial differences by claiming that our ancestors had a fund of four germs, essences or seeds each of which was present at creation. These essences were not a blueprint, but an algorithm, carrying a rule to allow a reaction to changing circumstances.

Despite his attempt at a middle position he fell prey to racial stereotyping, as shown in the following excerpt from his essay, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764).

‘If we cast a fleeting glance over the other parts of the world, we find the Arab the noblest man in the Orient, yet of a feeling that degenerates very much into the adventurous. He is hospitable, generous, and truthful; yet his narrative and history and on the whole his feeling are always interwoven with some wonderful thing. His inflamed imagination presents things to him in unnatural and distorted images, and even the propagation of his religion was a great adventure. If the Arabs are, so to speak, the Spanish of the orient, similarly the Persians are the French of Asia. They are good poets, courteous and of fairly fine taste. They are not such strict followers of Islam, and they permit to their pleasure-prone disposition a tolerably mild interpretation of the Koran. The Japanese could in a way be regarded as the Englishmen of this part of the world, but hardly in any other quality than their resoluteness -- which degenerates into the utmost stubbornness -- their valour, and disdain of death. For the rest, they display few signs of a finer feeling. The Indians have a dominating taste of the grotesque, of the sort that falls into the adventurous. Their religion consists of grotesqueries. Idols of monstrous form, the priceless tooth of the mighty monkey Hanuman, the unnatural atonements of the fakirs (heathen mendicant friars) and so forth are in this taste. The despotic sacrifice of wives in the very same funeral pyre that consumes the corpse of the husband is hideous excess. What trifling grotesqueries do the verbose and studied compliments of the Chinese contain! Even their paintings are grotesque and portray strange and unnatural figures such as are encountered nowhere in the world. They also have the venerable grotesqueries because they are of very ancient custom, and no nation in the world has more of these than this one.

The Negroses of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises about the trifling. Mr. Hume challenges anyone to cite a single example in which a Negro has shown talents, and asserts that among the hundreds of thousands of black who are transported elsewhere from their countries, although many of them have even been set free, still not a single one was every found who presented anything great in art or science or any other praiseworthy quality, even though among the whites some continually rise aloft from the lowest rabble, and through superior gifts earn respect in the world. So fundamental is the difference between these two races of man, and it appears to be as great in regard to mental capacities as in colour. The religion of fetishes so widespread among them is perhaps a sort of idolatry that sinks as deeply into the trifling as appears to be possible to human nature. A bird's feather, a cow's horn, a conch shell, or any other common object, as soon as it becomes consecrated by a few words, is an object of veneration and of invocation in swearing oaths. The blacks are
very vain but in the Negro's way, and so talkative that they must be driven apart from each other with thrashings.

Among all savages there is no nation that displays so sublime a mental character as those of North America. They have a strong feeling for honour, and as in quest of it they seek wild adventures hundreds of miles abroad, they are still extremely careful to avert the least injury to it when their equally harsh enemy, upon capturing them, seeks by cruel pain to extort cowardly groans from them. The Canadian savage, moreover, is truthful and honest. The friendship he establishes is just as adventurous and enthusiastic as anything of that kind reported from the most ancient and fabled times. He is extremely proud, feels the whole worth of freedom, and even in his education suffers no encounter that would let him feel a low subservience. Lycurgus probably gave statutes to just such savages; and if a lawgiver arose among those Six Nations, one would see a Spartan republic rise in the New World; for the undertaking of the Argonauts is little different from the war parties of these Indians, and Jason excels Atakakullakulla in nothing but the honour of a Greek name. All these savages have little feeling for the beautiful in moral understanding, and the generous forgiveness of an injury, which is at once noble and beautiful, is completely unknown as a virtue among the savages, but rather is disdained as a miserable cowardice. Valour is the greatest merit of the savage and revenge his sweetest bliss. The remaining natives of this part of the world show few traces of a mental character disposed to the finer feelings, and an extraordinary apathy constitutes the mark of this type of race.

If we examine the relation of the sexes in these parts of the world, we find that the European alone has found the secret of decorating with so many flowers the sensual charm of a mighty inclination and of interlacing it with so much morality that he has not only extremely elevated its agreeableness but also made it very decorous. The inhabitant of the Orient is of a very false taste in this respect. Since he has no concept of the morally beautiful which can be united with this impulse, he loses even the worth of the sensuous enjoyment, and his harem is a constant source of unrest. He thrives on all sorts of amorous grotesqueries, among which the imaginary jewel is only the foremost, which he seeks to safeguard above all else, whose whole worth consists only in smashing it, and of which one in our part of the world generally entertains much malicious doubt -- and yet to whose preservation he makes use of very unjust and often loathsome means. Hence there a woman is always in a prison, whether she may be a maid, or have a barbaric, good-for-nothing and always suspicious husband. In the lands of the black, what better can one expect than what is found prevailing, namely the feminine sex in the deepest slavery? A despairing man is always a strict master over anyone weaker, just as with us that man is always a tyrant in the kitchen who outside his own house hardly dares to look anyone in the face. Of course, Father Labat reports that a Negro carpenter, whom he reproached for haughty treatment toward his wives, answered: ‘You whites are indeed fools, for first you make great concessions to your wives, and afterward you complain when they drive you mad.' And it might be that there were something in this which perhaps deserved to be considered; but in short, this fellow was quite black from head to foot, a clear proof that what he said was stupid.

Kant is seen as a bridge between the rationalist and empiricist traditions. He is seen as the last great philosopher of the Enlightenment and a transition between that age and modern times.

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51 Father Labat was a French missionary priest in Barbados in the Eighteenth Century.
52 Immanuel Kant, Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime (1764), www.public.asu.edu/~jacquies/kant-observations.htm
In *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1801 he argued that because of the way we think, we cannot be certain if there is or is not a God, but for the sake of society and morality it is best to believe.

In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1765 Sir William Blackstone, 1723-1780, explored the place of British law in the newly acquired colonies and the question of who had the authority to change the laws of the colony. In describing the different ways in which colonies or plantations had been acquired, Blackstone probably drew upon Grotius: “these rights are founded upon the law of nature, or at least upon that of nations”.

'Plantations, or colonies in distant countries, are either such where the lands are claimed by right of occupancy only, by finding them desert and uncultivated, and peopling them from the mother country; or where, when already cultivated, they have been either gained by conquest, or ceded to us by treaties. And both these rights are founded upon the law of nature, or at least upon that of nations. But there is a difference between these two species of colonies, with respect to the laws by which they are bound. For it is held, that if an uninhabited country be discovered and planted by English subjects, all the English laws are immediately there in force. For as the law is the birthright of every subject, so wherever they go they carry their laws with them. But in conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the king may indeed alter and change those laws; but, till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the law of God, as in the case of an infidel country’.

Blackstone did not use the term “*terra nullius*”; it was not until 1772 that the overarching term, “*res nullius*”, appeared in an English work. However, the impact of Locke and Vattel can be seen in his reasoning.

In the 1971 case, *Milirrpum versus Nabalco Pty Ltd and The Commonwealth of Australia*, Justice Blackburn argued that: “There is a distinction between settled colonies, where the land, being desert and uncultivated, is claimed by right of occupancy, and conquered or ceded colonies. The words ‘desert and uncultivated’ are Blackstone’s own; they have always been taken to include territory in which live uncivilized inhabitants in a primitive state of society. The difference between the laws of the two kinds of colony is that in those of the former kind all the English laws which are applicable to the colony are immediately in force there upon its foundation. In those of the latter kind, the colony already having law of its own, that law remains in force until altered.”

This was a huge leap upon Blackburn’s part. Probably the only settlement of “*desert and uncultivated*” places took place in the Pacific over a thousand years ago. Modern settler societies, such as the Americas, South Africa, New South Wales, New Zealand and Israel, have never been in “*desert and uncultivated*” lands. There was always someone there beforehand and it is also inappropriate to describe them as “*uncivilized inhabitants in a primitive state of society*”.

Nor is it appropriate to assume that Blackstone dismissed the proprietal rights of hunters, gatherers and herders. “For, by the law of nature and reason, he who first began to use it, acquired therein a kind of transient property, that lasted so long as he was using it, and no


longer: or, to speak with greater precision, the right of possession continued for the same time only that the act of possession lasted.” However, the conclusion of the paragraph did not auger well for the original owners: “but the instant that he quitted the use or occupation of it, another might seize it without injustice”.  

Georges-Louis-Leclerc, 1707-1788, was born into a French aristocratic family and became the Comte-de-Buffon in 1773. He is well known for his work in the natural sciences, mathematics and astronomy. In the natural sciences he is best remembered for *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière*, 1749-1778, a massive work about the natural world. Buffon was disturbed not only by the compartmentalisation of the Great Chain, but also by Linneaus’ taxonomy which he felt limited scholarship. Like many other scholars of the time, Buffon struggled to reconcile his religion with the what he saw in the world around him. One solution for Buffon was to suggest that man had been created in all his fullness by God, whereas the plants and animals had their own creation and had subsequently changed, i.e., evolution for one but not the other. In the Chapter on *Of Animals Common to Both Continents* Buffon explored similarities and differences between animals and plants in the Old and New Worlds. He claimed that plants improved or degenerated after moving away from the point of creation, i.e., he was speculating about evolution. These arguments he extended to animals, including First People. His arguments would provide justification for the ruthless exploitation of the new worlds being discovered by the Europeans. What the following paragraphs clearly demonstrate is the twisted convolution of thought by which any landscape apart from their treeless and cultivated plots, i.e., forest, jungle and great river become a “empty and desert state of nature”. It is highly likely that when Cook and Banks encountered the forests, exotic fauna and First Peoples of New Holland, that their thinking was strongly influenced by Buffon. There is also a strong likelihood that Joseph Banks’ frequent usage of the term “Indians” reflects Buffon’s influence.

'In this New World, therefore, there is some combination of elements and other physical causes, something that opposes the amplification of animated Nature: There are obstacles to the development, and perhaps to the formation of large germs. Even those which, from the kindly influences of another climate, have acquired their complete form and expansion, shrink and diminish under a niggardly sky and an unprolific land, thinly peopled with wandering savages, who, instead of using this territory as a master, had no property or empire; and, having subjected neither the animals nor the elements, nor conquered the seas, nor directed the motions of rivers, nor cultivated the earth, held only the first rank among animated beings, and existed as a creature of no consideration in Nature, a kind of weak automaton, incapable of improving or seconding her intentions. She treated them rather like a stepmother than a parent, by refusing them the invigorating sentiment of love, and the strong desire of multiplying their species. For, though the American savage be nearly of the same stature with men in polished societies; yet this is not a sufficient exception to the general contraction of animated Nature throughout the whole Continent. In the savage, the organs of generation are small and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female. Though nimbler than the European, because more accustomed to running, his strength is not so great. His sensations are less acute; and yet he is more timid and cowardly. He has no vivacity, no activity of mind. The activity of his body is not so much an exercise or spontaneous motion, as a necessary action produced by want. Destroy his appetite for victuals and drink, and you will at once annihilate the active principle of all his movements:

He remains in stupid repose, on his limbs or couch, for whole days. It is easy to discover the cause of the scattered life of savages, and of their estrangement from society. They have been refused the most precious spark of Nature’s fire: They have no ardour for women, and, of course, no love to mankind. Unacquainted with the most lively and most tender of all attachments, their other sensations of this nature are cold and languid. Their love to parents and children is extremely weak. The bonds of the most intimate of all societies, that of the same family, are feeble; and one family has no attachment to another. Hence no union, no republic, no social state, can take place among them. The physical cause of love gives rise to the morality of their manners. Their heart is frozen, their society cold, and their empire cruel. They regard their females as servants destined to labour, or as beasts of burden, whom they load unmercifully with the produce of their hunting, and oblige, without pity or gratitude, to perform labours which often exceed their strength. They have few children, and pay little attention to them. Every thing must be referred to the first cause: They are indifferent, because they are weak; and this indifference to the sex is the original stain which disgraces Nature, prevents her from expanding, and, by destroying the germs of life, cuts the root of society.\footnote{Georges-Louis-Leclerc, 
Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière, Volume 5, 1766, 
http://faculty.njcu.edu/fmoran/vol5common.htm}

Buffon then extends the same twisted logic to speculate what the affect of European colonisation would be on the stunted New World deserts.

‘Hence every circumstance indicates that the Americans are new men, or rather men who had been so long separated from their original country, that they had lost every idea of the part of the world from which they had issued; that the greatest part of the continent of America was new land, still untouched by the hand of man, and in which Nature had not time sufficient to accomplish her plans, or to unfold the whole extent of her productions; that the men are cold, and the animals small, because the ardour of the former, and the magnitude of the latter, depend upon the salubrity and heat of the air; and that, some centuries hence, when the lands are cultivated, the forest cut down, the courses of the rivers properly directed, and the marshes drained, this same country will become the most fertile, the most wholesome, and the richest in the whole world, as it is already in all the parts which have experienced the industry and skill of man. We mean not, however, to conclude, that large animals would then be produced. The tapir and cabiai will never acquire the magnitude of the elephant or hippopotamus. But the animals transported thither will no longer diminish, as they have formerly done. Man will gradually fill up the vacuities in these immense territories, which were perfect deserts when first discovered.\footnote{Georges-Louis-Leclerc, 
Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière, Volume 5, 1766, 
http://faculty.njcu.edu/fmoran/vol5common.htm}

The following extract shows that Leclerc attributes the differences between the Old and New World to differences in temperature and moisture. This points to the inadequacy of reason and logic attempting to explain the human condition outside of a scientific framework. It also well illustrates the unpreparedness of Europeans for the forests of the New World, which were literally beyond their memory or comprehension.

‘in the New Continent, the heat must be greatly inferior to that of the Old; and I shall now show, that there is likewise a greater degree of moisture in America. The mountains, being the highest upon the globe, and being opposed to the direction of the east wind, stop and condense all the aerial vapours, and, of course, give rise to an infinite number of springs,
which, by uniting, soon form the greatest rivers in the world. Hence in the New Continent, there are more running waters, in proportion to the extent of territory, than in the Old; and this quantity of water is greatly increased for want of proper drains or outlets. The natives having neither stopped the torrents, nor directed the rivers, nor drained the marshes, the stagnant waters cover immense tracts of land, augment the moisture of the air, and diminish its heat. Besides, as the earth is everywhere covered with trees, shrubs, and gross herbage, it never dries. The transpiration of so many vegetables, pressed close together, produce immense quantities of moist and noxious exhalations. In these melancholy regions, Nature remains concealed under her old garments, and never exhibits herself in fresh attire; being neither cherished nor cultivated by man, she never opens her fruitful and beneficent womb. Here the Earth never saw her surface adorned with those rich crops, which demonstrate her fecundity, and constitute the opulence of polished nations. In this abandoned condition, every thing languishes, corrupts, and proves abortive. The air and the earth, overloaded with humid and noxious vapours, are unable either to purify themselves, or to profit by the influences of the Sun, who darts in vain his most enlivening rays upon this frigid mass, which is not in a condition to make suitable returns to his ardour. Its powers are limited to the production of moist plants, reptiles, and insects, and can only afford nourishment to cold men and feeble animals.

The scarcity of men, therefore, in America, and most of them living like brutes, is the chief cause why the earth remains in a frigid state, and is incapable of producing the active principles of Nature. To expand the germs of the largest quadrupeds, and to enable them to grow and multiply, requires all the activity which the sun can give to a fertile earth. It is for the opposition reason, that insects, reptiles, and all the animals which wallow in the mire, whose blood is watery, and which multiply in corruption, are larger and more numerous in the low, moist, and marshy lands of the New Continent. 58

The next extract is of interest because it shows Leclerc’s inability to accept Spanish descriptions of the New World that did not fit within the framework of his thinking about the way things ought to be. The possibility that European diseases may have had a catastrophic effect upon these populations appears not have occurred to him.


The Catholic Church in France condemned Les époques de la nature, 1778, not because of any failure in logic or reason but because Buffon suggested that the earth was at least 70,000 years old which conflicted with Bishop Usher’s date of Creation in 4004 BC. He also denied the universal nature of the flood, claiming that animals have evolved features rather than being the result of spontaneous creation.
The old Roman traditions of “res nullius”, “terra nullius” and “ferae bestiae”, i.e., all things that are unowned or unoccupied become the property of the occupier or holder began to reappear in the Eighteenth Century. Curiously it began to appear first in English translations of European works. It first appeared in the footnotes added by the English editor to his translation of Pudendorf’s 1735 Duty of Man. Res Nullius first appeared in English in John Taylor’s 1772 Summary of Roman Law: “Things that lie in common; parts of the world not yet discovered, animals not claimed.” “(P)arts of the world not yet discovered“ was Taylor’s addition.60 Taylor’s work appeared two years after Cook took possession of NSW.

James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, 1714-1799, was an eccentric, Scottish judge, scholar, colleague of David Hume and an intellectual precursor to Darwin. He was deeply religious and saw God as the prime creator, very much in the sense of Aristotle and it should be noted that he did not agree with Newton’s speculations on the nature of God’s role. Through his analysis of First People languages (Native American and Tahitian) he conceptualised ideas of natural selection and evolution, i.e., that the development of language reflected the social development of Mankind. This was revolutionary thought for the time because Genesis gave the sense that Man and Woman were created fully formed. Monboddo was not disturbed by this criticism because Genesis to Monboddo was an allegory. In 1789 he came to the conclusion that mankind had a single point of origin, somewhere east of Europe. He was embroiled in controversy with Buffon over the issue of man’s relationship with the higher primates. Buffon argued for separate creations, while Monboddo argued for a closer connection. In 1772 he met with Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander and quizzed them about the First People they encountered on Cook’s first circumnavigation. This encounter is recorded in Samuel Johnson’s letter to Hester Thrale, 25 August 1773:

‘We traveled towards Aberdeen, another University, and in the way we dined at Lord Monbodo’s, the Scottish Judge who has lately written a strange book about the origin of Language,61 in which he traces Monkeys up to Men, and says that in some countries the human Species have tails like other beasts. He enquired for these longtailed Men of Banks, and was not well pleased, that they had not been found in all his peregrinations. 62

A similar conversation between Monboddo and James Cook about the supposed monkey-like qualities of First Peoples took place at a dinner hosted by Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society in 1776.63

Probably because of his strong religious convictions Monboddo could not bring himself to say that man and the apes had common ancestors.

While many of his readers were attracted by the uniqueness and sensationalism of his ideas Monboddo was not taken seriously at the time because of his eccentricity.64 In describing the

61 Of the Origin and Progress of Language, 1773-92.
acquisition of language Monboddo drew comparisons between the wild girl of Champagne, captured in 1731, and orang-outangs, who:

‘want therefore nothing in order to speak, but instruction or example, which the savages who invented the first languages likewise wanted. For, as it is well known, savages are very indolent, at least with respect to any exercise of the mind, and are hardly excited to action by any curiosity, or desire of learning.’

While Monboddo and Buffon may have been exciting pioneers in the field of evolution, their works only belittled the image of First People in European minds and weakened perceptions of the universal nature of the human condition. This perception was only to be reinforced by other more partisan contemporary writers.

Edward Long, 1734-1813, came from a family of the Jamaican planter elite and was Lieutenant-governor there. In 1774 he published his three volume History of Jamaica, in which he argued that the Negro slaves shared with their African brethren no redeeming qualities, as proved by their failure to display any improvement despite several centuries of colonisation and integration into European society through slavery. He justified this argument by drawing upon the Great Chain of Being and Buffon’s speculation about man and a possible connection with the apes, to argue that the African Negroes were a separate species betwixt apes and humans, living between the European race who lived in Eurasia and the Americas, and the Orang-utan race who lived in Madagascar, the East Indies and New Zealand.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, 1696 – 1782, a central figure in the Scottish Enlightenment. Sketches of the History of Man, first published in 1774 was in its author’s words, “a history of the species, in its progress from the savage state to its highest civilization and improvement” (Book I, p. 11). When exploring the diversity of human kind Kames differed from many of his contemporaries. He did not accept that climate and latitude were enough to account for the differences. Nor did he accept that there was a natural progression from savagery to pastoralism, agriculture and onto the polished world of mercantilism and commerce. In explaining his position he argued the scattering of mankind after the fall of the tower of Babel resulted in mankind being “divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates”.

‘Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whose top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have had the same language, but would have made the same progress

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64 In 1773 Boswell recorded the following conversation with Samuel Johnson. There are other similar comments by Johnson: “On the 30th of September we dined together at the Mitre. I attempted to argue for the superior happiness of the savage life, upon the usual fanciful topics. JOHNSON. ‘Sir, there can be nothing more false. The savages have no bodily advantages beyond those of civilised men. They have not better health; and as to care or mental uneasiness, they are not above it, but below it, like bears. No, Sir; you are not to talk such paradox: let me have no more on’t. It cannot entertain, far less can it instruct. Lord Monboddo, one of your Scotch Judges, talked a great deal of such nonsense. I suffered him; but I will not suffer you.’ BOSWELL. ‘But, Sir, does not Rousseau talk such nonsense?’ JOHNSON. ‘True, Sir, but Rousseau knows he is talking nonsense, and laughs at the world for staring at him.’ BOSWELL. ‘How so, Sir?’ JOHNSON. ‘Why, Sir, a man who talks nonsense so well, must know that he is talking nonsense. But I am afraid, (chuckling and laughing,) Monboddo does not know that he is talking nonsense.”


66 http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/one_race.html
towards maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reversed all nature: by scattering men over the face of all the earth, it deprived them of society, and rendered them savages. From that state of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, stimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progress; some have proceeded more slowly; and some continue savages.  

While Kames argued that he was reconciling the sacred and the profane his arguments were enthusiastically promoted as proof of polygenesis.

‘If we can rely on the conjectures of an eminent writer, America emerged from the sea later than any other part of the known world: and supposing the human race to have been planted in America by the hand of God later than the days of Moses, Adam and Eve might have been the first parents of mankind, i.e. of all who at that time existed, without being the first parents of the Americans. The Terra Australis incognita is separated from the rest of the world by a wide ocean, which carries a ship round the earth without interruption. How has that continent been peopled? There is not the slightest probability, that it ever has been joined to any other land. Here a local creation, if it may be termed so, appears unavoidable; and if we must admit more than one act of creation, even the appearance of difficulty, from reiteration of acts, totally vanisheth. M. Buffon in his natural history affirms, that not a single American quadruped of a hot climate is found in any other part of the earth: with respect to these we must unavoidably admit a local creation; and nothing seems more natural, than under the same act to comprehend the first parents of the American people.

Kames apparent objectivity should be tempered with his observation that: “Whence then are derived the different species of dogs above mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleased to name them? Uniformity invariable must be a law in their nature, for it never can be ascribed to chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels also among men: the several kinds however continue distinct; and probably will so continue for ever.”

Any remaining doubts about Kames’ authority should be dispelled by his concluding remark.

‘In the savage state, man is almost all body, with a very small proportion of mind. In the maturity of civil society, he is complete both in mind and body. In a state of degeneracy by luxury and voluptuousness, he has neither mind nor body.’

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, 1752-1840, was a German naturalist and anthropologist whose anthropological work was underpinned by a collection of 60 human craniums described in his

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Collectionis suae Craniorum Diversarum Gentium Illustrate Decades, 1790-1828. His collection of skulls formed the basis of his investigations into the natural history of Mankind. Using his collection he identified three types: Mongols, Negroes, and Caucasians.

Despite the title of his book, On the Natural Varieties of Mankind, 1775, Johann Blumenbach believed in Monogenesis. He used cranial measurements to initially argue that there were four groupings of people, which division he drew from Linnaeus. In the second (1781) edition of his treatise, after looking at the different nations of Eastern Asia and the Americas he changed it to five varieties, Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malayan. In the third edition of his work in 1795 his ideas reached full fruition.

Blumenbach, like most other people was a mass of contradictions. He was opposed to slavery, was firmly committed to Monogenesis and did not believe in racial hierarchies, “although there seems to be so great a difference between widely separate nations, that you might easily take the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, the Greenlanders, and the Circassians for so many different species of man, yet when the matter is thoroughly considered, you see that all do so run into one another, and that one variety of mankind does so sensibly pass into the other, that you cannot mark out the limits between them.” Despite his disclaimers to the contrary he effectively created a racial hierarchy underpinned by aesthetics that fuelled racist theory.

In line with current thinking, Blumenbach argued that Homo sapiens had been created in a single region and had then spread over the globe. He was of the opinion that the Caucasus Mountains with its associations with the myths of Prometheus and Jason and the final resting place of Noah’s ark on Mount Ararat, was the source of this original race in which he also people from Eurasia and North Africa. His use of the name Caucasian, was fanciful, value laden and profoundly attractive to Europeans. Not unsurprisingly it is still in use.

“I have taken the name of this variety from Mount Caucasus, both because its neighbourhood, and especially its southern slope, produces the most beautiful race of men, I mean the Georgian; and because all physiological reasons converge to this, that in that region, if anywhere, it seems we ought with the greatest probability to place the autochthones of mankind.”

From this place of origin, according to Blumenbach, people fanned out in two directions and latitude, mountains, oceans and deserts contributed to changes, which he called "degenerations" - not in the modern sense of deterioration, but in the literal meaning of departure from the original stock. Blumenbach believed that over time these changes became hereditary, and were in fact reversible through migration.

“I have allotted the first place to the Caucasian ... which makes me esteem it the primeval one. This diverges in both directions into two, most remote and very different from each other; on the one side, namely, into the Ethiopian, and on the other into the Mongolian. The remaining two occupy the intermediate positions between that primeval one and these two extreme varieties; that is, the American between the Caucasian and Mongolian; the Malay between the same Caucasian and Ethiopian.”

71 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caucasian_race
72 From Blumenbach’s third edition http://www.discover.com/issues/nov-94/features/thgeometerofrac441/
Essentially Blumenbach invented the fifth group, the Malay, or brown group, to fill a gap in gradation between the white Caucasians and the black Ethiopians. Effectively what Blumenbach did was create a pyramid, with the Caucasians at the peak with Americans and Mongolians on one side and the Malays and the Ethiopians on the other, or putting it another way, the most aesthetically pleasing at the top, and the least aesthetically pleasing at the extremities. It was simple, logical, flawed and racist.

Blumenbach’s most important contribution to the history of human thinking is also probably little noticed. In Handbuch der Naturgeschichte, 1779, he resolved his quandary of the possible linkages between humans and the apes by advocating that zoological classifications be based on the structures associated with an animal’s specific function. In this book he described the chimpanzee - in Latin, as: “Troglodytes, der Chimpanse. S. macrocephala, torosa dorso et humerus pilosis, reliquo corpore glabo. (Troglodytes, the chimpanzee. Monkey with large head, muscular back and hairy upper arms, rest of body bald.)” Exactly why he used the description troglodytes is unclear, but the sleeping implication was that Blumenbach had cut the link between humanity and the hand of God. Our story now belonged to Science.

Charles Montesquieu, 1689-1755, was a prominent social and political commentator who’s Spirit of the Laws (1748) is the best known of long held beliefs about the influence of climate on human culture. Unsurprisingly, he thought the climate of France had the most beneficial effect on people.

‘In southern countries a machine of a delicate frame but strong sensibility resigns itself either to a love which rises and is incessantly laid in a seraglio, or to a passion which leaves women in a greater independence, and is consequently exposed to a thousand inquietudes. In northern regions a machine robust and heavy finds pleasure in whatever is apt to throw the spirits into motion, such as hunting, travelling, war, and wine. If we travel towards the north, we meet with people who have few vices, many virtues, and a great share of frankness and sincerity. If we draw near the south, we fancy ourselves entirely removed from the verge of morality; here the strongest passions are productive of all manner of crimes, each man endeavouring, let the means be what they will, to indulge his inordinate desires. In temperate climates we find the inhabitants inconstant in their manners, as well as in their vices and virtues: the climate has not a quality determinate enough to fix them.

The heat of the climate may be so excessive as to deprive the body of all vigour and strength. Then the faintness is communicated to the mind: there is no curiosity, no enterprise, no generosity of sentiment; the inclinations are all passive; indolence constitutes the utmost happiness; scarcely any punishment is so severe as mental employment; and slavery is more supportable than the force and vigour of mind necessary for human conduct.’

Montesquieu, in Book XVIII, went onto to describe the worlds of savage and barbarous peoples.

There is this difference between savage and barbarous nations: the former are dispersed clans, which for some particular reason cannot be joined in a body; and the latter are

commonly small nations, capable of being united. The savages are generally hunters; the barbarians are herdsmen and shepherds.

This appears plain in the north of Asia. The people of Siberia cannot live in bodies, because they are unable to find subsistence; the Tartars may live in bodies for some time, because their herds and flocks may for a time be reassembled. All the clans may then be reunited, and this is effected when one chief has subdued many others; after which they may do two things - either separate, or set out with a design to make a great conquest in some southern empire.

As these people do not live in circumscribed territories, many causes of strife arise between them; they quarrel about waste land as we about inheritances. Thus they find frequent occasions for war, in disputes in relation either to their hunting, their fishing, the pasture for their cattle, or the violent seizing of their slaves; and as they are not possessed of landed property, they have many things to regulate by the law of nations, and but few to decide by the civil law.

13. Of the Civil Laws of those Nations who do not cultivate the Earth.
The division of lands is what principally increases the civil code. Among nations where they have not made this division there are very few civil laws. The institutions of these people may be called manners rather than laws. Among such nations as these the old men, who remember things past, have great authority; they cannot there be distinguished by wealth, but by wisdom and valour. These people wander and disperse themselves in pasture grounds or in forests. Marriage cannot there have the security which it has among us, where it is fixed by the habitation, and where the wife continues in one house; they may then more easily change their wives, possess many, and sometimes mix indifferently like brutes.

Nations of herdsmen and shepherds cannot leave their cattle, which are their subsistence; neither can they separate themselves from their wives, who look after them. All this ought, then, to go together, especially as living generally in a flat open country, where there are few places of considerable strength, their wives, their children, their flocks, may become the prey of their enemies.

The laws regulate the division of plunder, and give, like our Salic laws, a particular attention to theft.

14. Of the political State of the People who do not cultivate the Land.
These people enjoy great liberty; for as they do not cultivate the earth, they are not fixed: they are wanderers and vagabonds; and if a chief should deprive them of their liberty, they would immediately go and seek it under another, or retire into the woods, and there live with their families. The liberty of the man is so great among these people that it necessarily draws after it that of the citizen. 74

His comments on the political State of the People who do not cultivate the Land resonates with Sir Joseph Banks’ 1786 opinion that the natives of New South Wales would abandon their land if it was settled.

The following extract from Montesquieu's Book XV dealing with slavery well illustrates the failure of Enlightenment logic and reason in addressing the human condition.

‘Were I to vindicate our right to make slaves of the negroes, these should be my arguments: The Europeans, having extirpated the Americans, were obliged to make slaves of the Africans, for clearing such vast tracts of land.

Sugar would be too dear if the plants which produce it were cultivated by any other than slaves. These creatures are all over black, and with such a flat nose that they can scarcely be pitied.

It is hardly to be believed that God, who is a wise Being, should place a soul, especially a good soul, in such a black ugly body.

It is so natural to look upon colour as the criterion of human nature, that the Asiatics, among whom eunuchs are employed, always deprive the blacks of their resemblance to us by a more opprobrious distinction.  

Adam Ferguson, 1723-1816, was another prominent figure in the Scottish Enlightenment. Educated at the University of St Andrews, he was from 1745 to 1754 the chaplain of the 42nd Regiment of Foot and served with them overseas. After leaving them he became an academic, mainly in the areas of history and philosophy. His Essay on the History of Civil Society, 1767, was an important work, notwithstanding David Hume’s thoughts that it was “superficial” and Adam Smith’s concern that Ferguson had used his material.

In the first section relating to the State of Nature Ferguson addressed what to him was the inexorable rise of civilisation. It was a remarkably prescient anticipation of the way in which the records of the settlement of the Hawkesbury were to be created. The only gap in his model was a lack of awareness of the impact of European borne diseases on First Peoples.

‘Not only the individual advances from infancy to manhood, but the species itself from rudeness to civilization. Hence the supposed departure of mankind from the state of their nature; hence our conjectures and different opinions of what man must have been in the first age of his being. The poet, the historian, and the moralist frequently allude to this ancient time; and under the emblems of gold, or of iron, represent a condition, and a manner of life, from which mankind have either degenerated, or on which they have greatly improved. On either supposition, the first state of our nature must have borne no resemblance to what men have exhibited in any subsequent period; historical monuments, even of the earliest date, are to be considered as novelties; and the most common establishments of human society are to be classed among the encroachments which fraud, oppression, or a busy invention, have made upon the reign of nature, by which the chief of our grievances or blessings were equally withheld.

Among the writers who have attempted to distinguish, in the human character, its original qualities, and to point out the limits between nature and art, some have represented mankind in their first condition, as possessed of mere animal sensibility, without any exercise of the faculties that render them superior to the brutes, without any political union, without any

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75 Charles Montesquieu from Book XV. In What Manner the Laws of Civil Slavery Relate to the Nature of the Climate, Spirit of the Laws 1748, http://www.constitution.org/cm/sol.txt
means of explaining their sentiments, and even without possessing any of the apprehensions and passions which the voice and the gesture are so well fitted to express. Others have made the state of nature to consist in perpetual wars kindled by competition for dominion and interest, where every individual had a separate quarrel with his kind, and where the presence of a fellow creature was the signal of battle.

The desire of laying the foundation of a favourite system, or a fond expectation, perhaps, that we may be able to penetrate the secrets of nature, to the very source of existence, have, on this subject, led to many fruitless inquiries, and given rise to many wild suppositions. Among the various qualities which mankind possess, we select one or a few particulars on which to establish a theory, and in framing our account of what man was in some imaginary state of nature, we overlook what he has always appeared within the reach of our own observation, and in the records of history. 76

In the second section Ferguson bypassed the debate on the origins of man and focused on the reality of Man as a social being progressing from “savagery” to “barbarism” to “civilization”.

The savage, whose fortune is comprised in his cabin, his fur, and his arms, is satisfied with that provision, and with that degree of security, he himself can procure. He perceives, in treating with his equal, no subject of discussion that should be referred to the decision of a judge; nor does he find in any hand the badges of magistracy, or the ensigns of a perpetual command.

The barbarian, though induced by his admiration of personal qualities, the lustre of a heroic race, or a superiority of fortune, to follow the banners of a leader, and to act a subordinate part in his tribe, knows not, that what he performs from choice, is to be made a subject of obligation. He acts from affections unacquainted with forms; and when provoked, or when engaged in disputes, he recurs to the sword, as the ultimate means of decision, in all questions of right.

Human affairs, in the mean time, continue their progress. What was in one generation a propensity to herd with the species, becomes in the ages which follow, a principle of natural union. What was originally an alliance for common defence, becomes a concerted plan of political force; the care of subsistence becomes an anxiety for accumulating wealth, and the foundation of commercial arts.

Mankind, in following the present sense of their minds, in striving to remove inconveniencies, or to gain apparent and contiguous advantages, arrive at ends which even their imagination could not anticipate; and pass on, like other animals, in the track of their nature, without perceiving its end. He who first said; ‘I will appropriate this field; I will leave it to my heirs;’ did not perceive, that he was laying the foundation of civil laws and political establishments. He who first ranged himself under a leader, did not perceive, that he was setting the example of a permanent subordination, under the pretence of which, the rapacious were to seize his possessions, and the arrogant to lay claim to his service.

Men, in general, are sufficiently disposed to occupy themselves in forming projects and schemes; but he who would scheme and project for others, will find an opponent in every person who is disposed to scheme for himself. Like the winds that come we know not whence, and blow whithersoever they list, the forms of society are derived from an obscure and distant origin; they arise, long before the date of philosophy, from the instincts, not from the speculations of men. The crowd of mankind are directed, in their establishments and measures, by the circumstances in which they are placed; and seldom are turned from their way, to follow the plan of any single projector.

Every step and every movement of the multitude, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future; and nations stumble upon establishments, which are indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design. [Footnote: De Retz’s Memoirs.] If Cromwell said, that a man never mounts higher, than when he knows not whither he is going; it may with more reason be affirmed of communities, that they admit of the greatest revolutions where no change is intended, and that the most refined politicians do not always know whither they are leading the state by their projects.

If we listen to the testimony of modern history, and to that of the most authentic parts of the ancient; if we attend to the practice of nations in every quarter of the world, and in every condition, whether that of the barbarian or the polished, we shall find very little reason to retract this assertion. No constitution is formed by concert, no government is copied from a plan. The members of a small state contend for equality; the members of a greater, find themselves classed in a certain manner that lays a foundation for monarchy. They proceed from one form of government to another, by easy transitions, and frequently under old names adopt a new constitution. The seeds of every form are lodged in human nature; they spring up and ripen with the season. The prevalence of a particular species is often derived from an imperceptible ingredient mingled in the soil.

Ferguson’s focus on the future of civilisation provided a template for settler societies to rationalise the destruction of First Peoples across the world.

‘whatever may have been the original state of our species, it is of more importance to know the condition to which we ourselves should aspire, than that which our ancestors may be supposed to have left.’

As the Ancien Regime in France was grinding to a halt, Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1712-1778, wrote A Discourse Upon The Origin And The Foundation Of The Inequality Among Mankind in 1754., It provides insights into how intelligent people considered those basic questions of “Who are we?” and “Where do we come from?”

In considering our origins Rousseau was careful in juxtaposing the theological orthodoxy of a fully formed man at Creation against the concept of the savage in a pure state of nature: “wandering up and down the forests, without industry, without speech, and without home, an equal stranger to war and to all ties, neither standing in need of his fellow-creatures nor

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77 Adam Ferguson, Section II The History Of Political Establishments, Essay on the History of Civil Society, 1767, [http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext05/8hciv10.txt](http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext05/8hciv10.txt)

having any desire to hurt them, and perhaps even not distinguishing them one from another.”

Rousseau quite skilfully avoided the difficult and unknown questions of man’s origins by describing what others have speculated on without in any way commenting on their thoughts, “Some philosophers have even maintained that there is a greater difference between one man and another than between some men and some beasts.” Similarly he sidestepped Genesis by describing man’s creation as being at the “hands of Nature”, which was not necessarily incompatible with what some Christians believed.

‘IMPORTANT as it may be, in order to judge rightly of the natural state of man, to consider him from his origin, and to examine him, as it were, in the embryo of his species; I shall not follow his organization through its successive developments, nor shall I stay to inquire what his animal system must have been at the beginning, in order to become at length what it actually is. I shall not ask whether his long nails were at first, as Aristotle supposes, only crooked talons; whether his whole body, like that of a bear, was not covered with hair; or whether the fact that he walked upon all fours, with his looks directed toward the earth, confined to a horizon of a few paces, did not at once point out the nature and limits of his ideas. On this subject I could form none but vague and almost imaginary conjectures. Comparative anatomy has as yet made too little progress, and the observations of naturalists are too uncertain to afford an adequate basis for any solid reasoning. So that, without having recourse to the supernatural information given us on this head, or paying any regard to the changes which must have taken place in the internal, as well as the external, conformation of man, as he applied his limbs to new uses, and fed himself on new kinds of food, I shall suppose his conformation to have been at all times what it appears to us at this day; that he always walked on two legs, made use of his hands as we do, directed his looks over all nature, and measured with his eyes the vast expanse of Heaven.

If we strip this being, thus constituted, of all the supernatural gifts he may have received, and all the artificial faculties he can have acquired only by a long process; if we consider him, in a word, just as he must have come from the hands of nature, we behold in him an animal weaker than some, and less agile than others; but, taking him all round, the most advantageously organised of any. I see him satisfying his hunger at the first oak, and slaking his thirst at the first brook; finding his bed at the foot of the tree which afforded him a repast; and, with that, all his wants supplied.

Rousseau was critical of Hobbes in writing about the nature of man and the development of society. Whereas Hobbes saw that the natural condition of Mankind was either a state of war or a state of peace; Rousseau was more positive about the capacity of humans to care for themselves and others.

‘As long as men remained satisfied with their rustic cabins; as long as they confined themselves to the use of clothes made of the skins of other animals, and the use of thorns and fish-bones, in putting these skins together; as long as they continued to consider feathers and shells as sufficient ornaments, and to paint their bodies of different colours, to improve or ornament their bows and arrows, to form and scoop out with sharp-edged stones some little

79 Jean Jacques Rousseau, A Discourse Upon The Origin And The Foundation Of The Inequality Among Mankind, 1754, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11136/11136.txt
80 Jean Jacques Rousseau, A Discourse Upon The Origin And The Foundation Of The Inequality Among Mankind, 1754, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11136/11136.txt
fishing boats, or clumsy instruments of music; in a word, as long as they undertook such works only as a single person could finish, and stuck to such arts as did not require the joint endeavours of several hands, they lived free, healthy, honest and happy, as much as their nature would admit, and continued to enjoy with each other all the pleasures of an independent intercourse; but from the moment one man began to stand in need of another's assistance; from the moment it appeared an advantage for one man to possess the quantity of provisions requisite for two, all equality vanished; property started up; labour became necessary; and boundless forests became smiling fields, which it was found necessary to water with human sweat, and in which slavery and misery were soon seen to sprout out and grow with the fruits of the earth. 81

Hobbes was not Rousseau’s only target. In the following passage about the Caribbeans he rejects some of the contemporary ideas on the influence of climate on human behaviour: “the Caribbeans, the people in the world who have as yet deviated least from the state of nature, are to all intents and purposes the most peaceable in their amours, and the least subject to jealousy, though they live in a burning climate which seems always to add considerably to the activity of these passions.” 82

Aristotle was probably the first scholar to contemplate Physiognomy, the linking of facial appearance with intellect and character. Johann Caspar Lavater, 1741-1801, a Swiss theologian, poet and mystic renewed interest in physiognomy with hundreds of illustrations in Essays on Physiognomy, published in hundreds of editions in English, French and German from 1775 onwards. Ideas of physiognomy rapidly spread from individuals to groups, and skin colour, as the most obvious distinguisher, became a means of distinguishing Whites from Blacks in terms of aesthetics, intellect and morality.

In 1768 Cornelius de Pauw, 1739-1799, a Dutch clergyman and scholar at the court of Frederich the Great of Prussia, published Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine. In it he made the following observation about the Americas, which he never visited, “it is a great and terrible spectacle to see one half of the globe so disfavoured by nature that everything found there is degenerate or monstrous.” Essentially De Pauw was echoing Buffon. His assertion about Africans that: “The most delicate and subtle organs of the brain have been destroyed or obliterated by the fire of their native land, and their intellectual faculties have been weakened,” 83 provided ammunition for the Polygenesis defence of slavery.

Adam Smith, c1723-1790, was important philosopher of the Scottish Enlightenment and is best known for An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, 1776. This was a systematic attempt to study the economic development of Europe in which he criticised the current doctrine of mercantilism and advocated free trade, capitalism and libertarianism. Like his friend Hume, his religious beliefs are still unclear.

81 Jean Jacques Rousseau, A Discourse Upon The Origin And The Foundation Of The Inequality Among Mankind, 1754, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11136/11136.txt
82 Jean Jacques Rousseau, A Discourse Upon The Origin And The Foundation Of The Inequality Among Mankind, 1754, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11136/11136.txt
The first extract is drawn from his 1759 *The Theory of the Moral Sentiments* which explains (in his Mind) and contrasts the behaviour of the savage and polished nations. Like most other scholars, before and since, Smith draws upon classical and contemporary sources (Montaigne) to base his opinions. The last sentence is prescient of the Australian experience.

‘Among civilized nations, the virtues which are founded upon humanity, are more cultivated than those which are founded upon self-denial and the command of the passions. Among rude and barbarous nations, it is quite otherwise, the virtues of self-denial are more cultivated than those of humanity. The general security and happiness which prevail in ages of civility and politeness, afford little exercise to the contempt of danger, to patience in enduring labour, hunger, and pain. Poverty may easily be avoided, and the contempt of it therefore almost ceases to be a virtue. The abstinence from pleasure becomes less necessary, and the mind is more at liberty to unbend itself, and to indulge its natural inclinations in all those particular respects.

Among savages and barbarians it is quite otherwise. Every savage undergoes a sort of Spartan discipline, and by the necessity of his situation is inured to every sort of hardship He is in continual danger: he is often exposed to the greatest extremities of hunger, and frequently dies of pure want. His circumstances not only habituate him to every sort of distress, but teach him to give way to none of the passions which that distress is apt to excite. He can expect from his countrymen no sympathy or indulgence for such weakness. Before we can feel much for others, we must in some measure be at ease ourselves. If our own misery pinches us very severely, we have no leisure to attend to that of our neighbour: and all savages are too much occupied with their own wants and necessities, to give much attention to those of another person. A savage, therefore, whatever be the nature of his distress, expects no sympathy from those about him, and disdains, upon that account, to expose himself, by allowing the least weakness to escape him. His passions, how furious and violent soever, are never permitted to disturb the serenity of his countenance or the composure of his conduct and behaviour. The savages in North America, we are told, assume upon all occasions the greatest indifference, and would think themselves degraded if they should ever appear in any respect to be overcome, either by love, or grief, or resentment. Their magnanimity and self-command, in this respect, are almost beyond the conception of Europeans. In a country in which all men are upon a level, with regard to rank and fortune, it might be expected that the mutual inclinations of the two parties should be the only thing considered in marriages, and should be indulged without any sort of control. This, however, is the country in which all marriages, without exception, are made up by the parents, and in which a young man would think himself disgraced for ever, if he shewed the least preference of one woman above another, or did not express the most complete indifference, both about the time when, and the person to whom, he was to be married. The weakness of love, which is so much indulged in ages of humanity and politeness, is regarded among savages as the most unpardonable effeminacy. Even after the marriage, the two parties seem to be ashamed of a connexion which is founded upon so sordid a necessity. They do not live together. They see one another by stealth only. They both continue to dwell in the houses of their respective fathers, and the open cohabitation of the two sexes, which is permitted without blame in all other countries, is here considered as the most indecent and unmanly sensuality. Nor is it only over this agreeable passion that they exert this absolute self-command. They often bear, in the sight of all their countrymen, with injuries, reproach, and the grossest insults, with the appearance of the greatest insensibility, and without expressing the smallest resentment. When a savage is made prisoner of war, and receives, as is usual, the sentence of death from his conquerors, he hears it without expressing any emotion, and afterwards submits to the
most dreadful torments, without ever bemoaning himself, or discovering any other passion but contempt of his enemies. While he is hung by the shoulders over a slow fire, he derides his tormentors, and tells them with how much more ingenuity he himself had tormented such of their countrymen as had fallen into his hands. After he has been scorched and burnt, and lacerated in all the most tender and sensible parts of his body for several hours together, he is often allowed, in order to prolong his misery, a short respite, and is taken down from the stake: he employs this interval in talking upon all indifferent subjects, inquires after the news of the country, and seems indifferent about nothing but his own situation. The spectators express the same insensibility; the sight of so horrible an object seems to make no impression upon them; they scarce look at the prisoner, except when they lend a hand to torment him. At other times they smoke tobacco, and amuse themselves with any common object, as if no such matter was going on. Every savage is said to prepare himself from his earliest youth for this dreadful end. He composes, for this purpose, what they call the song of death, a song which he is to sing when he has fallen into the hands of his enemies, and is expiring under the tortures which they inflict upon him. It consists of insults upon his tormentors, and expresses the highest contempt of death and pain. He sings this song upon all extraordinary occasions, when he goes out to war, when he meets his enemies in the field, or whenever he has a mind to show that he has familiarised his imagination to the most dreadful misfortunes, and that no human event can daunt his resolution, or alter his purpose. The same contempt of death and torture prevails among all other savage nations. There is not a negro from the coast of Africa who does not, in this respect, possess a degree of magnanimity which the soul of his sordid master is too often scarce capable of conceiving. Fortune never exerted more cruelly her empire over mankind, than when she subjected those nations of heroes to the refuse of the jails of Europe, to wretches who possess the virtues neither of the countries which they come from, nor of those which they go to, and whose levity, brutality, and baseness, so justly expose them to the contempt of the vanquished.84

The French explorer, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, in describing his 1768 landing at Tahiti in his Voyage Around the World, 1771 reinforced Dryden’s and Rousseau’s ideas rather than Hobbes’s. Bougainville called Tahiti, “Nouvelle Cythère” after Kythera, the birthplace of the Greek Goddess of Love. The communalism of the Tahitians living in an apparent Golden Age seized the attention of Europe. It provided more controversy over the origins and nature of mankind, fuelled interest in the Romantic concepts of primitivism and the Noble Savage and stirred an Evangelical will to entreat them to turn from their dumb idols. When John Hawkesworth compiled and adapted the observations of Cook, Banks, and Solander in a single narrative in New Voyage Round the World 1773, he formulated the essential dilemma of the theory of progress in describing the happiness of the natives of Tahiti: “If we admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.”85

The English were not far behind Bougainville in advancing their interests in the South Seas. The Earl of Morton, 1702-1768, a Scottish representative peer and president of the Royal Society petitioned King George III who had an active interest in science to fund an expedition to observe the 1769 transit of Venus in Tahiti. The King agreed and on the 26th August 1768, James Cook led a scientific expedition including Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, a protégé of Carl Linneaus, to observe the 1769 transit of Venus from Tahiti. Cook

had additional orders that after observing the transit he was to push on from there in search of a southern continent.

The Earl of Morton wrote a series of hints for the edification of Cook, Banks and Solander, which fall into three main parts. The first deals with general advice as to the treatment of natives who may be encountered on the voyage. The second section, which has been left out deals with advice on the transit and the final section deals with the discovery “of a Continent in the lower temperate latitudes”. Morton’s hints are fascinating. They show a tolerant, well read man whose interest in this continent was as commercial as it was scientific, because he qualified the previous point with the following thought, “A Continent in the higher latitudes, or in a rigorous climate could be of little or no advantage to this nation”.

He demonstrated a high degree of respect for native people. While not using the term God, He referred to an omnipotent Author, hinting at a leaning to Deism and Monogenesis. As the Endeavour was too small for a chaplain he advised the captain of the ship to care for the spiritual needs of his crew, a presage of the struck out references to an established church in Phillip’s orders. He recognised the sovereignty of native people; he probably drew the term “Lords of the Country” from Sir Walter Raleigh’s 1595 account of a journey in South America. The phrase “savage and brutal Nations” suggests a familiarity with Hobbes. His reference to drums and guns recalls Dampier. His use of the term “polished nation” is probably drawn from Adam Ferguson.

In his hints dealing with the discovery of a continent, Morton makes a number of specific references to South America and generalised references to jewels and where to find them, which suggests that Morton was wishfully contemplating an El Dorado in the South Seas to rival the Inca and Mayan Empires.

‘Hints offered to the consideration of Captain Cook, W. Banks, Doctor Solander and the other Gentlemen who go upon the Expedition on Board the Endeavour.

To exercise the utmost patience and forbearance with respect to the natives of the several lands where the ship may touch.

To check the petulance of the sailors and restrain the wanton use of fire arms.

To have it still in view that shedding the blood of those people is a crime of the highest nature: – They are human creatures, the work of the same omnipotent Author, equally under his care with the most polished European; perhaps less offensive, more entitled to his favour.

They are the natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit.

No European Nation has a right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent.

Conquest over such people can give no just title; because they could never be the Agressors (sic).

86 Watkins Tech uses the term “lords of the soil” in Chapter XI of A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay, 1789.
They may naturally and justly attempt to repel intruders whom they may apprehend are come to disturb them in the quiet possession of their country, whether that apprehension be well or ill founded.

Therefore should they in a hostile manner oppose a landing, and kill some men in the attempt, even this would hardly justify firing among them, till every other gentle method had been tried. There are many ways to convince them of the superiority of Europeans without slaying any of those poor people. - For example -

By shooting some of the birds or other animals that are near them; - showing them, that a bird upon a wing may be brought down by a shot. - Such an appearance would strike them with amazement and awe.

Lastly to drive a bullet thro’ one of their huts or knock down some conspicuous object with great shot, if any such are near the shore.

Amicable signs may be made which they could not possibly mistake. - Such as holding up a jug, turning it bottom upwards, to show them it was empty and then applying it to the lips in the attitude of drinking. - The most stupid, from such a token, must immediately comprehend that drink was wanted.

Opening the mouth wide, putting the fingers towards it and then making the motion of chewing, would sufficiently demonstrate a want of food.

They should not at first be alarmed with the report of guns, drums, or even a trumpet: - but if there are other instruments of music on board they should be first entertained near the shore with a soft air.87

If a landing can be affected, whether with or without resistance, it might not be amiss to lay some few trinkets, particularly looking glasses upon the shore. Then retire in the boats to a small distance, from whence the behaviour of the natives might be distinctly observed, before a second landing were attempted.

Other and more important considerations of this kind will occur to the Gentlemen themselves, during the course of the Expedition.

Upon the whole; there can be no doubt that the most savage and brutal Nations are more easily gained by mild than by rough treatment.

As resistance may in some emergencies may become absolutely necessary for self defence. Training the men to fire at a mark, as was practised during one part of Lord Anson’s voyage, and giving premiums or conferring some mark of distinction upon those who are most adroit, might have good effect, if it is raised only emulation, without animosity. The last by all means should be carefully avoided.

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87 Newton Fowell noted in January 1788 that on the day after Aboriginal men took from the sailors fish that they had netted: “one of the party took a fife on Shore played several tunes to the Natives who were highly delighted with it especially at seeing some of the Seamen dance”. Newton Fowell, The Sirius Letters, The Fairfax Library, 1988.
If during an inevitable skirmish some of the Natives should be slain; those who survive should be made sensible that it was done only from a motive of self defence; for which reason no manoeuvres should appear to continue on account of theirs in having attacked or perhaps killed some of the crew when on shore, or having opposed their landing: But the Natives when brought under should be treated with distinguished humanity, and made sensible that the Crew still considers them as Lords of the Country. – Such behaviour would soon conciliate them to a familiarity with the crew, and raise friendly sentiments towards supplying their wants.

But caution should be observed, as to the partaking of any food or liquor they may tender; unless the natives themselves do first taste of the same.

From the reports handed about concerning some of the late Expeditions, it should seem upon one or two occasions, some of the Natives had been wantonly killed without any just provocation: - Particularly, a single man, who was killed in attempting to swim towards one of the boats. – If this account be true there was not the colour of a pretence for such a brutal massacre: - A naked man in the water could never be dangerous to a boat’s crew.

Ships of so small a rate, not being furnished with Chaplains, it were to be wished that the Captain himself, would sometimes perform that Office, and read prayers, especially on Sundays, to the crew; that they may be suitably impressed with a sense of their continual dependence upon their Maker; and all who are able on board, passengers and others should be obliged to attend upon those occasions.

When that business is finished, other matters may be attended to, Particularly, the discovery of a Continent in the lower temperate latitudes; - A Continent in the higher latitudes, or in a rigorous climate could be of little or no advantage to this nation.

There are different indications described by navigators, for judging whether land descried be an Island or part of a large Continent.

Very high Mountains within Land, at a great distance from the Shore, give strong symptoms of a large Continent.

The mouths of large Rivers with Bars of Sand, unequally disposed; and at a considerable distance from the shore give likewise the presumption of a Continent.

The most populous Nations are generally found on large Continents.

Populous Nations are commonly the most civilised.

The Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, are described to be in no great number. The same observation holds with respect to the Savage Nations in North America.

If the Ship should fortunately discover any part of a well inhabited Continent, many new subjects in Natural History might be imported, and useful branches of Commerce set on foot, which in process of time might prove highly beneficial to Britain.
The natural Dispositions of the people; their progress in Arts or Science, Especially their Mechanics, Tools and manner of using them; Their notions of astronomy and etc. are principal objects of attention.

Or, if they have any method of communicating their thoughts at a distance, as the Mexicans are said to have done by painting, and the Peruvians by the Quipos.

Next the Character of their persons
   Features
   Complexion
   Dress
   Habitations
   Food
   Weapons

Then may be considered, their
   Religion
   Morals
   Order
   Government
   Distinctions of power
   Police
   Their tokens for commerce and if they have any summary that passes among them in lieu of money, to bring home several specimens from the highest to the lowest denomination.

Lastly, the natural productions of the Country in
   Animal
   Vegetable and
   The Mineral systems.

These open so vast a field, that there is no room in this place for descending to particulars.

In general when an animal is to be described or figured, the name by which it goes in the country, with all circumstances that can be collected relating to its nature, disposition, and character, should be minutely noticed.

Vegetables
   Their powers in Medicine, whether salutary or noxious, - The other uses to which they are put by the Natives.

Particularly, such as give lasting or vivid colours for dyeing.

If any attempt should be made in the latter part of the voyage, to bring home live plants in pots, it might be useful to mark upon the stem of the plant, the exposition of it, taken correctly by applying a small mariners compass to the side of the stem, and observing which part of the plant fronts the South. In noting down such observation, the variation of the compass at that

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88 A means of communication using coloured and knotted cords.
89 This classification comes from the Great Chain of Being and was also used by Linneaus.
particular place should be specified: also the latitude under which the plant grew, and whether to the South or North of the Equator.

Virgil gives a very judicious caution with respect to the transplanting vines, and which would equally hold in the transplanting other trees, tho’ hardly ever observed by English gardeners.

Upon glancing over this article the same appears to be superfluous; because it is scarce to be imagined that Mr Bankes or Dr Solander, will attempt the bringing home plants in pots.

The latitudes in which seeds are collected might also be noted with the nature of the soils in which they grew: - And if earths could be brought in boxes, it might lend to promote natural knowledge.

Minerals and Fossils
To examine if not at too great a distance within the country the places where such are found. It has been alleged by some naturalists that Gold is not found in veins, as other metals.

If that or any other metal should be met with, it would be curious and constructive, to examine minutely how they lie in the Earth in their Brute state, and how the veins Laden (?), as well with respect to the angle of their declivity, as their bearing to the Mariners Compass.

Precious stones make a curious and valuable part of natural History and are therefore a considerable object of enquiry.

Mr Hamilton his Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary at Naples, after repeated and accurate Observations upon Mount Vesuvius during a course of three years; and Doctor Harris very lately, after analysing many of the substances found in that volcano, did concur in opinion (that without having had any mutual correspondence with each other by letter or otherwise) that all precious stones, not excepting even diamonds were the production of volcanos.

If any precious stones therefore should be met with during the course of the voyage, it might be expedient to enquire particularly into the nature of the places where they are found, and if possible to view the places themselves. Islands or other lands thrown up by volcanos, if they lye in the Warmer or temperate Climates, do in process of time, change their nature and appearance very considerably.

In the year 1707 (I think it was) a new island was formed by a volcano in the Archipeligo a few miles distant from the port of Santorini.

For some years after, it was only a large mass of Cinders: I have been lately told, that it is now well cultivated with different plants growing upon it.

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90 This sentence is preceded by a passage in Latin that I cannot transcribe.
91 Marcus Clarke’s reference to mines in his Old Tales of a Young Country shows that Morton’s instructions had fuelled the minds of the early explorers and settlers. “The notion of “mines,” which it would appear had possessed the brain of some wild dreamer in England, was speedily laughed to scorn, although Governor Phillip observed a “prodigious chain of mountains,” running north and south, at a distance of some 60 miles inland, which he thought might be worth exploring.”
http://whitewolf.newcastle.edu.au/words/authors/C/ClarkeMarcus/prose/OldTales/settlementsydney.html
There is an account of the formation of that Island in the abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions by Jones Vol 5 Part 2d page 196, and if the report of its present condition be true, it may be very possible, that those places in the Kingdom of Ghonda (?), or in the Brazils where diamonds are found, or in Pegu, where the finest Rubies are found, may in very remote ages have been volcanos, that the present face of those countries should give no such appearance.

Gravel and sand found on the mouths of Rivers, help to give a notion of the minerals and fossils of the countries thro’ which those Rivers take their course, such therefore should be carefully collected and separately kept, noting the names and situations of the Rivers where they are found.

Lastly to form a vocabulary of the names given by the Natives to the several things and places which came under the Inspection of the Gentlemen.

The foregoing hints, hastily put together, And probably very incorrect, are however humbly submitted to the consideration of Captain Cooke and the other Gentlemen by their hearty well wisher and

Most obed. Servant
Morton

Chiswick Wednesday
10th August 1768. 92

While the Admiralty orders had similarities to Morton’s hints, their orders regarding the natives were more cautious. That the orders regarding minerals and other wealth came before the instructions regarding natives is probably indicative of Admiralty priorities. It is also worth noting that Cook was ordered to search for a continent between Tahiti and New Zealand. If he did not find it he was to map New Zealand and to head for home. Despite having several hostile encounters with Maoris Cook landed at several spots in New Zealand and claimed them for Britain. This was contrary to the orders below. After exploring New Zealand he was ordered to return via “either round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn”. The absence of any orders regarding what was then known as New Holland clearly signified that the Admiralty considered New Holland to be Dutch territory. The enormity of what Cook did in taking possession of New South Wales is little understood. He claimed the land without occupying it. As well in taking possession he usurped Aboriginal ownership of the land. It was probably the greatest theft in world history. The tenuousness of the British claim to New Holland was later shown when La Perouse’s ships entering Botany Bay were initially thought to be “Dutchmen sent to dispossess us”. 93

‘Additional instructions for Lt. James Cook, appointed to command His Majesty’s Bark The Endeavour

Whereas the making Discoverys of Countries hitherto unknown, and the Attaining a Knowledge of distant Parts which though formerly discover’d have yet been but imperfectly explored, will redound greatly to the Honour of this Nation as a Maritime Power, as well as to the Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and may tend greatly to the advancement of the Trade and Navigation thereof; and Whereas there is reason to imagine that a Continent or

92 http://nationaltreasures.nla.gov.au/site/Treasures/item/nla.ms-ms9-113-s003/nla.ms-ms9-113-s017
Land of great extent, may be found to the Southward of the Tract lately made by Captn Wallis in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin (of which you will herewith receive a Copy) or of the Tract of any former Navigators in Pursuits of the like kind; You are therefore in Pursuance of His Majesty's Pleasure hereby requir'd and directed to put to Sea with the Bark you Command so soon as the Observation of the Transit of the Planet Venus shall be finished and observe the following instructions.

You are to proceed to the southward in order to make discovery of the Continent above-mentioned until you arrive in the Latitude of 40°, unless you sooner fall in with it. But not having discover'd it or any Evident signs of it in that Run, you are to proceed in search of it to the Westward between the Latitude before mentioned and the Latitude of 35° until you discover it, or fall in with the Eastern side of the Land discover'd by Tasman and now called New Zealand.

If you discover the Continent above-mentioned either in your Run to the Southward or to the Westward as above directed, You are to employ yourself diligently in exploring as great an Extent of the Coast as you can; carefully observing the true situation thereof both in Latitude and Longitude, the Variation of the Needle, bearings of Head Lands, Height, direction and Course of the Tides and Currents, Depths and Soundings of the Sea, Shoals, Rocks, &ca and also surveying and making Charts, and taking Views of such Bays, Harbours and Parts of the Coast as may be useful to Navigation.

You are also carefully to observe the Nature of the Soil, and the Products thereof; the Beasts and Fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the fishes that are to be found in the Rivers or upon the Coast and in what Plenty; and in case you find any Mines, Minerals or valuable stones you are to bring home Specimens of each, as also such Specimens of the Seeds of the Trees, Fruits and Grains as you may be able to collect, and Transmit them to our Secretary that We may cause proper examination and Experiments to be made of them.

You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any, and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them presents of such Trifles as they may Value, inviting them to Traffick, and Shewing them every kind of Civility and Regard; taking Care however not to suffer yourself to be surprized by them, but to be always on your guard against any Accident.

You are also with the Consent of the Natives to take possession of Convenient Situations in the Country in the name of the King of Great Britain; or, if you find the Country uninhabited take Possession for his Majesty by setting up Proper Marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors.

But if you should fail of discovering the Continent before-mention'd, you will upon falling in with New Zealand carefully observe the Latitude and Longitude in which that Land is situated, and explore as much of the Coast as the Condition of the Bark, the health of her Crew, and the State of your Provisions will admit of, having always great Attention to reserve as much of the latter as will enable you to reach some known Port where you may procure a Sufficiency to carry you to England, either round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, as from Circumstances you may judge the Most Eligible way of returning home.⁹⁴

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⁹⁴ It is an almost universally accepted assumption that when Cook took possession of the east coast of Australia he did so under the order of his secret instructions to find the great southern continent. The secret instructions did order Cook to seek the southern land, but the area in which he was to search was bounded by New Zealand.
You will also observe with accuracy the Situation of such Islands as you may discover in the Course of your Voyage that have not hitherto been discover’d by any Europeans, and take possession for His Majesty and make Surveys and Draughts of such of them as may appear to be of Consequence, without Suffering yourself however to be thereby diverted from the Object which you are always to have in View, the Discovery of the Southern Continent so often Mentioned.

But for as much as in an undertaking of this nature several Emergencies may Arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by Instruction before hand, you are in all such Cases, to proceed, as upon advice with your Officers you shall judge most advantageous to the Service on which you are employed.

You are to send by all proper Conveyances to the Secretary of the Royal Society Copys of the Observations you shall have made of the Transit of Venus; and you are at the same time to send to our Secretary, for our information, accounts of your Proceedings, and Copys of the Surveys and drawings you shall have made. And upon your Arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this Office in order to lay before us a full account of your Proceedings in the whole Course of your Voyage, taking care before you leave the Vessel to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the Log Books and Journals they may have Kept, and to seal them up for our inspection, and enjoying them, and the whole Crew, not to divulge where they have been until they shall have Permission so to do."

James Cook, 1728-1799, is celebrated for the discovery of the east coast of NSW and for taking possession of the same for Britain. There is an unfounded assumption among the general populous that the east coast of Australia was the great south land that Cook was ordered to find. This is erroneous. It is generally agreed among most historians that Cook and the gentlemen of the Endeavour saw no signs of cultivation and took possession on the assumption that the First People population was sparse, did not farm the land, had no sense of land ownership and would move away upon the commencement of settlement. This also is an erroneous assumption. Misrepresenting Aboriginal people and demonising them were to become the main tools in propagating the myth that the possession and settlement of New South Wales was legitimate.

My argument is, that as a largely self made man in a class ridden age of birth and patronage, Cook took possession of NSW despite being ordered to return home directly after exploring New Zealand and without “the consent of the natives” to compensate for his perceived inadequacy of the results from the observation of the Transit of Venus at Tahiti and the failure to find an unknown southland between Tahiti and New Zealand which in the “process of time might prove highly beneficial to Britain”.

I am of the opinion that his unstated rationale for making no attempt to negotiate the possession of NSW was because both Cook and Banks were of the opinion that the First People were so low on the scale of humanity, i.e., being in “a state of pure nature” and of “a rank little superior to that of monkies” that there was no necessity for negotiation.

and South America. The implication of Cook’s instructions on his return route was that the recognition by the British government that the east coast of New Holland belonged to either Holland or Spain.

95 http://www.geocities.com/TheTropics/7557/secret.html
The following sentence indicates that Cook distinguished the First People of Australia from the rest of humanity, reflecting the ideas of polygenesis. “The Land naturally produces hardly anything fit for Man to eat, and the Natives know nothing of Cultivation.” It shows that he either believed that the First People of Australia did not rank on the scale of humanity or else ranked very lowly. It also carried the implication that the First People of Australia fell outside God’s command that sent Adam “forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.” As well it displayed an extraordinary capacity to make sweeping judgements based on superficial observations. In one part he describes Aboriginal people as moving “about from place to place like wild beasts in search of Food”. His use of the phrase “mean, small hovels” echoes Robert Knox’s description of wandering beggars in his 1681 account of his captivity on the island of Ceylon. His reference to a “pure state of nature” is drawn from Rousseau’s Discourse on Inequality in which he describes the pure state of nature as one before God gave Man understanding and the commandments. This inability or unwillingness to perceive that the land could and did supply a wide range of food became characteristic of European observations of Aboriginal people. Blinkered perceptions were to become almost a defining feature of the Hawkesbury settlement discourse.

The final paragraph is often quoted in secondary works as an example of Cook’s humanitarian attitude towards the First People of Australia. I argue that the paragraph is written in such a way as to alarm any eighteenth century reader aware of Genesis, Chapter three, for it placed First People outside of Adam’s Fall, and hence outside of God’s Creation.

‘Australian Natives.
The Natives of this Country are of a middle Stature, straight Bodied and Slender limb’d; their Skins the Colour of Wood soot, their Hair mostly black, some Lank and others curled; they all wear it Cropt Short; their Beards, which are generally black, they likewise crop short, or Singe off. There (sic) features are far from being disagreeable, and their Voices are soft and Tunable. They go quite Naked, both Men and Women, without any manner of Cloathing whatever; even the Women do not so much as cover their privities, altho’ None of us was ever very near any of their Women, one Gentleman excepted, yet we are all of us as well satisfied of this as if we had lived among them. Notwithstanding we had several interviews with the Men while we lay in Endeavour River, yet, whether through Jealousy or disregard, they never brought any of their women along with them to the Ship, but always left them on the Opposite side of the River, where we had frequent Opportunities viewing them thro’ our Glasses. They wear as Ornaments, Necklaces made of Shells, Bracelets, or Hoops, about their Arms, made mostly of Hair Twisted and made like a Cord Hoop; these they wear tight about the upper parts of their Arms, and some have Girdles made in the same manner. The Men wear a bone, about 3 or 4 Inches long and a finger’s thick, run thro’ the Bridge* (* The cartilage of the nostril. Banks mentions that the bluejackets called this queer ornament the "spritsail yard.") of their Nose; they likewise have holes in their Ears for Ear Rings, but we never saw them wear any; neither are all the other Ornaments wore in Common, for we have seen as many without as with them. Some of these we saw on Possession Island wore breast plates, which

96 James Cook Captain Cook’s Journal During the First Voyage Round the World, Editor, Captain W. Wharton, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8106/8106.txt
97 Genesis 3:23.
98 (http://lakdiva.org/knox/p3_c02.html).
99 I have noticed similarities between the works of earlier and later authorities which suggest that plagiarism has a long history in Australia. David Collins made a similar remark. “The features of many of these people were far from unpleasing.” Page 456, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Originally published 1798, A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1974
we supposed were made of Mother of Pearl Shells. Many of them paint their Bodies and faces with a Sort of White paste or Pigment; this they apply different ways, each according to his fancy.

Their offensive weapons are Darts; some are only pointed at one end, others are barb'd, some with wood, others with Stings of rays, and some with Sharks' Teeth, etc.; these last are stuck fast on with Gum. They throw the Darts with only one hand, in the doing of which they make use of a piece of wood about 3 feet long, made thin like the blade of a Cutlass, with a little hook at one End to take hold of the End of the dart, and at the other end is fix'd a thin piece of bone about 3 or 4 Inches long; the use of this is, I believe, to keep the dart steady, and to make it quit the hand in a proper direction. By the helps of these throwing sticks, as we call them, they will hit a mark at the Distance of 40 or 50 yards, with almost, if not as much, Certainty as we can do with a Musquet, and much more so than with a ball. These throwing sticks we at first took for wooden swords, and perhaps on some occasions they may use them as such; that is, when all their darts are expended. Be this as it may, they never Travel without both them and their Darts, not for fear of Enemies, but for killing of Game, etc., as I shall show hereafter. Their defensive weapons are Targets, made of wood; but these we never saw used but once in Botany Bay.

I do not look upon them to be a warlike people; on the contrary, I think them a Timorous and inoffensive race, no ways inclined to Cruelty, as appear'd from their behaviour to one of our people in Endeavour River, which I have before mentioned, neither are they very numerous. They live in small parties along by the Sea Coast, the banks of Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, etc. They seem to have no fixed habitation, but move about from place to place like wild beasts in search of Food, and, I believe, depend wholly upon the Success of the present day for their Subsistance. They have wooden fish Gigs, with 2, 3, or 4 prongs, each very ingeniously made, with which they strike fish. We have also seen them strike both fish and birds with their Darts. With these they likewise kill other Animals; they have also wooden Harpoons for striking Turtle, but of these I believe they get but few, except at the seasons they come ashore to lay. In short, these people live wholly by fishing and hunting, but mostly by the former, for we never saw one Inch of Cultivated land in the whole Country. They know, however, the use of Taara, and sometimes eat them; we do not know that they Eat anything raw, but roast or broil all they eat on slow small fires. Their Houses are mean, small Hovels, not much bigger than an Oven, made of Pieces of Sticks, Bark, Grass, etc., and even these are seldom used but in the Wet seasons, for in the daytimes we know they as often sleep in the Open Air as anywhere else. We have seen many of their Sleeping places, where there has been only some branches or pieces of Bark, grass, etc., about a foot high on the Windward side.

**Australian Canoes.**

Their Canoes are as mean as can be conceived, especially to the Southward, where all we saw were made of one piece of the Bark of Trees about 12 or 14 feet long, drawn or Tied together at one end. As I have before made mention, these Canoes will not Carry above 2 people, in general there is never more than one in them; but, bad as they are, they do very well for the purpose they apply them to, better than if they were larger, for as they draw but little water they go in them upon the Mud banks, and pick up Shell fish, etc., without going out of the Canoe. The few Canoes we saw to the Northward were made out of a Log of wood hollow'd out, about 14 feet long and very narrow, with outriggers; these will carry 4 people. During our whole stay in Endeavour River we saw but one Canoe, and had great reason to think that the few people that resided about that place had no more; this one served them to cross the River and to go a Fishing in, etc. They attend the Shoals, and flatts, one where or
another, every day at low water to gather Shell fish, or whatever they can find to eat, and have each a little bag to put what they get in; this bag is made of net work. They have not the least knowledge of Iron or any other Metal that we know of; their working Tools must be made of Stone, bone, and Shells; those made of the former are very bad, if I may judge from one of their Adzes I have seen.

Bad and mean as their Canoes are, they go in them to the most distant Islands which lay upon the Coast, for we never landed upon one but what we saw signs of People having been there before. We were surprized to find Houses, etc., upon Lizard Island, which lies 5 Leagues from the nearest part of the Main; a distance we before thought they could not have gone in their Canoes.

The Coast of this Country, at least so much of it as lays to the Northward of 25 degrees of Latitude, abounds with a great Number of fine bays and Harbours, which are Shelter’d from all winds; but the Country itself, so far as we know, doth not produce any one thing that can become an Article in Trade to invite Europeans to fix a settlement upon it.

However, this Eastern side is not that barren and miserable country that Dampier and others have described the Western side to be. We are to consider that we see this country in the pure state of nature; the Industry of Man has had nothing to do with any part of it, and yet we find all such things as nature hath bestow’d upon it in a flourishing state. In this Extensive Country it can never be doubted but what most sorts of Grain, Fruit, roots, etc., of every kind would flourish here were they once brought hither, planted and Cultivated by the hands of Industry; and here are Provender for more Cattle, at all seasons of the Year, than ever can be brought into the Country. When one considers the Proximity of this Country with New Guinea, New Britain, and several other Islands which produce Cocoa Nuts and many other fruits proper for the support of man, it seems strange that they should not long ago be Transplanted here; by its not being done it should seem that the Natives of this Country have no commerce with their Neighbours, the New Guineans. It is very probable that they are a different people, and speak a different Language. For the advantage of such as want to Clear up this point I shall add a small Vocabulary of a few Words in the New Holland Language which we learnt when in Endeavour River.

COLUMN 1: ENGLISH. COLUMN 2: NEW HOLLAND.

The Head: Whageegee. The Hair of the head: Morye or More.
The Eyes: Meul. The Ears: Melea.
The Lips: Yembe or Jembi. The Teeth: Mulere or Moile.
The Chin: Jaeal. The Beard: Waller.
The Naval: Toolpoor or Julpur. The Penis: Keveil or Kerrial.
The Scrotum: Coonal or Kunnol. The Arms: Aw or Awl.
The Hand: Marigal.
The Thumb: Eboorbalga.
The Fore, Middle and Ring fingers: Egalbaiga.
The Little Finger: Nakil or Eboonakil.
The Thighs: Coman.
The Knees: Ponga.
The Legs: Peegoorgo.
The Feet: Edamal.
The Nails: Kolke or Kulke.
A Stone: Walba.
Sand: Joo’val, Yowall, or Joralba.
A Rope or Line: Goorgo or Gurka.
Fire: Maianang or Meanang.
The Sun: Galan or Gallan.
The Sky: Kere or Kearre.
A Father: Dunjo.
A Son: Jumurre.
A Man: Bamma or Ba ma.
A Dog: Cotta or Kota.
A Lorryquet: Perpere or Pier-pier.
A Cocatoo: Wanda.
Male Turtle: Poonja or Poinja.
Female: Mamingo.
A great Cockle: Moenjo or Moingo.
Cocos Yams: Maracotu (?) .
A Canoe: Maragan.

**Australian Natives.**

From what I have said of the Natives of New Holland they may appear to some to be the most wretched People upon Earth; but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans, being wholly unacquainted not only with the Superfluous, but with the necessary Conveniences so much sought after in Europe; they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a Tranquility which is not disturbed by the Inequality of Condition.

The earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for Life. They covet not Magnificent Houses, Household-stuff, etc.; they live in a Warm and fine Climate, and enjoy every wholesome Air, so that they have very little need of Cloathing; and this they seem to be fully sensible of, for many to whom we gave Cloth, etc., left it carelessly upon the Sea beach and in the Woods, as a thing they had no manner of use for; in short, they seem’d to set no Value upon anything we gave them, nor would they ever part with anything of their own for any one Article we could offer them. This, in my opinion, Argues that they think themselves provided with all the necessarys of Life, and that they have no Superfluities.  

Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820, naturalist, botanist and patron of scientific endeavour first saw Aboriginal people through a telescope in April 1770 as the Endeavour sailed up the south coast of NSW: “In the morn we stood in with the land near enough to discern 5 people who appeared (sic) through our glasses to be enormously black: so far did the prejudices which we

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100 James Cook Captain Cook’s Journal During the First Voyage Round the World, Editor, Captain W. Wharton, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8106/8106.txt
had built on Dampier’s (sic) account influence us that we fancied we could see their Colour when we could scarce distinguish whether or not they were men.”

His anticipation that his observations would confirm those of Dampier's is typical. Few Europeans came to Australia with an open mind free of prejudice. His uncertainty as to whether or not he was observing men or some other creature was reflective of several hundred years of writing. His speculation of a pre-Adamite creation and a ranking of the First People of Australia as being little better than that of monkeys not only echoed but also amplified the racist speculation increasingly common in Europe at that time. His use of the term “Indians” throughout the document, as opposed to the term “Native” used by Cook, Morton and the Admiralty suggests that his ideas were shaped by Buffon.

“'We saw indeed only the sea coast: what the immense tract of inland countr’ey may produce is to us totaly unknown: we may have liberty to conjecture however that they are totaly uninhabited. The Sea has I believe been universaly found to be the chief source of supplys to Indians ignorant of the arts of cultivation: the wild produce of the Land alone seems scarce able to support them at all seasons, at least I do not remember to have read of any inland nation who did not cultivate the ground more or less, even the North Americans who were so well versd in hunting sowd their Maize. But should a people live inland who supported themselves by cultivation these inhabitants of the sea coast must certainly have learn’d to imitate them in some degree at least, otherwise their reason must be supposd to hold a rank little superior to that of monkies.

Whatever may be the reason of this want of People is dificult to guess, unless perhaps the Barreness of the Soil and scarcity of fresh water; but why mankind should not increase here as fast as in other places unless their small tribes have frequent wars in which many are destroyd; they were generaly furnishd with plenty of weapons whose points of the stings of Sting-Rays seemed intended against nothing but their own species, from whence such an inference might easily be drawn.

Of Cloths they had not the least part but naked as ever our general father was before his fall, they seemd no more conscious of their nakedness than if they had not been the children of Parents who eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge.

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, 1727-1781, a French administrator who had first-hand experience of the sectionalism of mercantilism was a strong advocate of free trade. In Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth, 1774, he framed human development in terms of economic development.

‘53. First advance furnished by the land although uncultivated.

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This argument that First People had no shame in their nakedness was to be repeated by the Spanish explorer, Malaspina, in 1793. The rejection of clothing by First People was particularly offensive to Christian belief as it flew in the face of Biblical teaching regarding the fall of Adam and Eve. When coupled with the apparent lack of tilling the ground, it suggested to Europeans that the First People of Australia had a separate creation – were outside salvation and were therefore inferior.
The earth was ever the first and the only source of all riches: it is that which by cultivation produces all revenue; it is that which has afforded the first fund for advances, anterior to all cultivation. The first cultivator has taken the grain he has sown from such productions as the land had spontaneously produced; while waiting for the harvest, he has supported himself by hunting, by fishing, or upon wild fruits. His tools have been the branches of trees, procured in the forests, and cut with stones sharpened upon other stones; the animals wandering in the woods he has taken in the chase, caught them in his traps, or has subdued them unawares. At first he has made use of them for food, afterwards to help him in his labours. These first funds or capital have increased by degrees. Cattle were in early times the most sought after of all circulating property; and were also the easiest to accumulate; they perish, but they also breed, and this sort of riches is in some respects unperishable. This capital augments by generation alone, and affords an annual produce, either in milk, wool, leather, and other materials, which, with wood taken in the forest, have effected the first foundations for works of industry.

54. Cattle a circulating wealth, even before the cultivation of the earth.

In times when there was yet a large quantity of uncultivated land, and which did not belong to any individual, cattle might be maintained without having a property in land. It is even probable, that mankind have almost every where began to collect flocks and herds, and to live on what they produced, before they employed themselves in the more laborious occupation of cultivating the ground. It seems that those nations who first cultivated the earth, are those who found in their country such sorts of animals as were the most susceptible of being tamed, and that they have by this been drawn from the wandering and restless life of hunters and fishers, to the more tranquil enjoyment of pastoral pursuits. Pastoral life requires a longer residence in the same place, affords more leisure, more opportunities to study the difference of lands, to observe the ways of nature in the productions of such plants as serve for the support of cattle.

Perhaps it is for this reason, that the Asiatic nations have first cultivated the earth, and that the inhabitants of America have remained so long in a savage state.

The following quote from an early section of Adam Smith’s An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations provides an overview of Smith’s argument that civilisation is more effective that savagery in providing even the necessities of life.

‘Among the savage nations of hunters and fishers, every individual who is able to work is more or less employed in useful labour, and endeavours to provide, as well as he can, the necessaries and conveniencies of life, for himself, and such of his family or tribe as are either too old, or too young, or too infirm, to go a-hunting and fishing. Such nations, however, are so miserably poor, that, from mere want, they are frequently reduced, or at least think themselves reduced, to the necessity sometimes of directly destroying, and sometimes of abandoning their infants, their old people, and those afflicted with lingering diseases, to perish with hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts. Among civilized and thriving nations, on the contrary, though a great number of people do not labour at all, many of whom consume the produce of ten times, frequently of a hundred times, more labour than the greater part of those who work; yet the produce of the whole labour of the society is so great, that all are often abundantly supplied; and a workman, even of the lowest and poorest order,

if he is frugal and industrious, may enjoy a greater share of the necessaries and conveniencies of life than it is possible for any savage to acquire. ¹⁰⁴

Smith’s qualitative assessment of the Caribbean islands discovered by Columbus is instructive. It clearly shows the European stereotype of linking of woods and savagery as compared to the linking of cultivation and prosperity in other parts of the world. It is not difficult to hear echoes of Smith in the writings of European settlers when they came to NSW:

‘But the countries which Columbus discovered, either in this or in any of his subsequent voyages, had no resemblance to those which he had gone in quest of. Instead of the wealth, cultivation, and populousness of China and Indostan, he found, in St. Domingo, and in all the other parts of the new world which he ever visited, nothing but a country quite covered with wood, uncultivated, and inhabited only by some tribes of naked and miserable savages.’ ¹⁰⁵

Again Smith’s description of the acquisition and development of colonies while written in 1776, anticipated European descriptions of the early settlement of NSW. It is important to note words such as “waste”, and note concepts such as “the natives easily give place to the new settlers”, that became predictions in the words of Banks when being questioned by a parliamentary committee. Smith’s writing about the development of colonies is almost a model for the vision of Phillip and others in establishing the colony of NSW.

‘The colony of a civilized nation which takes possession either of a waste country, or of one so thinly inhabited that the natives easily give place to the new settlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society.

The colonies carry out with them a knowledge of agriculture and of other useful arts, superior to what can grow up of its own accord, in the course of many centuries, among savage and barbarous nations. They carry out with them, too, the habit of subordination, some notion of the regular government which takes place in their own country, of the system of laws which support it, and of a regular administration of justice; and they naturally establish something of the same kind in the new settlement. But among savage and barbarous nations, the natural progress of law and government is still slower than the natural progress of arts, after law and government have been so far established as is necessary for their protection. Every colonist gets more land than he can possibly cultivate. He has no rent, and scarce any taxes, to pay. No landlord shares with him in its produce, and, the share of the sovereign is commonly but a trifle. He has every motive to render as great as possible a produce which is thus to be almost entirely his own. But his land is commonly so extensive, that, with all his own industry, and with all the industry of other people whom he can get to employ, he can seldom make it produce the tenth part of what it is capable of producing. He is eager, therefore, to collect labourers from all quarters, and to reward them with the most liberal wages. But those liberal wages, joined to the plenty and cheapness of land, soon make those labourers leave him, in order to become landlords themselves, and to reward with equal liberality other labourers, who soon leave them for the same reason that they left their first master. The liberal reward of labour encourages marriage. The children, during the tender years of infancy, are well fed and properly taken care of; and when they are grown up, ¹⁰⁴ Adam Smith, Chapter I, Of The Division Of Labour, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, 1776, http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext02/wlnt11.txt
the value of their labour greatly overpays their maintenance. When arrived at maturity, the high price of labour, and the low price of land, enable them to establish themselves in the same manner as their fathers did before them.  

Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, 1744-1829, developed a theory of evolution between 1800 and 1822, based on the very old concept that the four elements of earth, fire, air and water drove organisms into ever complex forms. He argued that environmental factors impacted on the use and misuse of particular features of the life-form leading to change. While Darwinian natural selection is now accepted as the driving force of evolution, interest in Lamarck's ideas has not waned.

James Matra, 1748?-1806 sailed with Cook as a midshipman and in 1783 he wrote to the British government urging them to consider the settlement of New South Wales by displaced American loyalists. His description of the First People closely echoes that of Cook and Banks: “In this immense tract of more than 2,000 miles there was every variety of soil, and great parts of it were extremely fertile, peopled only by a few black inhabitants, who, in the rudest state of society, knew no other arts than such as were necessary to their mere animal existence, and which was almost entirely sustained by catching fish.”

In May 1785, Sir Joseph Banks gave evidence to the House of Commons Committee on Transportation, which, while the language was more subdued, conveyed the same message that the First People would run away rather than resist settlement. The particular danger in this statement lay, not in the fact that it was untrue, but that it was used later to rationalise the destruction of Aboriginal people.

‘Committee:  Is the coast in General or the particular part you have mentioned much inhabited?
Banks:  There are very few inhabitants.
Committee:  Are they of peaceable or hostile Disposition?
Banks:  Though they seemed inclined to Hostilities they did not appear at all to be feared. We never saw more than thirty or forty together.
Committee:  Do you apprehend, in Case it was resolved to send Convicts there, any District of the Country might be obtained by Cession or purchase?
Banks:  There was no probability while we were there of obtaining anything either by Cession or purchase as there was nothing we could offer that they would take except provisions and those we wanted for ourselves.
Committee:  Have you any idea of the nature of the Government under which they lived?
Banks:  None whatever, nor of their language.
Committee:  Do you think that five hundred men being put on shore there would meet with that Obstruction from the Natives which might prevent them settling there?

107 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Baptiste_Lamarck
109 Considering the poor Black Natives or Aborigines of the Colony entitled to the peculiar protection of the British Government, on account of their being driven from the Sea Coast by our settling thereon, and subsequently occupying their best Hunting Grounds in the interior, I deemed it an act of justice, as well as of Humanity to make at least an attempt to ameliorate their condition and to endeavour to civilize them in as far their wandering habits would admit of.’ Macquarie to Bathurst, 27th July 1822. Pages 676-678, Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol. X, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917.
Banks: Certainly not – from the experience I have had of the Natives of another part of the same coast I am inclined to believe that they would speedily abandon the country to the newcomers.

Committee: Were the natives armed and in what manner?

Banks: They were armed with spears headed with fish bones but none of them we saw in Botany Bay appeared at all formidable."\(^{110}\)

When Phillip sailed, his orders gave him extraordinary powers not only to establish a settlement, but also to sustain it. His orders were notable that they did not call for the Church of England to become the established religion of the colony; instead he was instructed to enforce a due observance of religion and good order. Richard Johnson,\(^{111}\) chaplain to the First Fleet held the first Christian service on Australian soil on the 3\(^{rd}\) February, 1788. The sermon was drawn from Psalm 116, “what shall I render unto to the Lord for all his benefits to me.” Psalm 116 was the great hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance from the Egyptian yoke. The metaphor of the Promised Land was to be used again, and again.

Nor did Phillip bring any legal authorities with him. A military officer, David Collins was assigned the duty of Deputy Judge-Advocate and other officers, officials including Richard Johnson, the chaplain to the First Fleet served as magistrates.

Similarly there was to be no slavery. As well, allowing convicts to become settlers on the expiration of their sentence points to informed thinking on social justice issues such as slavery and penal reform and a pragmatic resolution to let the settlers develop their own future.

Phillip’s orders regarding Aboriginal people have often attracted comment for being slipshod because they do not address the issue of Aboriginal aggression. I think that the authors were not careless and that the document is a classic piece of bureaucratic writing that provides appropriate advice without mentioning the potential for unpleasantness. Adam Smith writing in 1759 certainly was aware of the impact of the refuse of Britain’s gaols on First People populations.

‘Fortune never exerted more cruelly her empire over mankind, than when she subjected those nations of heroes to the refuse of the jails of Europe, to wretches who possess the virtues neither of the countries which they come from, nor of those which they go to, and whose levity, brutality, and baseness, so justly expose them to the contempt of the vanquished.’\(^{112}\)

On the one hand the instructions show a realistic understanding of the threat posed to First People by convict settlers. Crossing out “savages” and replacing it with “natives” in the first sentence should not be seen as an exercise in political correctness. Changing the wording was an attempt to protect a group that according to the best authorities and eyewitnesses such as Dampier and Banks were very low on the hierarchy of humanity. The absence of balancing

I first found this material in Henry Reynolds, The Law of the Land, Penguin, 1987, and have since sourced it to R.J. King’s article which examines the legal issues surrounding the British failure to make recompense for taking First People land. King’s article is particularly useful and explores issues that I have not addressed.  
\(^{111}\) Richard Johnson was suggested by William Wilberforce for the position.  
\(^{112}\) Adam Smith, Part V, Chapter II, The Theory of the Moral Sentiment, 1759.  
http://www.adamsmith.org smith/tms/tms-p5-c2.html
instructions regarding Aboriginal resistance was not a sign of absent-mindedness, nor of romantic idealism; it was a manifestation of the spurious models of human development created by European philosophers, writers and scholars.

‘You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an Intercourse with the Savages Natives and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all Our Subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of Our Subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary Interruption in the exercise of their several occupations. ... It is our Will and Pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the Offence. You will endeavour to procure an account of the Numbers inhabiting the Neighbourhood of the intended settlement and report your opinion to one of our Secretaries of State in what manner Our Intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage of this country.’

113 The full text of Phillip’s instructions is to be found on:
Emergence of a discourse of colonial settlement

Just as the braided courses of a river merges through anastomosis, so the disparate streams of polygenesis, racial degeneracy and monogenesis merged and engaged with science to form a new discourse of colonial settlement on the Hawkesbury. Just as the lagoons mark the dead ends of the Hawkesbury’s old courses, so the dead ends of these beliefs linger on. To be fair to the scholars, writers and closet speculators of the time, they did not have our understanding of the human genome; they did not understand the infectious nature of tuberculosis (consumption), nor did they understand that gonorrhoea was often asymptomatic and could cause sterility in females. However, in the development of a possibly unique language of settlement involving: a discourse of doomed savagery; the replication of an English landscape, plotted and charted in English terminology; a mistaken perception that a unique Australian race had emerged on the Hawkesbury. Narrowness, self interest and a breathtaking wilful blindness to the Abyss outweighed humanism, compassion and common sense.

In a June 1788 letter to his brother, George Worgan’s description of an Aboriginal woman as a wood nymph, (as naked as Eve before she knew Shame) combined both Classicism and the ideas of a pre-Adamite creation.

‘There were some Old and young Women in this Tribe, whom the Men seemed very jealous & careful of, keeping them at Distance behind some young Men, who were armed with Spears, Clubs & Shields, apparently as a Guard to them. We could see these curious Evites peeping through the Bushes at Us, and we made signs to the Men, who were still with Us, that We wished to give some Trinkets to the Women, on which, One of their Husbands, or Relations (as we supposed) hollowed to them in an authoritative Tone, and one of these Wood-Nymphs (as naked as Eve before she knew Shame) obeyed and came up to Us; when; we presented her with a Bracelet of blue Beads for her obliging Acquiescence; She was extremely shy & timid, suffering Us, very reluctantly, even to touch Her; Indeed, it must be merely from the Curiosity, to see how they would behave, on an Attempt to be familiar with them, that one would be induced to touch one of Them, for they are Ugly to Disgust, in their Countenances and stink of Fish-Oil & Smoke, most sweetly.’¹

Around 1790 William Dawes, recorded many intimate conversations between himself and Patyegarang. These exchanges between a European man and a Aboriginal woman are unique not just in their tenderness, but also in the context of two cultures attempting to find some common ground. Their exchanges also illustrated other aspects of the Discourse of Doomed Savagery, i.e., the failure by Europeans to recognise that the validity of the culture of First Peoples; and the assumption by Europeans of their right to observe and civilise the savage. This exchange took place as he bathed her: “‘Tyerbarrbowarryaou, I shall not become white.’ This was said by Patyegarang after I told her if she would wash her self often, she would become white at the same time throwing down the towel as in despair.”²

Elizabeth MacArthur, writing to a friend in 1791 showed her awareness of the argument between monogenesis and polygenesis when she recounted a conversation with Lieutenant Dawes who “thinks they have a tradition of the Flood among them. They say one Man, and

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² William Dawes, Microfilm MAV/FM4 3431, Frame 865.
one Woman was sav’d. It may be that Patyegarang told the Tiddalik Dreaming Story to Dawes.

Charles White, 1728-1823, physician and early polygenesist, argued in Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, 1799, that there was a graded and static chain of being, in which each race had been divinely created to reside in its own geographic location. In his system, non-whites were inferior to whites, and women, because of various pigmentations, were inferior to men. White was opposed to Buffon's ideas.

Science took a great leap backwards with the work of two German physicians, Franz Joseph Gall, 1758–1828, and Johann Spurzheim, 1776-1832. They were the pioneers of Phrenology attempting to link character with the size, shape and bumps on human skulls. Gall introduced the idea in 1796. In 1809 he began work on The Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System in General, and of the Brain in Particular, with Observations upon the possibility of ascertaining the several Intellectual and Moral Dispositions of Man and Animal, by the configuration of their Heads which was published in 1819. Johann Spurzheim was his most important colleague until they fell out in 1812. Spurzheim is credited with the coining of the word phrenology. Phrenology was particularly popular in the English speaking world because of colonialism and slavery. The Edinburgh Phrenological Society established in 1820 was the centre of Phrenology in Britain. Pemulwuy’s head was possibly the first Aboriginal skull to be collected for phrenological study. It was not the last. In 1814 Carnimbeigle’s skull was collected by Lieutenant Parker, forwarded to Surgeon Patrick Hill, who in turn forwarded it to Edinburgh. A number of skulls were also taken to Britain after the declaration of martial law in 1824. George Robinson, of Tasmanian infamy was also a collector of body parts.

Georges Cuvier, 1769-1832, was bitterly opposed to Lamarck's ideas of evolutionary change. Cuvier, as a protestant, was firmly committed to the literal truth of Genesis and began to lecture around 1800 on palaeontology, asserting that there was no evidence to suggest differences between contemporary animals and fossil remains. He dissected mummified animals brought back from Egypt and argued that as they had been embalmed thousands of years ago and showed no sign of change that they were proof that gradual changes did not take place. By 1826 Cuvier was propounding that catastrophes such as earthquakes and volcanoes led to extinctions. He argued that Adam and Eve were Caucasians and that the Mongolian and Ethiopian races were the survivors of a catastrophic flood that separated the three groups. Cuvier believed that the Caucasians were superior to the other two races. His arguments that human races were distinct, hierarchical and unaffected by environmental factors were embraced by polygenesists.

Francois Peron, 1775-1810, was a zoologist on Nicholas Baudin’s expedition into Australian waters. He is credited with the first use of the term anthropology. He died before Voyage de découvertes aux Terres Australes was completed. It was completed by Freycinet. The expedition stopped at Sydney for five months. Peron used a dynamomètre to measure the physical strength of First People he encountered. Not unsurprisingly he found that the native New Hollanders were not as strong as Europeans, further reinforcing European perceptions of racial superiority.

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3 Joy Hughes, The Journals and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur 1789-1798, Elizabeth Farm Occasional Series, 1984
4 Tiddalik was a frog who drank up all the water to the despair of all other creatures. When eventually forced to disgorge the water it caused a flood.
5 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_White_(physician)#CITEREFWhite1799
6 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges_Cuvier
Thomas Malthus, 1766-1834, was to have a great impact upon Wallace's and Darwin's ideas on natural selection. He was an Anglican minister best known for *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, which was produced in six editions between 1798 and 1826. Malthus argued that population growth was a force that inexorably exceeded the capacity of mankind to produce enough sustenance. Malthus saw this as evidence of God's desire for us to live virtuously. “Natural and moral evil seem to be the instruments employed by the Deity in admonishing us to avoid any mode of conduct which is not suited to our being, and will consequently injure our happiness.”

While Malthus is memorable for his pioneering use of facts and statistics, he did not leave England and he relied upon the work of others to base his theories. In the 1803 second edition of *An Essay on the Principle of Population* Malthus used John Hawkesworth, *An account of the Voyages Undertaken by the order of his Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, And Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Carteret, Captain Wallis, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour*, London, 1773; and David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, the first volume of which was published in 1798 and the second in 1802.

In Chapter III, *Of the Checks to Population in the Lowest Stage of Humanity*, Malthus drew upon Hawkesworth and Collins to assert that the Aboriginal population was thinly scattered. He based this upon Collins’ description of their poor physical appearance and the apparent hard labour involved in gathering food; for those on the coast this apparently consisted of fish and grubs; while inland Aboriginal people also apparently had a scanty supply of animals to hunt and had to climb trees for honey and possums. Berries, yams, fern roots and flowers were the vegetable staples. Malthus drew upon Collins’ work to assert that Aboriginal men treated their women badly, practised child sexual abuse and infanticide. As well, he asserted that miscarriage was common; in polygynous marriages the husband only had sexual relations with the first wife; that drudgery and the nomadic nature of the women’s lives limited their ability to raise and care for children. As well, he claimed that violence, epidemics and droughts also limited the population. Malthus does not appear to have mentioned Collins’ observation, on Bennillong giving his infant daughter to Governor Phillip upon the death of her mother: “will not the comparison suffuse his cheek with something like shame, at seeing the enlightened Christian so distanced in the race of humanity by the untutored savage, who has hitherto been the object of his pity and contempt?”

In noting how Malthus relied upon the works of others it is worth noting similarities between his work and David Collins. Collins wrote: *the limbs of these people were small; of most of them the arms, legs, and thighs were thin*. Malthus wrote: *They are described as, in general, neither tall nor well made. Their arms, legs, and thighs, are thin*. Unfortunately it did not stop with Malthus. Others then copied Malthus. Malthus wrote: *Their stature seldom exceeds five feet; their bellies are protuberant, with high shoulders, large heads, and limbs disproportionately slender*. James Maclehose later echoed both Collins and Malthus when he

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They are of middle height, few being of lofty stature; ... the hands and feet small, the shoulders finely rounded, but the abdomen frequently protuberant.9

‘In the next scale of human beings we may place the inhabitants of New Holland, of a part of whom we have some accounts that may be depended upon, from a person who resided a considerable time at Port Jackson, and had frequent opportunities of being a witness to their habits and manners. The narrator of Captain Cook's first voyage having mentioned the very small number of inhabitants, that was seen on the eastern coast of New Holland, and the apparent inability of the country, from its desolate state, to support many more, observes, "By what means the inhabitants of this country are reduced to such a number as it can subsist, is not perhaps very easy to guess; whether, like the inhabitants of New Zealand, they are destroyed by the hands of each other in contests for food; whether they are swept off by accidental famine; or whether there is any cause that prevents the increase of the species, must be left for future adventurers to determine.

The account which Mr. Collins has given of these savages will, I hope, afford in some degree a satisfactory answer. They are described as, in general, neither tall nor well made. Their arms, legs, and thighs, are thin, which is ascribed to the poorness of their mode of living. Those who inhabit the sea-coast depend almost entirely on fish for their sustenance, relieved occasionally by a repast on some large grubs which are found in the body of the dwarf gumnut-tree. The very scanty stock of animals in the woods, and the very great labour necessary to take them, keep the inland natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast. They are compelled to climb the tallest trees after honey and the smaller animals, such as the flying squirrel and the opossum. When the stems are of great height, and without branches, which is generally the case in thick forests, this is a process of great labour, and is effected by cutting a notch with their stone hatchets for each foot successively, while their left arm embraces the tree. Trees were observed notched in this manner to the height of eighty feet before the first branch, where the hungry savage could hope to meet with any reward for so much toil.10

‘The prelude to love in this country is violence, and of the most brutal nature. The savage elects his intended wife from the women of a different tribe, generally one at enmity with his own. He steals upon her in the absence of her protectors, and having first stupefied her with blows of a club, or wooden sword, on the head, back, and shoulders, every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, he drags her through the woods by one arm, regardless of the stones and broken pieces of trees that may lie in his route, and anxious only to convey his prize in safety to his own party. The woman thus treated becomes his wife, is incorporated into the tribe to which he belongs, and but seldom quits him for another. The outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when it is in their power.11

‘We have also great reason to believe that the passion between the sexes has the most powerful tendency to soften and meliorate the human character, and keep it more alive to all the kindlier emotions of benevolence and pity. Observations on savage life have generally tended to prove that nations, in which this passion appeared to be less vivid, were distinguished by a ferocious and malignant spirit, and particularly by tyranny and cruelty to

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the sex. If, indeed, this bond of conjugal affection were considerably weakened, it seems probable, either that the man would make use of his superior physical strength, and turn his wife into a slave, as among the generality of savages; or, at best, that every little inequality of temper, which must necessarily occur between two persons, would produce a total alienation of affection; and this could hardly take place, without a diminution of parental fondness and care, which would have the most fatal effect on the happiness of society.  

Malthus probably drew upon Buffon’s sensational claim that: “In the savage, the organs of generation are small and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female” to assert that First Peoples were less fertile that Europeans. Malthus was operating under the fallacious belief that First Peoples, like Europeans were under a Biblical command to procreate. He was unaware that First People’s controlled the size of their populations and practised birth control. It may also be that these observations were made after gonorrhea had been introduced into native populations.

'It was generally remarked, that the American women were far from being prolific. This unfruitfulness has been attributed by some to a want of ardour in the men towards their women, a feature of character, which has been considered as peculiar to the American savage. It is not however peculiar to this race, but probably exists in a great degree among all barbarous nations, whose food is poor and insufficient, and who live in a constant apprehension of being pressed by famine or by an enemy.'

To Malthus wars between savages, famine, infanticide, cannibalism, domestic violence all combined to create a state of wretchedness. Malthus argued that despite the export of slaves from Africa, the loss of numbers from incessant war, and the checks to increase from vice and other causes, it appears that the population is continually pressing against the limits of the means of subsistence.

Malthus’s arguments lent them self to a dangerous distortion of European understandings of the impacts of colonialism on First peoples. He made no mention of colonial powers fighting wars against the original owners of the land. The closest he came was the naïve assertion: If the United States of America continue increasing, which they certainly will do, though not with the same rapidity as formerly, the Indians will be driven further and further back into the country, till the whole race is ultimately exterminated, and the territory is incapable of further extension.

Malthus is particularly important in Australian history because his assertions about the First peoples of Australia helped create a model of savagery that allowed the colonisers:

– to denigrate the humanity of the First Peoples of Australia;
– to make tokenistic efforts to civilize the First Peoples of Australia;
– to justify their appropriation of the land;
– to disguise killings as driving the hostile natives away; and
– to deny any responsibility for actions that contributed to the decline of numbers of the First Peoples of Australia.

The power of the earth to produce subsistence is certainly not unlimited, but it is strictly speaking indefinite; that is, its limits are not defined, and the time will probably never arrive when we shall be able to say, that no further labour or ingenuity of man could make further additions to it. But the power of obtaining an additional quantity of food from the earth by proper management, and in a certain time, has the most remote relation imaginable to the power of keeping pace with an unrestricted increase of population. The knowledge and industry, which would enable the natives of New Holland to make the best use of the natural resources of their country, must, without an absolute miracle, come to them gradually and slowly; and even then, as it has amply appeared, would be perfectly ineffectual as to the grand object; but the passions which prompt to the increase of population are always in full vigour, and are ready to produce their full effect even in a state of the most helpless ignorance and barbarism. It will be readily allowed, that the reason why New Holland, in proportion to its natural powers, is not so populous as China, is the want of those human institutions which protect property and encourage industry; but the misery and vice which prevail almost equally in both countries, from the tendency of population to increase faster than the means of subsistence, form a distinct consideration, and miss from a distinct cause. They arise from the incomplete discipline of the human passions; and no person with the slightest knowledge of mankind has ever had the hardihood to affirm that human institutions could completely discipline all the human passions. But I have already treated this subject so fully in, the course of the work, that I am ashamed to add any thing further here.  

William Charles Wells, 1757-1817, was a Scottish American doctor, who moved between his birth place in South Carolina and the British Isles, particularly Scotland In 1818, a talk he gave to the Royal Society in 1813, was posthumously published as a paper, Two Essays ... with some observations on the causes of the differences of colour and form between the white and negro races of men. In this paper he introduced the concept of natural selection as an explanation of the origin of different races. Neither Russell nor Darwin, were aware of Well's work when they presented their theories to the Linnaean Society in 1858.

Lachlan Macquarie, 1762-1824, is often cited for his humane policies towards Aboriginal people. In this work I argue that Macquarie was an eloquent practitioner and shaper of the discourse of doomed savagery. In early October 1814, Macquarie wrote to Earl Bathurst regarding his plans “to Civilize the Ab-origines of this Country”. He described Aboriginal people as: “Scarcely Emerged from the remotest State of rude and Uncivilized Nature, these People appear to possess some Qualities, which, if properly Cultivated and Encouraged, Might render them, not only less wretched and destitute by Reason of their Wild wandering and Unsettled Habits, but progressively Useful to the Country According to their Capabilities either as Labourers in Agricultural Employ or among the lower Class of Mechanics.” This despatch is the first in which I have found the word Ab-origine used in an official context to describe the first Peoples of Australia. While the word Aborigine now is used in the sense of meaning Indigenous or First Peoples, Macquarie used it in the context of the Great Chain of Being and drew upon the Latin form to describe the people displaced by the Romans. As well, Macquarie raised the spectre of polygenesis through his use of “Nature”. In his proposal

to establish a Native Institution as the first step in the civilisation of Aboriginal children, Macquarie referenced Locke, Malthus, Ricardo, Hume and Kames in the despatches of October 1814. His proposal articulated an important aspect of the discourse of doomed savagery, i.e., the right of settler societies to bring civilisation and Christianity to the savages. His initiative marked a significant shift in government policy reflected in changed instructions to future governors regarding Aboriginal people.

While Macquarie's proposal for an Institution at Parramatta was no doubt prompted by the missionary William Shelley, 1774-1815, its true origins lay in the “pious clause” of the Charter Act of 1813 which, as a result of an evangelical campaign, required the East India Company to spend money for the material and moral improvement of Indians. Missions established schools, hospitals, and clinics as well as churches in India. However, Macquarie's civilising zeal was quickly tempered by his military campaign and declaration of martial law in 1816.

James Cowles Pritchard, 1786-1848, despite the barriers on being a Quaker, was eventually able to study medicine at Edinburgh University where his religion was not a barrier. In 1813 he published Researches into the Physical History of Man which explored the origins of human races. Pritchard argued for the unity of all human races and suggested that man originated in Africa. Pritchard was an early member of the Aborigines Protection Society.

In 1816 William Lawrence, 1783-1867, professor of anatomy and surgery at the College of Surgeons, claimed in a lecture that the human body developed in a progression “from an oyster to a man”. The power of the Church to enforce orthodoxy at this time was well illustrated by the ruling of the Court of Chancery in 1822 that Lawrence's Natural History of Man was blasphemous which had the effect of removing the book's copyright. William Lawrence withdrew his book and gradually moved from radicalism to respectability and a title as he embraced Blumenbach's more acceptable ideas. It is also worth noting that Lawrence was physician to Percy Shelley, husband of Mary Shelley, author of Frankenstein.

Lancelot Threlkeld's musings on a rock platform carving of kangaroos at Cattai in 1817 reveal not only his own thoughts but the thoughts of others on human evolution and degeneracy. Despite having seen rock engravings of sailing ships at South Head, Threlkeld saw these

20 See Part Six.
21 http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/British_East_India_Company
William Wilberforce, on the Clauses in the East-India Bill for Promoting the Religious Instruction and Moral Improvement of the Natives of British Dominions in India, 'let us endeavour to strike our roots into the soil by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions; of our laws, institutions, and manners; above all, as the source of every other improvement, of our religion, and consequently of our morals. ... Are we so little aware of the vast superiority even of European laws and institutions, and far more of British institutions, over those of Asia, as not to be prepared to predict with confidence, that the Indian community which should have exchanged its dark and bloody superstitions for the genial influence of Christian light and truth, would have experienced such an increase of civil order and security, of social pleasures and domestic comforts, as to be desirous of preserving the blessings it should have acquired; and can we doubt that it would be bound even by the ties of gratitude to those who have been the honoured instruments of communicating them.' Quoted on Page 35, Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1959.
23 In selecting an oyster as an image Lawrence referenced Voltaire, Traité de Métaphysique, 1734, “I see men who appear superior to me than these negroes, as these negroes are it with the monkeys, and as the monkeys are it with oysters and other animals of this species.”
kangaroo carvings as possible evidence of progressive degeneracy on the part of Aboriginal people.

‘Thirty years ago I was shown on a high place on the banks of the Hawkesbury, by Thomas Arndell, Esq., on his estate, Cattie, where it still remains, the engraving upon the face of the flat horizontal rock being a rude representation of the kangaroo, a drawing of which I took at the time. The style of the engraving is similar to that of the ancient Egyptians. ... There may be possibly be ruins of very ancient buildings lying hid in Australia, which remains to be discovered by some future traveller, who if unprejudiced against the aborigines, may find out many remnants of an ancient people now absolutely becoming, all but totally extinct.”

Threlkeld’s ideas echoed Lord Kames’s argument that climate could cause racial degeneracy. Lord Monboddo had a different idea on degeneracy, arguing that its cause was cultural and would lead to “the total extinction of the human race.” There was, throughout the nineteenth century, a concern that Europeans may degenerate in Australia because of climatic change. Threlkeld received a letter in 1859 from a R. Cull advising “I am anxious to collect information as to the influence of the Australian climate on Europeans, and descendants of Europeans born in the colony.” These ideas on degeneracy took a bizarre twist with an assertion in the twentieth century that Phoenicians were the first settlers of the Hawkesbury and that a giant tsunami wiped out their pioneering settlements.

26 ‘While other writers dwell with complacence on the various improvements of society, and delight to expatiate on the liberal and enlightened spirits of modern Europe, Lord Monboddo sees nothing in all this false and flattering delineation but a disguised portraiture of the most deplorable degeneracy; a degeneracy accelerating in its progress from age to age, and which must speedily terminate in the total extinction of the human race. According to his Lordship the British nation is not only degenerating and depopulating at home, but it is the cause of degeneracy and depopulation in those remote regions of the world in which it has acquired an ascendancy.’

‘The venerable and learned Lord Monboddo has published a fifth volume of his “Antient Metaphysics, containing the History of Man in the Civilized State.” His Lordship, it is well known, considers society in a state of such regular, rapid, and progressive degeneracy, that a total extinction of the human race must be the speedy and inevitable consequence; money he regards as one of the principal causes of this deplorable corruption; and England as it contains more wealth than any country in Europe, is proportionately afflicted with its concommitant calamities, vice, disease, and indulgence.” As to crimes,” says his lordship. “they abound so much, that our gaols cannot hold our convicts; and we are obliged to send out colonies, such as no nation ever sent out before, to a very distant country, till of late quite unknown; to which they are transported at a great expense, and maintained, when there, at a still greater: these crimes, it is observed, are unquestionably just, are almost all the effects of wealth.” According to Lord M. and here we heartily agree with him, the British nation, whose humanity and generosity are so arrogantly vaunted – by itself is not merely degenerating at home, but is the cause of degeneracy and depopulation abroad. “we have destroyed,” says he, “five millions of human beings in the East-Indies; our colonies in North America, from Hudson’s Bay to Florida, have exterminated the natives by war and massacre, by vice and by disease, leaving no vestiges of them to be seen – except their burial places!’

John Thomas Campbell was Governor Macquarie’s secretary. His independence occasionally caused embarrassment to Macquarie. He fought a duel with a military officer in 1811, and the following letter, signed Philo Free, was written by Campbell without Macquarie’s knowledge. It was a thinly veiled attack on Samuel Marsden over his failure to attend the Annual Feast. Marsden successfully sued Campbell later in the year.

While the letter has no direct bearing on the Hawkesbury it is quite remarkable in its articulation of Macquarie’s paternalistic position towards Aboriginal people. Campbell did not choose the pseudonym Philo carelessly. Philo was a Jewish philosopher and a contemporary of Jesus. Philo was of the opinion that man passed through several stages in his moral development, a belief that was manifested in Campbell’s letter. Campbell helped mythologise a new imperial paradigm of intervention driven by “a sense of duty and Christian charity towards our adopted country and its harmless, though uncivilized natives”. His rationalisation that it was the task of the British to lift the “dark and gloomy clouds of ignorance under which it pleased Providence to permit the Aborigines of this Colony” moved the argument past the obstacle of a separate pre-Adamite creation. He shared Macquarie’s conviction that Civilisation was to precede Evangelisation – perhaps this was linked to Marsden’s perception that conversion without prior civilisation would be impossible unless a missionary was forced into a wandering life with the savages.

Campbell’s letter reinforced Macquarie’s interventionist model of turning Indigenous people into the passive recipients of government largesse. Resistance was ignored as were the horrors of martial law in 1816. A new paradigm, with which we still live with, had been created.

‘TO THE EDITOR OF THE SYDNEY GAZETTE

MR. EDITOR,

Early in the last century the famous South Sea scheme was projected, and ran through its short-lived but disastrous career, all its dreams of golden showers having proved a mere illusion, by the bursting of that never-to-be-forgotten-bubble, which involved in its explosion a great mass of the English Nation, and induced much public distress; leaving all, but the few artful and designing projectors themselves, to deplore too late their credulity and national gullability. In our days, a ’New South Wales Philanthropic Society’ has been formed, and liberal subscriptions entered into for the laudable purpose of extending ”protection and civilization to such of the Natives of the South Sea Islands as may arrive at Port Jackson.” Now, Sir, although the circumstances will not perhaps warrant its being also termed a bubble, yet there are some features in the two schemes so much alike that I think an able hand could make no bad parallel between them — ’si fas est magnis componere parva’. Thus, the South Sea scheme held out the bait or lure of such extravagant profits in the way of trade, that the sordid and mercenary were dazzled at the prospect, and shares originally purchased at £100, were frequently transferred at eight times that amount. — The illusion however lasted but a few months, and all the fabrick went to ruin, leaving not a wreck behind. The South Sea Islands Philanthropists in 1813, without the temptation of the gilded pill of wealth uncountable having been held out to them, cheerfully subscribed their money under the assurance that they should have the spiritual consolation at least of having performed charitable acts, and rendered humane services to the Natives of the South Seal Islands! — These were the profits that the subscribers in general had in view: — how they have been realized we now in 1817, all know too well; for, to this day, we have never been favoured even with a single report of the application of the funds; and thus, like the bubbletonians of 1720, after having come down with our dumps we have had no return, either to our purse or

28 Virgil: If it be allowable to compare small things with great.
to the stock of our benevolence; and "for aught that I can learn or read," we are not likely to be gratified with such a result.

In former times the active and enterprising spirit of the Jesuits led them, for religion’s sake ostensibly, to visit the most remote regions of the known world; their zeal for the Church of Rome never slumbered, but they soon superadded thereto the lust of wealth, power, and dominion; and that fraternità (sic) commencing in holy and religious zeal, degenerated into temporal factions, which at length wrought their own downfall, and relieved Europe from their domineering and tyrannical usurpation of the exclusive trade of those Settlements where they had established themselves. — Now, a missionary spirit of a somewhat more humble cast has pervaded the Islands in the South Seas, introducing with it the art of distillation, and that tiny race of animals, which on being boiled, do not prove to be lobsters! — An ardent thirst for the influence of this spirit at this time pervades the inhabitants of all the Islands of the Pacific, with which we have any intercourse; and pigs, and pine trees, New Zealand flax, &c. are the return made in full tale for the comforts of the spirit instilled into them, and by which they are inspired. The active exertions of him who is the worthy head of these sectarian visionaries or missionaries (whichever you please, Mr. Editor), in propagating the Gospel by such means, and the transmission from time to time of muskets and cutlasses, will, no doubt, redound much and highly to the honour of the Christian Mahomet, and of the church so planted, whilst the pecuniary advantage of the chosen few will not be altogether overlooked. But what availeth all this, Mr. Editor, to you and me, in the common class of the subscribers? Those who bolt the pork and the profits, should, in my opinion unbolt their coffers, and bear also the expenses of their gospel venders and bacon curers; and, for myself, I shall be well content to see them possessed equally of the exclusive honour of evangelizing, by such means, the New Zealanders, the Otaheitans, the Eimeoans, &c. &c. But to be very candid with you, I do not wish to see men in any garb, or under any mask or pretence whatever, arrogate to themselves such consequential airs of importance, for acts of public beneficence, which they have never exhibited in their private lives; and still less, if possible, in their public characters towards the abject Natives of New South Wales. True it is, that these people are not yet qualified or enabled to make other returns than those of humble gratitude and peaceful demeanour; and these, perhaps, are not worthy of being recorded in the faithful pages of an Eclectic Review, with the exalted deeds of the evangelizing heroes, whose never dying fames are there trumpeted forth.

Although this may be the case, I am notwithstanding one of those who wish to introduce civilization; and the pure doctrines of the Christian religion among the sable sons of Australia, maugre all the objections started by vulgar prejudice, or sordid views of personal aggrandizement; and I do not hesitate to say, that I feel it an imperious duty owing to those among whom I live and have my subsistence, to make the effort to reclaim these children of Nature, even if that effort were to be rendered nugatory by any circumstances whatever. This leads me to inform you, and by that means the Public also, that in a conversation lately with some other members of the New South Wales Bubble (the trading concerns thereof being duly excepted from that appellation), it appeared to be the general wish that the subscriptions should be restored and appropriated to the establishment of schools for the children of the poor within the Colony, and the diffusion of Christian knowledge among the heathen natives.

29 When Marsden visited New Zealand for the first time in 1814 to establish the Church Missionaries Society’s settlement he gave muskets and powder to the chief Ruatara to secure his support. Apparently Marsden was a regular gunrunner, bringing two hundredweight of gunpowder on one occasion and fifty one bayonets on another. Pages 185-187, Bill Wannan, Early Colonial Scandals: The Turbulent Times of Samuel Marsden, Landsdowne, 1972.

30 Have consequences, usually of a discreditable nature.
A Bible and general Book Society is I understand in contemplation, to be connected with the school institutions; and by these means (if even the advantage of the library originally destined for the poor, by its humane donors, should continue unavailable), the great and glorious object of dispelling the dark and gloomy clouds of ignorance under which it has pleased Providence to permit the Aborigines of this Colony to remain unto the present time, the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and the twentieth-ninth year of the British settlement on its shore, may be happily effected.

I can assure you, Mr. Editor, that many of the wisest and best men among us are most zealously anxious, for such establishments being commenced upon; and I have the sanity to think, that even the desultory remarks made in this hastily drawn up letter, written in my cabin, without the aid of books (for my little collection went a pilgrimage, I have been told, to the Friendly and Society Islands), will tend to remove some ill-founded prejudices, to confirm liberal and generous dispositions, and to open the eyes of all, to a sense of duty and Christian charity towards our adopted country, and its harmless, though uncivilized natives.

PHILO FREE
A SETTLER AT BRADLEY’S HEAD.
4th January 1817.

Miss Elizabeth Macarthur on the 8th of March 1817 wrote to her mother’s friend Eliza Kingdon. While a private letter it is important for showing another perspective on Aboriginal people. Elizabeth was twenty five at the time.

‘All the animals and plants hitherto discovered are entirely new, and differ from the productions of any other known land. The inhabitants resemble the natives of this district. They are a singular race utterly ignorant of the arts, living constantly in the open air, and without any other covering than occasionally, cloaks of the skins of wild animals, but even these are not universally worn, it is not uncommon to see them without any covering at all. They are nevertheless very intelligent and not obtrusive. They have great vivacity and a peculiar turn for mimicry – acquiring our language, tones and expressions with singular facility. Their carriage is very graceful, and perhaps they possess more native politeness than is found amongst any people. They deem a great want of good breeding to contradict. In all the European modes of salutation they make themselves perfect. The benevolent exertions of Governor Macquarie have induced some of these people to send their children to a School which he has formed for their reception and instruction. The little creatures have been taught to read and write, with a readiness truly astonishing, and in the hands of Providence let us hope they may be instrumental in civilizing their countrymen. Pray pardon the partiality of a native for native subjects.’

William Charles Wentworth, 1793-1872, explorer, writer and political figure in colonial New South Wales, was the author of A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependent Settlements in Van Diemen's Land, With a Particular Enumeration of the Advantages Which These Colonies offer for Emigration and Their Superiority in Many Respects Over Those Possessed by the United States of America published in 1819 was the first by an Australian born person.

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William Charles Wentworth, in the phrase “aborigines of this country occupy the lowest place in the gradatory scale of the human species”, succinctly brought together European thinking on the Great Chain of Being and the rise of civilized man from barbarism. His account is important because it highlights the ongoing stubborn Aboriginal resistance to settler attempts to civilise them. The second extract is probably even more revealing of the flaws in settler attitudes in his naïve observation that there was probably no settler conversant in Aboriginal languages, because Aboriginal people all knew English.

‘The aborigines of this country occupy the lowest place in the gradatory scale of the human species. They have neither houses nor clothing; they are entirely unacquainted with the arts of agriculture; and even the arms which the several tribes have, to protect themselves from the aggressions of their neighbours, and the hunting and fishing implements with which they administer to their support, are of the rudest contrivance and workmanship.

Thirty years’ intercourse with Europeans has not effected the slightest change in their habit; and those even, who have the most intermixed with the colonists, have never been prevailed upon to practise any of the arts of civilized life. Disdaining all restraint, their happiness is still centred in their original pursuits; and they seem to consider the superior enjoyments to be derived from civilization, (for they are very far from being insensible to them) but a poor compensation for the sacrifice of any portion of their natural liberty. Frequent attempts have been made to divert them from their vagrant propensities, and to adopt some of the fixed occupations of social man; but except in one or two instances, these attempts have been utterly unsuccessful. 33

The following extract relates to contact with Aboriginal people west of the Divide, around Bathurst. His use of “native-born” to describe settlers is significant in showing the use of linguistics in the assumption and appropriation of ownership of the land.

‘The fact is, - notwithstanding the colony of New South Wales has now been established nearly thirty-six years, there is not, as far as I am acquainted, a single British inhabitant, whether emigrant or native-born, who has acquired any thing like a correct knowledge of the language of any of the aboriginal tribes; because it has been long ascertained that, even on the eastern side of the mountains, the different tribes have each their own particular dialect, varying from the dialects even of their border-neighbours, with whom indeed they maintain but a casual and ceremonious intercourse. This extraordinary ignorance on our part of the language of a people, in the midst of whom we have so long resided, is ascribable not so much to any difficulty which the language itself presents; for its construction is simple, its compass circumscribed as the wants and civilization of the children of nature among whom it prevails, and withal it is full of vowels, and therefore of easy pronunciation and harmonious sound. Our non-acquaintance with it arises wholly from this remarkable fact; that we seldom or never meet with any of the coast-natives who cannot readily enter into conversation with us in our own tongue. Most of them, indeed speak English with a fluency and absence of idiomatic accent, which, considering the difficulty that most foreigners experience in acquiring our language in similar perfection, are really astonishing. It will be seen, therefore,

that this extraordinary facility on their part in acquiring our tongue has freed us from all necessity of studying theirs; and no one, I believe, has yet to be found to study it, either from curiosity, or from zeal for science.  

Thomas Bigge, 1780-1843, visited NSW between 1819 and 1821 to report on the colony. Given his negative attitude towards the convicts and Governor Macquarie's policy of rehabilitating the convicts, it must have been through gritted teeth that Bigge noted that something positive was happening amongst the convicts and their offspring.

‘The effects of the licentiousness of the women at Parramatta are most visible in their appearance than in their health, or in that of their children. I was much struck with the circumstance, at the first muster that I attended at Parramatta in the year 1819, when most of them were accompanied by fine and healthy children, some of whom had been born after their mothers had attained the age of 45."

Thomas Bigge noted that the “currency” lads and lasses differed from their parents not only in size but also in character and temper. Bigge qualified the challenging concept that they had not inherited their parents’ vices with the observation that it was “the testimony of persons who have had many opportunities of observing them”.

‘The class of inhabitants that have been born in the colony affords a remarkable exception to the moral and physical character of their parents: they are generally tall in person, and slender in their limbs, of fair complexion, and small features. They are capable of undergoing more fatigue, and are less exhausted by labour than native Europeans; they are active in their habits, but remarkably awkward in their movements. In their tempers they are quick and irascible, but not vindictive; and I only repeat the testimony of persons who have had many opportunities of observing them, that they neither inherit the vices nor the feelings of their parents."

Joseph Holt who began writing up his memoirs in 1818 noted something similar when he wrote: “I seen women of sixty have a young child.”

The Bigge Report and Samuel Marsden's report to Arch Deacon Scott both have contributed to a distorted view of Aboriginal people. Bigge’s assertion that “they are indiscriminate in their revenge, it not unfrequently happens that unoffending parties suffer some injury for the imprudence or cruelty of others” reflected his support for the propertied free settlers. The “others” was code for the convict stock keepers who guarded the flocks of those free settlers. The demonisation of the convict stock keepers was to become part of the anti-transportation movement.
Marsden was extremely pessimistic about attempts to civilise and convert Aboriginal people. He attributed this to their innate brutishness. He referred to Bennelong, Daniel, Harry, Tristam and Musquito as examples of Aboriginal people who had come to no good end despite the efforts of settlers such as himself to save them. Marsden told the commissioner that: “Aboriginal people possess something peculiar in their constitution and affections. I think it is hardly possible to attach them to our habits, customs and friendships. I found that to be the case with the two I attempted to civilize.... One of my boys was taken from his mother's breast and brought up with my children ... but he still retained an instinctive taste for native food-and he wanted that attachment for me and my family that we have just reason to expect and he always seemed to want that fine feeling which is the bond of social life.”

In not recognizing the contradiction between taking a baby “from his mother's breast” and the boy’s want of “attachment”, Marsden generalised an individual case into proof of racial inferiority. It may be argued that Marsden’s negativity towards Aboriginal people was entirely personal. Harry had run away; Tristam, who Marsden was taking to London to show off to Wilberforce, had run away in Rio De Janerio. Daniel was unfortunate enough to be a protégé of Caley, who was detested by Marsden. And it is likely that the young Musquito may also have rejected Marsden’s attempts to civilise him. It is possible to argue that the shifting of the Native Institution out of Parramatta and its ultimate demise can be linked to Marsden's eventual presence on the board of the Native Institution.

‘Since the year 1816 the native black inhabitants of New South Wales have ceased to give any active disturbance to the pursuits of the settlers in the county of Cumberland. They occasionally visit the towns in small parties and travel to the coast, where they subsist on fish; and several have resorted to the shores of the harbour of Port Jackson, where they take up a temporary abode, occasionally visiting the town of Sydney and disposing of their fish to the inhabitants. They likewise resort to the farms of some of the settlers on the banks of the Nepean, and are sometimes induced to take part in the labours of the farm, or to cultivate a portion of land in maize for themselves. They are not incapable of labour, but they dislike any continued occupation that binds them to the same spot. A very few of them have settled upon portions of land that Governor Macquarie has granted them; and one black native has been made a constable in the district of Windsor, and discharges his duty with fidelity and intelligence. Their numbers have been observed to diminish in the neighbourhood of the settled districts, and as an unfettered range over a large tract of country seems to be indispensable to their existence, the black population will undergo a gradual diminution in proportion to the advances of the white population into the interior. In the course of the expedition that I made from Bathurst to the lakes, and in my return from thence to the Cow Pastures, one family only was observed or met with, consisting of seven persons. I was informed that at Bathurst they sometimes made attacks upon the cattle of the settlers, which graze at a distance; and as they are indiscriminate in their revenge, it not unfrequently happens that unoffending parties suffer some injury for the imprudence or cruelty of others. There is, however, a general disposition amongst the white inhabitants to treat the black natives with kindness and indulgence; but from mistaken motives, and sometimes from reprehensible ones, they supply them with spirits, and stimulate them to the commission of shocking outrages upon each other. The appearance of the natives in the towns

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38 Samuel Marsden to Commissioner Bigge, 1820, Bonwick Transcripts, voL 20, 3498-3499.
39 The evidence that I have compiled in this work demonstrates that Aboriginal violence towards settlers was almost always retaliatory in nature. Bigge’s observation probably came from the evidence of Lieutenant Archibald Bell on 29th November 1819. When asked: “Do the natives manifest a peaceable disposition when not molested or deceived by the settlers?” Bell replied: “They are naturally mild, inoffensive, and indolent; but pertinacious in seeking revenge which is indiscriminately visited upon the first white man they meet with.” This observation totally contradicted his previous information on the killing of Mrs Lewis. This theme of Aboriginal people practising indiscriminate revenge for real or imagined slights was common and can be seen as a rationale for indiscriminate slaughter on the part of the settlers.
generally leads to quarrels; and independent of the violence to which they are prompted, it is very
offensive to delicacy. The black natives have both enjoyed the protection of the law in New
South Wales, and have been made amenable to it.

A convict at Newcastle received sentence of death, and was executed, for the murder of a
black native; and in the year 1816 a native named Dual, who had been distinguished by great
ferocity of character, was sentenced to be transported to Van Diemen’s Land, where I saw him
in the year 1820.

The native black inhabitants of Van Diemen’s Land are distinguished from those in New South
Wales, by their aversion to intercourse with the Europeans, and by the spirit of hostility and
revenge that they still cherish for an act of unjustifiable violence formerly committed upon
them. They are rarely seen in Hobart Town, or in the vicinity even of the settlements; but a few
of the children have been adopted and treated with kindness by the settlers. In their form and
stature they are more robust than the native blacks of New South Wales, but their physiognomy
is nearly the same, and marked by a great projection of the lower part of the forehead, and a
full bushy eyebrow, affording protection to large and rather expressive eyes.

The distinction that is most remarkable in the natives of Van Diemen’s Land, is that of their
woolly hair, which perfectly resembles the hair of the African negroes. From the accounts of
persons who have visited the interior of Van Diemen’s Land, there is no reason to presume
that the black natives are numerous, or that they will oppose any serious resistance to the
extension of the future settlements.  

The Bible was an important reference in the charting and mapping of the land. George
Caley’s attempt to cross the Blue Mountains in November 1804 in a straight line prompted
him to name Dark Valley, Wilderness Brook and the Devil’s Wilderness. The Old
Testament, which provided Christian understanding of the peopling of the earth, was drawn
upon by settlers to mythologise and legitimise their settlement of NSW. The town of
Ebenezer on the Hawkesbury River drew its name from I Samuel 7:12-13:

12. Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it
Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.
13. So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coast of Israel; the hand
of the Lord was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel.

The Philistines may have been the local Aboriginal people, but were more likely to have been
the officers of the NSW Corps who penalised settlers who supported Governor Bligh. In
naming his South Creek property, Mamre, the Reverend Samuel Marsden drew upon the
Lord’s appearance “in the plains of Mamre” and his promise of a child to Abraham and his
wife Sarah despite their age, and his promise that “all the nations of the earth shall be blessed
in him”. In 1822, Elizabeth Hawkins descending Cox’s Pass after crossing the Blue
Mountains encountered the Reverend Marsden who was returning from inspecting his new
land grants on the western plains. “Oh,” he said, “I congratulate you. You are all going to the

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42 King James Version.
43 The decision to build the church was made by Thomas Arndell and the Coromandel settlers of Portland Head
in 1808. Arndell remained loyal to Bligh and was stripped of his magistracy and pension by the officers of the
NSW Corps.
44 Genesis 18:1
Land of Goshen.” The Land of Goshen was the best land in the Egyptian delta and given by the Pharaoh to Joseph.45 Later in 1822 Barron Field paused on Mount York just above Elizabeth Hawkins’ encounter with Samuel Marsden and wrote “Mount York (as Governor Macquarie named it) redeems the journey across the Blue Mountains, for it leads you to the first green valley. The earliest burst of the Christian transalpine country, as seen from the beginning of this mountain, is very beautiful. The sight of grass again is lovely. The view from the commencement of Cox’s Pass down to it, is finer still This Big Hill, as it is alone called, should have been named Mount Pisgah, for it affords the first view of the promised land of Australia, after the wilderness of the Blue Mountains.”46 W. C. Wentworth in his 1823 poem, Australasia, borrowed from the Bible and Keats in describing the view from the Blue Mountains as “the beauteous landscape grew, Op'ning like Canaan on rapt Israel’s view”.47 James Hassall, writing about a sermon preached by his grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Marsden in St John’s at Parramatta, recalled, “A High pulpit stood in the middle of the church. I remember my grandfather preaching from it about the patriarchs and saying that Abraham was a squatter on Government ground”.48 The Biblical comparisons were to continue well into the Twentieth Century.

Barron Field, 1786-1846, was appointed as judge of the Supreme Court in NSW, arriving in 1817 to take up his duties and leaving in 1824. Throughout his life he was involved in controversy. Significantly he was in the colony between two declarations of martial law. During his stay he was a member of the Philosophical Society of Australia, established by Governor Brisbane in 1821. It was essentially a club of gentlemen interested in the sciences, and its existence was short-lived. This extract, part of a presentation that Barron Field made to the Society; like other presentations by members of the society, was included by Barron Field in Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, London, 1825. In transcribing the original I have excluded Field's footnotes which were not relevant to this work as some were particularly long. Field was an early and accomplished practitioner of the discourse of doomed savagery.

Barron Field rejected ideas of Australia being peopled by castaways from a wrecked slave ship. He extended Blumenbach's supposition of the Negroid origins of the First Peoples of Australia to include all those people, not just those seen by Dampier. Barron Field's case for supporting Blumenbach was based on the resistance of Aboriginal people to civilisation, or as he put it – they “have never yet shown a disposition to lead any other life than that of the hunter and fisher”. Like many of his contemporaries he saw the acquisition of English by Aboriginal people not as skill or competency, but “mimicry”. He asserted that they had “ready powers of imitation; but they have no reflection, judgment, or foresight”. He saw the nakedness of Aboriginal people as evidence of their lowness; in his mind, in not having shame at man's original sin, they lacked awareness of the differences between good and evil and were incapable of civilisation.

As a poet, Barron Field utilised the Romantic metaphor in his work. In Europe, where it originated, Romanticism was an artistic response to the enormous social, economic and

political changes transforming Europe in the early nineteenth century. In the context of settler societies, Romanticism manifested itself in particularly florid imagery of savages doomed by Nature to disappear in the face of advancing civilisation. These metaphors were never used without motive. They absolved settler society for the failure of First Peoples to embrace civilisation and Christianity, and for any direct responsibility for the disappearance of the savages; the responsibility being placed in the hands of Nature. Thus, according to Field “the most persevering attempts have always been made, and are still making, to induce them to settle, and avail themselves of the arts of life; but they cannot be fixed nor is it possible, by any kindness or cherishing to attach them. They have been brought up by us from infancy in our nurseries, and yet the woods have seduced them at maturity.” This reasoning was particularly skillful in its sexualisation of Nature's control over the lives of Aboriginal people. In the discourse of doomed savagery, Nature was either metamorphosed into God's handmaiden with a particular responsibility for savagery and all the unpleasant bits of God's plan; or a minor deity, outside of God's creation, and responsible for all the polygenesist and other untidy bits.\(^49\) In addressing the declining numbers of Aboriginal people he made no mention of violence directed against them, rather he focused on the game that had been scared away and “the new vices and diseases which they imbibe from us too readily”. While written in 1858, the following piece referring to Samuel Marsden's return from New Zealand in December 1823, is typical of the Romantic element within the discourse of doomed savagery which glossed over the killings and disease and utilised the

\(^49\) Like the Shadows website has a wonderful collection of American writings on this theme. [http://massasoit.0catch.com/shadows.htm](http://massasoit.0catch.com/shadows.htm), Dr. William Paine, 1750-1833, made a presentation to the American Antiquarian Society on the early history of Massachusetts in 1815. His presentation contained elements of predestination, and in the final line, “they have moulderd away, they have disappeared”, clearly articulated the Romantic metaphor that “Nature”, not settler societies were responsible for the act of ethnic cleansing.

‘The hand of God seems to have been most wonderfully displayed, in preparing the way for the establishment of a European colony in this part of North America. At the time our English ancestors arrived, the Indian tribes on the seacoast had been greatly thinned by a fatal epidemic, and the fierce spirit of the survivors seems to have been restrained by its pestilential influence on the animal system. From this cause the new colony in a less degree awakened the jealousy of the original inhabitants. The settlement, no doubt, was facilitated in consequence of this destructive sickness; for it is certain no opposition was made to the landing of the pilgrims from Holland. On the contrary, the Indians readily reciprocated the friendly offers made them by the white men. They imparted to them the knowledge they possessed in the culture of their corn, and the simple means they used to sustain life: gave them a part of their scanty allowance of provisions; bartered with them furs for their European goods; and sold them lands for a possession. Had a single tribe viewed, at first, their European visitors as invaders of their country, and entertained jealousies of their increasing numbers, influence and power, they might, and probably would have exterminated them on their first landing. But jealousies of this nature did not prevail amongst the Indians in any dangerous form, until the colony had gained strength, and were able to divert their machinations, or repel the efforts of the savages for their destruction. And when a confederacy of the Indian tribes was formed, which appeared to threaten the very existence of the infant colony, the arm of God was their shield. At the expense of many lives, they broke the plans of their enemy, defeated them in their most secure haunts, and drove those that escaped the slaughter of the battle, spiritless from the land of their fathers. Their persons now appear not, their names are not spoken in the land which their new vices and diseases which they imbibe from us too readily’. Pages 15-16, An Address to Members of the American Antiquarian Society, William Paine, Massachusetts, 1815, [http://books.google.com.au/books?id=AKQMAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA75&lpg=PA75&dq=%22](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=AKQMAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA75&lpg=PA75&dq=%22)

In his history of Massachusetts, Paine made no reference to Roger Williams, 1603-1683, who fled religious persecution in Britain and then fled the narrowness of puritan Massachusetts to purchase land from the Narragansett people and establish Rhode Island. After writing A Key into the Language of America, 1643, Williams declined to attempt the conversion of the Native Americans which further incensed the ire of Massachusetts. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roger_Williams_(theologian)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roger_Williams_(theologian))
imagery of *Nature* to predict the fading away of Aboriginal people: “*They were already wasting away in the presence of the European colonists like snow before the sun.*”\(^{50}\)

Romanticism, proved to be fallacious. Tuberculosis and Gonorrhoea were little understood diseases introduced by settlers into First Peoples societies with devastating results. He again adopted the moral high ground in using verse to plead for respect as they passed from the earth. Like many other dead ends in the ways in which we attempt to find meaning in our world, the discourse of doomed savagery was wishful thinking upon the part of settler societies, as Nature did not tidy up the loose ends by whisking away the First Peoples, who survived despite the best efforts of settler societies.

*‘On Aborigines of New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land* by Barron Field, Esq. *(read 2\(^{nd}\) January 1822, before the Philosophical Society of Australia.)*

... the most philosophical division of the varieties of the human species, is that of Professor Blumenbach, into the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Ethiopian, the Malayan, and the American; but, with no more light than that which the residence of a few years in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land has afforded me, I am of the opinion that the professor is wrong in classing the natives only of the north-west coast of New Holland, and of the island of Van Diemen, in the Ethiopian or negro variety, and the rest in the Malayan, together with the more civilized and enlightened natives of the Indian Archipelago and the South Seas Islands; and I think that all the aborigines of Australia are of Ethiopian origin. I am fully aware of the distinction between the natives of New Holland and those of Van Diemen’s Land, although I never before heard of any reason for exempting the New Hollanders of the north-west coast from this distinction; and I cannot learn any from our associate, Captain King, who has seen more of that coast than perhaps any European: but I do not think the difference between the New Hollander and the Islander of Van Diemen by any means sufficient to class the Australians into two varieties, like those of the Birmanese and the Great Andamaners, or the Malays and the negro races of the Indian Archipelago. The skull, the genius, the habits, of the Australians appear to me, as far as I have been able to investigate the subject, to have, in all of them, the degenerate Ethiopian character, like that of the Andamaners, and the negro races of the Indian Islands; and Professor Blumenbach, and after him Professor Lawrence, have proved that the accidents of straight or wooly hair, in different families or tribes, are very insignificant marks of diversity, and do not at all render it necessary, with Colonel Symes, on the origin of the Great Andamaners, and Mr. M‘Leod, on that of a wooly-haired Philippine Island near Luconia, to call down the trenchant machinery of a wrecked African slave-ship, to "account for the phenomenon," or "explain the historical mystery."

*The difference between the Birmanese and the Great Andamaners, the Malays and the Papuans, the New Zealanders and the Australians, is radical, and constitutes a variety in the human species. The origin of each race must be looked for much higher up than in a wrecked slave-trader, and the difference lies much deeper than (like Sampson’s*
strength) in the hair. "The distribution of organic beings on the globe (says baron Humboldt) depends not only on very complicated climatic circumstances, but also on geological causes, with which we are entirely unacquainted, because, they are connected with the original state of our planet." The Birmanese, the Malayans, and the New Zealanders, are all susceptible of civilization. The Birmanese are referred by Blumenbach to the Mongolian variety of our species, and their civilization is of great antiquity; the Sumatrans, Javanese, and other East Indian islanders of the Malayan variety, have also their religious antiquities; and the South Sea islanders are evidently from their persons, their aptness for civilization, and their language, of Malayan origin likewise; but the Great Andamaners, the Papuans, and the Australians, like their superiors, the American Indians, have never yet shown a disposition to lead any other life than that of the hunter and fisher, or to acknowledge any other government than that of the strongest, and any other law than that of nature. After the attempts of more than thirty years, by the constant neighbourhood of colonies of Englishmen, to civilize the natives of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, they are exactly in the same state in which we found them;...

The inference to be drawn from the above analogies is certainly, that the Australians will never be civilized, and that the South Sea Islanders will; and experience is everyday fulfilling the reasoning. We have now lived among the former for more than thirty years; and the most persevering attempts have always been made, and are still making, to induce them to settle, and avail themselves of the arts of life; but they cannot be fixed nor is it possible, by any kindness or cherishing to attach them. They have been brought up by us from infancy in our nurseries, and yet the woods have seduced them at maturity, and at once elicited the savage instincts of finding their food in the trees, and their path through the forest, — propensities which civil education had only smothered.* They have been removed from their native country, and in a foreign land have they robbed and run away from their fosterer and only protector.**

They have quick conceptions, and ready powers of imitation; but they have no reflection, judgment, or foresight. They have no wants but such as are immediate; and they have therefore never become either builders, or cultivators, or mechanics, or mariners; nor had they ever any civil government or religious superstition, like the Otaheitans, the Sandwich Islanders, and the New Zealanders.

They are the only savages in the world who cannot feel or "know that they are naked," and we are taught in the Scriptures that the eyes of man cannot be opened to what we call a civilized or artificial life, knowing good and evil till he acquires a sense of (perhaps false) shame or "fear," as it is called in the Bible. The Payaguas and Mbayas are abominated by other South American Indians because they are unacquainted with modesty. They have plenty of clothes, but they make a bad use of them (says the historian of the Abipones), for they cover those parts of the body which may be exposed, and bare those which modesty commands to be concealed. This is precisely the consequence of giving clothes to the Australians; and twenty years' daily commerce with European ladies and gentlemen fails to shame them. ... Now in Australia they are both naked, the man and his wife, and are not ashamed, with the exception on the part of the women of the sitting posture, mentioned by

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* The Rev. Mr. Cartwright is my authority for this fact. The same is said of the North American Indians by Dr Falconer, "On Mankind", p. 263.
** This happened to the Rev. Mr. Marsden, at Rio de Janerio.

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Labillardierc. And it is therefore I am of opinion that our savages will never be other than they are. An intelligent and experienced member of the committee of our Native Institution (the Rev. Mr. Cartwright) feels this impediment to their civilization so strongly, that he would compel them not to come into our towns naked; but I doubt the practicability both of the means and the end. True,

"without black velvet breeches, what is man;"
but how could they be "whipt from tithing to tithing," because their breeches are black epidermis; Modesty is an innate feeling, that no human power can inculcate — no government and general order legislate. Yet not for this cause let us relax our efforts in their favour; nor let us ever deny them a compensation for the game which we have scared from the confines we have usurped — "the native burghers of this desert city." Still less let us treat them as our Malayan brother-colonists do the aboriginal negroes of the Indian Islands, of whom Mr. Crawfurd says, that "whenever they are encountered by the fairer races, they are hunted down like wild animals of the forest, and driven to the mountains or fastnesses, incapable of resistance." Let us continue to them the chance of receiving the comforts of civilization and the blessings of religion, as an indemnification for the new vices and diseases which they imbibe from us too readily. And if, even with all our cultivation, the result should be the same as that of the poor persecuted Ethiopian, who is "found Guilty," by the Indian islander, "of a skin not coloured like his own." And if decay or extermination of the simple race of Australia should be the gradual end of our colonization,-

Yet deem not this man useless,
But let him pass, - a blessing on his head!
And, while in that society, to which
The Tide of things has led him, he appears
To breathe and live but for himself alone,
Unblam'd, uninjur'd. let him bear about
The good, which the benignant law of heaven
Has hung around him, and while life is his,
Still let him prompt the lib'ral colonist
To tender offices and pensive thoughts.

Then let him pass, - a blessing on his head!
And, long as he can wander, let him breathe
The freshness of the woods.
May never we pretend to civilize,
And make him only captive!
Let him be free of mountain solitudes;
And let him, where and when he will, sit down
Beneath the trees, and with his faithful dog
Share his chance-gather'd meal; and, finally,
As in the eye of Nature he has lived,
So in the eye of Nature let him die! 56

52 Labillardierc was on board D'Entrecasteaux's 1791 expedition to find La Perouse.
53 The first of several quotations from King Lear, Act 3, Scene 4.
54 A reference to killing venison in As You Like It, Act 2 Scene 1.
55 John Crawford, along with James Hunt took over the Ethnological Society of London in 1860. Crawford was a polygenist, bitterly opposed to evolution and believed the Scots to be the peak of creation.
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In October 1822 Barron Field made a journey over the Blue Mountains. He stopped at the Cox's River where he met a group of Aboriginal people. He used this meeting to reflect back on Aboriginal people of the Sydney Plain. I have extracted from his reflections those parts that are most relevant to this work.

While Field's recollections were sympathetic, there can be little doubt that he used the chaotic imagery of Lear's madness to frame Aboriginal people within a doomed barbaric past. Field's ambiguous observation that “they do not imitate humanity so abominably as the African negroes”, leaves the reader wondering whether he considered Aboriginal people to be human at all.

Despite the problems caused by the negative framing of Australia's First Peoples, Field's observations have some value. They certainly show that Aboriginal numbers were declining. They point to a decline in initiation ceremonies, but not corroborees. He attributed this to a decline in food sources, “vice and disease”. Like most contemporaries of his class he blamed the “pernicious association with the convicts, who sow the seeds of drunkenness in the prolific soil of savage indolence” for the woes of Aboriginal people. It should be pointed out that rum was still an important form of payment in the colonies and Aboriginal people would obtain this from the masters, not the servants. However, his observation that they “bear themselves erect, and address you with confidence, always with good-humour, and often with grace”, suggests that his negative stereotyping may well have been somewhat exaggerated.

Arriving in the colony after the imposition of martial law in 1816, it is possible - though unlikely - that Field's observation that the “warlike features of the tribes which surround our settlements are now quite effaced”, was a reflection of his ignorance of the impacts of martial law in 1816. Certainly, however, it is additional proof of the efficacy of Macquarie's actions in crushing Aboriginal resistance.

Contained within a footnote, the following observation is quite bizarre to modern eyes, highlighting the colonist's fear of racial degeneracy. “The few children of the half blood are the results of ‘casual fruition.’ Great as is the disproportion of white women to men, there is no instance of even a convict permanently living with a black woman; so that there will be no class of cretin in Australia.” Field's use of the phrase “casual fruition” comes from Lines 765-767, Book IV, Paradise Lost: “not in the bought smile of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendear'd casual fruition”. This comment of Barron Field largely explains why there were so few references to the children of settlers and convicts in the period under study. The denial of the existence of these people enabled settler society to maintain a myth of racial purity and superiority. His reference to “cretinism” was in keeping with his times, being a general descriptor of stupidity and deformity, rather than an exact medical term.

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57 Lancelot Threlkeld in a letter to Richard Cull, 25th June, 1856, about the Macquarie Lakes mission wrote about an incident which probably happened sometime in the 1830s. “One of the lads brought up and educated in the Orphan School grew up a very handsome young man and though black was comely so much that the daughter of a very respectable settler I knew eloped with the young Aborigine into the bush. They were pursued but the black took his fair frail one across the River on a sheet of bark, and there being no boats to follow, the Black and White pair outwitted their pursuers. She became his wife and afterwards they were married according to the law of the Land. There was no deficiency of intellect in either of the parties when they eloped together nor was there any discoverable in the conducting of his affairs afterwards as a respectable Black settler.” Page 300, Editor: Niel Gunson, Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Affairs, 1974
Here we met a few Indian natives of Bathurst. They resembled the natives of the coast in appearance, but did not speak the same language. They seem, however, to have advanced towards civilization one degree further than the poor forked animals\(^\text{58}\) of the warmer climate, inasmuch as they possess the art of very neatly sewing together, with the sinews of the kangaroo and emu, cloaks of skins, the hide of which they also carve in the inside with a world of figures. They use these cloaks for the sole purpose of keeping themselves warm, and have as little sense of decency as the natives around Sydney; for in the middle of the day, when the weather is warm, they throw back their cloaks across their shoulders. They appear to be a harmless race, with nothing ferocious in their manners or countenance. They are perfectly cheerful, laughing at every thing they see, and repeating every thing they hear. For the rest, little can be added to Captain Tench's and Colonel Collins's accounts of the natives of New South Wales. Their numbers are diminishing. Not that they retreat before the settlements of Europeans: this they cannot do: the different tribes (few as their numbers are) would resist the invasion of each other's territory. Thirty or forty miles will reach the circumference of each family's peregrinations. The tribes about our first settlements are as ignorant of the country beyond the mountains as the colonists were; and such is the sterility of the greater part of Mr. Oxley's first interior route, that he met with only twenty-two Indians in a journey of five months. Of the persons of the natives of New South Wales, I think Colonel Collins has given too unfavourable a picture. Their faces have generally (in my opinion) too much good-nature to be absolutely hideous, and (to my taste) they do not imitate humanity so abominably as the African negroes. Their hair is not woolly; their heads are not dog-like; nor are their legs baboonish. The figure of many of them is very good; and, as for their leanness, how can they wax fat in so poor a country? From the neighbourhood of our settlements we have scared the kangaroo and the emu, and left these poor lords of the creation\(^\text{59}\) no created food but a few opossums, and a tenancy in common with us of fish. Together with their numbers, their customs and manners are in a state of decay. The ceremony of extracting one of the right upper front teeth from the jaw of adults (so fully described by Colonel Collins) is nearly obsolete in the neighbourhood of our settlements, and the custom is by no means universal in the island. But the corrobory, or night-dance, still obtains.

... so sophisticated do the Indians become from their pernicious association with the convicts, who sow the seeds of drunkenness in the prolific soil of savage indolence. A rum, or even sugar-cask, filled with water, furnishes these poor creatures with an intoxicating liquor; and the invasions of civilization are reproached with the introduction of a new vice, which operates as an inflamer of all their old ones. It is a melancholy sight to witness the drunken quarrels and fightings of the simple natives of Australia, in the streets of Sydney, a people to whom civilization can never bring the comforts of food, raiment and shelter, and the blessings of religion, as an atonement for the vice and disease which it necessarily carries along with it.

\(^{58}\) A reference to King Lear Act 3, Scene 4.

Lear: Why, thou wert better in thy grave than to answer
with thy uncovered body this extremity of the skies.
Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou
owest the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep
no wool, the cat no perfume. Ha! here's three on
are sophisticated! Thou art the thing itself:
unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor bare,
forked animal as thou art.'

\(^{59}\) I have not yet located the earliest use of this phrase. It appears to have a Biblical source, but could be drawn from Sir Walter Raleigh's “Lords of the Country” in The Discovery of Guiana, 1596.

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That these unfortunate beings were comparatively ignorant of the crime of evil-speaking before we came among them, is proved by the broken English words of scurrility and execration with which they pollute their native tongue. The effect of this would be ludicrous, were not the cause pitiable. Truly Botany Bay is a bad school for them; but they have not learnt of the convicts to lie or to steal. Perhaps it is better that their name should pass away from the earth. They will not serve, and they are too indolent and poor in spirit to become masters. They would always be drones in the hive of an industrious colony. Nevertheless they are not without the stamp of their Maker's image, cut in ebony (as old Fuller says) instead of ivory. They bear themselves erect, and address you with confidence, always with good-humour, and often with grace. They are not common beggars, although they accept of our carnal things in return for the fish and oysters, which are almost all we have left them for their support. They are the Will Wimbles of the colony; the carriers of news and fish; the gossips of the town; the loungers on the quay. They know everybody; and understand the nature of everybody's business, although they have none of their own - but this. They give a locality to the land, and their honest naked simplicity affords a relief to the eye from the hypocritical lour of the yellow-clad convict. The warlike features of the tribes which surround our settlements are now quite effaced. The savages are forbidden to enter the towns with their spears, and they cheerfully comply with this requisition.

They have a bowing acquaintance with everybody, and scatter their How-d'ye-do's with an air of friendliness and equality, and with a perfect English accent, debased by the Massa's, and Missies, and me-no's of West Indian slavery. They have been tried to be brought up from infancy as servants, but they have always run away to the woods. Our government has also instituted a small school for the education of native, black children. Some of their parents (particularly of half-casts) have no objection to their being clothed, and fed, and taught; but they cannot endure the thoughts of their being made servants. The children learn almost as readily as Europeans; but their parents will steal them away when they grow up, and they will not willingly return among us. A few pairs have been married and housed out of the school, but they will not settle*. Their instinctive relish for the vermin and range of the woods cannot be eradicated. 'Sir (said Dr. Johnson, holding up a slice from a quartern loaf), this is better than the bread-fruit;' but the savages of Australia, although extremely fond of bread, will never lose their more exquisite relish for a fine fat grub.

"Poor Tom! that eats the swimming frog, the toad, the tadpole, the wall-newt and the water; swallows the old rat, and the ditch-dog; drinks the green mantle of the standing pool. But let

60 Thomas Fuller, 1608-1661, churchman and writer.
61 From Joseph Addison's, Sir Roger de Coverley: “Will Wimble is younger brother to a baronet, and descended of the ancient family of the Wimbles. He is now between forty and fifty; but being bred to no business and born to no estate, he generally lives with his elder brother as superintendent of his game. He hunts a pack of dogs better than any man in the country, and is very famous for finding out a hare. He is extremely well versed in all the little handicrafts of an idle man: he makes a Mayfly to a miracle; and furnishes the whole country with angle-rods. As he is a good-natur'd officious fellow, and very much esteemed upon account of his family, he is a welcome guest at every house, and keeps up a good correspondence among all the gentlemen about him.”
http://addison.underthesun.cc/daysroger/daysroger2.html

* The Sydney Gazettes used to make a great puffing about Governor Macquarie's Native Institution. Since his departure the school has been very properly removed from the town of Paramatta, to a remoter situation in the interior, on the Richmond road; but when I visited it in 1823, there were but four children in the school of the whole Indian blood, and four tenants of the settling-huts erected for them by government; and of these last (although it was the day of the committee's quarterly meeting) only one was at home; but I was told they attended more numerously once a fortnight to receive their ration from the government store. The few children of the half blood are the results of 'casual fruition.' Great as is the disproportion of white women to men, there is no instance of even a convict permanently living with a black woman; so that there will be no class of cretin in Australia."
us talk with this philosopher. "62 If he is the most independent who has the fewest wants, the houseless Australian is certainly our superior: “he owes the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume.”63 he looks upon us as “sophisticated;” but he always treats our persons with respect, although he holds our servants very cheap, and looks down with a kind of stoical pity upon the various articles of comfort to which we have made ourselves slaves. He has no notion of that inferiority to us, the oppression of which feeling reduces the New Zealanders and South Sea Islanders almost to despair; and he despises the comforts of civilization, although he has nothing of his own but his “hollow tree and liberty,”64 without even the “crust of bread.” What then must be his opinion of our servants? men and women, who sacrifice their liberty and independence for the second-rate comforts of civilization, which they earn by submitting to perform menial offices for those who enjoy the first-rate, and by ministering to their artificial wants; for even which first-rate comforts the naked native has a contempt. With us masters, all he contends for nevertheless is equality. He acknowledges the British government, and even accepts from the governor grants of his own patrimonial land. Some of the Indians have also seriously applied to be allowed convict-labourers, as the settlers are, although they have not patience to remain in the huts which our government has built for them, till the maize and cabbages that have been planted to their hands are fit to gather.

So the Spaniards succeeded at length in domesticating many of the negroes of the Philippine Islands, and converting them to Christianity, to which they made no objection as long as they received subsistence; but when they were obliged to labour for the maintenance of their family, they returned to the mountains. We have now lived among the Australians more than thirty years; and yet, like the North American Indians, or the negroes of the Philippine Islands, they have adopted none of our arts of life, with the exception of exchanging their stone hatchets and shell fish-hooks for our iron ones. They will never become builders, or cultivators, or mechanics, or mariners, like the New Zealanders or the South Sea Islanders, nor indeed till they cease to be at all, will they ever be other than they are.65

At the very end of Governor Brisbane’s commission of 16th July 1825 he was instructed that “it is Our further Will and Pleasure that you do, to the utmost of your power, promote

62 Another reference to King Lear, Act 3, Scene 4.
63 I have not yet located the source of this quote.
64 A quote from Voltaire’s Luxury, ‘Oh Allah, wherefore didst thou not make me an owl. I could then have enjoyed my hollow tree and liberty: I could have eaten my mice at my leisure, without the consent of a master.’
65 Pages 434-438, Appendix, Chapter 2, Journal of an Excursion across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales Commencing 7th October 1822.
Barron Field, Editor, Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, London, 1825.
The extensive solicitude which now prevails on behalf of the Aborigines of this Country, and the exertions which have recently commenced to inform their minds and ameliorate their condition, render this a striking era in the history of our Colonial benevolence. The continued degradation of those tribes, that live within the precincts of the Colony, notwithstanding the many years that they have witnessed the refinements and advantages of civilization, shew that they will never spontaneously abandon their barbarous habits and apply themselves to useful industry, and that this change in their character cannot be effected without bringing them under the control of direct persevering instruction and discipline. This experiment is now in operation, and affords fair promises of success. For its more effectual prosecution those Great Missionary Societies, the Church, the London, and the Wesleyan Societies have engaged in it. Several years have now elapsed since the Wesleyan Society sent a Missionary to labour amongst these wretched people; but, owing to the peculiar circumstances of that portion of the black population to whom his attention was confined, they being deeply

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66 Thomas Hobbes Scott.
contaminated with European vices, and the impossibility of restraining them from a
demoralizing intercourse with the lowest classes of the Colonists - owing to these, and some
other causes, his efforts almost entirely failed."69

In September 1826 a man was speared on Bowman's Hunter River property. As a result an
Aboriginal man who was present, but not the one who threw the spear was tied to a tree and
shot by the soldiers. Threlkeld was concerned that Aboriginal people would go to war over
this. His writing articulated settler fear of a combination of Aboriginal people, bushrangers
and convicts.

'4th September 1826
The Settlers are all in arms; the Police is out, a detachment is forwarded from Newcastle of 9
soldiers, and blood will now be shed most profusely. The natives declare it is in consequence
of the man Billy being kept in Jail, and the man being shot at Mr Bowman's. – Tardiness in
delivering the Black out of Jail will only increase the Bloodshed. if war takes place, I tremble
for the event, two hundred natives, my brother-in-law's70 man met on the road to the
Hawkesbury, they did not injure him, but threatened vengeance against Mr Bowman. Seven
bushrangers were also seen. If once the prisoners join the Blacks and teach them to fire the
corn, and wheat, what will be (the) result!71

While the following letter to Archdeacon Scott reflected Marsden’s negative experiences with
Aboriginal people it was written for its audience, providing an analysis of relations between
Aboriginal people and settlers and making recommendations. His letter to D’Urville written at
approximately the same time was remarkably similar – with the padding removed.

'Reverend Samuel Marsden's Report to Archdeacon Scott on the Aborigines of N.S.W. (2
December 1826)

I HAD THE HONOR to receive your letter of the 1st instant, relative to the Aborigines, and am
happy to learn that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to take into his Royal
consideration the destitute situation of these miserable people. It must be admitted that we
have no accounts of any savages that have ever been found in so low and degraded a state
as they are; at the same time they have a just claim to the humane consideration of the
British Government for the loss they have sustained by the Europeans settling in their
country. Wherever a Settlement is formed the Aborigines are deprived of their support and
clothing, the former of which was principally animal food, and the latter Kangaroo skins.
The Kangaroo, Opossum, and other quadrupeds, are either destroyed, or driven into the
interior, in every place where the Europeans fix their settlements, in consequence of
which the Aborigines suffer much at certain periods of the year, for the want of both
clothing and provisions. A few blankets, and a portion of maize, would greatly relieve
their wants in such seasons of distress.

69 Sydney Gazette, 29th September 1825

The Wesleyan missionary was William Walker who arrived in 1821. After a short involvement with the Native
Institute at Blacktown and baptising a son of Bennelong who died in January 1823, his interest in Aboriginal
people waned, causing problems with his peers and superiors. He married Eliza Hassall in May 1823 and became

70 James Arndell.

71 Page 93,
With respect to the civilization of the Blacks, it appears to me almost an hopeless task, as far as my own observation and experience go.

I consider the following to be the principal difficulties to their improvement in the art of civilization: 1st. They have no wants, nor is it in our power to create any which will benefit them, their only desires are for spirits and tobacco, they put no value upon the comforts of Civil Life, hence they cannot be induced to form any industrious habits to obtain them.

2nd. They appear to have no reflection, no forethought, they never provide for tomorrow, they have neither Store-house or Barn, they independently range the Woods in the day, like the fowls of the air or the beasts of the field, and lie down in the Bush wherever night overtakes them. When I say they have no reflection I do not mean to say they will not reflect upon an injustice done them, this they will do for a long time, and whenever an opportunity offers they will revenge it, but they never reflect upon means by which they can better their conduct, by which they can provide for their future wants, if they obtain any kind of food for the day, whatever it may be, a snake, or grub, &c, &c. they are perfectly satisfied with it.

3rd. They appear never to form any real attachment to any European, however kind they may be to them. They have been known to murder those with whom they have long lived upon the most intimate terms, and who have never done them the smallest injury, which proves that their savage mind is under no control whenever they meet with any enemy or evil.

4th. They have no regular government, no Chiefs, no subordination, every man does what is right in his own eyes. I may here observe that it is a very remarkable circumstance that I have not known a single instance of one of the Aborigines adopting the customs and habits of Civil Life.

The Native Harry, whom you know, lived in my family, 30 years ago, for a considerable time. He learned to speak our language, and while he was with me behaved well. I entertained very great hopes that from conversing with him upon the comforts of Civil Life, the nature of our Religion, and such subjects as I thought were best calculated to enlarge his mind, he might become civilized. But at length he joined the Natives in the Woods, and from that time to the present, has only paid me occasional visits, when I generally advert to the time when he first lived with me, and what he would have enjoyed if he had continued in my family. Harry hears all I have got to say, with the utmost indifference, and he never seems to think that he lost anything by living in the woods. I might mention many other individual natives, who have acted exactly as Harry has done, were it necessary, to shew that the civilization of the Aborigines is a very difficult experiment. For the last 33 years the Europeans have lived amongst them, they have made no advance in the arts of civilization, whilst during the same period they have contracted our diseases and learned our vices. I am persuaded unless some measures can be adopted to restrain their drunkenness, and other vices, they will gradually die off, as the Europeans extend their settlements in the country. In several of the oldest districts, in which I remember there were formerly many Natives residing, there is not now one remaining.

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72 I assume that this was not the same Harry who lived with the Macarthurs.
The Aborigines do not want for talents, they are not a heavy stupid race, but shrewd and keen in their observation for the moment, but, as already stated, they have no reflection, no wants, no attachment, no subordination or government, which are all necessary to Men in Civil Society. If under present circumstances no good can be done to the Adults further than relieving their occasional wants of clothing and provisions, something may probably be done for their children, if their parents will give them up. Black Town, in my opinion, will be the best school to try the experiment with the children. If thereafter any protest should open to benefit the adults, in any other part of the Country, by instructing them in Agriculture, or any other useful knowledge, we are bound, as Christians to make the attempt. I will now state a few facts which will throw some light upon the extraordinary character of these savages.

Bennelong, was the first Native who was admitted to the late Governor Phillip's Table. This circumstance occurred shortly after the establishment of the Colony. He continued to live with the Governor until 1792, when the Governor returned to Europe and took Bennelong with him. He remained with Governor Phillip until 1793, when the late Admiral Hunter was appointed to the Government at the time the Governor left England. Bennelong accompanied him to N.S. Wales. After his arrival he continued to live at the Government Table for some time, where he behaved with the greatest propriety. At length he threw off all his clothes and all his acquired civil habits, and took to the Bush, where he remained to the day of his death. I have often seen him wandering about in his former degraded state, submitting voluntarily to all the filth and privations of his tribe, and appeared in every respect what he was when Governor Phillip first took notice of him. There was another Native belonging to Parramatta, whom I knew from a boy, his English name was Daniel, he was a very fine youth, Caley, the Botanist, took him to live with him. He was with Mr Caley for some years, when Mr Caley returned to England Daniel accompanied him. He remained in England for some considerable time, as Mr Caley was employed by Sir Joseph Banks. Daniel was introduced into the first Society in London. At length he returned to the Colony, and the first time I saw him after his arrival he was sitting, naked, upon the stump of a tree in the woods about eight miles to the North of Parramatta. I expressed my astonishment at seeing him in that state, and asked him why he had cast off his clothes and taken to the Bush again. He replied "Me like the Bush best." Not very long after this Daniel met a young woman who had come from England, about 3 miles from Parramatta, as she was returning to her father's house, and committed a Rape upon her person. For this crime he was apprehended, tried, and executed. Another instance I shall mention. More than 20 years ago there was a Native named Musquito, living on the banks of the Hawkesbury River, where there were some European settlers. Musquito was a great savage, and committed several robberies and murders in that Settlement. He was apprehended, lodged in Gaol, and banished to Norfolk Island, and put into one of the working gangs. He remained there some years, cut off from his own people, and when that settlement was removed to Van Diemen's Land, Musquito accompanied the Settlers. Some time after his arrival he took to the woods, joined the Aborigines of that Island, was guilty of many robberies and murders, and was at length taken, tried and executed. From the years he had been cut from all communication with his own people, one would have supposed he would have made some progress in civilization and formed some habits of civil life; but he appears to have lived and died the same character he was when I knew him on the banks of the Hawkesbury, almost 30 years ago. I could mention many other instances which, have come to my

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73 Gunson's transliteration of the original letter is about [ ] miles to the North of Parramatta. I have taken the correction from Marsden's letter to D'Urville, written in late December 1826.
knowledge, of Natives who have enjoyed every advantage that would tend to promote their civilization, and who have not apparently derived the smallest benefit from these advantages. I state these facts, not with a view to discourage any benevolent attempt to promote their improvement, but merely to shew their extreme degradation, and the difficulties that must attend this undertaking. I believe they have never been higher in the scale of human beings than their present state, that this is their original state, from which they have not risen or sunk one step in Civil Life, but as to their moral state they are sunk down many degrees in vice and immorality below what they would possibly be before the Europeans settled amongst them. From us they have suffered infinite loss in their provisions and clothing, and from us they have contracted the most painful and fatal diseases, under which many of them hourly suffer until death relieves them, and from our example and excitements they are sunk into the deepest moral corruption in every respect. I conceive, as a Nation professing Christianity, we have much to answer for on their account to the Judge of all the Earth. The utmost one can do for them will only be a small atonement, a trifling return for the permanent injury they have sustained.

I shall rejoice much to see His Majesty's gracious intentions come into effect. Their civilization and improvement, if it can be accomplished, can only be done by the powerful aid of Government.

The Church Missionary Society have, for the last 10 years, expressed a readiness to cooperate in this benevolent work, but as Agent to that Society I never felt myself authorised to enter upon so expensive and difficult an undertaking, unless the Colonial Government would have united to second the efforts of the Society, and this support it has never been in my power to obtain. The Wesleyan Society has made the attempt, and must have expended a considerable sum, but have done nothing. The London Missionary Society have also entered upon the same work, and am sure they will not succeed unassisted by Government, but at an unknown expense.

As the success of the undertaking must be long doubtful, it is more than probable the Directors of the Missionary Society will not feel themselves warranted in risking the funds of their Society, beyond a limited sum, in support of their Mission.

The prospect must always be very discouraging to a Missionary in the neighbourhood of any European settlement. The influence of the settlers and their Servants, will counteract in great measure all the efforts for the good of the Natives.

This remark is strongly exemplified in the general conduct of the Aborigines, who reside in, or near, our principal towns and Settlements, many of whom have been brought up in the midst of the Europeans from their infancy. Some of them can understand and can speak our language well, are acquainted with our customs and manners, and to those who have occasionally lived in Pious Families, the nature of our Holy Religion has been explained. They know why we observe the Sabbath Day, they understand what we mean by future rewards and punishments. The knowledge of these things has gradually forced itself upon the understanding, as the light of the Sun forces itself upon our senses. But none of them have made any use of this knowledge. It has been rendered unavailing by the influence of the immoral example, and corrupt language of a vile polluted population, who have ever taken Satanic pleasure in rendering the Aborigines more viciated and degraded than what they were in their original savage state.

74 Marsden’s degradation hypothesis anticipated Whately’s similar theory by five years.
Wherever Settlements are formed the Colonial Government should provide for the instruction of the Aborigines.

The Missionaries who are supported by their respective Societies, should attend to the Natives in situations where no European Establishments are made. This measure would afford some hopes of benefitting the Natives eventually, if it should be found possible to make any impression upon their minds.

The want of reflection upon their past, present and future, which is so strikingly apparent in the whole of the conduct of the Aborigines, opposes in my mind the strongest barrier to the work of a Missionary. We can only rely upon the Wisdom and Power and Goodness of the Supreme Governor of the Universe, to bless our labours, and depend upon His faithful World of Promise that some of every nation, kindred, tongue and people shall be found in that great multitude at the last Day, which no man can number, who have washed their robes and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb. It is our duty to sow the seed, and patiently to wait, like the Husbandman, for the fertilizing showers from Heaven, which alone can make it vegetate, and finally to bring forth the fair fruit of Righteousness.

The above observations contain my views on the subject in question. Perhaps there may be, some who entertain a different opinion of the Aborigines, from what I do. Should, however, the remarks I have made suggest to you, or my ideas which will assist you in forming your Plan for carrying into effect His Majesty's instructions, it will give me much pleasure, and I shall at all times be ready to render what assistance may be in my power to promote this benevolent object.


Captain Jules S-C Dumont d'Urville, commander of L'Astrolabe visited Sydney for the second time from the 2nd to the 17th of December 1826. He had previously visited Sydney in 1824, where he witnessed a tribal punishment ceremony involving Bungaree. During his 1826 stay he visited Parramatta on the 14th where he met with Samuel Marsden who he had met in his 1824 visit. On the 16th the Reverend Samuel Marsden, accompanied by the Reverend M Wilkinson, Sydney's Assistant Anglican Chaplain, visited D'Urville's ship and Wilkinson brought on board with him, “two skulls and some bones of two Sydney natives, one an adult the other a child.”


The following extract while written in 1858 references the practice of head collecting for phrenological study. It also suggests that Marsden's private views on the First Peoples of Australia were even more disturbing than his private utterances. "If the New Zealander stands highest in the scale of savage nature, the native Australian occupies perhaps the lowest place. So low, indeed, was their intellect rated, that when the phrenological system of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim began to occupy attention, some forty years ago, the skulls of several of them were sent over to England to be submitted to the manipulations of its professors, with a view of ascertaining whether the Creator had not thrust into existence a whole race of idiots - men who had neither reason to guide them on the one hand, nor well-developed instinct on the other.

They are supposed to be a mixture of the Malay and negro races, but they have nothing of the muscular strength of the negro, nor of his mental pliancy, and both in body and mind are far below the pure Malay. In the infancy of the colony they rambled into the town of Port Jackson in a state of nudity, and when blankets were presented...
D'Urville believed that “the English appear to have completely abandoned” the hope “of bringing the natives of New South Wales to a state of civilisation. The establishment for the education of young natives [The Native Institution],” he wrote, “founded by the benevolent views of Governor Macquarie, has been gradually neglected and now no longer exists. In spite of the rapid growth in the number of Europeans on this foreign soil, this strange race pursues its sad existence almost the same as the time when its members were the sole owners of it.”

Before his departure, D'Urville sought and received a letter from Samuel Marsden regarding his opinion of the First Peoples of Australia. The letter is particularly significant for its reference to Marsden knowing Musquito in his youth on the Hawkesbury. It has implications for the 1805 capture of Musquito and the release of Tedbury shortly afterwards.

‘As for the possibility of bringing the natives of New South Wales to a state of civilization or even to a condition less savage and less nomadic than that to which nature seems specifically to have destined them, that is a hope which the English appear to have completely abandoned. The establishment for the education of young natives, founded through the benevolent views of Governor Macquarie, has been gradually neglected and now no longer exists. In spite of the rapid growth in the number of Europeans on this foreign soil, this strange race pursues its sad existence almost the same as in the time when its members were the sole owners of it. In fact the English administration does not in any way harass them; provided they do not transgress the police laws of the colony it can be stated clearly that they still enjoy full and complete freedom. However, as I am anxious to support this observation with unimpeachable evidence, I asked M. Marsden, the principal chaplain of the colony where he has resided for more than thirty years, to give me his opinion in a few words on these strange people; a few days before my departure, he was kind enough to send me the following note which will close what I had proposed to write on the subject.

“The following observations on the conduct of the aborigines of New South Wales will throw some light on the character of this extraordinary race of savages.

Benilong was the first native admitted to the table of the late Governor Phillip; this was in the year 1788, shortly after the foundation of the colony. The Governor went back to England in 1792 and took Benilong, keeping him with him in London until 1795 when the late Admiral Hunter was appointed head of the colony. When he left England, Benilong came back with him to New South Wales. After his return he lived with the Governor and dined with him each evening, where for some time he continued to behave in the most respectable manner. Eventually he threw off all his clothes, renounced the manners he had acquired and went back to the bush which he never again left till the day of his death. I to them they were thrown aside as an incumbrance. They seemed to have no wants beyond those which the dart or spear - never out of their hands - could instantly supply. Their food was the opossum, but when this was not to be found they were by no means delicate; grubs, snakes, putrid whales, and even vermin were eagerly devoured, though fish and oysters were preferred. They are a nomad or wandering people, always moving from place to place in search of food, or from the mere love of change.”


often saw him wandering in the forest in his former degraded state, willingly subject to all the privations and miseries of his tribe; and he appeared to me in all respects what he had been before Governor Phillip had taken an interest in him, a savage in every sense of the word.

There was another native I knew from childhood who belonged to the Parramatta tribe. His English name was Daniel; he was a very handsome young man. Mr Caley the botanist had taken him in and kept him for several years. When Mr Caley returned to England, Daniel went with him and stayed there for a long time. As Mr Caley was employed by the late Sir Joseph Banks, Daniel was introduced into the best society of London. He finally returned to New South Wales, and the first time I saw him after his return, he was seated stark naked on a tree stump in the bush about eight miles north of Parramatta. I expressed my astonishment at seeing him in that state, and asked him why he had removed his clothes to live in the forest; he replied that the bush was what he liked best. Shortly afterwards, Daniel met a young woman, an English immigrant, about three miles from Parramatta as she was returning to her father's house; he had the audacity to attack and rape her. He was arrested and executed for this crime, and died as a savage, despite all the advantages he had enjoyed in a civilized society.

As a perfect illustration of the character of these natives I quote another example. One of them called Mosquito more than twenty years ago was living on the banks of the Hawkesbury River where some English farmers lived. Mosquito was a mad savage; he committed several robberies and even murder of the Europeans in that district. Finally he was arrested and banished to Norfolk Island, where he remained mixed in with the convicts sentenced to hard labour. He remained several years on that island separate from all his fellow countrymen. When this settlement was transferred to Van Diemen's Land, Mosquito followed the Europeans there. Some time after his arrival he escaped into the bush, joined up with the natives of that island, was guilty of several robberies and murders, was finally caught, bound and hanged. During the twenty years that he had been deprived of all communication with people of his own race, one could have thought that he had made some progress towards civilization and acquired something of the morals of society; but from all appearances, he lived and died with exactly the same savage disposition that was known thirty years before on the banks of the Hawkesbury

I could mention several other instances where it has been easy for me to observe natives who had enjoyed all the advantages likely to improve their natural dispositions, and who seemed not in any way to have profited from intercourse with Europeans. These examples should all provide proof of the state of degradation into which these people are sunk, and how little hope there is of lifting them out of it. For them there is no tomorrow. They have neither stores nor granaries. By day they roam aimlessly about the bush, like the birds in the air, and the wild animals on the ground; at night they lie down in the scrub, under a rock, a tree, a piece of bark or any other shelter if the weather is wet or stormy.

Since Europeans have been living among them, I have had no knowledge of a single native adopting the manners or customs of the civilized life, or taking to agriculture or the simplest of trades. My opinion is that the indigenous people will disappear as European settlement spreads in this country: before a certain number of years there will remain only a small number of savages, if any at all. These unfortunates contract all our diseases and all our vices; but none of the habits and manners which could be to their advantage.

New South Wales, 12 December 1826.

Signed: Samuel Marsden

Pondering the Abyss
Peter Cunningham, 1789-1864, travelled between Australia and Britain a number of times as a surgeon on the convict ships. He was a settler in the Hunter for several years. In the first extract from *Two Years in New South Wales*, first published 1827, Cunningham clearly demonstrated an ambivalence not uncommon among some observers. His observations of the skills in which Aboriginal people acquired competency in written and spoken English reveal an awareness of the contradiction that this posed to the conventional framework that the rest of the extract is framed.

“They are lively, good-humoured, inquisitive, and intelligent; and are found to acquire the knowledge of reading, writing, &c., almost as expertly as Europeans. If their intellectual functions, then, are so far above debasement, how is it that the ablest animal state in which they live, and their great and glaring deficiency in all the useful mechanical arts (in comparison with other savages), should place them at the very zero of civilisation, constituting in a measure the connecting link between man and the monkey tribe? – for really some of the old women only seem to require a tail to complete the identity; while the manner in which I have seen these aged beldames scratch themselves, bore such a direct analogy to the same operation among the long tailed fraternity, that I could not, for the life of me, distinguish the difference. The quick and hurried movements and gestures of many of our natives, seem indeed closely allied to those of the wild animals of the forest; the sudden kind of bobbing twist they give their heads, and comical ape-like mode of raising their hands as eye-screens, when looking upwards at the sun, or even at any object in the distance, resemble more the motions of some of our wild four legged, than those of our civilised two-legged animals. Most of our aborigines, however, are far from ugly; nay many of the young of both sexes are tolerably handsome; but as for the old women, they are absolute frights. We may, I think, in a great measure impute their present low state of civilisation, and deficiency in the mechanical arts, to the nature of the country they inhabit, the kind of life they lead, and the mode of government they live under.

Civilisation depends more upon the circumstances under which man is placed than upon any innate impulse of his own, - the natural inclinations of man tending toward the savage state, or that in which food is procured with the least possible effort; - there being something so irresistibly captivating in a wild, roaming life of this description, that few who have made the trial ever relish civilised society thoroughly again. It is only necessity that urges mankind to congregate in fixed habitations, and raise their food by the sweat of their brow; for if it could still be procured in as easy a way by civilised Europeans as by our uncultivated tribes, the European woods would soon abound with creatures nearly as rude and idle as our natives.

The second extract continued the simian metaphor. Aboriginal people were “debased”; their hands were “paws”; they “aped” their superiors; they paraded “the streets of Sydney in natural costume”. There was a strong sexual frisson in the passage. Despite all the apparent evidence of their savagery, Cunningham, like Wentworth and Field before him noted that: “All the natives around Sydney understand English well, and speak it too, so as to be
understood by residents”. Like Barron Field, Cunningham noted the “swagger of some of these dingy dandies”, indicating that contemporary images of degradation were exaggerated.

‘The women every where, that I have seen, wrap themselves in some species of cloak made of opossum skins, or else in a blanket, but the men walk carelessly about quite naked, without betraying the least shame; even many at this day parading the streets of Sydney in natural costume, or with a pair of breeches probably dangling around their necks, which the modest-meaning donor intended to be applied elsewhere. It is amusing to see the consequential swagger of some of these dingy dandies, as they pace lordly up our streets, with a waddie twirling in their black paws. No Bond-Street exquisite could ape the great man better, for none are better mimicks of their superiors; our colonial climatised females mincing it past these undrapered beaux, or talking with them carelessly face to face, as if unconscious of their nudity; while the modest new-comers will giggle, blush, cover their eyes with their fingers, and hurry confusedly by.

All the natives around Sydney understand English well, and speak it too, so as to be understood by residents.  

The following extracts while revealing, about the events of 1816 also show that Cunningham was relying upon hearsay and anecdotal accounts as much as personal observation. His reference to Aboriginal people being indiscriminate in the targets of revenge has a long history in the records dating back to Collins. Cunningham’s repetition of the generalisation was important in that it provided justification for indiscriminate killings.

‘Towards the Hawkesbury and Cow-pasture, the aborigines are not so near debased as around Sydney, and most of them will live in huts if they are built for them. Many of these too will work at harvest, and attend to other matters around the farm, having been brought up from infancy among the farming whites; but their working is only by fits and starts, little dependence being to be placed thereon. Several are employed and paid as constables, and many now retained on clothes and rations, in pursuance of Governor Darling’s admirable regulations, for tracking thieves and bush-rangers.

They are excellent marksmen when accustomed to the musket, and dangerous and subtle enemies when at variance with the whites, as, from their quickness of sight, they can detect instantly the smallest object moving in the woods, and track readily almost every animal that perambulates the forests. Therefore, it is quite impossible to surprise them, at any time except early in the morning, through the assistance of a native guide: while they can always steal in upon the whites, by gliding from tree to tree; for even when you do see them it is no easy matter to distinguish them from a burnt stick. They are fearful to attack the whites, though ever so few in number, if armed with muskets, knowing the unerring destructiveness of these weapons; and the best way of retreating safely is by only pointing the musket at them, to keep them at bay, as the moment it is fired they rush in and spear their victim.

During the harassing warfare with them in 1816, a stockman told me, that while watching his cattle, and amusing himself in carving a walking-stick, with a fine kangaroo dog beside him, he was startled several times by the loud snorting, snuffing and restlessness of the herd.

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80 Page 186, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.

81 Page 188, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.
betokening somewhat disagreeable to them at hand; but altogether examining carefully with his eye every object around he could perceive no cause for their alarm, till a sudden whizz pointed out his cunning enemy, the spear passing him, and pricking his canine companion to the ground. The savages, who had closed upon him in a semicircle, as in their usual way, gave a tremendous shout and let fly a shower of spears, which he evaded by crouching behind a tree, and seizing his musket, he kept them from closing, retreating slowly toward home, till he saw a fair chance for a race, when bolting off, with the savages yelling at his heels, he gained a river, and crossed it by swimming, in defiance of them all. ...

In common with almost all savages, revenge with them is never satiated till quenched in the blood of an adversary. Like the Chinese, they are not particular about the person; but if a white injures them they generally satisfy their rage upon the first of that colour they can conveniently meet with. They know not, in their wild state, what it is either to forget or forgive; and when once they murder a white, always expect to be retaliated upon for it, whatever appearances of friendship the other whites may put on, still believing they are yet to suffer, and that only fear or want of opportunity prevents a reprisal. Hence, until some of the tribe are killed by the whites, they never conceive themselves safe, and usually continue their murderings until, in retaliation, blood is expiated by blood.

Throughout the county of Cumberland in 1816, and more lately at Bathurst, the most dreadful excesses were committed by them till hunted down by bodies of soldiers and settlers with the aid of other natives. Many, very many lives might have been saved had timely and efficient means been adopted; for it has been observed that the various tribes of savages have always one time or other essayed a trial of strength with the whites, and, when once fairly satisfied of their inferior power, live ever afterwards in perfect harmony with them.

They had often, no doubt, just cause of hostility in the misconduct of the convict stockmen, but as the innocent suffered equally with the guilty in their murderous assaults, and it was known that forbearance only rendered matters worse, determined means ought to have been instantly adopted to crush the hostile confederacy....

The mode of their government, however, is I think by far the most insuperable bar to their civilisation; and I know of no savages living in the same state, who have as yet readily been exalted above the debased condition in which they were originally found. The first symptom of advancement in a savage body is the establishment of chiefs, either elected or hereditary, to whom all pay submission, and to whose protection they trust their persons and properties. But here no such institution exists; might alone constitutes right; and as, consequently the weak and industrious have no protection for their property against the strong and lawless, they have no inducement to accumulate that which may draw down violence upon their persons.

In primitive communities, generally speaking, the chiefs must be hereditary, and must have acquired power to control the others, before much improvement can take place; when, if these chiefs exercise their power with justice, and secure the inviolability of persons and property, industry will soon be encouraged, and various useful arts originated. If, in this state of embryo advancement, a chief of ability starts up who employs the resources of his mind in the amelioration of his people, the society he governs will proceed far more rapidly....

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82 Pages 195-197, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.

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A degree of force we find to be absolutely necessary to urge man toward civilisation, in his primitive debased state, and cause him to break up those habits he had acquired. It is only when the mind is more enlightened, and reason supersedes animal instinct, that civilisation will steadily advance among the community by the exertions of individual members. In countries, therefore, where absolute hereditary chiefs exist, you have only to gain them over to forward your views; but in countries differently circumstanced you must absolutely secure the young, wean them from parental influence, and infuse into them new ideas and opinions before you can make much progress.

We had an institution here, in Governor Macquarie's time, where the native children were educated, and turned out of it at the age of puberty good readers and good writers; but being all associated together, and their native instincts and ideas still remaining paramount, they took to their old habits again as soon as freed from thraldom. Major Goulburn\(^3\) saw the defects of this system when he had the direction of colonial affairs, and wisely broke up this institution, quartering the boys in the Male and the girls in the Female Orphan Asylum, where, mixing with a numerous population of white children, they will gradually imbibe their ideas, and manners and customs too; and if care is only taken to provide them with humane masters, no doubt good effects will result.

I have seen some native youths who made very tolerable servants for knife-cleaning and such-like, even although taken into the house after being grown up; but fixed occupations will probably never answer, for the first and second generations of these young savages, at least; the wild feeling inherent in them must have time to wear out.\(^4\)

Saxe Bannister, 1790-1877, was the NSW Attorney General 1824-26. Saxe Banister is remembered for introducing trial by jury, the introduction of the first Infants School, as a vigorous campaigner for the end of transportation and an evangelical advocate for First Peoples around the world. In a colony of vexatious and acrimonious men Saxe Bannister stood out for his paucity of interpersonal skills. Governor Brisbane thought Saxe Bannister was “a well meaning man, but extremely Weak and easily led astray”.\(^5\) In an anonymous piece written soon after the execution of the seven Myall Creek murderers reference was made to Saxe Bannister. “It comes to our knowledge, that certain gentlemen in Sydney, among whom was an officer of government, used to write to their overseers, in Attorney-General Saxe Bannister's time, in flash language, encouraging them to shoot all the blacks on their estates and in the neighbourhood; and great numbers were accordingly shot. The flash words were invented for the occasion. They were not the signs of plunder, as the Newgate flash language is, but those of blood and assassination. The Attorney-General of that time was like our present one, a humane man. But he had two drawbacks on his efforts; he was the intimate friend of some of the murderers, although he was not aware of the extent of their murderous propensities and principles; and he had not the firmness and nerve of our present Attorney-General.”\(^6\)

When Governor Brisbane opened the western plains for settlement fighting broke out in the Bathurst District as a result. Saxe Bannister met with prominent Bathurst property holders in

\(^{3}\) Major Goulburn replaced John Campbell to become the first official Colonial Secretary in February 1821.
\(^{4}\) Pages 204-205, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.
\(^{5}\) Page 445, HRA, Series 1, Volume XII, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1919.
\(^{6}\) The Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser, 24\(^{th}\) December, 1838,
July 1824. In the meeting “Strong statements were made, to which all the gentlemen assented, that on several former occasions it had been found very advantageous to announce to the black people that if they will not bring in the particular supposed murderers, all their supporters will be pursued vigorously; but that on such persons being given up, certain liberal presents will be distributed, and a general peace made.” There can be little doubt that these references were to 1805 and 1816.

On the 6th of July several assigned servants were charged with the murder of three Aboriginal women on one of the Hassall runs. It would appear that when they came to trial on the 6th of August 1824, the Attorney-General, Saxe Bannister had reduced the original charge of murder to manslaughter. Governor Macquarie’s 1816 Proclamation was cited in the defence. Defence witnesses included the Reverend Thomas Hassall and William Cox.

Saxe Bannister was responsible for drafting the proclamation of martial law on the 14th of August 1824. On the 14th of October 1824 the Sydney Gazette reported that the Bathurst area was “engaged in an exterminating war”.

In 1826, upon rumours of bushranger activity at Bathurst, Saxe Bannister again urged vigorous action. On the 29th of July 1826, he proposed to Governor Darling that he lead a party including “Mr. Marsden’s son, Mr. Hassall, and others” to hunt down the bushrangers. Bannister was concerned that “the Black People know me well at Bathurst, and they are said to be inclined to favour the bushrangers: and the magistrates will be the more readily act in the vigorous manner necessary for such an occasion, if they have the sanction which my presence will afford.” The trouble at Bathurst may have been completely unfounded, as Governor Darling wrote on the 11th of September 1826 to Under Secretary Hay that the “Attorney General has, on the occasion of the unfounded rumour of the Natives being in Commotion at Bathurst, which I have lately mentioned, again urged the proclamation of Martial Law, and his being allowed to proceed to Hunter’s River, Conceiving that his presence would be of importance”.

On the 5th of September 1826 Attorney-General Bannister had urged Governor Darling to proclaim martial law in the Hunter Valley, “there will be no question amongst the best friends of their general cause that they will be best protected by the Government putting forth an overwhelming force.

Experience proves that, if the Crown do not take the lead in a decisive manner and on a large scale, both in the coercion and in the improvement of the aborigines, they will fall in a miserable way in contact with white people.”

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87 Saxe Bannister was present at a meeting on the 16th of July 1824 of William Cox, Robert Lowe, Archibald Bell, William Lawson, George Palmer, John Blaxland, Robert Dawson, Mrs. Walker and Samuel Marsden. AONSW, Rell 6065 4/1799, pages 73-76.
89 http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/cases/case_index/1824/supreme_court/r_v_johnston_and_others/
The most alarming and revealing aspect of Saxe Bannister’s urgings was revealed in the following rationalisation: “But if the extreme interference of the troops be thought necessary to enforce the demand of certain individuals known to have committed murder, I am not aware that the soldiers can be indemnified in certain possible cases of mistake, without martial law being proclaimed in a limited district.” It strongly suggests that the proclamations of 1805, 1816 and 1824 were not a response to a grave military threat, but were to indemnify soldiers and settlers for their actions.

No value can be placed upon Saxe Bannister’s purported championing of Aboriginal people. In his campaign to end transportation he demonised convicts as indiscriminate killers of Aboriginal people. It was hard to believe that Bannister was unaware that the convict masters were responsible for the killings.

‘Whilst we are spending enormous sums in ridding ourselves of the convicts at the expense of the New Hollanders, exertions surely ought to be made in favour of these poor people. But the first step we must take, if we intend to do them justice, is to give up convict transportation.’

Lieutenant William Breton, in Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Dieman's Land During the years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833, made the judgement that: “Speaking of them collectively, it must be confessed I entertain very little more respect for the Aborigines of New Holland, than for the ourang-outan; in fact I can discover no great difference.” He elaborated this by referencing Buffon who apparently had seen an ourang-outan trained to use drink tea from a cup and saucer and who was “stated to have conducted himself at table with as much propriety as any individual of the genus Homo!”

Niel Gunson, the editor of Lancelot Threlkeld's papers noted the response to Breton's comments. James Dunmore Lang's outrage was suitably tempered by his limited view of the relative worth of Aboriginal people in a strictly hierarchal society.

‘J. D. Lang also commented on the philosophists of Port Jackson who contrasted the merits of the ourang-outans of Borneo and Sumatra with those of the Aboriginals, View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation, London, 1834, 247. Also the Rev. David Mackenzie, The Emigrants Guide ..., London, 1845, 232-3. “Lieut. – says, that “he can discover no great difference between the aborigines of New Holland and the ourang-outan.” ... For my own part, I was not aware that that ourang-outans have like the blacks of Australia been taught reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic, and otherwise so improved as to be employed as policemen, bullock-drivers, shepherds, cooks, and nurses, and some, with the approbation of clergyman of the Church of England, to enter into the ‘estate of holy matrimony.’”

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95 Page ccliv, Saxe Banister, Humane Policy; or Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements, First Published in London 1830, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London, 1968.
96 Page 196, Lieutenant William Henry Breton, Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Dieman's Land During the years 1830, 1831 1832, and 1833. Richard Bentley, 1833.
http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IDtCAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22William+Henry+Breton%22&source=bl&ots=4uyORAWgJ&sig=AdtOYCK1zMKcY3XRvq7YQnUl8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Nt4yULiIImMcuSiQfxf-4HvDg&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=f=false
Threlkeld's comments were more apposite.
‘it was maintained by many in the colony that the Blacks had no language at all but were only a race of the monkey tribe! This was a convenient assumption, for if it could be proved that the Aborigines of New South Wales were only a species of wild beasts, there could be no guilt attributed to those who shot them off or poisoned them as cumberers of the earth.’

However, it would be a mistake to assume that Breton was an advocate of extinction. Breton expressed his disgust at a “heartless ruffian” who told Breton, “Oh we used to shoot them like fun”!

Charles Lyell, 1797-1875, born in Scotland and a product of the Scottish Enlightenment, challenged Bishop Ussher's assertion that the world started on Sunday, 23 October, 4004 B.C., with his major work, The Principles of Geology, published in three volumes, 1830-33. Lyell linked past and present geology through minute changes over enormously long time spans. Lyell's estimates of the earth's age destroyed Ussher's estimate of 6,000 years. His ideas of gradualism also challenged Cuvier's ideas of catastrophism. Charles Darwin read the first volume of Lyell's work before setting out on the Beagle.

Archbishop Richard Whately, 1787-1863, born in London, entered into holy orders while at Oxford. He is probably best known for his work on logic and rhetoric. In 1830 he was appointed professor of political economy at Oxford. His position there was short lived, as he was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. Whately was an unconventional man. Among his private interests was the throwing of boomerangs. The following extract is from his lecture on political economy. Despite his position in the church, Whately was an advocate of the racial degeneracy of savages. Whately's arguments were to have an enormous influence. The missionary-explorer Thomas Livingstone referenced Whately in explaining how divine instruction was responsible for the smelting of a copper bar which was offered to him in an African market. Whately's lecture also referenced the fear of racial degeneracy among settlers: “how comes it that the European is not now in the condition of the New-Hollander?”

‘It will probably have occurred to most of you, that the earliest historical records that exist, represent mankind as originally existing in a state far superior to that of our supposed savages. The Book of Genesis describes Man as not having been, like the brutes, created, and

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99 Page 201, Lieutenant William Henry Breton, Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Dieman's Land During the years 1830, 1831 1832, and 1833. Richard Bentley, 1833.
100 Malachite, the precious green stone used in civilized life for vases, would never be suspected by the uninstructed to be a rich ore of copper, and yet it is extensively smelted for rings and other ornaments in the heart of Africa. A copper bar of native manufacture four feet long was offered to us for sale at Chinsamba's. These arts are monuments attesting the fact, that some instruction from above must at some time or other have been supplied to mankind; and, as Archbishop Whately says, 'the most probable conclusion is, that man when first created, or very shortly afterwards, was advanced, by the Creator Himself, to a state above that of a mere savage.'

The argument for an original revelation to man, though quite independent of the Bible history, tends to confirm that history. It is of the same nature with this, that man could not have MADE himself, and therefore must have had a Divine CREATOR. Mankind could not, in the first instance, have CIVILIZED themselves, and therefore must have had a superhuman INSTRUCTOR.’

then left to provide for himself by his innate bodily and mental faculties, but as having received, in the first instance, immediate divine instructions and communications: and so early, according to this account, was the division of labour,\textsuperscript{101} that of the first two men who were born of woman, the one was a keeper of cattle, and the other a tiller of the ground.

If this account be received, it must be admitted, that all savages must originally have degenerated from a more civilized state of existence. But I am particularly anxious to point out, that, in a question of this kind, I think it best that the Scriptures should not be appealed to, in the first instance, as a work of inspiration, but (if at all) simply as an historical record of acknowledged antiquity. ...

Now if this be the case, when, and how, did civilization first begin? If Man when first created was left, like the brutes, to the unaided exercise of his natural powers of body and mind—those powers which are common to the European and to the New-Hollander—how comes it that the European is not now in the condition of the New-Hollander? As the soil itself and the climate of New-Holland are excellently adapted to the growth of corn, and yet (as corn is not indigenous there) could never have borne any, to the end of the world, if it had not been brought thither from another country, and sown; so, the savage himself, though he may be, as it were, a soil capable of receiving the seeds of civilization, can never, in the first instance, produce it, as of spontaneous growth; and unless those seeds be introduced from some other quarter, must remain for ever in the sterility of barbarism. And from what quarter then could this first beginning of civilization have been supplied, to the earliest race of mankind? According to the present course of nature, the first introducer of cultivation among savages, is, and must be, Man, in a more improved state: in the beginning therefore of the human race, this, since there was no man to effect it, must have been the work of another Being. There must have been, in short, a Revelation made, to the first, or to some subsequent generation, of our species. And this miracle (for such it is, as being an impossibility according to the present course of nature) is attested, independently of the authority of Scripture, and consequently in confirmation of the Scripture-accounts, by the fact, that civilized Man exists at the present day. ....

Christianity is designed, and is calculated, for all mankind, except savages and such as are but little removed above the savage state. Men are not indeed (unhappily) always the better Christians in proportion as they advance in refinement and intellectual cultivation: these are even compatible with utter irreligion. But all experience shews, that a savage (though he may be trained to adore a crucifix or an image of the Virgin) cannot be a Christian. In all the successful efforts of Missionaries among savages, civilization and conversion have gone hand in hand.\textsuperscript{102}

William Romaine Govett, 1807-1848, came to New South Wales as a surveyor in December 1818. He worked in the Hawkesbury from 1829 and returned to England in 1834. He wrote a series of Sketches of New South Wales which were published in The Saturday Magazine, a journal Under the Direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education Appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The following sketch appeared in the 28\textsuperscript{th} May 1836 edition of The Saturday Magazine. Govett had a sympathetic view of Aboriginal people, which ran contrary to the contemporary views that Aboriginal people were scarcely

\textsuperscript{101} Though the concept was not new, the phase “division of labour” appears to have been first used by Adam Smith.
\textsuperscript{102} Richard Whately, Introductory Lectures on Political Economy, 1831.


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human, that they were incapable of improvement and were at the lowest level of degradation. However, his defence of them was limited. He saw Aboriginal people as being objects of study which were capable of being improved. He blamed convicts for their degradation, which was a simplistic view. His sketches are important in demonstrating that even the advocates for Aboriginal people were not that far removed from their detractors.

‘The Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land have been generally considered as savages, equally unrestrained by laws, intellect, or morality; as a race of beings scarcely deserving the appellation of “human;” and as possessing no attractions for our curiosity and no qualities to excite our interest: as, in short, a race of beings exhibiting the “nature” of mankind in its very lowest state of degradation and incapable alike of civilization or improvement. …

Greater opportunities, have, however, been afforded to Europeans for observing the nature and character of the Australian savages, and for seeing them, not only in their natural state, but also when unhappily sunk into a state of utter wretchedness, in consequence of following the examples of dissipation and depravity set them by some of the degraded beings who were banished to their shores. A fair, plain, and detailed statement, therefore, of the manners, customs, and peculiarities of this despised race, may not only be interesting, but will also tend to show that, far removed as they are from civilization, they are not so degrading to human nature as they have sometimes been represented to be, nor so destitute of intellect and understanding as to be unworthy of our anxiety for their improvement.”

In Australia during the nineteenth century, the word “native” was appropriated and narrowed in meaning to refer to settlers. Thomas Bigge, in his report referred to “native born youths”. Another early example of this usage relating to the Killarney Races on the Hawkesbury in August 1832. The Sydney Herald, 26th July 1832, advised that: “Those Gentlemen who wish to become players at the Cricket Match on the intermediate day of the Races, are requested to observe, that the first twenty-two who enter their names, and pay the five shillings each, will be considered the parties entitled to play, and be ballotted for partners in the game.” On the 6th of August 1832, the Sydney Herald reported that “A Cricket match was played for £10 aside, between two parties of natives, and afforded much amusement.” Around the same time, 1831, Maria Lock, in describing herself as an “Aboriginal native of New South Wales”, appropriated and redefined Macquarie’s pejorative “Ab-origine” into a powerful image of survival.

Charles Darwin, 1809-1882, joined the Beagle in 1831 as a self funded gentleman naturalist. Darwin had read Malthus’s essay On Population before leaving and his encounter with the Fuegians had a profound effect upon him. I have drawn heavily upon the compilation of Darwin's notebooks, his 1836 diary, and his Journal, by F. W. and J. M. Nicholas, published as Charles Darwin in Australia, Cambridge University Press, 1989.


On the 16th January 1836, Charles Darwin left Sydney to travel to Bathurst. Towards the end of the day he reached the banks of the Nepean River, probably between the two modern bridges, where he met a group of Aboriginal people. The passage is important because it illustrated that, despite declining numbers, Aboriginal people in the Nepean Hawkesbury still retained an independent identity and traditional ways – “they appeared far from the degraded beings as usually represented”. As well, it confirms my contention that the alleged degradation of Aboriginal people was a deliberate exaggeration upon the part of several self interested writers.

Darwin's observations, while acute, show evidence of hearsay, perpetuated old myths and reflected the views of closet speculators such as Malthus. According to Darwin, Aboriginal people were “savages”, only a few degrees “lower in barbarism, than the Fuegians, .... wandering about without knowing where they will sleep”. Darwin, without any empirical evidence, attributed the declining numbers “to the drinking of Spirits, the European diseases, even the milder ones of which such as the Measles are very destructive & the gradual extinction of the wild animals”. Like a number of contemporary observers he made no mention of deliberate killings. As well, in his concluding sentence he touched upon Malthus's obsession with infanticide as being responsible for high death rates among the young.

‘At Sunset, by my good fortune a party of a score of the Aboriginal Blacks passed by, each carrying in their accustomed manner a bundle of Spears & other weapons. By giving a leading young man a shilling they were easily detained & threw their spears for my amusement. They were all partly clothed & several could speak a little English; their countenances were good-humoured & pleasant & they appeared far from the degraded beings as usually represented. In their own arts they are admirable; a cap being fixed at 30 yards distance, they transfixed it with the spear, delivered by the throwing stick, with the rapidity of an arrow from the bow of a practised Archer; in tracking animals & men they show most wonderful sagacity & I heard many of their remarks, which shewed considerable acuteness. They will not however cultivate the ground, or even take the trouble of keeping flocks of sheep, which have been offered them; or build houses & remain stationary. Never the less, they appear to me to stand, some few degrees higher in civilization, or more correctly a few lower in barbarism, than the Fuegians.

It is very curious thus to see in the midst of a civilized people, savages, although harmless, wandering about without knowing where they will sleep & gaining their livelihood by hunting in the woods.

Their numbers have rapidly decreased, during my whole ride, with the exception of some boys, brought up in the houses, I saw only one other party. They were rather more numerous & not so well clothed.

I should have mentioned that in addition to their state of independence of the Whites, the different tribes go to war. In an engagement which took place lately, the parties, very singularly, chose the centre of the village of Bathurst as the place of engagement; the conquered party took refuge in the Barracks.

The decrease in numbers must be owing to the drinking of Spirits, the European diseases, even the milder ones of which such as the Measles are very destructive & the gradual extinction of the wild animals. It is said, that from the wandering life of these people, constantly great numbers of their children die in very early life; When the difficulty in procuring food is checked of course the population must be repressed in a manner almost
instantaneous compared to what can take place in civilization life, where the father may add to his labor without destroying his offspring.\(^{108}\)

Darwin crossed the Blue Mountains and stayed at Wallerawang where he saw his first platypus, and while contemplating “the strange character of the Animals of this country as compared to the rest of the World”, he made his famous observation on seeing in the pit of a lion-ant that “The one hand has worked over the whole world.”

From his 1836 diary Darwin made another comment on the inevitability of the destruction of the First Peoples of Australia. This observation is particularly important because Darwin used the term “predestination\(^ {109}\)’ in a manner consistent with the emerging discourse of doomed savagery. Darwin, for a supposedly acute observer, superficially posited the “thoughtless aboriginal” as the architect of his own doom; partially justifying this absurdity through his supposition that Aboriginal people wanted dogs for hunting purposes. It is far more likely that Aboriginal people wanted to breed the dogs with their dingoes because dingoes do not bark and dogs do. Barking dogs prevented settlers from carrying out dawn raids. David Collins had noted this nearly forty years earlier: “they eagerly besought us to give them puppies of our spaniel and terrier breeds; which we did; and not a family was without one or more of these little watch-dogs, which they considered as invaluable guardians during the night.”\(^ {110}\)

‘A few years since this country abounded with wild animals; but now the emu is banished to a long distance, and the kangaroo is become scarce; to both the English greyhound has been highly destructive. It may be long before these animals are altogether exterminated, but their doom is fixed. The aborigines are always anxious to borrow the dogs from the farm-houses:

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\(^ {109}\) “Predestination” was a Calvinistic term unlikely to be used by Darwin. However, Nature, in the Enlightenment was a convenient tool to carry out the nasty bits of God’s will. Thomas Malthus in the 1803 second edition of An Essay on the Principles of Population wrote: “A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At nature’s mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders, if he does not work upon the compassion of some of her guests. If these guests get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear demanding the same favour. The report of a provision for all that come, fills the hall with numerous claimants. The order and harmony of the feast is disturbed, the plenty that before reigned is changed into scarcity; and the happiness of the guests is destroyed by the spectacle of misery and dependence in every part of the hall, and by the clamorous importunity of those, who are justly enraged at not finding the provision which they had been taught to expect. The guests learn too late their error, in counter-acting those strict orders to all intruders, issued by the great mistress of the feast, who, wishing that all guests should have plenty, and knowing she could not provide for unlimited numbers, humanely refused to admit fresh comers when her table was already full.” Page 531, Thomas Malthus, An Essay on the Principle of Population, London, 1803. [http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-stOAAAAcAAJ&q](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-stOAAAAcAAJ&q) The passage was removed from later editions. However, in the 6th edition Malthus wrote: “Natural and moral evil seem to be the instruments employed by the Deity in admonishing us to avoid any mode of conduct which is not suited to our being, and will consequently injure our happiness”. Book IV, Chapter 1, Line 4, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Essay_on_the_Principle_of_Population](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Essay_on_the_Principle_of_Population)

In the 1837 Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, Buxton wrote: “Not a few, even in the present day, are inclined to the belief, that in spite of all our efforts, the speedy extinction of the Aborigines is inevitable. Their extermination, it would seem, is an appointment of Heaven, and every attempt to avert their doom, must, therefore, of necessity prove utterly unavailing. (Page ix Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, “ London, 1837. [http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n14/mode/2up](http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n14/mode/2up))

the use of them, the offal when an animal is killed, and some milk from the cows, are the peace-offerings of the settlers, who push farther and farther towards the interior. The thoughtless aboriginal, blinded by these trifling advantages, is delighted at the approach of the white man, who seems predestined to inherit the country of his children.  

In the 1839 Journal, after a comment upon the effect of diseases, Darwin made the following observation on the effects of colonisation upon native populations. It is remarkably similar in spirit to the above extract from Barron Field, even to the reference to the “East Indian archipelago.” It echoed Malthus. Like other similar comments it personified Death as the agency of destruction and removed any moral considerations from the actions of the colonists, by not mentioning any acts of war and killings.

‘Besides these several evident causes of destruction, there appears to be some more mysterious agency generally at work. Wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal. We may look to the wide extent of the Americas, Polynesia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Australia, and we shall find the same result. Nor is it the white man alone, that thus acts the destroyer; the Polynesian of Malay extraction has in parts of the East Indian archipelago, thus driven before him the dark-coloured native. The varieties of man seem to act on each other; in the same way as different species of animals - the stronger always extirpating the weaker.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, 1786-1845, was a member of the Church of England. Through his Quaker mother he was introduced to the Gurney family, marrying Hannah Gurney in 1807 and becoming involved in the Quaker's struggle for social reform. In 1818 he entered parliament and in 1823 was one of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society and played an influential role in the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. In 1837 Buxton chaired a select committee, which like most such committees, had a predetermined outcome in that it linked civilization and missionary activity. The mandate of the committee “to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the NATIVE INHABITANTS of Countries where BRITISH SETTLEMENTS are made ... in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice, and the Protection of their Rights; to promote the spread of Civilization among them; and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion” was glibly assumed as a right by the committee. The Report of the Committee was reprinted in 1837 by the Aborigines Protection Society, an international body which had been founded in

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112 "They have melted away, not the victims of oppression or illtreatment or from any diminution in their means of obtaining food, but as another instance of a result; I believe must ever take place when the savage comes in contact with civilized man." John Macarthur Junior, Macarthur Papers, 1823-97, A4360, CY2378, Mitchell Library.
114 The 1833 Slavery Abolition Act abolished slavery throughout the British Empire, with the exception of East India Company territories, Ceylon and St Helena. While lauded as a humanitarian move, Britain's West Indies sugar industry was on the wane and crippling the slave trade would damage competition from slave based textile industries and benefit Britain's textile industry. Forty thousand claimants shared £20,000, 000 in compensation for the emancipation of their slaves. The Bishop of Exeter in partnership with three business colleagues, received £12,700 in compensation for the emancipation of 665 slaves in the West Indies. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_Abolition_Act_1833
115 Page xii, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements.) Reprinted with comments by the "Aborigines Protection Society." London, 1837 http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n6/mode/2up
the same year. Saxe Bannister, the NSW Attorney General, 1824-26, provided Australasian experience and it is probably safe to assume that he was responsible for much of the following extract.

The 1837 report of the Committee continued to perpetuate myth and fallacy as fact. Whately's ideas of degradation were repeated in the first sentence. “The inhabitants of New Holland, ... have been described ... as the most degraded of the human race.” Saxe Bannister's preoccupation with ending transportation placed the blame of the wretchedness of the First Peoples on “the dregs of our countrymen”. Bishop Broughton continued the Romantic obsession with the poetic image that “they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth”. In ignoring the killings Bishop Broughton articulated an important aspect of the discourse of doomed savagery, i.e., the absolving of any settler responsibility for the decline in numbers of First Peoples. In asserting that the future of Aboriginal people lay in the hands of missionaries, Dr. Lang reiterated another key aspect of the discourse of doomed savagery, i.e., First Peoples were incapable of determining their own future with an implication that they lacked free will and were at the mercy of external forces. The report was as biased and distorted as any memorial from land hungry exclusivists.

‘NEW HOLLAND.
The inhabitants of New Holland, in their original condition, have been described by travellers as the most degraded of the human race; but it is to be feared that intercourse with Europeans has cast over their original debasement a yet deeper shade of wretchedness.

These people, unoffending as they were towards us, have, as might have been expected, suffered in an aggravated degree from the planting amongst them of our penal settlements. In the formation of these settlements it does not appear that the territorial rights of the natives were considered, and very little care has since been taken to protect them from the violence or the contamination of the dregs of our countrymen.

The effects have consequently been dreadful beyond example, both in the diminution of their numbers and in their demoralization.

Many deeds of murder and violence have undoubtedly been committed by the stock-keepers (convicts in the employ of farmers in the outskirts of the colony), by the cedar cutters, and by other remote free settlers, and many natives have perished by the various military parties sent against them; but it is not to violence only that their decrease is ascribed. This is the evidence given by Bishop Broughton: "They do not so much retire as decay; wherever Europeans meet with them they appear to wear out, and gradually to decay: they diminish in numbers; they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth. I am led to apprehend that within a very limited period, a few years" (adds the Bishop)," those who are most in contact with Europeans will be utterly extinct — I will not say exterminated — but they will be extinct.”

As to their moral condition, the bishop says of the natives around Sydney, “They are in a state which I consider one of extreme degradation and ignorance; they are, in fact, in a situation much inferior to what I supposed them to have been before they had any communication with

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116 Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements.) Reprinted with comments by the “Aborigines Protection Society.” London, 1837
http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n6/mode/2up
117 However, other sections of the report recognised that wars had been fought by Britain against subject First Peoples.
Europe.” And again, in his charge, “it is an awful, it is even an appalling consideration, that, after an intercourse of nearly half a century with a christian people, these hapless human beings continue to this day in their original benighted and degraded state. I may even proceed further, so far as to express my fears that our settlement in their country has even deteriorated a condition of existence, than which, before our interference, nothing more miserable could easily be conceived. While, as the contagion of European intercourse has extended itself among them, they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours.”

The natives about Sydney and Paramatta are represented as in a state of wretchedness still more deplorable than those resident in the interior.

‘Those in the vicinity of Sydney are so completely changed, they scarcely have the same pursuits now; they go about the streets begging their bread, and begging for clothing and rum. From the diseases introduced among them, the tribes in immediate connexion with those large towns almost became extinct; not more than two or three remained, when I was last in New South Wales, of tribes which formerly consisted of 200 or 300.’

Dr. Lang, the minister of the Scotch church, writes, “From the prevalence of infanticide, from intemperance, and from European diseases, their number is evidently and rapidly diminishing in all the older settlements of the colony, and in the neighbourhood of Sydney especially, they present merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes. Yet even now’ he thinks “their number within the limits of the colony of New South Wales cannot be less than 10,000: an indication of what must once have been the population, and what the destruction. It is only,” Dr. Lang observes, “through the influence of Christianity, brought to bear upon the natives by the zealous exertions of devoted missionaries, that the progress of extinction can be checked.”

The case of these people has not been wholly overlooked at home. In 1825 his Majesty issued instructions to the governor to the effect that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their possessions, preserved from violence and injustice, and that measures should be taken for their conversion to the christian faith, and their advancement in civilisation. An allowance has been made to the Church Missionary Society in their behalf, and efforts for their amelioration have been made, and attended with some degree of utility; but much as we rejoice in this act of justice, we still must express our conviction that if we are ever able to make atonement to the remnant of this people, it will require no slight attention, and no ordinary sacrifices on our part to compensate the evil association which we have inflicted; but even hopelessness of making reparation for what is past would not in any way lessen our obligation to stop, as far as in us lies, the continuance of iniquity. “The evil,” said Mr, Coates, “resulting from immoral intercourse between the Europeans and the Aborigines, is so enormous that it appears to my mind a moral obligation on the local government to take any practicable measures in order to put an end to it.”

In this opinion the Committee entirely concur. 118

The following extract from the conclusion of the same work is particularly important because of its reference to the Trinity sermon of the Reverend William Whewell, the Master of

118 Pages 10-13, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements.) Reprinted with comments by the "Aborigines Protection Society." London, 1837 http://archive.org/stream/reportparliamen00britgoog#page/n30/mode/2up
Trinity; a contemporary of Darwin at Cambridge and an opponent of evolution. Whewell is best known for coining the word “scientist”. In his sermon, which is less well known, Whewell preached that Britain had been given a “great and important purpose” by God.

“The British empire has been signally blessed by Providence; and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral, and her religious advantages, are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. “It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government (sic) of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?”

He who has made Great Britain what she is, will inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence He has lent to us, in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage; whether it has been engaged in seizing their lands, warring upon their people, and transplanting unknown disease and deeper degradation through the remote regions of the earth; or whether we have, as far as we have been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization, that innocent commerce, that knowledge and that faith with which it has pleased a gracious Providence to bless our own country.”

In 1840, Huxton published The African Slave Trade and its Remedy. Internationally this work was important because in it Buxton coined the phrase, “kingdom of darkness.” The rise of the term “darkey” during the nineteenth century may well have been an unfortunate result of Huxton’s zeal. In Australia, “darkey” first appeared in the Sydney Herald, 3rd July 1840, in a joke reprinted from English papers. One of the earliest examples of the word “darkey” being used to describe an Aborigine can be found in the description of a foot race at the Hawkesbury “on the Peninsula Farm, between Thompson the well known competitor of the celebrated Bill Sparkes, and a young aboriginal named Neddy, of Portland Head.”

Just as “native” and “native born” were appropriated by the settlers, other terms, apart from “blacks” and “savages” came in to describe the First Peoples of Australia during the nineteenth century. “Aborigines” and “aborigines” found increasing usage after the Sydney Gazette reported Governor Macquarie’s first official usage of the word in 1814. The word “nigger” was first used by The Sydney Monitor, 20th June 1838, which carried an account of a young Aboriginal man who came before the courts, where Aboriginal people were likened to “niggers”. “Nigger” had an insidious source because of its origins in the American
minstrel shows. Not only was it an appropriation of slave culture, but it was also used to assert the superiority of Whites over Blacks. On Tuesday 25th January 1842, the Royal Victoria Theatre advertised that “Mr. Phillips will then have the honor to appear, and sing the celebrated Nigger Song, ‘Jem along Josey,’ with the quash holloa chorus; or the double back snatch ober the dabble.” “Nigger show” was first used in the Hawkesbury in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 4th August 1888. Nigger, in describing an Aboriginal person, was first used in the Hawkesbury in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette 1st September 1888.

For whatever reason, many of the children and grandchildren of the original Hawkesbury settlers were big people, which was seized upon as proof of an Australian race. Margaret Catchpole had noticed that something different was happening in a letter dated 21st of January 1802: “it is a very Bountifull place in deed for i under stand them that niver had a child in all their lives hav sum after thay com hear.” In 1831, Benjamin Chalker, a Hawkesbury man was described as a “corn-stalk.” In his account of one of the Killarney Races held in the early 1830's Toby Ryan recounted: There could be seen the three Chalker’s, the Cosgrove’s, the Meglin’s, of South Creek, the Dargan’s, the Dight’s, the Doyle’s, the Norris’s, and others, of Windsor. They were immense men standing from six to six feet four inches high, from fifteen to seventeen stone in weight, without any superfluous flesh, and as straight as a whip. But they, like our native singing birds, are nearly - all gone.

Charles Harpur, 1817-1868, was born in Windsor where he received his early education. Harpur is now recognised as being the colony's first poet, publishing his first book of poems in the 1840s. While anonymous, the following poem published in the Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser is similar to other poems written by Harpur. The poem is a fine example of Romanticism within the discourse of doomed savagery. The image of the Aboriginal driven into the woods brooding revenge may have had a coded significance to some settlers.

'Original Poetry.  
The Aboriginal's complaint.  
As I strolled through the Bush on a fine Sunday evening,  
and gazed on the prospect around me that lay,  
Admiring the shadows that spread o'er the green  
Their outstretched length from the sun's setting ray—  
By the trunk of a tree I discovered a native,  
Sit wailing the fortune and fate of his race;  
I halted my journey, resolved to wait if  
Perchance an outline of his strains I might trace.  
He sang, “Oh! my fathers, could you have believed that  
Oh! sprites of the dead, do ye hover around us  
And see, unregretting, your children decrease,  
Remorselessly slaughtered by those who expound us  
Their Gospel of mercy,’ of ‘good will' and 'peace;'  
Oh! view us with pity while hovering o'er us –  
We weep for the times and the joys that we knew;  
Ah! would that thy aid could again but restore us  
To pleasures like those, although simple and few.  
“Alas! we are helpless, untaught save by Nature,  
No means that our feeble resistance can wield;  
To protect our free gift from our lib'ral Creator,  
Too simple our war tools, the spear and the shield.

127 In her letter of the 28th of January 1807, Margaret amplified this observation with the comment that It is a wondfull Country for to have children in very old women hav them that never had non before. In her letter of 25th May 1807 Margaret Catchpole implied that there was an early onset of puberty in the colony for the young Gairles that are born in this Countr ye marry very young at 14 or 15 years old. Pages 130 and 132, Laurie Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P Forth, 2012  
Our country, so boundless, should cease to be ours!
Ah! ye knew not invaders existed, nor grieved at
The darkness and gloom which still o’er thy line lours;130
Ye roamed in your forests contented and joyous,
And your game did ye hunt on the green verdant lea,
But cruel oppression hath come to annoy us,
And we are compelled to obey his decree;

“In the land of our sires as vile outcasts we wander,
Despised by intruders, who made us their prey;
Our lands they have taken, our game do they plunder,
And with insolent pride we are driven away;
Our women are wronged we get no satisfaction –
Our plaints are but laughed at, and turned into sport;
We’re degraded as reptiles too low for detraction,
Too worthless for Justice to save us from hurt.

The oppressors have wronged us, and now we are dubbed?
(As we tread o’er the ground which to us doth belong.)
A lawless banditti, though we are the robbed
Crushed and trampled upon by the feet of the strong.

“The tiger is blameless, if, void of protection,
He marks as his prey what intrudes in his lair;
The serpent but follows Dame Nature’s direction,
When chased for its life, if it sting in despair;
And we - we have nought but extinction to hope for.
And soon in the forests our race will not range;
Our rights, nay, our freedom, ’t were madness to cope131 for,
And the course we’ll pursue is deep, deadly revenge!132

The transcript of the Legislative Council’s rejection of the Aboriginal Natives Evidence Bill in 1842 throws some light into the minds of wealthy landholders of NSW.133 Many of the speakers adopted a laissez-faire approach arguing that the authorities should leave “the blacks and the settlers to fight it out between themselves”. The “morbid philanthropy” of Exeter Hall, a London venue used for religious and philanthropical meetings was frequently blamed as being the source of the Bill.

‘Mr. LOWE,134 The Government had sought to surround them with protection, by giving them liberties and privileges they could not appreciate. It had endeavoured to place them on an equality with civilized man, when it was utterly impossible that their darkened minds could be controlled or restrained by any other emotion but fear. ... Living as this race did on the very borders of civilisation, collision was inevitable; and far better, far more humane would it have been, had the whites been allowed to have shown how immeasurably superior they were in every way, and fear would then have worked its own salutary lesson. ... The wisest policy they could adopt was to leave the blacks and the settlers to fight it out between themselves.

130 menaces
131 This may be a typographical error for “hope”.
132 Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 29th August 1844.
133 The Australian Constitutions Act 1842, introduced elections to the New South Wales Legislative Council whose members had previously been nominees. The Legislative Council had 36 members, 12 nominated and 24 elected. The majority of members, both nominated and elected, were largely Protestant, prosperous and conservative and most had substantial landholdings.

134 Robert Lowe, 1811-1892, arrived in the in 1842 as barrister. Purportedly a liberal he was appointed to the Council by Governor Gipps, but Lowe’s strong laissez-faire principles led to a falling out when Gipps attempted to regulate the pastoralists. He resigned from the Council in November 1849 and returned England where he was had an important political career, being appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868.
Such a course might not accord with the morbid philanthropy of Exeter Hall but it was the course which humanity pointed out. Let these benighted tribes be taught how immeasurably inferior they were in every respect to civilised men. Both humanity and justice pointed out this as the wisest plan: for if they were certain of the consequences that would follow aggression, the blacks were quite keen enough to know how futile any resistance would be.

Mr. NICHOLS. There was no doubt that the blacks had been very much neglected and ill-treated by the Government of this country; but they were a most debased and degraded race, and their desires extended only for trifling matters. He found in one report from the Government that the utmost ambition of the king of the tribe was "to have a long tailed coat, a cocked hat, and to be a swell." (Laughter.) There was no doubt that such a race as this must give way before the march of civilization; they could not be instructed, and must eventually perish from the earth, as white men approached to occupy it.

Mr. JAMES MACARTHUR; The whites who went to settle in the remote districts could only look upon the blacks as hostile tribes, and they again were regarded by the blacks in the same light. True it was, that this might be morally wrong, but such was in fact the case. The blacks would naturally be guilty of aggression on the whites, and the whites as naturally would repel those aggressions. But the law of the blacks was very different to the law of civilized men. They would resent the injury done to any of their tribe, not upon the individual aggressor, but upon the tribe; they would not stop to consider whether he was guilty or not; and once invest them with the power which this Bill was intended to give them, and they would soon learn to make use of the leave to give false evidence as an instrument of malice and revenge.

Mr. WENTWORTH: He could not see if the whites in this colony were to go out into the land and possess it, that the Government had much to do with them. No doubt there would be battles between the settlers and the border tribes; but they might be settled without the aid of the Government. The civilized people had come in, and the savage must go back. (Cheers.) They must go on progressing until their dominancy was established, and therefore he could think that no measure was wise or merciful to the blacks which their position would not allow them to maintain. He must say the policy proposed to be pursued now seemed to him very different, to that pursued by the Government in the older days of the colony. He could remember when the Cowpasture tribe made an inroad upon the settled lands, and on that occasion what was the course adopted by the Government? The military were ordered out by the Government — they opposed these savage marauders, and a slaughter, numerically considered very inconsiderable, ensued. But the force of the bullets and bayonets of the English forces prevailed, and peace and quiet was for ever obtained. It was not the policy of a wise Government to attempt the perpetuation of the aboriginal race of New South Wales by any protective means. They must give way before

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135 Exeter Hall had been the home of the anti-slavery movement. In his speech W. C. Wentworth referred to “the pervading influence of that clique who had for years past wrought the destinies of the colony for evil — the influence of Exeter Hall. (Cheers.) ... — the disturbance without exception of all the colonies— Exeter Hall.”
139 William Charles Wentworth, 1790-1872, explorer, politician, property owner was by 1849 the effective leader of the Opposition.
the arms, aye! even the diseases of civilised nations — they must give way before they attained the power of those nations.

Mr. FITZGERALD:¹⁴⁰ notwithstanding the time the debate had occupied, could not give altogether a silent vote on this question. He had heard with attention the recital of all the murders committed by the blacks; but he must say that in all the measures that had been taken for the protection of these poor creatures, the Government had not acted the part of a merciful Government. He believed that the measures of the Government had been actuated by a false philanthropy — that it had ended in inducing the whites to shoot the blacks in scrubs, or wherever they could find them, when no one was nigh. He could have no doubt that to preserve the blacks they must be convinced of the superioriry of the white race. They must feel and acknowledge that superioriry, and then they would be deterred from the commission of acts of aggression. ... He believed, as had been before argued, that the wisest plan was to let the two races settle it between themselves. Once convince the blacks in any district of their inferiority to the whites, and they would hear no more of their being shot.¹⁴¹

Not all observers blindly trod the path of Romanticism. Sir Henry Parkes, 1815-1896, drew upon an actual historical event for the following poem, included in Murmurs of the Stream, 1857. Parkes included the following footnote, derived from David Collins, to explain the source of his poem. “In September, 1794, some accounts were received from the Hawkesbury, which corroborated the opinion that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives; it being now said, that some of them had seized a native boy, and after tying him hand and foot, had dragged him several times through a fire, until his back was dreadfully burnt, and in that state had thrown him into the river, where they shot at, and killed him. ‘Collins, History of New South Wales.”

¹⁴⁰ Robert Fitzgerald, 1807-1865, was born in Windsor and became one of the colony’s wealthiest men with extensive land-holding. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fitzgerald-robert-3526
Pondering the Abyss 193 last updated 28/10/16
The Murdered Wild Boy
An Old Settler's Story.

Loud talk ye of the savages,
As they were beasts of prey!—
But men of English birth have done
More savage things than they.

I'll tell you of one horrid deed,
Worse than the wild attacks,
You've painted in such midnight words,
Of the poor outraged blacks.

A horrid deed and cowardly
As barbarous men e'er did,
Which not one Christian Englishman
In Jesus' name, forbid!

Upon the Hawkesbury's fertile banks,
Full fifty years ago,
I had a settler's home, and oft,
The black man for my foe.

Yes, oft they came - and well they might -
In muster strong prepared,
To teach us we should not possess
Their soil's ripe fruits unshared;

Through a high-blazing pile, in sport,
They dragg'd him to and fro,
Loud cursing, when the tortured child
Shrieked out his maddening woe.

Then, in their crime capricious, they
Unbound each little limb,
And dragg'd him to the river's brink,
And bade him leap and swim.

Imploringly he raised his eyes!
Then crept into the stream,
And yielded to the paining wave,
With loud, laugh-echo'd, scream.

And they, in desert corners driven,
Crouch tamely in disgrace,
Till hunted by the fire-armed men
From every hiding-place.

'Twas at the time that sinful strife,
'Tween the wild tribes and us,
Was felt to be an evil
grown Dark and calamitous; -

One morn a native boy was found,
Whom some mischance had thrown
'mong us, his father's enemies,
Alas! Too sure his own.

They seized him, bound him hand & foot,
And there were son and sire,
And brother - all born English - who
Burnt his young flesh with fire!

Adown the river floated he,
Farther, and farther down, -
But when they, disappointed, saw
He would not sink and drown,

The murderous musket was upraised,
With gesture fierce and wild -
The bullet pierced his throbbing heart! -
So died that murder'd child.

You've read of Indian's cruelties,
Hoping the tale untrue,
Yet felt the horror in your blood,
Changing your young cheek's hue.

But of a bloodier deed than that,
In books, you never read -
Ah me! It haunts me day and night,
And will, till I am dead! 142

Richard Cull wrote to Threlkeld on 20th October 1857, regarding “the influence of the Australian climate on Europeans, and descendants of Europeans born in the colony”. His letter well illustrated the divisions that were opening in European minds over the issues of our origin and whether the Australian climate was producing changes in Europeans.

'I have long been investigating the influence of climate (and all that climate includes) on Man and I am anxious to collect information as to the influence of the Australian climate on Europeans, and descendants of Europeans born in the colony. It is quite true that a sufficient


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time has not elapsed to witness very great changes, yet if Climates exert any forces at all on Man capable of changing a Caucasian to a Mongolian and to a Negro some of the effects of these forces ought now to be capable of detection on the European man. The manual of inquiry will direct your attention to the details of the question. Are the limbs longer? Is the calf of the leg less? Are the children taller?

The Ethnological Society\textsuperscript{143} I am sorry to say is not supported as it ought to be, and the study of Man is not pursued so ardently as is Mineralogy and other branches of Natural History. One reason of this neglect is that no money can be made of it and it does not lead to any advance in a Man's social position. Another reason is that some people think it will disturb their religious opinions, as they believe (as I do also) that God created at first the pair and that all are descended from Adam, so that all investigation is deemed to be superfluous; again, should investigation prove that all are not descended from Adam they fear the Bible and Christianity will be upset. Such persons cannot, or do not, see that it is one thing to have a religious belief in the singleness of origin of Mankind, but it is a different thing to have the opinion as a Scientific deduction bound upon observation and reason. These I think are the circumstances that prevent Ethnology being taken up as it otherwise would be, from the dignity of the subject, by the public at large. Lately however the infidels have laid hold of Ethnology as a means of attacking our Christianity and have given distorted views of its doctrines, so that now the religious part of the educated public, must, in self defence, take up the study and answer these very shallow (for all infidels are shallow) people.\textsuperscript{144}

In April 1857, the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld evoked predestination and Biblical tradition when he wrote to Sir George Grey that: “The Aborigines of this colony are fast passing away from this stage of existence. ... The Sons of Japhet are being enlarged and caused to dwell in the tents of Shem.” Underlying these quotes was Calvin's doctrine of predestination and Malthus's that Aboriginal people were in “a state of the most helpless ignorance and barbarism”.

Herbert Spencer, 1820-1903, was a polymath, ranging expertly across a broad range of subjects. Two years before Darwin published *Origin of Species* Spencer proposed, in an essay, *Progress: Its Law and Cause*, later incorporated into *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy*, 1862, a universal law of evolution, responsible for the development everything in the universe from simple to complex systems. Spencer, not Darwin, coined the term “survival of the fittest”, in 1864 as a means of explaining Darwin's concept of natural

\textsuperscript{143} In 1842 the Aborigines Protection Society split as a result of an internal tension between its humanitarian and scientific wings. Thomas Fowell Buxton as president of the Aborigines Protection Society redefined the function of the committee as being to record the history, and promote the advancement, of Uncivilized Tribes. By that time the missions at Lake Macquarie and Wellington Valley had failed. \url{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aborigines'_Protection_Society}

The Ethnological Society of London was formed as an offshoot of the Aborigines Protection Society. James Cowell Pritchard, one of the society's founders, in *Natural History of Man* used the term ethnology meaning the “history of Nations”, with the implication that change took place over time, as opposed to the contemporary orthodoxy that human diversity was explained through climate change and Biblical tradition. Early members of the ESL were liberals, drawn mainly from the clergy, military officers and civil servants. The ESL supported monogenesis and Blumenbach's five race theory. Darwin's work saw the ESL shift its focus towards archaeology. In 1871 a merger took place with the breakaway Anthropological Society of London. \url{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnological_Society_of_London}

selection “This survival of the fittest, which I have here sought to express in mechanical terms, is that which Mr. Darwin has called 'natural selection', or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life”. Spencer is mistakenly credited with the concept of “Social Darwinism”. While Spencer was strongly opposed to organized institutions such as religion and states, he differed significantly from Darwin in his belief that evolution had direction and moved towards higher forms of existence.\[146\]

In his writings about First Peoples, Spencer's work was strongly influenced by Malthus.

‘In nomadic societies the changes of place, determined as they usually are by exhaustion or failure of the supply of food, are periodic; and in many cases show a recurrence answering to the seasons. Each tribe that has become in some degree fixed in its locality, goes on increasing, till under the pressures of unsatisfied desires, there results migration of some part of it to a new region - a process repeated at intervals. From such excesses of population, and such successive waves of migration, come conflicts with other tribes; which are also increasing and tending to diffuse themselves. This antagonism, like all others, results not in an uniform motion, but in an intermittent one. War, exhaustion, recoil - peace, prosperity, and renewed aggression: - see here the alternation more or less discernible in the military activities of both savage and civilized nations. And irregular as is this rhythm, it is not more so than the different sizes of the societies, and the extremely involved causes of variation in their strengths, would lead us to anticipate.\[147\]

Spencer avoided a commitment to the Monogenesis as opposed to Polygenesis debate. However, his writings displayed a belief in the racial superiority of Europeans. This passage is important in that Spencer suggested the evolution of new races. It certainly indicated that Spencer was aware of the Hawkesbury “Corn Stalks”.

‘Whether an advance from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous is or is not displayed in the biological history of the globe, it is clearly enough displayed in the progress of the latest and most heterogeneous creature - Man. It is alike true that, during the period in which the Earth has been peopled, the human organism has grown more heterogeneous among the civilized divisions of the species; and that the species, as a whole, has been made more heterogeneous by the multiplication of races and the differentiation of these races from each other. In proof of the first of these positions, we may cite the fact that, in the relative development of the limbs, the civilized man departs more widely from the general type of the placental mammalia, than do the lower human races. Though often possessing well-developed body and arms, the Papuan has extremely small legs: thus reminding us of the quadrumanas, in which there is no great contrast in size between the hind and fore limbs. But in the European, the greater length and massiveness of the legs has become very marked - the fore and hind limbs are relatively more heterogeneous. Again, the greater ratio which the cranial bones bear to the facial bones, illustrates the same truth. Among the vertebrata in general, evolution is marked by an increasing heterogeneity in the vertebral column, and more especially in the segments constituting the skull: the higher forms being distinguished by the relatively larger size of the bones which cover the brain, and the relatively smaller size of those which form the jaws, &c. Now, this characteristic, which is stronger in Man than in any other creature, is stronger in the European than in the savage. Moreover, judging from the greater extent and variety of faculty he exhibits, we may infer that the civilized man has also a more complex or

\[146\] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herbert_Spencer
heterogeneous nervous system than the uncivilized man; and indeed the fact is in part visible in the increased ratio which his cerebrum bears to the subjacent ganglia. If further elucidation be needed, we may find it in every nursery. The infant European has sundry marked points of resemblance to the lower human races; as in the flatness of the alæ of the nose, the depression of its bridge, the divergence and forward opening of the nostrils, the form of the lips, the absence of a frontal sinus, the width between the eyes, the smallness of the legs. Now, as the developmental process by which these traits are turned into those of the adult European, is a continuation of that change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous displayed during the previous evolution of the embryo, which every physiologist will admit; it follows that the parallel developmental process by which the like traits of the barbarous races have been turned into those of the civilized races, has also been a continuation of the change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. The truth of the second position - that Mankind, as a whole, have become more heterogeneous - is so obvious as scarcely to need illustration. Every work on Ethnology, by its divisions and subdivisions of races, bears testimony to it. Even were we to admit the hypothesis that Mankind originated from several separate stocks, it would still remain true that as, from each of these stocks, there have sprung many now widely different tribes, which are proved by philological evidence to have had a common origin, the race as a whole is far less homogeneous than it once was. Add to which, that we have, in the Anglo-Americans, an example of a new variety arising within these few generations; and that, if we may trust to the descriptions of observers, we are likely soon to have another such example in Australia.\textsuperscript{148}

The Comte de Gobineau, 1816-1882, was a self-created French aristocrat, and reactionary. He is credited with creating the idea of a Aryan master race in his work, An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races, 1853-55 and partly translated into English in 1856. Gobineau was of the opinion that the French Revolution was a result of racial degeneracy.

While Gobineau accepted the Biblical account of man's origins, his thoughts that Japheth Shem and Ham and were the ancestors of the white race, not the ancestors of the Europeans, Asians and Africans as tradition held. He apparently left the door open for the black and yellow races to be a pre-Adamite creation, though he held to monogenesis.

Gobineau explained the rise and fall of civilisations in racial terms. The white races were strong, intelligent and handsome. All great civilisations had an Aryan spark according to him. The Germans or Teutons were the purest of the Aryans who were the highest form of the white race. Gobineau echoed Henri de Boulainvillier’s idea that a tribe of Aryans, in this case the Teutons, invaded and conquered Europe, establishing a ruling aristocracy by right of arms.

Gobineau was concerned that the mixing of the white race with black races, who were stupid and frivolous; and with yellow races who were characterised by mediocrity; would lead to racial degeneracy and the fall of civilisations.\textsuperscript{149}

Charles Dickens', The Noble Savage, appeared in the Household Words magazine in 1853. It was written in response to a visit of by George Catlin, “some few years ago, with his Ojibbeway Indians”. It clearly demonstrated how past writings and ideas were constantly

http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1390/99230/2168384
\textsuperscript{149} http://www.answers.com/topic/arthur-de-gobineau
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Essay_on_the_Inequality_of_the_Human_Races
trawled over. Given Dickens' popularity it is difficult to underestimate the influence that the vitriol of his article had in the English speaking world.

‘To come to the point at once, I beg to say that I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage. I consider him a prodigious nuisance, and an enormous superstition. His calling rum firewater, and me a pale face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I don’t care what he calls me. I call him a savage, and I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilised off the face of the earth. I think a mere gent (which I take to be the lowest form of civilisation) better than a howling, whistling, clucking, stamping, tearing savage. It is all one to me, whether he sticks a fish-bone through his visage, or bits of trees through the lobes of his ears, or bird’s feathers in his head; whether he flattens his hair between two boards, or spreads his nose over the breadth of his face, or drags his lower lip down by great weights, or blackens his teeth, or knocks them out, or paints one cheek red and the other blue, or tattoos himself, or oils himself, or rubs his body with fat, or crimps it with knives. Yielding to whichsoever of these agreeable eccentricities, he is a savage - cruel, false, thievish, murderous; addicted more or less to grease, entrails, and beastly customs; a wild animal with the questionable gift of boasting; a conceited, tiresome, bloodthirsty, monotonous humbug.

Yet it is extraordinary to observe how some people will talk about him, as they talk about the good old times; how they will regret his disappearance, in the course of this world’s development, from such and such lands where his absence is a blessed relief and an indispensable preparation for the sowing of the very first seeds of any influence that can exalt humanity; how, even with the evidence of himself before them, they will either be determined to believe, or will suffer themselves to be persuaded into believing, that he is something which their five senses tell them he is not.

... Mine are no new views of the noble savage. The greatest writers on natural history found him out long ago. Buffon knew what he was, and showed why he is the sulky tyrant that he is to his women, and how it happens (Heaven be praised!) that his race is spare in numbers. For evidence of the quality of his moral nature, pass himself for a moment and refer to his ‘faithful dog.’ Has he ever improved a dog, or attached a dog, since his nobility first ran wild in woods, and was brought down (at a very long shot) by Pope? Or does the animal that is the friend of man, always degenerate in his low society?

It is not the miserable nature of the noble savage that is the new thing; it is the whimpering over him with maudlin admiration, and the affecting to regret him, and the drawing of any comparison of advantage between the blemishes of civilisation and the tenor of his swinish life. There may have been a change now and then in those diseased absurdities, but there is none in him.

... To conclude as I began. My position is, that if we have anything to learn from the Noble Savage, it is what to avoid. His virtues are a fable; his happiness is a delusion; his nobility, nonsense.

We have no greater justification for being cruel to the miserable object, than for being cruel to a William Shakespeare or an Isaac Newton; but he passes away before an immeasurably better and higher power than ever ran wild in any earthly woods, and the world will be all the better when his place knows him no more.”

150 Charles Dickens, The Noble Savage, Household Words Magazine, 1853
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Darwin had read Malthus before the *Beagle* expedition and read his sixth edition of *On Population* on his return. Malthus's concept of population pressures on limited food supplies was apparently the foundation of Darwin's concept of natural selection. It was at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1860 that the famous exchange between Thomas Huxley and Bishop Soapy Samuel Wilberforce took place. The exchange was memorable for the fact that no two accounts of it were the same. Bishop Wilberforce, a powerful orator, apparently asked Huxley, that if he was descended from a gorilla, whether he preferred that it was on his father's side or his mother's. Huxley, who could only be heard by a small number, replied with words to the effect that it mattered little to him whether he had a monkey for an ancestor, but that he would be ashamed to be connected with a man who used his great gifts to obscure the truth. Wilberforce was apparently silenced.

Bishop Colenso, 1814-1883, was the first Anglican Bishop of Natal. He went to South Africa in 1853 and his missionary work there led him to become a strong advocate of the native South Africans. In response to their questions about the flood he began to consider the literalness of the Bible in a series of treatises, 1862-79. In this process which brought him into conflict with church authorities, and led to steps to excommunicate him, he developed a belief in polygenesis through multiple creations, because mummified remains from Egypt showed no signs of change over thousands of years.

George Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll, 1823-1900, was a politician and writer on contemporary 19th century issues. *Primeval Man*, published in 1869, was written in the context of Archbishop Whately's lecture on the "Origins of Civilization" published in 1854, in which Whately argued that "men in the lowest degree, or even any thing approaching to the

http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/2529/

Al-Jahiz, 776-868, was an Arab scholar who rose from poverty and obscurity to become advisor to the Khalifa in Baghdad. He was a prolific writer and unfortunately only about thirty of his works survive. One of his best known is *Kitab al-Haywan* (The Book of Animals). In this seven volume work Al-Jahiz introduced the concept of the food chain and attempted a process of animal and insect classification. In other works he addressed environmental determinism on human skin colour and speculated that heat and humidity were responsible for dark skin colours. He anticipated Darwin's theory of evolution.

‘Animals engage in a struggle for existence: for resources, to avoid being eaten, and to breed. Environmental factors influence organisms to develop new characteristics to ensure survival, thus transforming into new species. Animals that survive to breed can pass on their successful characteristics to offspring.’


The idea of separating the religious from the secular was not particularly new. Raymond Lully, 1232/6-1315, who took his faith to the Saracens on three occasions before being martyred by them; well illustrated some of the changes and conflicts in thinking that were taking place at this time. He held that there was no distinction between philosophy and theology, between reason and faith, and that reason could explain even the highest mysteries, though to him reason had to be totally immersed in faith. Arabian scholars had already addressed this conflict by separating philosophy and faith; what was true in religious matters to them did not necessarily have to be true in matters of philosophy. His thinking may explain why he was not canonised.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1831 to promote science. It was founded in protest at the elitism of the Royal Society. The Association had four sections, physics, chemistry, geology and natural history. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Science_Association

He was nicknamed *Soapy* after Disraeli said he was *unctuous, oleaginous and saponaceous*;

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lowest degree, of barbarism in which they can possibly subsist at all never did and never can, unaided, raise themselves into a higher condition ": and Sir John Lubbock's presentation to the British Association for the Advancement of Science\textsuperscript{156} in 1867 in which he argued that "there are indications of progress even among savages ... and that ... among the most civilized nations there are traces of original barbarism ". At the time this assertion of residual barbarism was complete anathema to some people such as Campbell.

Campbell argued against Lubbock and defended the theory of racial degradation. His summation of the First Peoples of Australia was damning, relying strongly upon David Collins.

‘Many of the Aborigines of Australia could do no more at times than support a precarious existence by scraping up roots, and eating snakes and other reptiles. The rotten blubber of a dead whale cast upon the beach was, and is often, not only a luxury and a feast, but deliverance from actual starvation. Sir J. Lubbock's theory is, that in these Savages we see something rather above than under the primitive condition of Mankind. But it may be safely said that a very small diminution of mental capacity below that of an Australian Savage, would render Man's characteristic structure incompatible with the maintenance of his existence in most, if not in all, of the countries where he is actually found.\textsuperscript{157}

Campbell was not just strongly conservative but also a powerful advocate for his cause. In contrasting racial degradation among savages and the strength of civilised societies he did not defend Whatley's reasoning; instead he used Malthusian arguments.

‘We can only hope to reach the Unknown by reasoning from the Known; and, starting from this ground, we have the indisputable fact that Man is capable of Degradation. This is a subject which, as it appears to me, Sir J. Lubbock deals with in the most cursory and superficial manner. In fact, as far as it is possible to do so, he avoids it altogether. In his work on ‘Prehistoric Man’ a single page exhausts all he has to say on one of the most prominent facts of History and of Nature, and this page is headed, ‘No Evidence of Degradation.’ Yet nothing in the Natural History of Man can be more certain than that both morally, and intellectually, and physically he can, and he often does, sink from a higher to a lower level. This is true of Man both collectively and individually of men and of societies of men. Some regions of the world are strewn with the monuments of civilizations which have passed away. Rude and barbarous tribes stare with wonder on the remains of Temples, of which they cannot conceive the purpose, and of Cities which are the dens of beasts. It is not necessary to assume, as it has some times been assumed, that there is a law of decay affecting communities as certain in its operation as the law which operates on the individual frame. It is enough to note the indisputable fact that men are liable to degradation and decline, and this even as regards the knowledge and the practice of those industrial arts on which the very existence of large populations may depend. As regards moral character the possibility and the fact of degradation is not less certain. It is a result only too common and familiar, both as regards individuals and societies of men. In truth this kind of decline almost always precedes the other. The higher elements of civilization depend on qualities of the mind. It is by moral and

\textsuperscript{156} The British Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1831 to promote science. It was founded in protest at the elitism of the Royal Society. The Association had four sections, physics, chemistry, geology and natural history. A meeting of the Association in 1860 was the setting for the famous exchange between Thomas Huxley and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce.\hfill http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Science_Association

\textsuperscript{157} Pages 22-23, George Campbell, \textit{Primeval Man}, New York 1884, http://archive.org/stream/thereignoflaw00argyuoft/thereignoflaw00argyuoft_djvu.txt
intellectual force that all the triumphs of civilization are achieved. When that force declines, the agencies of degradation establish their ascendancy, and the completeness with which they have done their work is one of the standing wonders of the world. No doubt, the ancient civilizations which have been so utterly destroyed were in many cases brought to a violent, and as it may be argued, to an accidental end. They were overrun and swept away by the rush of barbarous hordes. But these are accidents which did not happen to civilized nations so long as their civilization was yet undecayed. I am far, however, from denying the powerful influence of external conditions in favoring the development of the peaceful arts, or, on the contrary, in arresting that development, or even in destroying it when it had been long established. Nor am I disposed to keep in the background the effects produced on ancient civilizations by the wars and the great primeval migrations of our race. On the contrary, these are facts which form the next step in the argument I am now maintaining a step which goes far to connect the possibility of degradation with the known causes which have operated, and in the very nature of things must have operated, in producing it. For it matters not which of the two theories we adopt in regard to the Origin of the Human Race, whether we suppose it to have proceeded from one or from two, or even from several different centres of creation; it matters not whether we suppose with Sir J. Lubbock that the ‘first being worthy to be called a Man’ was born of some inferior creature, or whether we believe with Whately, that he was truly human in his powers, but required some ‘elementary instruction to enable his faculties to begin their work.’ In any case we may safely assume that Man must have begun his course in some one or more of those portions of the earth which are genial in climate, rich in natural fruits, and capable of yielding the most abundant return to the very simplest arts. It is under such conditions that the first establishment of the human race can be most easily understood; nay, it is under such conditions only that it is conceivable at all. And as these are the conditions which would favor the first establishment, and the most rapid increase of Man, so also are these the conditions under which knowledge would most rapidly accumulate, and the earliest possibilities of material civilization would arise.

Now what are the changes of external circumstance which first, in the natural course of things, would bring an adverse influence to bear upon Mankind? Here again we are on firm ground, because we know one great cause which has been always operating, and we know its natural and inevitable effects. This cause is simply the law of increase. It is the consequence of that law that population is always pressing upon the limits of subsistence. Hence the necessity of migrations, and the force which has propelled successive generations of men farther and farther, in ever-widening circles round the original centre or centres of their birth. Then, as it would always be the weaker tribes who would be driven from the ground which had become overstocked, and as the lands to which they went forth were less and less hospitable in climate and productions, the struggle for life would be always harder. And so it always happens in the natural and necessary course of things, that the races which were driven farthest would be the rudest the most engrossed in the pursuits of mere animal existence.¹⁵⁸

Charles Darwin's *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 1871, was more than just a work on the issue of natural selection and physical human evolution. Darwin used sexual selection as a means to explore the evolution of morality, religion, psychology, aesthetics and gender. Darwin espoused Monogenesis, which challenged and effectively destroyed the contemporary conventionalism of Polygenesis; a view made popular largely because of colonialism and the American Civil War. However, Darwin's vision of the future

¹⁵⁸ Pages 49-53, George Campbell, *Primeval Man*, New York 1884, [http://archive.org/stream/thereignoflaw00argyuoft/thereignoflaw00argyuoft_djvu.txt](http://archive.org/stream/thereignoflaw00argyuoft/thereignoflaw00argyuoft_djvu.txt)
for First Peoples was as grim as any Polygenesist or proponent of racial degradation; it was one in which “the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the savage races throughout the world”. Charles Darwin may in theory have separated God and Nature through the concept of natural selection; however, in his writings he only replaced “Nature” with “Civilization”. The following extract was largely derived from Malthus. Particular note should be made of the assertion of lower “reproductive power” among the “barbarous” races. Darwin went through some convoluted and not particularly convincing reasoning to deny that he believed in some sort of racial degradation in this extract.

‘RATE OF INCREASE.
Civilised populations have been known under favourable conditions, as in the United States, to double their numbers in twenty-five years; and, according to a calculation, by Euler, this might occur in a little over twelve years. (57. See the ever memorable 'Essay on the Principle of Population,' by the Rev. T. Malthus, vol. i. 1826. pp. 6, 517.) At the former rate, the present population of the United States (thirty millions), would in 657 years cover the whole terraqueous globe so thickly, that four men would have to stand on each square yard of surface. The primary or fundamental check to the continued increase of man is the difficulty of gaining subsistence, and of living in comfort. We may infer that this is the case from what we see, for instance, in the United States, where subsistence is easy, and there is plenty of room. If such means were suddenly doubled in Great Britain, our number would be quickly doubled. With civilised nations this primary check acts chiefly by restraining marriages. The greater death-rate of infants in the poorest classes is also very important; as well as the greater mortality, from various diseases, of the inhabitants of crowded and miserable houses, at all ages. The effects of severe epidemics and wars are soon counterbalanced, and more than counterbalanced, in nations placed under favourable conditions. Emigration also comes in aid as a temporary check, but, with the extremely poor classes, not to any great extent.

There is reason to suspect, as Malthus has remarked, that the reproductive power is actually less in barbarous, than in civilised races. We know nothing positively on this head, for with savages no census has been taken; but from the concurrent testimony of missionaries, and of others who have long resided with such people, it appears that their families are usually small, and large ones rare. This may be partly accounted for, as it is believed, by the women suckling their infants during a long time; but it is highly probable that savages, who often suffer much hardship, and who do not obtain so much nutritious food as civilised men, would be actually less prolific. ...

Notwithstanding that savages appear to be less prolific than civilised people, they would no doubt rapidly increase if their numbers were not by some means rigidly kept down. The Santali, or hill-tribes of India, have recently afforded a good illustration of this fact; for, as shewn by Mr. Hunter (60. ‘The Annals of Rural Bengal,’ by W.W. Hunter, 1868, p. 259.), they have increased at an extraordinary rate since vaccination has been introduced, other pestilences mitigated, and war sternly repressed. This increase, however, would not have been possible had not these rude people spread into the adjoining districts, and worked for hire. Savages almost always marry; yet there is some prudential restraint, for they do not commonly marry at the earliest possible age. The young men are often required to shew that they can support a wife; and they generally have first to earn the price with which to purchase her from her parents. With savages the difficulty of obtaining subsistence occasionally limits their number in a much more direct manner than with civilised people, for all tribes periodically suffer from severe famines. At such times savages are forced to devour much bad food, and their health can hardly fail to be injured. Many accounts have been published of their protruding stomachs and emaciated limbs after and during famines. They
are then, also, compelled to wander much, and, as I was assured in Australia, their infants perish in large numbers. As famines are periodical, depending chiefly on extreme seasons, all tribes must fluctuate in number. They cannot steadily and regularly increase, as there is no artificial increase in the supply of food. Savages, when hard pressed, encroach on each other's territories, and war is the result; but they are indeed almost always at war with their neighbours. They are liable to many accidents on land and water in their search for food; and in some countries they suffer much from the larger beasts of prey. Even in India, districts have been depopulated by the ravages of tigers.

Malthus has discussed these several checks, but he does not lay stress enough on what is probably the most important of all, namely infanticide, especially of female infants, and the habit of procuring abortion. These practices now prevail in many quarters of the world; and infanticide seems formerly to have prevailed, as Mr. M'Lennan (61. 'Primitive Marriage,' 1865.) has shewn, on a still more extensive scale. These practices appear to have originated in savages recognising the difficulty, or rather the impossibility of supporting all the infants that are born. Licentiousness may also be added to the foregoing checks; but this does not follow from failing means of subsistence; though there is reason to believe that in some cases (as in Japan) it has been intentionally encouraged as a means of keeping down the population.

If we look back to an extremely remote epoch, before man had arrived at the dignity of manhood, he would have been guided more by instinct and less by reason than are the lowest savages at the present time. Our early semi-human progenitors would not have practised infanticide or polyandry; for the instincts of the lower animals are never so perverted (62. A writer in the 'Spectator' (March 12, 1871, p. 320) comments as follows on this passage:--"Mr. Darwin finds himself compelled to reintroduce a new doctrine of the fall of man. He shews that the instincts of the higher animals are far nobler than the habits of savage races of men, and he finds himself, therefore, compelled to re-introduce,--in a form of the substantial orthodoxy of which he appears to be quite unconscious,--and to introduce as a scientific hypothesis the doctrine that man's gain of KNOWLEDGE was the cause of a temporary but long-enduring moral deterioration as indicated by the many foul customs, especially as to marriage, of savage tribes. What does the Jewish tradition of the moral degeneration of man through his snatching at a knowledge forbidden him by his highest instinct assert beyond this?") as to lead them regularly to destroy their own offspring, or to be quite devoid of jealousy. There would have been no prudential restraint from marriage, and the sexes would have freely united at an early age. Hence the progenitors of man would have tended to increase rapidly; but checks of some kind, either periodical or constant, must have kept down their numbers, even more severely than with existing savages. What the precise nature of these checks were, we cannot say, any more than with most other animals. We know that horses and cattle, which are not extremely prolific animals, when first turned loose in South America, increased at an enormous rate. The elephant, the slowest breeder of all known animals, would in a few thousand years stock the whole world. The increase of every species of monkey must be checked by some means; but not, as Brehm remarks, by the attacks of beasts of prey. No one will assume that the actual power of reproduction in the wild horses and cattle of America, was at first in any sensible degree increased; or that, as each district became fully stocked, this same power was diminished. No doubt, in this case, and in all others, many checks concur, and different checks under different circumstances; periodical dearths, depending on unfavourable seasons, being probably the most important of all. So it will have been with the early progenitors of man.\footnote{Chapter 2, Charles Darwin The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, 1871}
The great break in the organic chain between man and his nearest allies, which cannot be bridged over by any extinct or living species, has often been advanced as a grave objection to the belief that man is descended from some lower form; but this objection will not appear of much weight to those who, from general reasons, believe in the general principle of evolution. Breaks often occur in all parts of the series, some being wide, sharp and defined, others less so in various degrees; as between the orang and its nearest allies--between the Tarsius and the other Lemuridae--between the elephant, and in a more striking manner between the Ornithorhynchus or Echidna, and all other mammals. But these breaks depend merely on the number of related forms which have become extinct. At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the savage races throughout the world. At the same time the anthropomorphous apes, as Professor Schaaffhausen has remarked, * will no doubt be exterminated. The break between man and his nearest allies will then be wider, for it will intervene between man in a more civilised state, as we may hope, even than the Caucasian, and some ape as low as a baboon, instead of as now between the negro or Australian and the gorilla.160

In the following extracts from the conclusion of The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex Darwin:

– discredited the idea of Man’s separate Creation;

– linked the idea of a universal and beneficent Creator with “long-continued cultures”;

– displayed enormously negative stereotypes about First Peoples; and

– expressed astonishment and concern; that, between his animal ancestors and his own highly civilised self, there were barbarian ancestors.

‘The main conclusion here arrived at, and now held by many naturalists who are well competent to form a sound judgment, is that man is descended from some less highly organised form. The grounds upon which this conclusion rests will never be shaken, for the close similarity between man and the lower animals in embryonic development, as well as in innumerable points of structure and constitution, both of high and of the most trifling importance, -- the rudiments which he retains, and the abnormal reversions to which he is occasionally liable, -- are facts which cannot be disputed. ... He who is not content to look, like a savage, at the phenomena of nature as disconnected, cannot any longer believe that man is the work of a separate act of creation.

... We thus learn that man is descended from a hairy, tailed quadruped, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. This creature, if its whole structure had been examined by a naturalist, would have been classed amongst the Quadrumana, as surely as the still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkeys. The Quadrumana and all the higher mammals are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this through a long line of diversified forms, from some amphibian-like creature, and this again from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past we can see that the early progenitor of all the Vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal, provided with branchiae, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body (such as the brain and heart) imperfectly or not at all developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvae of the existing marine Ascidians than any other known form.
... The belief in God has often been advanced as not only the greatest, but the most complete of all the distinctions between man and the lower animals. It is however impossible, as we have seen, to maintain that this belief is innate or instinctive in man. On the other hand a belief in all-pervading spiritual agencies seems to be universal; and apparently follows from a considerable advance in man's reason, and from a still greater advance in his faculties of imagination, curiosity and wonder. I am aware that the assumed instinctive belief in God has been used by many persons as an argument for His existence. But this is a rash argument, as we should thus be compelled to believe in the existence of many cruel and malignant spirits, only a little more powerful than man; for the belief in them is far more general than in a beneficent Deity. The idea of a universal and beneficent Creator does not seem to arise in the mind of man, until he has been elevated by long-continued culture.

... The main conclusion arrived at in this work, namely, that man is descended from some lowly organised form, will, I regret to think, be highly distasteful to many. But there can hardly be a doubt that we are descended from barbarians. The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind - such were our ancestors. These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled, and distrustful. They possessed hardly any arts, and like wild animals lived on what they could catch; they had no government, and were merciless to every one not of their own small tribe. He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame, if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some more humble creature flows in his veins. For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs - as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practices infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions.

Man may be excused for feeling some pride at having risen, though not through his own exertions, to the very summit of the organic scale; and the fact of his having thus risen, instead of having been aboriginally placed there, may give him hope for a still higher destiny in the distant future. But we are not here concerned with hopes or fears, only with the truth as far as our reason permits us to discover it; and I have given the evidence to the best of my ability. We must, however, acknowledge, as it seems to me, that man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system—with all these exalted powers—man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin.161

One cannot help wonder at what Darwin thought about what distinguished himself from the Tierra del Fuegians. In a letter to William Graham, 3rd July 1881, Darwin commented on Graham's book. Among his comments, Darwin expressed concern that “the existence of so-called natural laws implies purpose”. Darwin defended his theory of random natural selection by using the fallacious argument of racial gradations to predict the extinction of the lower races by the higher. “I could show fight on natural selection having done and doing more for

http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/2300/pg2300.txt
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the progress of civilisation than you seem inclined to admit. Remember what risks the nations of Europe ran, not so many centuries ago of being overwhelmed by the Turks, and how ridiculous such an idea now is. The more civilised so-called Caucasian races have beaten the Turkish hollow in the struggle for existence. Looking to the world at no very distant date, what an endless number of the lower races will have been eliminated by the higher civilised races throughout the world. 162

Sir Francis Galton, 1822-1911, was a child prodigy, polymath, and cousin to Charles Darwin who espoused the idea that the history of the world is one of improvement by successive invasions by worthier of inferior populations. This bizarre, but not uncommon idea, was the basis for his suggestion in an 1873 letter to The Times recommending the repopulation of Africa by the Chinese.

‘The history of the world tells a tale of the continual displacement of populations, each by a worthier successor, and humanity gains thereby. We ourselves are no descendents of the aborigines of Britain, and our colonists were invaders of the regions they now occupy as their lawful home. But the countries into which the Anglo-Saxon race can be transfused are restricted to those where the climate is temperate. The Tropics are not for us, to inhabit permanently; the greater part of Africa is the heritage of people differently constituted to ourselves. On that continent, as elsewhere, one population continually drives out another. Consider its history as it extends over successive centuries. We note how Arab, Tuarick, Fellatah, Negroes of uncounted varieties, Cadre, Hottentot surge and reel to and fro in the struggle for existence. It is into this free flight among all present that I wish to see a new competitor introduced-namely, the Chinaman. The gain would be immense to the whole civilized world if we were to out-breed and finally displace the negro, as completely as the latter has displaced the aborigines of the West Indies. The magnitude of the gain may be partly estimated by making the converse supposition—namely, the loss that would ensue if China were somehow to be depopulated and restocked by negroes. 163

Galton went onto far greater notoriety for the invention of Eugenics in his 1883 work Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development. Galton developed a hierarchy of family merit and advocated eugenic marriages by supplying able couples with incentives to have children. While strongly influenced by his cousin's work, Galton appeared not have taken on board the central platform of Darwin's theory that natural selection was random. 164

Richard Lee and Thomas Bendyshe, both made presentations on The Extinction of Races before the Anthropological Society of London 165 on the 19th of January, 1864. On a broad level the meeting explored issues such as the distinction between whether a race or a tribe could be made extinct and whether a race could be made extinct on its own ethnic centre. However, the dominant topic was the extinction of savage races.

Richard Lee was probably more concerned about the fall of European civilisation than he was about the “rapid disappearance of aboriginal tribes before the advance of civilisation”. His

162 http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-13230
presentation revealed a belief in racial gradations. He argued that the “coloured populations were an illustration of humanity, in its crudest form, shrinking and passing away before a phase of humanity enlightened with intelligence, and endowed with vast intellectual superiority”. His assertion that “The man who now wanders free through the unknown wilds of Australia represents nothing. Not only has he not advanced in moral development since the first formation of his species, but he has actually retrograded,” was made without any supporting evidence. In exploring the “rapid disappearance of aboriginal tribes before the advance of civilisation” he acknowledged the “rele less butcheries”, but dissociated them from the present claiming “for many years past, the aborigines have been under the immediate protection of the government”. His claim “that the Australian aborigines, although constantly exposed to the weather, are exceedingly susceptible to cold” reflected the contemporary lack of understanding of the causes of tuberculosis and the extraordinary capacity of Europeans to avoid taking any responsibility for the tragedy that they were unfolding. Land clearing by settlers was increasing the temperature range on the Cumberland Plain which may have impacted upon Aboriginal health.166

‘The rapid disappearance of aboriginal tribes before the advance of civilisation is one of the many remarkable incidents of the present age. In every new country, from America to New Zealand, from Freemantle to Honolulu, it is observable, and seems to be a necessary result of an approximation of different races, peculiar, however, in degree, at least, to this portion of the world’s history. ...

Nowhere has the disappearance of a native race been more complete in modern times than in Tasmania, and although, no doubt, the most relentless butcheries were at one time practised in that colony, yet, for many years past, the aborigines have been under the immediate protection of the government. ... This remarkable result cannot be attributed altogether to the low condition of the Tasmanian Aborigines, or to the cruel treatment of the European settlers. A similar process of extinction is even now taking place in New Zealand, notwithstanding the thinness of the white population, and the superior character of the Maori race; and so steadily is this going on, that before the end of another hundred years the aboriginal New Zealander will, in all probability, have become extinct. ...

... It is startling to observe the sudden disappearance before an advance of civilisation of people who have multiplied and lived for ages upon lands now for the first time occupied by the white man. Nor is the circumstance divested of any of its interest, when it is made tolerably evident that other than purely artificial causes are operating to produce such a result. The introduction among aboriginal races of some European diseases, and of injurious habits, intemperance and the like; as well as a directly increased mortality, due to an antagonism between the white and the coloured population, are among the leading artificial causes; but none of these will account for the paradox that exists in respect to the inequality of the sexes, the unusual diminution of females, and the increase to such an enormous extent

166 It is possible to speculate that land-clearing impacted upon the climate of the Cumberland Plain. Richard Atkins’ Journal for February and July 1795 displayed an awareness of changes in the weather and linked increasing frost and cold to land clearing. Mrs. Felton Mathew, on the 14th of June 1833, noted that “The climate by all accounts is wonderfully altered.” Hamilton Hume’s mother, who had been thirty eight years in the colony, told her “that the heat was much greater, and the cold never so severe in former times.” On the 25th of July 1833 Sarah Mathew noted that the frost had burnt her geraniums “to shew the extent cold, so much increased since the first settling of the Colony, when frost was unknown and the climate believed to be almost a tropical one. All the old inhabitants say it is greatly changed and the frost increasing yearly.” Pages 118-119 and 128, Olive Harvard, Mrs. Felton Mathew’s Journal, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 24.
of unproductive marriages. ... It is well known, for example, that the Australian aborigines, although constantly exposed to the weather, are exceedingly susceptible to cold. Before a southerly wind they crouch under every cover they can find, the insufficient quality, as well as quantity of their food, offering no protection to their system against the vicissitudes of temperature, which, in that part of the world, are often very great. The influx of Europeans has enabled them, though to a limited degree, to procure articles of clothing or blankets, the value of which they at times thoroughly appreciate. But the first warm day sees all these things thrown aside, and it not unfrequently happens that fever and other diseases are actually produced through the careless use or disuse of warm coverings. Deaths arising from this cause are now of frequent occurrence; the system which, in its natural state, was prone to suffer from changes of temperature, being still more liable to injury when those changes are rendered greater through the improper use of clothes. As an almost abstract question for discussion, it may be suggested whether this disappearance of aboriginal tribes may be taken as a type of what might happen at a future period of the world's history? at that period which some have even now conceived to be probable, when the present population shall have to give place to an order of beings superior to the now dominant race of mankind in all those faculties and endowments which most tend to elevate humanity.

... In a few years the surface of the earth will be utterly altered; whole races, which now rule supreme over immense tracks, will have passed away for ever, and civilisation will turn to better account the lands that have so long been the undisturbed home of the "black fellow;"

... Europe, now pre-eminent in all the attainments of man, the home and the cradle of the noblest arts and the profoundest sciences, may have for her destiny to repopulate the globe, and then to tarry in her onward career. It may be the lot of nations now springing into existence at the antipodes, to outstrip her in the pursuit of knowledge, and when ages shall have passed away, to supply, in their turn, a nobler race, a more perfect humanity, to the lands which now rank foremost in civilisation. The New Zealand offspring of the imagination of our great essayist may be no unreal creation of the imagination, and England may yet be indebted to her descendants in the South for a people who shall as far surpass her present occupants as the civilised Englishman of this day excels the half barbarous Maori.167

... Between the white and the coloured populations of which we speak there are not even degrees of civilisation. The man who now wanders free through the unknown wilds of Australia represents nothing. Not only has he not advanced in moral development since the first formation of his species, but he has actually retrograded. There are not even the traditions of past renown among his ancestors to arouse those inspiriting emotions which should stimulate him to preserve the existence and identity of his race;

... we must regard it as only an illustration of humanity, in its crudest form, shrinking and passing away before a phase of humanity enlightened with intelligence, and endowed with vast intellectual superiority.168

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167 This reference can be traced back to Edward Gibbons, “If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of Scottish history the opposite extremes of savage and civilised life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere,” Page 879, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Modern Library, New York, First Published 1776-1781. Macaulay later used the image in a contemplation of a London in ruins in the 1820s which Doré utilised in an 1873 engraving.


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The following article on the same theme by Thomas Bendyshe, presented essentially Malthusian arguments.

‘The treatise of Malthus, from the publication of which are to be dated all sound views upon the subject, appeared in 1798. He showed that population has a tendency to increase in a geometrical ratio; and the obstacles which prevent it from actually so increasing, except what he calls moral restraint, which is peculiar to civilised nations, occur equally in all parts of the world. These may be summed up under the heads of promiscuous intercourse, artificial abortion, infanticide, wars, diseases and poverty. 169

The correctness of the Malthusian theory is now so universally admitted, that I shall not waste any more time in its enunciation. The question we have to consider is whether it applies in full force to those parts of the world where the aborigines appear to be dying out, and who therefore may be merely undergoing one of those retrograde periods of numerical diminution which are common to all races of mankind, or whether there is some particular cause superadded to those enumerated by Malthus, which will continue to operate until its victims cease to exist, and the exact nature of which it is at present impossible to explain.

The latter opinion is the one perhaps most commonly held, and the particular cause is generally asserted to be “the will of Providence.”

Thus, Professor Waitz, in the translation made by our learned secretary, Mr. Collingwood, 170 says, “According to the teaching of the American school, the higher races are destined to displace the lower. This extinction of the lower races is predestined by nature, and it would thus appear that we must not merely acknowledge the right of the white American to destroy the red man, but perhaps praise him that he has constituted himself the instrument of Providence in carrying out and promoting this law of destruction. The pious manslayer thus enjoys the consolation that he acts according to the laws of nature, which govern the rise and extinction of races. Such a theory has many advantages: it reconciles us both with Providence and the evil dispositions of man; it flatters our self-esteem by the specific excellence of our moral and intellectual endowment, and saves us the trouble of inquiring for the causes of the differences existing in civilisation.”

And Mr. Lang in nearly the same words tells us, “It seems, indeed, to be a general appointment of Divine Providence, that the Indian wigwam of North America, and the miserable aborigines of New Holland, should be utterly swept away by the floodtide of European colonisation; or, in other words, “generalising, as writers of this stamp do, as they go”, that races of uncivilised men should gradually disappear before the progress of civilisation, in those countries that have been taken possession of by Europeans. ...” 171

‘These opinions respecting the laws of population were held in all their force by the early English, Spanish, and the Portuguese colonists. That by some divine interference the

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170 Collingwood translated Theodore Waitz's Introduction to Anthropology in 1863.
* Waitz, p. 351., 1863.
† History of New South Wales, 1852, vol. i, p. 25. John Lort Stokes was on the Beagle with Darwin.

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aborigines melted away before them, whilst their own increase was by the same power carefully provided for, was an article of faith, and is so still amongst almost all the descendants of Europeans. ...

Amongst others, first, a most experienced traveller; and, secondly, one of our first living statesmen. Mr. Stokes says, **“History teaches us that whenever civilised man comes in contact with a savage race, the latter almost inevitably begins to decrease, and to approach by more or less gradual steps towards extinction. Whether this catastrophe is the result of political, moral or physical causes, the ablest writers have not been able to decide; and most men seem willing to content themselves with the belief that the event is in accordance with some mysterious dispensation of Providence. For my own part I am not willing to believe that in this conflict of races there is an absence of moral responsibility on the part of the whites; I must deny that it is in obedience to some all-powerful law, the inevitable operation of which exempts us from blame, that the depopulation of the countries we colonise goes on. There appears to me to be the means of tracing this national crime to the individuals who perpetrate it.”**

The present Lord Derby, in a dispatch, dated December 20th, 1842, and addressed to the Governor of Victoria, says, “I cannot acquiesce in the theory that they, the aborigines, are incapable of improvement, and their extinction before the advance of the white a necessity which it is impossible to control.”

The course I propose to take in pursuing the investigation will be this. I shall first point out countries where the white man and the native live and increase side by side. I shall then consider those cases where it is alleged that the mere contact of the white man has ensured the speedy extinction of the indigenous population, and I hope to prove that this conclusion has been arrived at upon very insufficient data. And then I will examine the causes which have brought about the diminution of the populations of New Zealand, Australia, and North America; in which countries alone, with the exception of a few limited areas, the fact of any considerable decrease of the indigenous races has been proved to be taking place. I believe it will be found that these causes are in no respect different from those which have produced the same effect in other parts of the world at various periods, and are quite independent of any considerations of superiority or inferiority of race. And I think I shall be able to establish as a concluding one this proposition:

That races have only been extinguished, or brought to the verge of extinction, when it has happened that the soil on which they subsisted has been occupied by other races at the same time that their number was in process of diminution through the operation of the same causes to which all races are periodically subject. ..**172**

‘In the Philippine Islands, which have been under the dominion of Spain about three hundred years, the native population is found under favourable circumstances to increase. So also do the Spaniards; and though their number is not large, owing to the disposition to return home as soon as a fortune is realised, yet the excess of births over deaths in Manilla is such, as to prove that the ordinary law of increase is not in any way interfered with by the climate, or

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**Stokes, vol. ii, p. 463.**


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contact with the natives. They, indeed, do not increase quite so fast, but the difference is small. ...”

‘The actual depopulation of Tahiti is also undeniable. Whether the number in 1774 was 240,000 or 120,000, according to Cooke or Forster; whether in 1797 it was 50,000 or only 16,000, according to the missionaries or Capt. Wilson; there is enough evidence to establish the fact of a decline since its earliest discovery. But this decline is far from having been continuous. In 1803 the population was estimated at 5,000; and though this was no doubt too low, still, as just before the arrival of Capt. Wilkes a census had given 9,000, we may conclude some slight increase had taken place in the interval. And he says: “The population for the last thirty years has been nearly stationary; ...”

‘In New Zealand, however, and in Australia, the numbers of the aborigines have certainly much diminished since the arrival of Europeans. But the question we have to deal with is, not the absolute diminution, but the inevitable extinction of these races. The property of the native tribes of New Zealand in their lands has been acknowledged by the British Government; and they have shewn themselves capable of a certain amount of civilisation. It might be supposed, therefore, that after a time the diminution incident to a change of habits and the introduction of new diseases would cease, and a gradual increase, in proportion always to the quantity of the soil retained by the natives, would take place. And it is the opinion of some of the missionaries that the population is beginning to increase, ...”

Nor in Australia has it yet been shewn that the population diminish much more than in proportion to the occupation of the soil. It is well known that the tribes of the interior are much stronger and more intelligent than those on the coast, who are, or rather were, in fact, driven there as the weaker and degenerate members of the Australian race.

Even in the savage view taken by ordinary writers of these unfortunate people, whilst some unknown cause is called in to account for what interest alone prevents them from understanding, the very principle contended for is unconsciously admitted. The article of the Encyc. Metrop. on Australasia runs thus:

‘Some morbid philanthropists, who have formed associations for the preservation of these races, attribute their extinction to the aggressions by fire and sword upon them by the settlers, and the deadly diseases they introduce. Although to some extent this may be the case, still there is a more powerful influence at work, which ultimately will cause the inferior race to be swallowed up by the superior. ... The tribe that inhabited the country around Port Jackson and Botany Bay, which Governor Philip on his arrival found to number about 1,500 individuals, is now extinct. The last of its members died in 1849, little more than sixty years after the occupation of their lands by the Anglo-Saxon. These facts are startling, and demand further investigation.’

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But how or on what were these people to live after their lands were occupied? The time, too, sixty years, is clearly just what might have been expected - the life-time of the existing generation, which was cleared. ...

'We are accustomed to consider the United States as exhibiting the leading example of a constant and indefinite increase of population; but even there population is limited by the extent of soil and the means of subsistence. Some remarks made in the official report on the last census, are no less applicable to the aborigines of Australia than to the inhabitants of the eastern states of North America. 'Thus far in our history no state has declined in population. ....

'Even the Australians, however, do not diminish quite so fast as is frequently asserted. In the last census (1861) of Victoria, the paragraph relating to the aborigines says:

"The returns show an apparent falling off in the number of aborigines. An account was taken of 1,694, of which 1,046 were males and 648 were females, as against 1,768 of both sexes in 1857. It is not pretended, however, notwithstanding the vigilance of the collectors, that all were enumerated on either occasion. The returns from another source, the Central Board for the protection of the Aborigines, testify to the ascertained existence of 1,860 in different parts of the colony in August 1861, or four months after the date of the census; and it is believed by the members of that board that this number is rather under than over the mark. It is pretty certain, however, that their total number does not exceed 4,000."

So that if we follow what is probably the best authority, there may have been a slight increase of late.'

The president and other speakers then addressed the two speeches. The comments are important in that they illustrate the complexity of the question on the floor. The role of the president was important because he quashed statements by both speakers that were quite unsound. The comments of Mr. G. Witt, who apparently had "resided in Australia", threw even less light on the question with his assertions that "that there was no indiscriminate slaughter of the natives" and that "everything was done by the government to protect the aborigines".

The President said that there was no subject more important or interesting than the one brought before them in the two papers which had just been read. Mr. Lee thought that there were existing lineal descendants of the Egyptians, Celts, and Britons: and in a certain sense he was inclined to agree with him; he, however, believed that they were only to be found in their original dwelling places.

He was glad to find that he was supported in the views, which were much contested at the time he brought them forward, of the non-acclimatisative powers possessed by the races of mankind generally, and the lower races in particular. Mr. Bendyshe especially dwelt on the fact that it was removal from his native soil or territory which was the chief factor in the

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178 Census of Victoria, 1801, Population Tables, part i, p. xiii, par. ii

Census of Victoria, 1801, Population Tables, part i, p. xiii, par. ii

Census of Victoria, 1801, Population Tables, part i, p. xiii, par. ii

Census of Victoria, 1801, Population Tables, part i, p. xiii, par. ii

Census of Victoria, 1801, Population Tables, part i, p. xiii, par. ii

Census of Victoria, 1801, Population Tables, part i, p. xiii, par. ii
extinction of races; but the deleterious influence of change of climate has scarcely been noticed, nor has sufficient stress been laid on this fact. He argued that it was the removal from the soil which was the chief cause of extinction; but Mr. Bendyshe seemed to think the means of living were taken away, and that from this cause they ceased to exist. It was difficult to admit this, inasmuch as there were plenty of cases of tribes becoming extinct when every care had been taken of them; but in every case he knew of, it was when they had been taken from their native soil. The Tasmanians had been taken every care of, but it must be remembered that they were removed from their native soil and all sent to Flinders Island, where the care of the government did not at all lessen the mortality.

Mr. Lee tells us that before another hundred years the New Zealanders would become extinct, and he had frequently heard Mr. Crawfurd assert most positively that they would be extinct in twenty years. Those gentlemen were prophets, for they had no data on which either conclusion could be arrived at by inductive reasoning. The fate of the New Zealanders, and their extinction, depend altogether on unknown future events. Remove them all to one island for a few years, and should they not go off sufficiently fast, again another remove, he thought, would hasten the process. Mr. Lee tells us that, before the arrival of Europeans, marriages were more generally prolific. …

'It was a difficult and much complicated subject to assign to each cause the part which it plays in such phenomena. Some writers had attempted to sneer at Count Strzelecki’s observations respecting the aborigines of Australia not having children by natives after they had done so by Europeans. But there was a general truth in the assertion, although, perhaps, the reason given by that observer was not the real cause. We are told the natives are susceptible of cold; but how much of this is owing to the introduction of the pernicious habits of civilised life? As to the imaginative part of these papers, that a higher order of human beings were likely to appear, and that whole races which now reign supreme will have passed away, he would only say that such speculations were not founded on a shadow of scientific data. That races incapable of civilisation will pass away there was some little reason to suppose; but even this is by no means to be positively asserted. Nor was it worth while to waste time in discussing the dream of Gibbon or Macaulay respecting the New Zealander looking at the ruins of London. These speculations were only interesting as showing the profound ignorance of Anthropological science in men of genius and learning. Mr. Lee, towards the end of his paper, makes the most extraordinary assertion, that the Australian has "not advanced in moral development since the first formation of his species, but he has actually retrograded." Now he should much like to know from the author of this paper when the first "formation of his species" took place? and on what evidence or reasoning he bases his assertion, that the Australian has retrograded in his moral condition?

Mr. Bendyshe has favoured us with a most philosophical and suggestive paper, in which, however, he did not mention many of the causes of the extinction of races. For instance, he contends that disease is a law of nature, but has omitted to tell us that all races are not subject to the same disease, and that a disease which may be most fatal to one race may be quite harmless to another. … Professor Kingsley has recently been advancing the opinion that the use of spirituous liquors amongst the aborigines of America is not one of the chief factors in their extinction, because spirituous liquors do not produce any decrease amongst the largest consumers of alcohol in the world; the Scotch and Irish. But the question of race is here entirely ignored. The large active brained European may take a certain proportion of

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stimulant with impunity and, indeed, benefit, but the same quantity to a smaller and less active brained race, would be fatal. ... 180

‘Whilst admitting, with Mr. Bendyshe, that there was no mysterious dispensation of Providence in the extinction of races, he could hardly consider that the causes of the decrease of races were the same all over the world. ... 181

‘Mr. Bendyshe enumerates the several causes of the extinction of population; but under what head does he include those cases of poisoning and man-shooting which have been carried on in Tasmania, Australia, and the Cape? In Queensland, half a tribe of blacks were poisoned by a present of arsenic mixed with flour. The Brisbane tribe of blacks, a few years ago, had 1000 fighting men, and now are nearly extinct. Six years ago there existed 1500 aborigines at Corroboree, and now not a fourth of that number exist. Nor can we include those cases of man-shooting under any of the categories mentioned by Mr. Bendyshe, for they must be classed under the head of wilful extermination. There could be no doubt that in the juxtaposition of the superior and inferior races, the latter will always become extinct if they attempt to compete with the civilised man. But when the savage is in subordination to the civilised, the extinction of the savage does not take place. Lord Derby, in 1842, was not able to admit that the aborigines of Australia were incapable of civilisation, which simply shows he knew nothing at the time he wrote of Anthropological science. Neither of the authors of the papers had made any distinction between the extinction of tribes and races. There could be no doubt of the extinction of tribes; but when we speak of the extinction of races or species, that was quite another question. ... 182

‘Mr. Alfred R. Wallace referred to the question of the effect of contact between the higher and lower races of man. Mr. Lee’s paper gave undoubted cases of the extinction of races, and Mr. Bendyshe stated that there was no natural law operating to cause extinction of races except when the land was taken away.

The possession of the land was the essential point; nobody imagined that the mere presence of the white man effects the extinction. The real question was, Does extinction follow when each of the races brought into contact acts simply in accordance with its own nature. Of course the white man takes the land; it is simply a question of whether the native can himself cultivate the soil. If he cannot, he must evidently decrease independently of the introduction of diseases or spirituous liquors, for the white man will cultivate and spread, and the land cannot support more than a limited number of inhabitants. Savage races are distinguished by the small amount of population subsisting on a given area of land; and the more savage a race is the more scanty is the population. The Australians are an instance in point. ... 183

‘Mr. G. Witt, having resided in Australia, could affirm that there was no indiscriminate slaughter of the natives. He knew a case of a man who put arsenic in bread; but the man who did it was hanged for it. He was once at a dinner party where one of the guests said he meant

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to destroy some blacks who annoyed him, when Sir George Gibbs said to him, "If you do, I'll hang you." He knew of other men going out after the aborigines shooting them; but all these cases were done entirely against the wish of the people and government of the colony. He felt bound to say that everything was done by the government to protect the aborigines.  

It would appear that the “Corn-stalks” were still a presence as late as 1870 and attracting international attention. Andrew Ross, was particularly worried about racial degeneracy among the settlers in Australia. He argued that for a European to be healthy in Australia: “They ought to be uniform and well developed, especially furnished with broad shoulders and well-formed chest, characters, however, utterly at variance (except in the Hawkesbury ones, the finest race in the colony), with the generality of the natives.”

Thomas Huxley, 1825-1895, a largely self-taught English biologist and comparative anatomist best known as “Darwin’s Bulldog” was Assistant Surgeon on HMS Rattlesnake and visited New Guinea and Australia between 1846 and 1850. In his 1870 article, On the Geographical Distribution of the Chief Modifications of Mankind Huxley distinguished between the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and Tasmania. Huxley argued that the Tasmanian Aboriginal people were Negritos and shared their wooly hair and dark skins with other Negrito peoples stretching from the Adaman Islands to Tasmania. Huxley did not theorise on how “the inhabitants of Tasmania” got there, but the implication was by island hopping from New Caledonia, or by a now vanished land bridge. Huxley’s theories and those that followed must be qualified by our quite recent knowledge of changing sea levels and how physical changes in populations can take place relatively quickly.

‘In the Andaman Islands, in the Peninsula of Malacca, in the Philippines, in the islands which stretch from Wallace’s line eastward and southward, nearly parallel with the east coast of Australia, to New Caledonia, and, finally, in Tasmania, men with dark skins and woolly hair occur who constitute a special modification of the Negroid type-the Negritos ... The best-known and the most typical of these eastern Negritos are the inhabitants of Tasmania and of New Caledonia, and those of the islands of Torres Straits and of New Guinea.’

Roger Blench, in a 2008 article, The Languages of the Tasmanians and Their Relation to the Peopling of Australia: Sensible and Wild Theories, explores the various theories and politics of the peopling of Tasmania. He makes the important point that occasional similarities are not justification for generalisations. Other theories for the peopling of Australia include long vanished land bridges across the Indian Ocean (Lemuria) and a long walk along the Antarctic coastline from Patagonia to Tasmania. Speculation about seminal sea journeys to Australia including single canoes, ship wrecks and fleets carrying explorers, traders, settlers and slaves has also been cited as the beginning of the peopling of Australia.

187 Pages 14-16, Roger Blench, The Languages of the Tasmanians and Their Relation to the Peopling of Australia: Sensible and Wild Theories, Australian Archaeology, Number 67, December 2008
Sir John Lubbock, 1834-1913, as a child was friends with Darwin, which probably led to his life long involvement in archaeology and evolutionary theory. *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*, based on a series of lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1868, was published in 1870. In the context of this work, Lubbock using logic challenged the absurdity of Archbishop Whately's theory of degradation of savage races. It was Lubbock who suggested that Darwin be buried in Westminster Abbey.

In the Preface of this work Lubbock explored whether there was “a definite and assured law of progress in human affairs — a slow and gradual ascent from the lower to the higher? and was that low condition of humanity, of which we have the prehistoric traces, and which is illustrated by the present condition of savage races, the starting-point of this ascent? or was primeval man a developed and superior being, who has retrograded and degenerated into the savage state? These are grave questions now impending in the world of thought, and which are of high practical interest; for, to know the fundamental law of movement in humanity, is the prerequisite of all wise and successful measures of social amelioration.

Civilised races are the descendants of races which, I believe, were once in a state of barbarism. On the contrary, argue our opponents, savages are the descendants of civilised races, and have sunk to their present condition. But Archbishop Whately admits that the civilised races are still rising, while the savages are stationary; and, oddly enough, seems to regard this as an argument in support of the very untenable proposition, that the difference between the two is due, not to the progress of the one set of races — a progress which every one admits — but to the degradation of those whom he himself maintains to be stationary. The delusion is natural, and like that which every one must have sometimes experienced in looking out of a train in motion, when the woods and fields seem to be flying from us, whereas we know that in reality we are moving and they are stationary.\(^{188}\)

Another very strong case is the boomerang of the Australians. This weapon is known to no other race of men. We cannot look on it as a relic of primeval civilisation, or it would not now be confined to one race only. The Australians cannot have learnt it from any civilised visitors, for the same reason. It is, therefore, as it seems to me, exactly the case we want, and a clear proof of a step in advance — a small one, indeed, but still a step made by a people whom Archbishop Whately would certainly admit to be true savages.\(^{189}\)

James Bonwick, 1817-1906, first came to Tasmania as a school teacher before moving backwards and forwards between Australia and England. During his life he wrote many works, including *Last of the Tasmanians*, London 1870. Bonwick provided a valuable overview of contemporary scholarship on European scholarship in the question of human origins. Bonwick was refreshingly open in his objectivity. The best electronic version of his work is [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421)

In the first extract he discussed Archbishop Whately's argument that savages were the residual remnants of lost civilisations. He accumulated the opinions of others such as Mitchell, Taylor and Roberts who supported Whately's ideas of regression. Against these arguments he lined


[http://www.archive.org/stream/TheOriginOfCivilizationAndThePrimitiveConditionOfManMentalAnd/origin_civilization_Lubbock_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/TheOriginOfCivilizationAndThePrimitiveConditionOfManMentalAnd/origin_civilization_Lubbock_djvu.txt)
up those of Sir John Lubbock, pioneer archaeologist and evolutionist; Captain George Grey, explorer and later Governor of South Australia; and Abbe Domenech, a French missionary in the south west United States. By raising the question of the progress of the human race Bonwick effectively negated the arguments of the regressionists. He was more open minded, however, in addressing the concerns of religious figures such as Ridley and Lang who could not comprehend the complexity of the First People's languages when compared to the apparent simplicity of their culture when viewed through European eyes.

In dismissing the arguments that backward cultures were aligned with old geological formations Bonwick drew upon the “Laurentian rocks of Scotland” to prove his point.

‘An interesting discussion has occupied the minds of the learned. Archbishop Whately gave utterance to the opinion, entertained by most of the so-called religious world, that barbarism was merely the result of lost civilization, and that no instance had occurred of unassisted elevation.

Certainly Australia has given little evidence of self-exaltation simply preserving, as far as we can discern, that measure of civilization brought by the dark people from the parent home of India, or wherever else it may have been. It has been usual to allow that the ingeniously constructed boomerang was a remnant of previously existing civilization, or, at least, copied from the Egyptians when their fathers were their neighbours; but Sir John Lubbock regards it as a step in advance, and urges, "We cannot look upon it as a relic of primeval civilization."

Sir Thomas Mitchell once said of the Australians, "Perhaps the iron tomahawk is the only important addition made to their implements during the last three or four thousand years." Mr. Taylor favours the idea of gradual progression from within. He sees the evidence of this in some of the lowest tribes, and talks of "a growth in man's power over nature, which no degrading influences have been able permanently to check." Mr. George Roberts, the geologist, assumes something of the same, when he writes, "A small amount of anthropological data accumulated already by travellers, shows that the manners, customs, and other features of the Stone Age are still existent, and that a separate scheme of progress throughout time must be drawn for every people in every land."

The "Degradation Theory" of Archbishop Whately has been contested by Sir John Lubbock, one of the ablest ethnologists of the day. He cannot see reason in the argument presented on the other side that climatic circumstances influence men, as Abbe Domenech represents in his work on the Deserts of North America, where he says : "A country rich in the beauties of nature, possessing a mild climate and a fertile soil, abounding in natural resources, influences the moral character of its inhabitants to a considerable extent, by diminishing their physical wants, and the labour necessary to supply them, and by leaving more leisure and more strength for the development of their intellectual faculties." Sir John replies that the Tasmanians, &c., were "living in countries eminently suited to our domestic animals and to the cultivation of cereals, and were yet entirely ignorant both of the one and the other."

He then turns to the pre-civilization doctrine, remarking, "It is, I think, improbable that any race of men who had once been agriculturists and herdsmen should entirely abandon pursuits so easy and so advantageous ; and it is still more improbable that, if we accept Usher's (sic) very limited chronology, all tradition of such a change shall be lost." He instances the fact that no fragment of pottery has ever been found belonging to Australia before the occupation by Europeans. He sees five stages of civilization : 1st, Omnivorous ; 2d, the Hunting condition ; 3d, the Pastoral ; 4th, the Agricultural ; 5th, when Letters and Coins were used.
Sir John Lubbock, at the British Association at Dundee, carries out hopefully his views. "We shall not," said he, "be the less inclined to adopt them on account of the cheering prospect which they hold out to the future. If the past history of man has been one of deterioration, we have but a groundless hope of future improvement; but if, on the other hand, the past has been one of progress, we may fairly hope that the future will be so too."

Captain Grey, the explorer of Western Australia, saw the same result. "We cannot argue," said the traveller, "that this race was originally in a state of civilization, and that from the introduction of certain laws among them, the tendency of which was to reduce them to a state of barbarism, or, from some other cause, they had gradually, sunk to their present condition; for, in that case, how would those laws, which provide solely for the necessities of a people in their present state, have been introduced amongst them?"

Being desirous of learning the opinion of that excellent missionary and judicious scholar, the Rev. Mr. Ridley, upon the question, I wrote to ask him if he knew anything in the condition of the Australian natives that would sanction Archbishop Whately's argument. In his reply he says: "It is difficult to reconcile their actual ignorance of the use of clothes and houses, and no tribes that I ever saw had any idea when first discovered by white men of the use of either, with the supposition of pre-existing civilization." And yet he thought the highly developed language afforded a clue to another and higher condition formerly.

Dr. Von Matrius, the Brazilian traveller, rather favoured the degeneration theory. Mr. Tylor, a philosophical writer, says: "I do not think that I have ever met with a single fact which seems to me to justify the theory." He could rather, with Sir John Lubbock, look forward hopefully to the rise of the race. "The course of development," said he, "of the lower civilization has been on the whole in a forward direction, though interfered with occasionally and locally by the results of degrading and destroying influences."

The idea of a previously existing civilization known to the Australians and Tasmanians receives some support from the inquiry into their superstitions. Although that subject will be treated in extenso in a subsequent work upon the ethnology of those two races, it is sufficient to say that customs were retained, and traditions were taught, which evidently were fragments of knowledge belonging to other climes. The language, from its beauty and grammar, has been long regarded as the chief argument. The Rev. Dr. Lang says of it: "There is an adaptation for the expression of shades of thought decidedly indicative of a mental power and accuracy far beyond what the present habits of the people would lead one to suppose." But he cannot be so readily followed when he speaks of them as "originally a comparatively civilized people, strongly addicted to maritime pursuits, &c." He esteems them a race driven from "their own happy home," and "forced to become wild men," adopting as a matter of choice a mode of life originally one of necessity. Then he exclaims in wonder — "How has he completely lost his superior skill in navigation? How has he ceased entirely to be a cultivator of the soil?"

The non-progression of some races has been accounted for on geological grounds. Mr. C. S. Wake contends that the Asiatics are inferior to the Europeans, as inhabiting an older formation; while the Africans are still more degraded, because dwelling in a region so long undisturbed by geological changes. On this supposition he places the Australians lowest in the scale, because he has been informed that New Holland is the oldest country, geologically considered, on the face of the earth. He assumes, too, that our southern races were, in the infancy of their career, placed most unfortunately as to climate and soil; that this retarded their progress when they might have grown, until they became so stunted in intellect as to
transmit ever since a low and enfeebled condition. Once it was supposed that nothing but primary and tertiary rocks existed, the secondary being absolutely unknown in Australia. But recently a sufficiency of the last formation has been discovered to place that continent on a level with the civilized world of Europe. There is nothing so lithologically sui generis as to put the Australians and Tasmanians out of court. Do the Laurentian rocks of Scotland presuppose the existence there of the primitive people of the world? 190

Bonwick addressed the ideas of arrested development that were also current at the time. Dr. Joseph Davis used phrenology to argue the immutability of races. Davis began collecting the remains of Australian first Peoples in the 1840s. By the 1870s he had 1700 specimens. He befriended George Augustus Robinson on his return to England hoping to obtain his collection of remains. Many of his remains Davis obtained from grave robbers. The website: http://epress.anu.edu.au/foreign_bodies/mobile_devices/ch04s04.html provides insights into the conflicts various eminent authorities engaged in to obtain specimens. Bonwick contrasted the impact of a handful of pale skinned strangers bringing civilisation to the savages of Peru and Mexico as compared to the waves of settlers in Australia. As in the previous extract he referred to the stolid resistance of the Irish to invasion rejecting arguments of arrested development.

‘On the aptitude of the Tasmanians and Australians, Dr. Davis has some observations, after an inspection of some of their skulls. He assumes that they were "rendered by nature utterly devoid of the power to receive that which is designated civilization by the Europeans – i.e. an extraneous and heterogeneous cultivation, for which they have no taste or fitness, but which has to be thrust upon them by the high hand of presumed philanthropy, and under the influences of which their own proper endowments are constantly injured, and they themselves are inevitably destroyed." ...

The conformation of mummy skulls in Peru, and the crania of ancient Mexico, alike indicate the identity of the past with the present Indians. How then did these barbarians of so low a physical type become raised to such a social eminence? It is said in their legends that white and bearded men from the mountain lake Titicaca, and the pale-faced Quetzalcoatl from the plateau of Central America, brought the general blessings of civilization to the Red man. The savages were humanized by a few strangers of a superior order and benevolent character, and not by the inroad of an extensive emigration, like that of the English in Australia. Numbers, unless governed by good motives, rather repel than attract the barbarian. ...

The antagonism to progress, according to that thoughtful anthropologist, Mr. Wake, F.A.S.L., lies in the "permanent arrest of mental development." They were, to use the familiar expression of farmers, bark-bound, so as to present no perceptible growth. But Dr. Waitz, while acknowledging the tendency of the uncultivated, "be it European or African," to resist progress, according to the law of inertia, wishes it to be understood that the state "does not irresistibly lead to the conclusion that savage peoples are irreclaimable." Mr. Wake takes this hopeful view: "The explanation of the arrested development of the Chinese will be also that of the degradation of the negro and the native Australian; and an examination of the subject will show that both may be accounted for by the influences of the external conditions of existence, without requiring in either case an original inferiority of physical or mental development." Lauzun, 200 years ago, saw the chaos of Genesis in the condition of Ireland. And Desgrigny calls the Irish "such beasts that they have hardly a point of humanity. Nothing moves them. 190

Menaces astonish them not. Even interest cannot engage them in work! “Is not this a case of "special stolidness," or of "arrest of mental development"?" ¹⁹¹

In exploring these questions Bonwick addressed the fears of decline and fall among the civilised nations. These fears had been articulated by Darwin's assertion that elements of barbarism were still present in civilised societies. Lubbock eloquently cautioned against the excesses of some when he cautioned: “In reality we are but on the threshold of civilization.” Of course those fears were realised terribly in another fifty years when Europe was engulfed in a horrendous war.

‘There must indeed be something terribly wrong in our teaching, or faulty in our principles. Civilization indicates advancement, and has with it associated all that can enhance the happiness, purify the nature, and elevate the being of man. But much of that which is extolled is too often of a pseudo character; else, why is it that, at the present epoch of our national progress, so many authors lament the curses of our refinement? One has said, “Whatever civilization has done, it has not, to all appearance, materially diminished the sum of human misery and crime. Is all civilization, then, but a vicious circle, and our efforts, from century to century, but the oscillations of a pendulum? - Is it only a change of form in man and in states, not an essential change of nature or condition? “At any rate, we may say with Sir John Lubbock, "In reality we are but on the threshold of civilization.”” ¹⁹²

Bonwick then wrote extensively upon the failure of colonising nations to address the needs of First Peoples. The reasons for this failure included:

- the speed with which colonists attempted the civilisation process
- the ineptitude of “Protectors”
- the failure of missionary activity in NSW
- a fixation in New England that the Puritans were carrying on Abraham's work in destroying the Canaanites
- similar rationalisations by religious figures in NSW such as Dunmore Lang that Providence was sweeping Aboriginal people away
- assertions by figures such as Richard Burton that First Peoples were like wild animals, incapable of taming.

Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki, 1797-1873, Polish born scientist and explorer of Australia, 1839-1843 took a contrary view arguing that civilisation had nothing to offer First Peoples.

‘It must be confessed, to the shame of our age and progress elsewhere, that we know not how to treat the Aborigines. "Search history," says Mr. F. Boyle, F.R.G.S., "and in the north - and south, east and west, the story is ever the same, we come, we civilize, and we corrupt, or exterminate." We attempt too much at first If we meet with a hunting tribe, we seek to make them farmers and clerks at once. In the processes of nature, it took, perhaps, thousands of years to effect this transformation with our own ancestors, when we would fain accomplish it in a year with others."

De Maistre exhibits our folly and failure with Natives. "For three centuries," exclaims that author, "we have been there with our laws, our arts, our sciences, our civilization, our

¹⁹¹ Pages 338-341, James Bonwick, Last of the Tasmanians, London 1870
¹⁹² Page 343, James Bonwick, Last of the Tasmanians, London 1870
commerce, our luxury; what have we gained upon the savage state? Nothing! We destroy these unfortunates with the sword and brandy; we thrust them insensibly into the desert interior; until, at last, they disappear entirely, victims of our vices as much as of our cruel superiority."

Our striking failure with both Australians and Tasmanians has brought forward many apologies for our ill-success, and some commiseration for the Blacks themselves. Mr. ex-Protector Dredge exclaims indignantly, "They have been treated empirically; and, because the nostrums have proved valueless, their failure is attributed to some latent, inherent incompetency in the patients, which places them beyond the reach of ameliorating appliances; and we are upon the point of pronouncing their case hopeless, and abandoning them to their wretched fate."

This outburst of virtuous indignation is hardly justifiable. Mr. Dredge and several other gentlemen were sent to Port Phillip about 1840 to act as Assistant Protectors under Mr. G. A. Robinson, the Tasmanian hero of the Conciliatory Mission. They had their own plans, they had the support of the Home Government, they had abundant supplies of money, and they failed. Even Mr. Robinson — who tried so desperately to civilize the Tasmanians on Flinders Island, and was held forth to be the very man to raise and save the Blacks — when removed to a new colony, under the most favourable circumstances, with a good staff, and the smile of the authorities, hardly ever attempted anything for the civilization of the Port Phillip Natives, and lived there long enough to witness the extinction of several important tribes under his protection, and the miserable decline of all others.

Count Strzelecki takes another view of the case in these words: "The Natives appeared unable to comprehend civilization, which to them consisted in a routine of irksome labours; and a critical examination of their religious views and attainments was ever a ludicrous and deplorable exposure. Why, then, continue that vegetative existence upon the isolation principle, which, if partially successful in one point of view, was yet wholly the reverse in every other, as it took from these poor creatures every hope and joy, every object and motive of exertion and of life, and gave them nothing they either understood or cared for in return? Why tear children from their clamorous parents, training them in spite of both parties into habits which they are ready on the first opportunity to abandon."

But even at an earlier date, in the neighbouring colony of New South Wales, the press had called attention to the religious wants of the Blacks of both settlements. The chief chaplain of all the English stations there, the Rev. S. Marsden, who had inaugurated the mission to New Zealand, was entreated to do something for a people nearer home. A writer in the Sydney Gazette ventures to ask, in the paper of January 1817, why that latter gentleman should be so eager for the conversion of Maories, and so indifferent to the salvation of the New Hollanders and Van Diemen Landers. A discussion ensued, and lasted for two or three issues of the Gazette. …

The failure, however, of all the public efforts to convert the Aborigines in these colonies is enough to dishearten further enterprise. Missions had been organized in New South Wales from 1826, and all had failed. The Lake Macquarie Mission under Mr. Threlkeld lasted till 1841, and then expired. The Church of England Mission at Wellington lived from 1832 to

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193 Pages 344-345, James Bonwick, *Last of the Tasmanians*, London 1870
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1843, costing several thousands of pounds, and failed.\textsuperscript{194}

In the "History of Connecticut" it is said that 180,000 Indians perished there. The historian shows further that the Puritans, persecuted in England, forgot the instincts of mercy in their new home. They carried their Old Testament proclivities thither, and, regarding themselves as favoured Israelites in the Promised Land, proceeded to exterminate a people whose "iniquity was full," like so many Heaven-commissioned Joshuas.

Pious Cotton Mather\textsuperscript{195} was so imbued with this fierce doctrine, and so full of complacent regard for the Lord's people, as to exult in a destructive sickness among the Indians, and could quietly write: "By this prodigious pestilence the woods were cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth."

Mr. Merivale, in his "Colonies and Colonization," lays down the principle that "Native races must in every instance either perish, or be amalgamated with the general population of their country."\textsuperscript{196}

The Puritans were not alone in the belief that the Aborigines were a sort of Canaanitish people, who were doomed to be exterminated by the peculiar people. Even the missionary to the Blacks of New South Wales, Mr. Threlkeld, seems to find some comfort, in his natural astonishment at the rapid diminution of his charge, from feeling that it "is from the wrath of God, which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." He utters this sentiment when standing in a colony constructed out of the refuse crime of Britain, and rapidly filling the land with their prosperous descendants! The Rev. Dr. Lang, of Sydney, more mildly observes: "It seems, indeed, to be a general appointment of Divine Providence that the Indian wigwam of North America and the miserable Aborigines of New Holland should be utterly swept away by the flood-tide of European colonization." This is the common idea of many good people, who call it "an inscrutable Providence." In olden times, all pestilences arising from the neglect of organic laws, — all famines proceeded from the cruelty or ignorance of society, — And all wars coming from the passions of men, — were esteemed "appointments of Divine Providence." Professor Waitz properly rebukes this impiety, or self-delusive blindness, in this manner: "According to the teaching of the American school, the higher races are destined to displace the lower. The extinction of the lower is predestined by Nature; and it would thus appear that we must not merely acknowledge the right of the white American to destroy the Red man, but perhaps praise him that he has constituted himself the instrument of Providence in carrying out and promoting this law of destruction."

Not a few put away the paltry religious pretence, and take up the broad doctrine of necessity. Mr. Squier, the distinguished American traveller and ethnologist, asserts, in his "Central America," that "short-sighted philanthropy may lament, and sympathy drop a tear, as it looks forward to the total disappearance of the lower forms of humanity, but the laws of nature are irreversible — it is the will of God." But Captain Burton,\textsuperscript{197} the enterprising explorer, takes

\textsuperscript{194} Pages 363-365, James Bonwick, \textit{Last of the Tasmanians}, London 1870
\texttt{http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421}

\textsuperscript{195} Cotton Mather was a New England theologian whose work on witches was used in the Salem witch trials.

\textsuperscript{196} Pages 372-373, James Bonwick, \textit{Last of the Tasmanians}, London 1870
\texttt{http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421}

\textsuperscript{197} In 1873, after the merger of the ASL with the ESL, Richard Burton formed the breakaway \textit{London Anthropological Society} where he was able to titillate his readers with \textit{curious information on social and sexual matters}. \texttt{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthropological_Society_of_London}

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up this bold ground: "Maugre some evidence to the contrary, I still believe that the North American Aborigine, like the Tasmanian and the Australian, is but a temporary denizen of the world, who falls in the first struggle with nature. He is like a wild animal, to be broken, but not to be tamed, as the wolf can be taught to refrain from worrying, but cannot be made to act as a dog. In his wild state, the Indian falls before the white man. Settled and civilized, he dies of acute disease."

That is, the Blacks go before the superior Caucasian race, as the old, gigantic Saurians before other types of beings, and we have but to shrug our shoulders, and cry, "Poor fellows!" As the Irish elk retired before the Celt, the reindeer before the hunters of Gaul, so the Tasmanian before the Saxon. But while the Native thus retires, the kangaroo does not, the opossum does not. These very ancient animals suffer no diminution, but are greater pests to the settlers than ever the Blacks were, destroying crops or monopolizing the choicest pastures. Battues of thousands fail sensibly to thin the kangaroo army. The Native dog, or dingo, is nearly poisoned off, and the emu is hunted from the plains; but the fleet kangaroo conceals himself in the scrub by day to feed on the squatter's grass by night, as if he believed that he had a right to the land from which his dark-skinned hunter had been driven.

The learned Bodichon expresses the sentiments of many political economists and jurists in these words: — "In the eyes of theology they are lost men; in the eyes of morality, vicious men; in the eyes of humanitarian economy, they are non-producers. From their origin they had not recognised, and they still refuse to recognise, a supreme law imposed by the Almighty, viz. the obligation of labour." He advances, and develops the extreme views of the question in these words of ominous meaning to the few aboriginal races remaining: — "True philosophy should not tolerate the existence of a race whose nationality is opposed to progress, and who constantly struggle against the general rights and interests of humanity."

The author of the work on "The Universal Destruction of Aboriginal Nations," denies the position assumed by the Necessitarians. "He who talks of a necessity," says he, "that uncivilized man must perish away before civilized, proud though he may be in his own fancied light, is, with respect to the nobler qualities of man, barbarous and uncivilized himself. That almost all historical experience is on the side of the exterminating politician we are compelled, alas! to admit, to the shame of our race and of our country; but, in the name of humanity, we indignantly deny that the circumstances which impel the civilized race to root out the uncivilized are inevitable."

The death-struggle of ancient peoples is known on all sides of us. In some places they seem, as Humboldt so grandly describes, "the fading remnants of a society sinking amidst storms, overthrown and shattered by overwhelming catastrophes." At other times they appear, as Mr. Markham, the naturalist, speaks of the present Peruvian Indians, "marching slowly down the gloomy and dark road to extinction." A few illustrations from other lands will prepare for the story of the decline of the Tasmanians. Such will sadly demonstrate Mr. Darwin's philosophy that "the varieties of man seem to act upon each other in the same way as different species of animals; the stronger always extirpates the weaker." The coloured races are those which suffer, though there is evidently a vitality in negroes which, to a great extent, defies our power of destruction. Favoured with less sensibility, or endowed with stronger frame, they flourish.

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198 Pages 374-376, James Bonwick, Last of the Tasmanians, London 1870
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where others fail, and they increase with Hebrew facility under worse than Egyptian bondage.\textsuperscript{\pageref{footnote199}}

A Buffalo paper was some time ago exulting in the thought of the monopoly of the world by Americans, saying, "Sixty years ago there were only six millions in America (U. S.); now there are twenty-six millions. In another century they will be sixty millions, and they will spread over the earth until the globe be theirs! "It is this heartless egoism of our common race of Britain and America that so shocks the benevolent mind, and chills the aspirations for a better policy toward the native peoples. Major Warburton could tell the Buffalo editor that with his Indian of the prairies, "no soothing voice of affection fell upon his ear, no gentle kindness wooed him from his savage isolation. The hand of irresistible power was stretched out,—not to raise him from his low estate, and lead him into the brotherhood of civilized man,—but to thrust him away with cruel and unjust disdain." The Indian Bible which Elliott (sic)\textsuperscript{\pageref{footnote200}} translated can now be read by no one. With such indifference and recklessness among the civilized, we are ready to believe what Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Man," asserts: "Whole tribes and nations have disappeared, without even a memorial mound, or pictured grave post, to tell when the last of the race is returning to the earth from whence he sprang." Dr. Gliddon gives utterance to the same thought: "Who can count how many races have already disappeared! What populations, of which we ignore the history, the very existence, have quitted the globe, without leaving on it their name, at least for a trace."\textsuperscript{\pageref{footnote201}}

Without knowing the causes of tuberculosis and gonorrhoea, Bonwick rightly focused on these two diseases as being instrumental in causing declines in First peoples’ numbers. The civilised world still did not know that consumption was an infectious disease, that gonorrhoea was largely asymptomatic and both these diseases had been brought with them to colonise virgin populations.

‘Dr. Bourgard\textsuperscript{\pageref{footnote202}} examined a number of dead bodies at Tahiti, and found tubercles in all, or nearly all. He thinks that we have imparted consumption, which has raged as an epidemic among them. "It has thus," he says, "destroyed the families without noise, and as if by stealth." He concludes by asking, "Is it become an epidemic, while preserving its character of hereditary, and does it thus constitute the most complete scourge that medicine can inscribe upon its nosological list?"\textsuperscript{\pageref{footnote203}}

One prominent exponent of the Tasmanian decline, as with that of others, was the absence of children. Mr. A. C. Gregory, the celebrated explorer of Northern Australia, told me that in Queensland the want of reproduction was being already felt with the Blacks, even in the most recently settled parts, and that decay would set in. Though, without doubt, many Tasmanian aboriginal children disappeared during the hardships and harassment of the "Black War," yet the absence of births even more than the frequency of deaths completed the destruction of the people. From inquiry of the nine women at Oyster Cove, I learned that only two of them had ever had a child.

\textsuperscript{199} Pages 377-378, James Bonwick, \textit{Last of the Tasmanians}, London 1870
\url{http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421}

\textsuperscript{200} The first Bible printed in America, 1661, was in the Algonquin language, translated by John Eliot.

\textsuperscript{201} Page 380, James Bonwick, \textit{Last of the Tasmanians}, London 1870
\url{http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421}

\textsuperscript{202} I cannot find any details.

\textsuperscript{203} Page 385, James Bonwick, \textit{Last of the Tasmanians}, London 1870
\url{http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Last_of_the_tasmanians.djvu/421}
But some, struck with the non-fertility of Australian and Tasmanian women, have supposed that some mysterious effect was produced by their intercourse with white men. Count Strzelecki advanced this theory respecting the dark-skinned female: "She loses the powers of conception, on a renewal of intercourse with a male of her own race, retaining only that of procreating with the white man." Again, "Hundreds of instances of this extraordinary fact are recorded in the writer's memoranda, all occurring invariably under the same circumstances among the Hurons, Seminoles, Red Indians, Yakies, Mendoza Indians, Auracos, South Sea Islanders, and Natives of New Zealand, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land; and all tending to prove that the sterility of the female is not accidental, but follows laws as cogent, though as mysterious, as the rest of those connected with generation."

The common opinion among colonists is that such sterility is in consequence of their mode of life, as with the prostitutes of Europe; and that, though very occasionally a half-caste has appeared, the females became so rapidly diseased, or internally enfeebled, as to be unable to produce. This is especially seen in the Australian races, and those of New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

Whatever the exceptions, births with Blacks, after intercourse with Whites, were, as a rule, unknown.  

James Reddie, a conservative Christian author, published On Civilization, moral and Material in the 1872-73 journal of the Victoria Institute. His article was a combination of several earlier presentations. The Victoria Institute, or Philosophical Society of Great Britain, was founded in 1866 to defend the truths of scripture. Initially, it was strongly opposed to Darwinism, not just because Darwin claimed descent from savages, but also because he said there was barbarism in civilised man. Reddie continued to promote the idea of racial degeneracy, defending Archbishop Richard Whately and attacking Sir John Lubbock, particularly in reference to the boomerang. Reddie continued to promote the idea of racial degeneracy, arguing that a superior civilisation, for example the Egyptians taught the First peoples of Australia how to use it. The concluding parts of his article focused on the decline of great pagan civilisations, and the vitality of modern Christian Europe.

‘2. In all these Essays my object was to rebut and refute the notion that man could either have been created in a low and almost brutal condition, like what we now find him to be among the lowest and most ignorant savage races; or that he could ever have been transmuted from some kind of monkey or other beast, by natural selection or any other natural process, into man. In the first of these papers I said: "Apart from the physiological objections (which seem to be insuperable) to the theory of transmutation, the grand issue to be decided by anthropologists will mainly depend upon what we can discover, as to whether savage man can civilize himself or not. If not, there simply cannot be a doubt that the 'primitive man' was neither a savage nor his ancestor an ape. And, apart from theories altogether, the existence of mankind, both in a civilized and savage condition, naturally suggests to us the inquiry: To which of these distinctive classes did the primitive man probably belong?" This showed that I was quite prepared to discuss this question with reference to existing facts, and not to press too hardly upon the Darwinians to justify their extravagant speculations as to man's origin, which go beyond all our knowledge and experience of the facts of the animal creation and of human nature. I also then said: ‘Before this question can be satisfactorily answered, however, or even discussed with advantage, it seems necessary to arrive at some definite  

204  Pages 386-387, James Bonwick, Last of the Tasmanians, London 1870  
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understanding as to the meaning of the word civilization with reference to anthropological considerations."

3. It is to supply this desideratum I now write. But I have also another object - a pledge to fulfil - which I must endeavour at the same time to accomplish; and that is, to reply to a Paper by Sir John Lubbock on the same subject. His Paper I heard read in the Ethnological Society of London on 26th November, 1867, and by his courtesy I have since been furnished with a copy of it. It was afterwards read by him at the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Dundee, and in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Its title is: "On the Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man," which well describes the drift both of his Paper and of mine. We both agree, and every thoughtful person must feel, that it is not enough to say, with M. Guizot, that "civilization is a fact:" we require to know its probable origin, i.e., we want to know what kind of a being the primitive man really was. On that point, however, the distinguished baronet and myself are diametrically opposed. He is a professed Darwinian, and does not believe in the special creation of man, but thinks he was developed by some imaginary process, which the Darwinians, nevertheless, call "natural," from a monkey, first into some nondescript and undiscovered animal between an ape and a man, and from that into a savage, something like those we know do now exist, of the very lowest grade. On the contrary I believe that "God created man in His own image," "upright," "very good"; and that savages are degenerate and degraded but remote descendants of superior ancestors.

12. I have already said that the eminent baronet's mode of literary warfare is not quite knightly. Having thus stated the issues, he straightway chooses for his adversary the deceased Archbishop Whately! This he does upon the plea, that "of the recent supporters of the theory" he opposes, "the late Archbishop of Dublin was amongst the most eminent." Which may be very true; but then, after all, according to the true proverb, "a living dog is better than a dead lion." And it seems not a little absurd to witness the living young Sir John Lubbock thus interrogating with an air of triumph the deceased great Church dignitary:-- "What kind of monument would the Archbishop accept as proving that the people which made it had been originally savage? that they had raised themselves, and never been influenced by strangers of a superior race?"

Getting no answer, of course, he a little afterwards declares that the late great logician's "argument, if good at all, is good against his own view," and "like an Australian boomerang, which recoils upon its owner." Thus, in a breath, we have Whately's logic quoted at a lamentable discount, and an equally unheard-of character given to the Australian boomerang, which even the Australian savages themselves would only grin at and repudiate. Even savages know better than to use a weapon "which recoils upon its owner"! To give the very lowest and darkest races their due, at least they know how to fight!

13. Before quitting this incidental point - and since the dead Archbishop cannot reply to his living cross-questioner - let me observe, that in the boomerang we have just such a "monument" as proves that the Australian's ancestors were superior to the present race, that is, if we suppose the boomerang to be an Australian invention. For the present race, though they know how to form it by tradition, and know its use, are incapable of inventing anything of the kind or of understanding the principle of its action, which appears to have even puzzled Sir John Lubbock, and which perhaps few of our own mathematicians or scientific mechanics could satisfactorily explain. Either this, or the old aborigines of Australia had former communications with some higher race, from whom they obtained the boomerang (which is said to be recognized upon Egyptian sculptures); and either hypothesis tells utterly against Sir John Lubbock's theory of savage self-advancement. Sir John does not attempt to account
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for the boomerang upon his own hypothesis. He will never be able to do so; but at least he ought to try, and not be content with misunderstanding its use, and giving it an undeserved character, analogous to his denunciation of Dr. Whately's logic.

Why is it that all the great nations of antiquity have passed away? Why is it that Babylon has gone? Why is it that the Medo-Persian empire, the Grecian empire, and the Roman empire have gone? Why is it that the glory of Egypt has passed away? All the ancient nationalities have perished - even the Jews themselves, with their high civilization, both moral and material, are all scattered over the face of the earth. Why is this? Because of the fact of the universal degeneracy and the tendency of man to degenerate. The whole history of the nationalities of the world establishes the great principle that the tendency of man is to degenerate. It appears to me that the whole matter rests on the surest foundations, and the theory which we have to meet is very futile, and has not a single sound pillar to rest upon. (Cheers.)

But look at Christianity as embraced by the modern nations of Europe. There is no such tendency to decay in the civilization of those nations, as was always found in the civilization of the ancient nations prior to the birth of Christianity. Take, as an example, the French nation. It has passed through a very long period of history, and through a very great degree of corruption; so that we might almost compare it with the Roman empire. But when that corruption set in the Roman empire it never stopped, but the empire sank lower and lower until it expired with its civilization. France has been subject, to great reactions, and a terrific explosion took place in the French Revolution; but the principle of Christianity has been powerful enough to prevent the nation from expiring, and to set it going again with fresh national life. Look at Germany, with a national life extending over 1,500 years; but yet there is not the least tendency to retrogression. Christianity, as embraced by the great Germanic races and the other nations of Europe, has tended to counteract the tendency towards national decay. (Cheers.)

George Master, 1837-1912, entomologist and gardener, became a collector for the Australian Museum in 1864. Ten years later he became a collector for the Macleay Museum. It was in this capacity that he acquired three stone axes from Rope’s Creek which are still in the Macleay Museum. Their original source may have been the Castlereagh Neck workshop.

Theosophy, literally, “divine wisdom”, gained impetus from Madame Helena Blavatsky (1831-91), who travelled in India during the 1850’s and returned in the late 1860’s. She claimed to have studied and translated an ancient text, the Stanzas of Dyzyan. This text informed her works, Isis Unveiled (1877) and The Secret Doctrine (1888); and the formation of the Theosophical Society in 1875 in partnership with Henry Olcott and William Judge. Theosophy attracted and continues to attract adherents because of its attempt to bring understanding to the relationship between Man, the World and God. Blavatsky attempted to bring the world's religions together to gain this understanding. In her version of theosophy she was of the opinion that Darwin's model of mankind's evolution from savagery to civilization missed the input of spiritual life-forms from prior worlds. In her polygenesist view of the

http://www.creationism.org/victoria/Victorialnst1872_pg000.htm
207 Pages 86-87, Matt Poll, Written in Stone, Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, 2015.
https://www.google.com.au/search?q=%27George+masters%22+%2B+collector&rlz=1C1NOOH_enAU498AU510&espv=2&biw=1517&bih=714&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjTsKWciMzJAhWkraYKHQWKC5MQ_AUIBigB&dpr=0.9#tbm=isch&q=%27George+masters%22+%2B+%2B+Ropes+Creek%22
world the number seven is central to all manifestations of order in the universe. To her there were seven overlapping creations of what she called root races. The dominant root race in her time was the Aryan, which was the fifth root race. Elements of earlier root races still survived according to Blavatsky. In *The Secret Doctrine, the Synthesis of Science, Religion and Philosophy*, 1888, she claimed: “There are, or rather still were a few years ago, descendants of these half-animals or races, both of remote Lemurian and Lemuro-Atlantean origin... Of such semi-animal creatures, the sole remnants known to Ethnology were the Tasmanians, a portion of the Australians and a mountain tribe in China, the men and women of which are entirely covered with hair. Blavatsky argued that: Thus will mankind, race after race, perform its appointed cycle-pilgrimage. Climates will, and have begun, to change, each tropical year after the other dropping one sub-race, but only to beget another higher race on the ascending cycle; while a series of other less favoured groups – the failure of nature – will, like some individual men, vanish from the human family without even leaving a trace behind.

*Such is the course of Nature under the sway of KARMIC LAW: of the ever present and the ever-becoming Nature.*

As in other parts of the civilised world learned societies sprung up in the wake of Darwin’s revolutionary ideas. James Charles Cox, 1834-1912, was the grandson of William Cox and born at Fernhill, Mulgoa. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of New South Wales and president of the Linnean Society of New South Wales in 1881-82. The significance of the Castlereagh Neck began to emerge at an 1880 meeting of the Linnean Society of New South Wales: “Dr. Cox exhibited eight Stone Axe Heads, turned up by the plough at Castlereagh on the Nepean Flats. He was of opinion, from the position in which they were found, that they had been deposited in the grave of an aboriginal. Some time since about 30 similar axe heads were found under somewhat the same circumstances on the other side of the river. All were bevelled to the centre, and not to one side as was sometimes the case in other districts. The Chairman stated that the stones were dioritic.” This extract goes a long way towards explaining why there are so few Aboriginal graves left in the Sydney region.

In 1894 Archibald Liversidge, professor of mineralogy and chemistry at the University of Sydney, also noted the significance of the Nepean gravels in describing 18 hatchet heads found in various parts of Sydney. Fifteen were made from “pebbles of spotted altered claystone” (hornfels) and one each from dolerite, diorite and quartzite. “The pebbles of spotted altered claystone, from which many of the weapons have been made, were probably brought from the old river bed cut by the road and railway at Lapstone Hill, Emu Plains; the source of this rock is not known.” Liversidge offered no evidence that the axes were indeed weapons.

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208 Before continental drift and plate tectonics was understood, the zoologist Philip Sclater in 1864 hypothesised that the finding of Lemur fossils in both Madagascar and India could be explained by a now vanished continent that linked Madagascar and India. Later this land bridge was extended to Australia and beyond to explain the dispersal of species. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lemuria_(continent)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lemuria_(continent))


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The editor of the *Mudgee Independent* in 1890 expressed a fear of racial degeneracy when he asked Prosper Tuckerman, who stood “a good six feet two in his stockings.”[214] “Tell, Mr. Tuckerman, do you think the men of today are equal to the earliest colonists, or are we degenerating?”[215] Samuel Boughton rhetorically asked a similar question around 1900: “Who can say the Hawkesbury native is degenerating?”[216]

In 1898, the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* suggested that the *corn-stalks* were a thing of the past in an article entitled *The Hawkesburyites of Old.*

‘In those days the natives (of course we do not mean the blacks) were to a large extent raised on corn. They knew little of the luxuries of beef and mutton and sugar and white meal. The natives of Camden, Hawkesbury, and Windsor districts were all big men - most of them standing 6 feet 2 inches in height. They were giants in those days.’ And they had little else to live upon save maize, either in the cob (roasted or otherwise), or made into cakes or porridge (hominy), or served up in some other form. And to this Mr. Thornton attributes their fine physique, and their splendid powers of endurance.[217]

The editor of the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, evoked the Great Chain of Being on 31st May 1890 when he predicted the demise of Aboriginal people. He attributed their coming demise to the effects of *rum and civilization*. His identification of *rum* as a cause of their demise placed responsibility for its effects upon Aboriginal people. His personification of *civilization* as being responsible for the impending extinction of Aboriginal people was a neutral image, first used by Darwin in 1836, that negated individual responsibility for declining Aboriginal numbers: “In a year or two hence, rum and "civilization" will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain, and perhaps it will be a good thing, too, not only for themselves - as they most, most assuredly, hang out a most miserable existence - but for our boasted civilization, - as it will have removed one of the eyesores which most people who believe this is an age of progress and enlightenment see in the remnants of an ignorant, uncultivated, unintellectual and inferior race, such as the dusky natives of this Colony have proved themselves to be.”

In the 1890s a number of fictional works appeared in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*. Set in 1804 *Alf and Nannella* dealt with a love affair between a settler's son and a Aboriginal girl who lived with a white family. Despite containing elements of historical accuracy, the story was weak in addressing the cause of violence. The story perpetuated the myth of Aboriginal aggression by failing to address the impact of increasing settlement along the river in causing violence. The phrase “*a horrid, almost devillish yell of defiance*” was typical of the demonising that takes place in the discourse of doomed savagery. In the phrase “*me come agen white woman*” the white author picked up on an apparent misconception among Aboriginal people that the settlers were the reincarnations of dead Aboriginal people and effectively turned into a form of spiritual extinction for Aboriginal people. The story is also relevant to this study because of the willingness of the settlers and the magistrate to take up arms. Perhaps this may have been not greatly exaggerated in real life. The frequent

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misspelling of Nanella's name was not uncommon in this genre. I have excluded the last part of the story dealing with Alf sad death in New Zealand as it is not relevant.

‘Alf and Nannella.
[For THE GAZETTE.]

IN the year 1803, a discharged soldier, named Richard Geaton, I lived with his wife and family and two others - nowise related to them - on the bank of the Hawkesbury. The 'two others' were Alfred Prosser and Nanella. Alf Prosser was at this time a fine strapping, blue eyed curly-headed young man of between three and four and twenty; kind and generous in disposition, but somewhat impulsive. Alf's father and Geaton had been comrades, and both had come out as soldiers with Governor Phillip – Prosser bringing his boy, then between seven and eight with him; but Prosser died within two years of their landing, and Geaton had promised the dying father that he would do what he could in the shape of looking after his boy. Geaton, though quite young, was a married man, but had left his wife at home - with the understanding that she was to be provided with a passage in the next ship which would sail for Botany Bay. She arrived in the ship 'Surprise,' which reached Sydney on June 26th, 1790, and some two years after, her husband got his discharge from the Corps, and settled on his grant of land bringing Alf, then about thirteen, with him. Shortly after her husband's departure from home; Mrs Geaton gave birth to a daughter and she had become the mother of another child before Geaton obtained his discharge. So when they settled on the Hawkesbury, she got a little black, girl named Nannella to help her with the children, and do little odd jobs about the house. The girl stayed with them and acquired the manners, at least to some extent, and also learned to speak the language of the whites with tolerable fluency and accuracy; and as she and Alf grew up together, her fondness for him seemed to grow at a rapid rate - and to tell the truth, the fondness was well reciprocated on his side; for his greatest delight was to teach the young girl to speak English. By 1804, Nannella, had grown into a very pretty copper-coloured beauty - with a pair of dazzling bright, black eyes, and a very glossy head of curly black hair, which she wore in ringlets of a Sunday and on special occasions and was then, as near as the Geaton's could guess, about eighteen years of age; and by that time, Alf's and her respective fondness for each other had grown into passionate love. But the Geatons, whom he had come to revere as his parents, objected to the match; for the idea of a smart, handsome young man like him throwing himself away on a recently partially civilized black gin, was very repugnant to them; but to dethrone Nanella (sic) from her position of Queen of Alf's heart was beyond their power. He loved his black jewel as he called her, too dearly for that. In 1804, the blacks had become both bold and impudent in their ravages and petty thefts, and therefore unbearable to the whites; so Governor King issued instructions that the blacks should be asked their reason for their depredations, and a day was fixed whereon to make the enquiry. But many of the whites thought that a little powder, and lead would have a most persuasive influence on the darkies, and Geaton was one of the number who thought so. Alf came to know all this, and as Nennella (sic) was the queen of his heart, he, as a dutiful subject of the Kingdom, or Queendom of love, told her of the proposal; and; advised her to go to the blacks' camp, and try to get her father away for the day. But her reply was that if there was a danger her father would not desert his country-men. Still, Nannella was, missing next morning. She had risen with the dawn, of light and gone to the blacks' camp, some four miles off, and informed her father what the whites intended doing, and persuaded him to get ten or twelve other blacks and go along a certain ridge, as some of the whites intended coming that way to pay their visit, and detain them in a friendly

yabber. This was only a ruse of her own, as she thought that the only way to get her father to keep out of danger, he accepted the idea with the idea (sic) of avidity, but as it turned out afterwards, was very rash in the choice of his companions. Unknown to Geaton, several of his neighbours had appointed his house as their rendezvous, and a magistrate was to meet them there. So, early in the morning, between fifteen and twenty armed settlers mustered there; and as unpremeditated occurrences will sometimes turn out as if the results of serious premeditation, it so turned out this time, that it was arranged that five of the settlers, with Alf Prosser to act as their guide, should advance to the blacks' camp along the very ridge that Nanella's father was to be on. Each party advanced from their respective starting points, and the first intimation the whites had that they were in any danger was a couple of spears dropping a few yards in front of them, which caused them to halt. Directly they did, some half-dozen spears came whizzing past them, apparently hurled by no visible hands, and one of the spears went through the skirt of a blue shirt a settler wore. Half-a-dozen blackfellows then stood out from behind trees, and let out a horrid, almost devilish yell of defiance, which convinced the whites that here was no hope whatever of a friendly parley, so each man put his gun to his shoulder and fired. One of the blacks was seen to drop, but he sprung to his feet almost instantly, and then made towards their camp as fast as he could run and his companions followed his example. Nanella's fragile form was then seen advancing towards the white men, when Alf dropped his gun and ran to meet her and noticed that there was blood running down her breast. She had accompanied her father and the others, saying that she would return to Geaton's that way. But when they met the whites, several of the blacks boasted; that they would soon drive them back, with the result already mentioned. Nanella's sharp aboriginal eyesight, had spied her lover among the whites, and knowing that some of the blacks intended throwing spears at him and his companions, she, trembling with fear lest he would be hurt, laid flat on the ground to watch him, and while in that position, she was struck in the shoulder by a bullet. As Alf was meeting her, she greeted him with a sweet confidential smile, and when they met she said, "Oh Alf, me did not think that we would meet any white fellows here." To that he replied, "Neither did we think that we would meet any natives. But you are hurt Nanella. Did one of our bullets hurt you?" She answered, "I don't know Alf. I did feel something strike me, but it didn't hurt much – at least, I didn't feel it hurt me. You not hurt, are you Alf?" By that time they were close to the other five, and one of them commenced to chaff Alf abut his black jewel, but noticing the blood on her gown, he desisted; and one of the others tried to stop the bleeding, but could not. She then sat on a log, lying close to where they were standing, and Alf sat down beside her. Some of his companions then proposed making another start, when he told them that they could do as they liked, he wouldn't leave the wounded girl. So they left him and her there, and made in the direction the blacks went.

Directly they were gone, he inquired of her, "You feel sore, Nanella?"

"No- Alf; only weak; you got some water?"

"No Nanella, but if I had anything to carry it in, I would fetch you some."

"Never mind Alf," and while saying the words she looked into his eyes with such an intensely ardent look, and then said, "Oh Alf, me love you, oh so much."

At that he put his arm around her waist, and while doing so, said, "Yes dear, and I love you with all my heart. Mrs. Geaton must let us get married before long.

"Yes Alf, perhaps, so." And with that she laid her, head upon his shoulder.
Each then remained silent for some minutes, during which they gazed into each other's eyes, and Alf thought that her weight was becoming heavier on his arm, and her head seemed to becoming heavier upon his shoulder.

She was the first to break the silence by again repeating "Oh Alf, me love you - oh so much much, - me wish I had a drink me feel so thirsty –I think me die, Alf?"

He felt a choking at the throat; "Don't say that, Nannella; you will soon be better."

"Let me sit on the groun' Alf, 'me feel weak." She made an effort to rise, and he tightened his grasp round her waist, lifted her up, and placed her in a reclining position against the log: Bitter remorse was tormenting him; the thought kept haunting him that perhaps it was his bullet that had struck his darling. But her soft, loving look ameliorated remorse's wounds. "I think me die, Alf – oh, me love you – oh, so much – better'n father and mother," gasped his black jewel. The fervour of her words brought tears to Alf's eyes, and she said, "Don't cry: Alf – me die now – bye-em-bye me come agen white woman; then you marry me – only, when me come agen you call me Nanella – Nanella love you first – Nanella love you best........ Kiss me, Alf - by-em-by you call budgery white woman Nannella." These were the last words his loving Nanella uttered. – Her head was resting on his shoulder, and he put his arms round her and pressed her gently to him Presently her head became heavier, and her lithe form limp, and with a few deep gasps the mortal and immortal parts of Nannella separated. He kissed the dead lips reverently, and then he carried the lifeless form to Geaton's, and placed it on his own bunk until she would be buried.

After Nanella's burial Alf grew morose. In the following May he joined a whaling vessel called the "Harriet". Alf never returned, dying on the journey. ....R.

Another fictional work was centred on Lover's Leap, a cliff on the Sackville Reach of the Hawkesbury. It has some resonance with Fennimore Cooper's Last of the Mohicans. The tale is of interest for the active role of the hero, Hetherington, and the passive role of Aboriginal people when they first meet him. The good breeding of Hetherington preceded that of the archetypical hero, Tarzan, who was not created until 1912. It is possible that Twyford was inspired by Rider Haggard's heroic character, Umslopogaas, who first appeared in King Solomon's Mines, published in 1885. The name of the heroine, Lurellia, was undoubtedly derived from Lorelei, the name of a cliff on the Rhine and also of a siren who lured sailors to their death. Twyford's appropriation of European traditions and laying them over the Australian landscape was not an isolated incident. It was part of a conscious process of transforming the Australian landscape. The artist Sydney Long painted Pan into the Australian landscape and Norman Lindsay continued the tradition well into the twentieth century. Both this and the previous fiction should be seen as part of the mythologising of the Hawkesbury.

"The Story of the Lover's Leap"

(BY PAUL TWYFORD).

THERE are many bold headlands on Australia's fairest river, but none more picturesque, or with more romantic associations, than the bold, rocky eminence on the river's right-hand bank, a couple of miles or so from the upper end of Sackville Reach, and known to most tourists as "The Lover's Leap." The river is still a fair width, and just under the high beeting

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cliffs the water is from 80 to 100 feet in depth. Generally it is clear and green, while along the left hand bank are lovely homesteads, looking cool and restful among the tall green corn, the loaded fruit trees, and the clustering passion vines. And if one be voyaging about the latter end of December, one sees the high, rocky ledges on the opposite bank pink with Christmas-bush, with a fair show of bright wattle blossom. To my mind, the couple of miles from the little Anglican Church at the bend from Sackville is the prettiest part of the river.

But it is about Lover's Leap I have something to say, and not particularly the noble stream which Anthony Trollope and others were pleased to call the "Australian Rhine." The story has been told, probably, to every voyager on the river, with slight variations, but the story I have to tell is the true one-at any rate, I heard it from a direct descendant of the illfated couple who both made the terrific leap into Hawkesbury's flood. Briefly told, the old story went this way:

Once upon a time a certain aboriginal maiden (name not given) being pursued by an angry and unfavoured suitor, who was a powerful man among his tribesmen, ran with the fleetness of a kangaroo to the overhanging ledge and threw herself head long into the boiling waters (in flood presumably) and was drowned, leaving her baffled and angry pursuer standing on the flat spring-board-looking rock beating his breast and gnashing his teeth with rage. And there is the rock in evidence to-day, looking as if it was made expressly for this sort of gymnastic exercise - whether for dusky maidens or for professional white divers.

No names are given and no dates, and one may therefore accept the tale as legendary-just as one does the so-called picture of the "milk-maid" painted in white high up on a smooth faced rock some few miles above Wiseman's Ferry.

There is another story about this famous leap, and this is the way I have heard it-with embellishments, of course.

A young convict, who had taken French leave of his gang at the "Ferry," had been so hunted by his pursuers that he found himself boxed in, a cordon of soldiers and policemen all round him save the riverside - and here, his pursuers thought, he could not escape; they knew how abrupt and high the cliff was, and never dreamt that their man would fling himself over. He did, though and so staggered were they that they never even thought of firing when they saw him run right up to the edge, throw his hands high above his head, and lead straight out into space. There was no necessity for so much exertion, however, for one could drop down plumb into deep water and touch neither rock nor shrub in the descent. It is said that the bold convict dived to the opposite side, landed safely, took to the bush, and joined a notorious gang of bushrangers whose head-quarters was at the "Basin," some seven miles above Penrith. What afterwards became of him, the narrators of this story do not say.

Now, my story - that is to say, the story told me two or three years ago by an aged half-caste while camping on the river bank within sight of the "Leap" - runs this way:

It was in the early days - at any rate, in the days when Old Sol. Wiseman was king, and held almost autocratic sway in that particular district, that young Arthur Hetherington, - better known as 'B 672" - took it into his silly young head to leave King Wiseman's comfortable quarters, in the barrack-yard below the big house -then much larger than the old inn is now - and take to the bush. In one sense it was a silly thing to do, for he knew nothing of the country, nor had he made friends with any of the gang. He was a reserved young man - was not yet 25-and holding himself aloof from the "companions of the chain," he was looked upon.
as "too blarsted uppish" Uppish or not, Hetherington was a fine specimen of young man- 
hood, well-built, fleet of foot, and strong-limbed and though his hands were soft, and far from 
being as rough and horny as his gang-mates', he could use them pretty well, as some of them 
knew.

Looking at his escape from another point of view, Hetherington was no fool. Ever since his 
arrival at the Ferry his life had been a dog's life - in fact, Old Sol's dogs fared much better. 
The Super in charge had as great a down upon Hetherington as his fellow prisoners had, and 
for the same reason he was the better man, both physically and morally, and it goes without 
saying, mentally. It was said that he was the son of a very important person in the old 
country, and that he had been sent out for no crime, but simply to be out of the way of 
someone else. How ever that may be, Arthur Hetherington never talked about his home 
connections. The young fellow knew that he was innocent of crime, and it can be well 
understood that the life of a convict leave-alone the special illtreatment he was subjected to - 
was particularly galling to so high spirited a young fellow." And damn him." the overseer 
used to say, "We'll take it out of him before he's many years older"; and no doubt they would, 
had Hetherington stayed long enough to have let them.

Now, there were several escapees roaming about in the bush up and down the river, but on 
which side Arthur did not know, though he was well aware that communication was kept up 
between the prisoners under old Sol's care and the outlaws who cared for themselves. 
Hetherington certainly had no desire to meet these men, he simply wished to know their 
whereabouts, so that he might avoid them; and thus it was that his freedom became almost as 
bad as his cruel life at the station, for he had to keep out of the way of two parties instead of 
one.

For eight long months - and they seemed to Hetherington years - he dodged both police and 
bushrangers - in fact, only once had he seen a human being, and that was a blackfellow 
sitting on a low rock by the riverside fishing, and he rightly guessed that there was a camp of 
them somewhere at hand. During the eight months of freedom he had traversed a good stretch 
of excessively rough country, and had made himself well acquainted with the lay of the land 
and all the prominent land-marks. He had been able to find enough to eat, but his clothes 
were all in shreds and his feet bare - but he had grown as hard as nails, and almost as brown 
as the reddish-brown rocks among which he chased the young wallaby

In truth - barring the anxiety-the eight months of sweet liberty had made Arthur Hetherington 
a new man, and he resolved never to surrender his freedom but with his life. No doubt the 
gang of outlaws were anxious to fall in with the young fellow, but as my business is with the 
Lover's Leap, I shall not follow them. Hetherington's my man, and with him I go to the end. 
For the whole eight months Arthur had kept on the eastern side of the river - that is, the Ferry 
side, notwithstanding the existence of the road to Windsor and the possibility of search 
parties from both Windsor and the Ferry station being after him at any time. But it happened 
one day that he saw, or thought he saw, a red-coated soldier in a clump of wattles only a few 
yards ahead of him. To double back in less time than I can write it was an easy matter for so 
supple jointed a person, and he gained a cave where he had often rested, and which he knew 
to be absolutely impregnable - for he could have crushed an army had they attempted to scale 
his stronghold. It was not often he used this cave, however; but on this occasion he rested 
there two days, and then he had to make a move in order to get something to eat. From the 
cave he had a good view of the river, and could see smoke arising in several places on the 
opposite side, but always from BEHIND the high hills, whose precipitous bases were laved by 
the river's tide. So, one afternoon, looking wistfully up and down stream in order to mark the
resting place of some black ducks, he saw several Aborigines approach the water's edge by a well-defined track. There were both men and women, and after bathing they sat on the rocks fishing. They were experts, and as fish after fish was hauled in, Hetherington grew fish hungry, and throwing off all fear or doubt as to the darkies' probable action, he drew near the water's edge so that they could see him.

No wonder they were alarmed when they did see him for he was a most uncouth looking object; and as he viewed himself in the clear water, like another Narcissus, he smiled grimly; he was certainly not in love with himself, but felt just a little conceited at the idea of meeting a constable or a soldier, either of whom he felt sure would down weapons and run. At first the group on the other side started to run, and then the men turned and poised their lances, as if about to throw them; but Hetherington threw up his hands appealingly, and the lances dropped.

It was a rash thing to do, perhaps, but the poor fellow was hungry, and a yearning for the fellowship of a human being though only a blackfellow, came upon him so strong that he plunged into the stream and swam to them. They offered no resistance, but stared at him with evident astonishment; and he, eager to show his friendliness, held his arms wide apart and motioned for them to throw down their weapons, which they did. The women had fled, but one of the men called them back to clean the fish, and as they drew near they eyed the white man shyly - one of them almost coyly, for she was, as Hetherington saw, quite young, and he took her to be the oldest of the men's daughter, which she really was.

However, the old man took Arthur's hand and held it all the way to the camp, which, by-the-bye, was a lovely dell at the rear of the rugged hills which lined, like ramparts, the river's western bank. Hetherington was surprised indeed to see so large a camp - it was quite a village, with certainly not less than 200 persons I know the spot well, and have camped on the very ground where poor Hetherington enjoyed the first night's sleep in perfect peace and safety for eight long, weary months. And for many a long day since his tragic end the remnant of the tribe have camped there, and, I fancy, some of his descendants and their darker relations do to this day Suffice it to say the escaped convict threw in his lot with the simple sons and daughters of Australia. They soon recognised his great strength and speed, also his good disposition, which they returned; and he not only won the esteem of the men but the love of the pretty Lurellia, the young daughter of the old man Lurrose. With the girl's apt assistance Hetherington learned the language of the tribe very quickly, and just as easily he adapted himself to their ways of life. He dressed as they dressed - which, after all, was only an undress - and ate as they ate, while he imparted to them such knowledge as he thought would be useful to them. And so nearly twelve months of Arcadian happiness passed away, and he pressed old Lurrose to give him his daughter, who, unfortunately, had already been promised to a powerful young fellow named Debong - who was the only one of the tribe that was not effusively friendly to the white man, though he certainly showed no ill-will. The old man was in a quandary; he would have died to save Hetherington's life, but he could not break his promise to a man of his tribe - for Debong was quite a big warrior in his way, although no match (or Hetherington in point of strength. He was a very cunning fellow, though, and old Lurrose knew it. Anyhow, Hetherington was put off from time to time with evasive answers, and he felt a trifle disgusted. He would have carried off Lurellia had he known where to have taken her for safety As it was he was safe; to leave the camp, especially with the girl, would jeopardize both, for Debong would be incessantly on his track, and it was quite possible for him to put himself in communication with Hetherington's worst enemies - his own countrymen. He knew Lurella (sic) was fond of him, and that she would go with him he felt sure; but the tribe had treated him well, and he had no desire to act dishonourably.
Had Debong given him an opportunity he would have fought him, even to the death. He might have taken the man's life, and possibly nothing would have been said. But Art Hetherington was not a murderer; and so things went on until one day in chasing a wallaby he fell some distance and hurt his ankle rather badly. While he was laid up Lurellia nursed him, and as often happens among more refined people, they pledged themselves to each other - practically they were man and wife.

Debong kept his eyes open, however, and as the smallest feather indicate which way the wind blows signs were not wanting to show him how matters stood, and being an astute gentleman he planned a surprise for them.

Hetherington was just able to hobble about, when one day as he was resting on a mossy bank with Lurellia buzzing about him in a playful mood, there appeared at the edge of the grassy glade wherein the camp was formed, a round dozen of as ferocious looking scoundrels as ever man or woman set eyes on. They were white men, armed with muskets and dressed in most picturesque costumes - anyway they were clothed, whereas Hetherington was almost as unencumbered as his black friends. Twelve muskets pointed at him convinced Hetherington that these fellows had no peaceable intentions towards him.

All the men of the tribe were away fishing, save one or two patriarchs who were helpless, while he was not in much trim for a fight. He guessed who the intruders were, and expected no mercy from them. However, he asked them what they wanted. "The lubra," said one of them, advancing menacingly, "She's another man's, not yours. We're agoin' to see fair play to the nigger, any how. Give up the gell, and you may go to hell, for all we care. (?) don't want yer - an' yer ain't wanted 'ere no longer. So yer can cut it as soon as yer likes."

The fellow still advanced, and the guns of the other eleven were still pointed at Hetherington – though had they fired they must have shot all three - himself, Lurellia, and their leader. As soon as the spokesman got within reach, Hetherington, who was still sitting down - with Lurellia crouched at his feet, for she recognised the danger her lover was in - seized the man's arm and snapped the bone as easy as an ordinary man would break a twig. The fellow howled with pain, and the others stood aghast, while Hetherington threw both arms round their leader's body and literally crushed his ribs together. Whispering to Lurellia, he picked up the writhing man's musket, and pointed it at her. The fellows were about to fire, when Debong stepped forward in front of them, otherwise both Hetherington and the girl would have been shot. Lurellia retreated, however, and Hetherington followed as fast as his injured foot would permit, covering her all the while with the musket. Debong kept advancing, and Hetherington would simply push him back until his rival became so persistent that he laid hold of him round the waist, as a man would a child, and thus he held him, kicking and struggling, with one arm, while grasping the piece with the other hand.

Thus, using Debong as a shield, he sternly told Lurellia to run up the narrow neck of land leading to the plateau overlooking the river, and which we now call the "Lover's Leap." He knew the locality, so did Lurellia and Debong; the others did not. Hetherington's hope was that the out-laws would not fire; in which case he had planned their destruction. His plan failed, as will be seen. Lurellia was retreating very slowly up the narrow incline, and Hetherington in angry tones told her to hurry; but the poor girl would not desert him. She knew his plan was to save her at the expense of his own life, and she rebelled at the thought of it. They approached the bare top of the rock, and Hetherington told Lurellia to run and he would follow. She looked at him doubtfully, as if questioning his ability to carry out his plan successfully. She had no fear for herself, but for him she had. Had his foot been well, she...
would not have hesitated, for she knew his powers were extraordinary. But with a fierce
gesture he ordered her to obey him.

The poor girl turned for the moment, intending to impress a last kiss upon her lover's lips; at
that moment three muskets were discharged point blank, and a ball smashed Hetherington's
shoulder, but Lurellia was not hit. They were not more than ten yards from the ledge, and the
armed men approaching all the time. Lurellia would have clung to him, but the man was like
an infuriated bull. "Go!" he said, "I will follow." She sprang from him, and with a wild shriek
she disappeared over the ledge, just as a volley was fired which gave Debong his quietus and
brought Hetherington to his knees. He flung the body of the traitorous aboriginal from him
and crawled to the over-hanging ledge in time to see Lurellia emerge from the water on the
other side at a spot near where there is now a landing place for boatmen. The wretches of
outlaws saw her also and fired, but their aim was bad - Lurellia was again uninjured.

Hetherington glared upon his pursuers with the look of a tiger. He knew that every musket
barrel was empty, and though his end was probably near, he intended to make an example of
those who had quite unnecessarily gone out of their way to injure him. And there, in the sight
of the mother of his unborn child, as she lay half hid on the bank, panting with her recent
exertion, excitement and apprehension, one of the most heroic of tragedies was enacted From
her cover poor Lurellia could see all, for the projecting rock from which she had sprang was
bare and exposed; thus was she a spectator of a "slaughter as grim and great" as that of
Hereward's at the Hall of Bourne The outlaws closed around the devoted man-some intent on
murder, others in admiration, if not pity. They had no bayonets to their muskets or no doubt
they would have used them One fellow stepped up to Hetherington with up lifted musket as if
to smash him, but the fallen man was too quick for him, for he caught the man's arm,
wrenched the piece from him, threw it over the precipice, and then strangled the fellow. Then
they rushed him in a body, and though in a kneeling position and one arm hanging useless by
his side. Hetherington swung the body round him and swept into eternity two others, for they
fell splash into the river below - dead men. This feat staggered them for the moment; but they
were eight to one and they felt as murderous as their victim ; and when he cried to them in a
voice of defiance: "Come on you dogs!" their waning pluck revived and they endeavoured to
surround him, always, however, carefully avoiding the ledge towards which Hetherington
painfully worked his way. Then the eight made a determined rush - it was the FINALE of a
great struggle-such as but few men are permitted to see, and which the poor woman in the
wattles yonder never forgot; which she told her tribesmen some days later, her eyes flashing
and her bosom heaving as she minutely described how her " big, brave Hetherington" with
one blow of his mighty fist struck two of them to the earth - dead; and then, as they pressed
upon him, he embraced three others with his one arm and with a mighty effort hurled himself
and them headlong over the ledge And down in the deep waters they sank, never to be seen
again.

Years afterwards, Lurellia told the story to her son, much the same as he told it to me. And
when he had grown up a strong boy, and his old grandfather had gone to his own place, his
mother left him - whither she went he knew not, but one day when fishing from his canoe in
the vicinity of the famous rock, his mother's dead body came floating along with the tide.
Remembering the story of his father's death, he resolved that beneath the "Leap" should also
be his mother's resting place; and he sank her there, to rest with him who she had always
called her "big, brave, white Hetherington," and who was waiting under the "Leap" for "his
Lurellia." And that is the true story of the " Lover's Leap." 220

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“In entering upon a study of the Australian aborigines, the question “Who are they?” meets one upon the very threshold” the first sentence of the Reverend John Mathew’s 1899 *Eaglehawk and Crow*, is possibly the most archetypal and persistent question asked by non-Aboriginal people about Aboriginal people. John Mathew, Presbyterian minister and anthropologist advanced a tri-hybrid theory for the peopling of Australia. He argued that the first people of Australia were a branch of the Melanesian people and related to African Negroes. He claimed these people peopled Australia, including Tasmania which he correctly theorised was connected to the mainland by a land bridge. He then argued that one or two invasions of people of Dravidian and Malay blood followed. With no proof he argued that this invading band was of higher intelligence and better equipped for conflict than the indigenes of Australia. Physically they were lithe and wiry and of a taller stature. They were lighter in colour, though a dark race, less hirsute, and the hair of their head was perfectly straight. 

In 1914, Sarah Shand, wife of Dr. Cappie Shand, put her recollections of Black Nellie or Nah Doong into print. Nah Doong’s recollection that *when the white man first came her home was on the place where now stands the farm, once owned by Mr Merz, afterwards by Dr Shand, and lately by Mr Burke*, suggests that Nah Doong probably deliberately sought out the newly arrived Mrs. Shand. The rest of the sentence: *and as if to corroborate her statement, we found several stone axes, showing there must have been a large camp there* challenges the historical stereotype of Aboriginal people as wanderers. As an open site which an Aboriginal woman placed great store by it also increases our understandings of the archaeology of open sites. The Shand farm was part of Mary Putland’s old Frogmore estate and about one and a half kilometres south of Kingswood station.

“Black Nellie”

(By SARA SHAND).

*In January, 1886, I first saw “Black Nellie” having arrived from England a few days previously. I was very much interested, and curious also, when a smiling black face made its appearance round the corner of the verandah. I-coaxed her to come inside the house, and soon persuaded her to allow me to make a pencil sketch of her head. When we parted I gave her a shilling and a loaf of bread. From that time we became firm friends. She visited me at intervals, but was always unwilling to remain the night, until, on one of these occasions, she came with Angelina, a bright-eyed good looking half-caste and a native.*

*As the rain was pouring heavily when they came and continued to do so — they were obliged to remain all night. Next day and the next the rain continued until Castlereagh and Penrith were in flood. Her visit lasted for six weeks and would have been a happy one, but for Angelina’s lapses of conduct, which caused Nellie great unrest. Continually she would say.*

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223 The old house may well be still standing, [http://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/ssedl]?p=ROOT_CATEGOR&rank=1&neww=1&ses=3&MSAV=1&mST=1&gs=0&es=Gun&gsn=Merz&mshdvy=1866&mshpn_fip=Frogmore%2C+NewSouthWales%2C+Australia&mshdy=1945&mshdpn_fip=Penrith%2C+NewSouthWales%2C+Australia&cpt=0&catBucket=rstsp&uid=000&cep=0

“Whar dat girl, Angelina, she no good ‘t all.” For Angelina, in spite of flood and storm, would disappear for days together. But on the return of the lustrous-eyed maid who gave no account of her absence, Nellie would grin and welcome her delightedly.

During this enforced visit I painted a little picture of Nellie, and had many long talks with her. She told me her real name was “Nah Doonh,” that she was born in Penrith, that the real name of Penrith was “Morroo Moorack.” That is how it sounded, and she said it many times. I asked how many houses were in Penrith when she was born, and she answered most firmly— “No houses ‘t all; I’member first White come here—all Blacks den, no houses, all gunyahs—everybody frightened, black gins cry, black men shout an’ git boomerangs an’ tings, like for big corroboree. Oh, lor’—I frightened—get in bush next memurrer.” Then I asked her how old she was at that time, and she answered— “Waal, missis I carn (can’t) tell ye, ’cos blacks carn count no more than five.” “Were you as old as Angelina,” I asked. Angelina was about twelve. “No,” she answered, “I just little ‘un standin’ close to me murrer; anorrer little bruder stand dere too, an’ anorrer little’un on her back.”

I judged from what she said that she might be six or seven when white men first came to Penrith, and that she was over eighty when she came to live with me. But, really, one can only surmise, because very, very old people have told me she was old when they were young. Now, judging from what explorers and men of research have said about the inferiority of the N.S.W. Aboriginal, I should imagine Nellie stood strongly out as superior to the rest of her people, because she had so many admirable qualities. She was generous, kind to animals, and most devoted to young children, keenly sympathetic to those in trouble, and most anxious to be clean in her habits. I can prove that she could regulate her thoughts (although Flanagan, the historian, would disagree with me), for during her visit that flood time I asked her to tell me the Aboriginal terms for several things. She said— “All right, missis; I’ll begin and tell you the body begin at the head and go down to the feet”—she did most methodically. I should not have been surprised if she had first mentioned a toe and then her dress; but, no, Nellie had a desire to be orderly and correct always, if possible. She had also an innate modesty which could not fail to be observed.

When my mother died far away in England naturally I was very sad and received much conventional sympathy from my friends, many expressions of condolence; but when I went into the kitchen where Nellie sat on the broad hearth she said, looking up anxiously, “You bin very sorry dis morning, Missus.” I said “Yes, Nellie, my mother is dead.” “Then the big tears rolled down her black cheeks—she wept with me. “‘Cos, y’ know, Missus, I lost a good murrer, too.” A big warm heart had Nellie. It was during this flood that Nellie decided she would like to live with me altogether, but before deciding she pulled up a few weeds out of our garden to see if they were easier to get out than those in the garden of Mrs. Cork. Owing to the recent rains I suppose they were, for she decided in our favour and informed me she was coming for good. I said politely, “I shall be delighted.” Really, I never thought she would

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225 Roderick Flanagan, 1828-1862, an Irish-born journalist and writer who spent twenty two years in Australia. The History of New South Wales with an Account of Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania), New Zealand, Port Phillip (Victoria), Moreton Bay and other Australian Settlements. Comprising a Complete View of the Progress and Prospects of Gold Mining in Australia. The Whole Compiled from Official and Other Authentic and Original Sources was published shortly after his death. His brother republished part of it as he Aborigines of Australia in 1888. https://archive.org/stream/aboriginesaustr00flangoog/aboriginesaustr00flangoog_djvu.txt

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leave Mrs Cork, who was always very kind to her, but to my surprise some-time afterwards there arrived in our yard a cart laden with blankets, small bundles of clothes, coffee-pots, and billy cans, and perched on the top was Nellie, with a wide grin saying, “I’s come, Missus.” What could I do but welcome her? She remained with us for years, and never showed a sign of bad temper to us. Whenever we returned home from a journey, short or long, Nellie was always there to welcome us. As we drove in she would say smiling, “Wa’al, missus, I’s glad you’re back an’ Master, too.” I often told her of sick, suffering people and she would grow sad and say “Poor tings, I is sorry for ’em, too.” There are many humorous sides to Nellie’s visit to me. For instance, she received a real proposal of marriage from “Nellie Jack,” of Springwood, but it would take too much space to tell. Now, there are some people who might describe Nellie other than I have done and might think because of my deep affection for her that I have painted her in glowing colours, because they may have seen her in a drunken condition, but it was never Nellie’s wish to be drunken, and the shame of it is on those people who through mistaken kindness or a wish to excite her and induce her to sing, gave her strong drink. About once a month she would dress herself in her best clothes and leave my house nice and tidy with admonitions from me, and good resolutions on her part not to touch intoxicating drink, but alas; she often (not always) returned drunken and dirty. It was only in this condition she sang. First she mumbled a sort of aboriginal incantation, then the chorus was this —

All the land belong to Mr McCarthy —
   One finger.

All the land belong to Mr McCarthy—
   Two finger.

All the land belong to Mr McCarthy —
   Three finger.

All the land belong to Mr McCarthy —
   Four finger.

That was the chorus, and as she said it she counted four fingers; then began the aboriginal incantation again, etc. I don’t know what it meant.

She told me that the devil caused the windy days— (“buoy, buoy” she called him), and she said a good devil made the sun shine.

I could never persuade her to go to Katoomba with me, she said, “I not go, Missus; strange blacks mighta’ kill me.” She told me “Katoomba” meant “big, big mountains and falling water.” Also, that Kanimbla meant “fallen water.” She said when the white man first came her home was on the place where now stands the farm, once owned by Mr Merz, afterwards by Dr Shand, and lately by Mr Burke, and as if to corroborate her statement, we found several stone axes, showing there must have been a large camp there.

The large picture in Mr Judges’ window is of interest because the shawl was sent out from England for the first MacArthur’s wife. It was of lovely texture and design, but age, wear and exposure to the weather toned it down to the respectable fadiness which exactly suited Nellie’s colouring. While painting her we frequently said, “You are a handsome gin, Nellie,” and she always replied, laconcally, “Wa’al, Missus, carn help dat, lots o’ people tells me
Sometimes I spoke to her of a future state and the uncertainty of life, and asked what I should do with her possessions when she died. “Ugh,” she said, “I not goin’ to die, but never mind — lady round corner, she says, when yer die, Nellie, I’ll give yer a long box for to put yer in, but I not agoin’ into any box.” (The “lady round the corner” was Mrs Price, who was always kind to everybody).

Sarah Shand’s esteem for Nah Doong was not shared by all. The Nepean Times reported in the 1893 Penrith Show that: In the fine art section (non-competitive) Mrs. J.C. Shand’s picture in oils “Black Nellie” was much admired for the vigor of the outlines and the accuracy of the portraiture. “Black Nellie” (which is a bust picture) was painted by Mrs. Shand from real life the subject being an Australian black female, one of a “fast dying race.” The old lady is the last of the tribe which was well-known in Penrith years ago. The very hideousness of the grin, disclosing the great thick lips, the scanty fangs, the jagged gums, the puckered face, the dark subdued-treacherous eyes of the ancient aboriginal, have been depicted with so much naturalness so as to have a distinctly intrinsic value from an artistic point of view.

Castlereagh archaeology

Ideas about successive waves of Aboriginal movement underpinned much of the reasoning for the excavation of Aboriginal rock shelters in the 1920s and 1930s. Amateurs carried out many of the excavations. Most of these men probably knew each other. William Walford Thorpe was appointed ethnologist to the Australian Museum in 1906. Thorpe was one of the co-founders of the Anthropological Society of NSW. George Bunyan, 1879-1967, was an Emu Plains butcher and a keen local historian. Some of Bunyan’s collection of Aboriginal artefacts ended up in museums, some he gave away, others disappeared while in storage. F.D. McCarthy in his 1948 article referred to examining 268 implements in Bunyan’s collection. Through his mother, Bunyan was related to Clifton Towle, 1888-1946. Towle was a NSW railways employee who graduated from the University of Sydney in 1919 with a BA. Towle was an amateur archaeologist and co-founder of the Anthropological Society of NSW. Towle left his personal collection to the Australian Museum. F. D. McCarthy examined 106 implements left by Towle to the Australian Museum. Bernard Leslie Hornshaw, 1878-1937, was born near Braidwood, but spent most of his life in

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229 Ibid.
Drummoyne. Hornshaw was another foundation member of the Anthropological Society. He had no formal training in ethnology, anthropology or archaeology. As a keen bushwalker and armed with a free rail pass as a skilled tradesman in the NSW trams, he began to make a photographic record of all the rock carvings in NSW. Hornshaw published little but shared his findings with anyone who was interested. Hornshaw’s personal collection amounted to about 8000 stone artefacts collected from all over Australia. His field notes show that Bunyan was with him on at least 13 trips. Preston was a local Kingswood man who knew Bunyan, Hornshaw, Towle and McCarthy. He explored the local area and shared his findings. Frederick McCarthy, 1905-1997, was born in Petersham. He was not a relative to the Castlereagh McCarthy’s. MacCarthy gained employment at the Australian Museum. He took over the Ethnology Department in 1932 and gained a Diploma in Archaeology in 1935. He worked his way up to become the museum’s first archaeologist. He was also a member of the NSW Anthropological Society. He used the word “ransack” to describe an excavation by amateurs which may explain some of the problem with his 1948 report on the excavations between Lapstone and Castlereagh in the 1930s.

In the April-June 1928 issue of the Australian Museum Magazine William Walford Thorpe and M. S. Stanley reported upon the collecting of stone axes along the Nepean River at Emu Plains by M. S. Stanley and George Bunyan.

In 1929, Clifton Cappie Towles, published a letter in the Sydney Morning Herald which provides insight into his motivations for excavating Aboriginal sites.

**ABORIGINAL REMAINS**

*Camping Grounds and Workshops.*

*(BY C. C. TOWLE)*

In Europe, the "stations" occupied by the men of the Stone Age have been carefully studied by experts whose researches have revealed the existence in prehistoric times of several races of different types and cultures. In Australia we have no reason to believe that man has been here for so long a time as he has been in Europe, and we have no evidence of several races of men with different cultures succeeding each other as they did in the Old World. But because of this the camping grounds of the Australian aboriginal should not be neglected. They still

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present many problems for investigation, and it is possible that some of them may eventually yield evidence of the greatest importance concerning the early history of the human race in Australia. The term "camping ground" includes workshops, kitchen middens, cave shelters, and so on; and the recent discovery on the coastal workshops and middens of a new type of flakework implement, with several varieties, indicates the casual nature of the work done until recently even along the well-settled coast of New South Wales.

WHAT IS SOUGHT.

What, then, are the questions which the investigation of the camping grounds may enable us to state more precisely, if not definitely to decide? First, a discovery of the greatest importance would be the finding, in situ, of the skeletal remains of an earlier type either akin to the Tasmanian, or to the Talgai race, which an authority has stated "does not belong to the modern type of Australian and probably dates back very many thousands of years from the present." Second, a result of equal importance would be the finding of camping grounds showing evidences of very great age, on which the highest types of implements are either similar to the stone culture of the Tasmanians or are of different or lower cultural development than the types generally recognised as belonging to the present race. An authority has stated that "Australia must have been peopled in the beginning by a most primitive stone-using people," and he further states that he believes that the stone culture as we know it has been developed locally. If such discoveries could be made, especially if both were made at the same time and place, it may then be possible to assert with a high degree of certainty how long man has been in Australia, and what has been the nature of his development during the intervening centuries....

Even if the camping grounds already known have not yet produced any definite evidence of the antiquity of man in Australia, the amount of exploration and investigation which is still to be done should produce expectations of future success. In Europe, on some of the camping grounds, deposits are found, layer upon layer. If, in Australia, we eventually meet with similar stratified deposits on the camping grounds, we may then be able to state how long man has been in Australia, and whether he brought his stone culture with him fully developed, or whether it was partly developed here in response to his needs. 232

In June 1930 J. S. Falkinder’s theories on the Extinct Tasmanians were read to the NSW Anthropological Society. Falkinder proposed that the Proto-Tasmanian Negritos were forced ever southwards by more aggressive Australoids.233 Falkinder was interested in finding artefacts along the NSW South Coast which he believed were similar to Tasmanian artefacts. In response to Falkinder’s theory that the proto Tasmanians were forced out of Indonesia by the Polynesian, on their way to the Pacific ... while the proto-Tasmanians travelled down the eastern coast of Australia, and finally reached Tasmania, 234 C.C. Towle wrote another letter to the Sydney Morning Herald. While not rejecting the various theories on the origins of the Tasmanian Aboriginal people, Towle rejected Falkinder’s arguments on the crucial grounds that the differences between the artefacts outweighed any similarities:

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233 Hilary du Cros, BURRILL LAKE ROCKSHELTER: An early use of a research design in Australian prehistory.

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‘Whilst not disputing the possibility that the Tasmanian aborigines reached their Island from the Pacific, and that during their wanderings they landed on the eastern coast of Australia, I feel that in several important respects Mr J S Falkinder’s article in the “Herald” of June 14, is not in accordance with facts. He bases several of his statements on the occurrence of certain stone implements recently found by him at Murramurang. For several important reasons, I am of the opinion that he is wrong in connecting the implements in any way with the Tasmanians. He is correct in stating that some of the implements found at Murramurang are similar to certain Tasmanian types, but there is no evidence of any value which connects the Tasmanians with Murramurang. … 

Mr Falkinder is not the first to notice the similarities which he so stresses. … Mr Falkinder has made the error which others have avoided; he has overstressed the similarities and has ignored the differences between the cultures of the Australians and the Tasmanians. 

In 1930 F. D. McCarthy investigated the origins of Lake Burrill for an article in the Australian Museum journal. While there he collected some Aboriginal artefacts from a rock shelter there. He showed them to W. W. Thorpe who subsequently organised the 1931 Lake Burril rock shelter excavation through the Anthropological Society. There were no archaeologists in the party.

‘One of the objects of our expedition was to look for mainland traces of the now extinct Tasmanian natives, … How did the Tasmanians, who are a Negrito people with woolly hair, arrive in Tasmania, and from which direction did they come ~ There are two chief hypotheses put forward in answer to this compound question. The view most generally held is that towards the end of the Pleistocene, or Great Ice Age, a Negrito race entered Australia by way of a land bridge where now is Torres Strait. Later they were followed by the ancestors of the present day Australian natives, who gradually forced them to the south and into Tasmania, which was then part of the mainland. …. The second hypothesis that the Tasmanians arrived at a much later date, and that they migrated from one of the island groups to the south-east of Papua. Reaching the eastern coast of Australia, some of them remained and inter-married with the Australians, whilst others coasted southwards and came to Tasmania. 

‘aboriginal and Tasmanoid artifacts were discovered to be intermingled. Several “eloueras,” typical implements of the New South Wales coast, were obtained from the lower layer, while a tronatta-like artifact, and other Tasmanoid forms, were taken from the upper layer. The fact that both lithic cultures were found in each of the layers tends to strengthen the theory of the blending of the two races, at least in this locality. 

At the finish of the investigation, after removing most of the midden material, Kennedy reported that ‘we levelled excavations and tidied cave, Mr. Thorpe blackened, aboriginal fashion, with charcoal and warm fat [played in] another concert in the cave’ (Kennedy 1931b:9). 

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235 Murramurang is near Bateman’s Bay on the South Coast of NSW. 
238 Page 415, ibid. 
239 Page 5, Hilary du Cros, Burrill Lake Rockshelter An early use of a research design in Australian prehistory, BA(Hons) thesis ‘Skeletons in the closet: a history of the prehistoric archaeology of NSW (c.1890-1940)’, University of Sydney (1983). 

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In April 1934 F. D. McCarthy was invited by L. H. Preston of Kingswood to visit the excavation of a rock shelter at Wallaby Creek on the Blue Mountains escarpment, north west of Emu Plains railway station. On the day that he visited, L. H. Preston, G. Nott and G. Bunyan completed the excavation. McCarthy noted that ‘All the pieces secured were scattered throughout the earth, and were not in any particular layer. The artefacts included ground edge implements and various chipped tools. Materials included basalt, chert and quartz’, which suggests that considerable vertical displacement had taken place. It was not until Father Eugene Stockton carried out experiments in vertical displacement that it was realised that the contents of caves were not laid down in neat layers but that they were frequently scuffed about and displaced; making the work of the archaeologist all that much harder.\textsuperscript{240} In his 1978 article McCarthy mentioned that Miss E. Bramell and I excavated the remaining corner which contained the same sequence as the Lapstone creek cave. In his 1934 article he made no mention that he and Miss Bramell carried out any excavations. His 1978 article appears to contradict his earlier statement regarding scattering of artefacts.\textsuperscript{241} McCarthy was of the opinion that all the stone materials came from the Nepean gravels. A fragment of a human skull, a tooth, a few bird and marsupial bones; and some freshwater mussel shells were also found.\textsuperscript{242} Whether the skull fragment could be identified as being Aboriginal in origin was not stated.

The \textit{Nepean Times} report, while more sensational, provided additional information.

\textbf{\textit{ABO. SHELTER}}

\textbf{Skull Found}

\textbf{INTERESTING RELICS}

Relics of the days when the blackfellow lived in the district were found by a party of local folk and Museum authorities on an investigation of a cave at Emu last Sunday. The party comprised Mr Geo. Bunyan, senr, Mr Nott, Mr McCarthy (of the Museum), and others.

The cave is situated at the bottom of the mountain ridge about a mile from the Prison Farm, and was actually more of a blackfellow’s shelter than a cave. The opinion is formed that it had been used by the aborigines for hundreds of years.

In the earth for a depth of 3 feet was found an accumulation of implements, such as chipped-back knives, a little over an inch long, scrapers, and allowries. The allowrie is a kind of scraper, chipped back differently to the ordinary one. It might be interesting to note that this implement was so named by Mr C. Towle, of Eastwood, a native of Penrith, who is one of the best authorities on Australian aborigines stone implements. Many allowries, axes, and hammers were found.

\textbf{Skull Found}

An interesting find was portion of a skull; and there were, indications in the earth that the rest of the body had reposed there. The outline of bones since crumbled to dust could be detected. It is believed that the skull had been there at least a hundred years.

\textsuperscript{240} Page 21 Murray Johnson and Ian McFarlane, \textit{Van Diemen’s Land: an Aboriginal history}, UNSW Press, 2015, refer to archeological excavations in Tasmania which show that rabbits and earthworms can vertically displace artefacts.


\textsuperscript{242} Pages 240-241, F. D. McCarthy, A Rock shelter near Emu Plains: Results of Excavation, \textit{Mankind}, October 1934.
The cave was discovered about four years ago by Mr Preston, of Kingswood, who communicated with the Museum authorities, and was responsible for the visit of their representatives.

The stones of which some of the implements were made are not to be found in this part of the country, evidence that they were brought hence by the peregrinating blackfellow. One relic was made of jasper, and was a very fine piece of work.\(^{243}\)

Some of the stones were recognised' as being peculiar to the Merewether district. The Museum representatives\(^{244}\) took back many specimens with them.\(^{245}\)

The most easily accessible records of the 1935-36 Lapstone rock-shelter excavations are McCarthy’s 1948 and 1978 publications. Both of these publications were made long after the 1935-36 excavations.\(^{246}\) In his 1978 article McCarthy explained that the Second World War interrupted his work, that there had been a falling out between Towle and the Anthropological Society and as a result he was not able to access Towle’s work till after Towle’s death in 1946. The 1978 article also suggests that there had been an early falling out which may have impacted upon the sharing of findings and records. “I was invited by Towle to collaborate with him on this excavation during the week after he had dug trench 1. participation was delayed until the fourth day because he insisted on being in charge whilst I thought collaboration would be preferable. Actually this matter was not raised after I joined in the work and we both worked thereafter on the basis of collaboration.”\(^{247}\) The degree of “collaboration” may have been questionable.

In 2007 Raymond C. Nelson explored the contradictions in McCarthy’s findings and records of the 1935-36 excavations of the Lapstone Rock Shelter.\(^{248}\) From the very beginning McCarthy’s 1948 article contains significant differences from other records. McCarthy shifted the discovery of the rock shelter from 1935 to 1936. Despite knowing that Bunyan, Hornshaw, Preston and Brown carried out the first dig in September 1935, McCarthy disparaged their efforts.

“The deposit was first noticed by a local resident, Mr. G. E. Bunyan, who found some flakes just below the surface in 1936. Soon afterwards, unfortunately, the whole of the occupational deposit at the western end of the rock-shelter was dug out by several private collectors, whose main interest was the acquisition of specimens, and they made no records of their work or of the specimens recovered.”\(^{249}\)

\(^{243}\) Jasper is available locally.

\(^{244}\) F. D. McCarthy.


\(^{247}\) Australian Museum Scientific Publications,


Using Hornshaw’s notes, Nelson’s article shows that this was not correct. Probably because of the smoke-darkened roof George Bunyan became aware of the Lapstone Creek Rock Shelter sometime in 1935. On the 15th of September 1935 the Bunyan and Hornshaw families began to excavate the site. The following quotation is taken from Raymond C. Nelson’s appraisal of the excavation. “Hornshaw records in his field notes (Hornshaw 1930-1937, field journal 2:37) that the shelter measured 31ft. (9.5m) long, 4ft. 3in. (1.3m) high and 11ft. (3.4m) to the back of the shelter. He goes on to say that the floor showed evidence of occupational debris. He says Messrs Bunyan, Preston and Brown and his son Ross were involved in digging and sieving while Hornshaw classified and recorded. Hornshaw’s field notes record that pebble axes and ground axes were found in the top layers, the middle layers contained eloueras and points and the bottom layers contained only points which he noted indicated two occupational periods. Ninety-six labelled artefacts from this excavation are still held in Hornshaw’s stone artefact collection.”

Towel and Bunyan, who were related, organised a second expedition in late 1935 and early 1936. McCarthy was invited to participate. Towel and Bunyan began the second dig in December 1935. McCarthy joined the party on the 12th of January 1936. Again McCarthy’s record is not quite correct. “Mr. Bunyan kindly invited a party to excavate the latter portion of the deposit, and in December, 1936, the task was undertaken by the late Mr. C. C. Towle and Messrs. G. Bunyan, C. Towle, Sr., G. A. Williams and the author.”

The excavation was important for it appeared to provide clear evidence of two distinct tool-making cultures, Bondaian and Eulerian. Puzzlingly, for McCarthy, there appeared to be no stratigraphic break in the midden of the cave.

‘Careful watch was kept for evidence of stratification or for any slight changes which may have taken place during the occupation, but there was no perceptible change visible to us in the compact, dark-coloured ash-laden midden. Apparently, therefore, the rock-shelter was in regular if not continuous occupation, although the implements in the deposit indicate very clearly that a somewhat abrupt cultural change took place at one period, about the middle, in its history.

The cultural development that took place at this site is difficult to interpret. There is no evidence to indicate a break in the occupation. The change, however, involved entire abandonment of the Bondi point, the greater use of the Elouera adze-flake, knives and trimming flakes, and the adoption of the edge-ground axe and Bulga-knife.

Carefully avoiding committing himself to one of the various theories of the racial origins of Aboriginal people McCarthy described the changes as being “cultural”.

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Australian Museum Scientific Publications,
Australian Museum Scientific Publications,
254 Page 22, ibid.
In previous papers (McCarthy, 1943, A-B; 1947) I have shown that the Eloueran and Bondaian cultures are intermingled on east coast shell-middens as far north as Tallow Beach, south to about the Victorian border, and inland to the tablelands. It is evident, of course, that the same cultural changes took place on these sites as in the Lapstone Creek rock-shelter. In other words, the transitional methods of working stone were not changed, but some types of flake and blade implements produced were abandoned and others given more importance. In addition, traits such as the edge-ground technique and fish-hook making diffused southward and were embodied in the culture of the natives, but there is no evidence to indicate that they were brought by a new wave of aborigines from the north.  

George Bunyan’s 1960 article in the Nepean Times took an entirely different stance. Bunyan’s reference to the bottom of the cave being about six foot deep suggests that he was referring to the western end of the cave which had been excavated without McCarthy.  

Evidence of the aborigine’s occupation came from a cave found by Mr. Bunyan and skilfully excavated by the late Mr. C. C. Fowle, a recognised authority on aboriginal relics, and Mr. McCarthy, anthropologist of the Australian Museum.  

It was discovered that two different races of aborigines had occupied this district.  

The deposit of ashes etc., in the deepest part was about 6ft. and, from the bottom, the first 2 ft. showed no sharpened implements only broken stone. Then came a four inches sterile layer, no sharpened implements of any sort.  

The last deposit of about four foot, showed all implements sharpened and varied, a different culture. This was, in later years, the home of the Boowogoiong tribe, a sub-tribe of the Ka-ring-gi nation. As yet I have found no evidence to support Bunyan’s claim about “the Boowogoiong tribe” being “a sub-tribe of the Ka-ring-gi nation”. However, he appears not to have done his homework for in a 1958 article he wrote: “The name of the native tribe inhabiting this district was the Booroogorong tribe and what is now Penrith was called MoorooMoorak, and the last member of this tribe was called Queen Nellie, but her native name was more musical—No Daang.” Bunyan was also probably wrong about Nellie’s traditional name. According to Mrs. Shand “her real name was ‘Nah Doongh,’ that she was born in Penrith, that the real name of Penrith was ‘Morroo Moorack.’”  

Indirectly Bunyan may have been responsible for the Geographical Names Board of New South Wales, identifying the Aboriginal name of the Nepean River as Yandhai. In the Dawn magazine of June 1958 McCarthy published a collection of Aboriginal words and their meanings that was initially begun by W. W. Thorpe in 1921. In it was “Yandhai” for the Nepean River. As the “the words were recorded by missionaries, police, surveyors, and by people interested in the natives, few of whom unfortunately, had any linguistic training for such specialised work” it is likely that McCarthy got the word from Bunyan. I have not been
able to trace it and remain suspect of its provenance.\textsuperscript{261} The Geographical Names Board of New South Wales cites “McCarthy; 1963” as the authority.\textsuperscript{262}

The idea of a Negrito race that walked down or were driven down the east coast of Australia received additional weight from Joseph Birdsell, an American anthropologist who participated with Norman Tinsdale in the 1938 South Australian expedition. In 1967 Joseph Birdsell, revisited the \textit{tri-hybrid} theory of the peopling of Australia, noting similarities between short-statured people in the Queensland rainforests and the Tasmanian Aborigines. Progressively the \textit{tri-hybrid} model has been rejected because of a lack of archaeological evidence and the fallacy of conceptually pure races. While there continues to be uncertainty as to the origins of Aboriginal people, scientists are increasingly aware of the impact of environmental factors on human biology over time.\textsuperscript{263}

Birdsell’s theory may have had some impact upon McCarthy changing his opinion upon the original settlement of Australia. In his 1978 article McCarthy, drawing upon Towle’s notes, recognised the existence of the \textit{sterile layer}, a band of yellow sandy soil 5–7.6 cm thick, lying between 71.12 and 78.74 cm deep, and lacking ash. It covered part of the lower or Bondaitan portion of the deposit. ... . I did not see this band which had been dug out when I joined the party.\textsuperscript{264}

It would thus appear that Towle and Bunyan had decided not to tell McCarthy about the sterile layer. The following sentence in McCarthy’s 1948 article may offer some clues as why McCarthy was not told. \textit{It is regretted that a test-strip was not left for future workers, but this course was decided against because we considered that any portion of the deposit left untouched by us would be ransacked as was the western end.}\textsuperscript{265} The logic is that the \textit{ransackers} were Towle and Bunyan.

Thus in 1978 McCarthy cautiously accepted the argument that Australia may have been successively settled by different races. \textit{“It is now evident that the change from the Bondaitan to the Eloueran or Post-Bondaitan at this site was a clear cut one after a break in the occupation, and possibly with a different generation of Aborigines, and not a gradual one during an unbroken occupation as the 1948 paper implied.”}\textsuperscript{266}

McCarty was unable to make any assessment of when the shelter ceased to be used. \textit{“We are unable to state with any certainty when the aborigines ceased to occupy the cave. The first farms along the Nepean River were established in 1794 and the aborigines were thinned out rapidly during the hostilities between them and the settlers during the subsequent ten years. There were natives in the Emu Plains district until about sixty years ago, but most of them

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\textsuperscript{262} Geographical Names Board of New South Wales, http://www.gnb.nsw.gov.au/placename_search/extract?id=ujKqZxsyMn


His information about the history of local Aboriginal people probably came from Bunyan. Bunyan’s sources may have been the children of Mrs. Shand. Whether Hornshaw told McCarthy that he had found a clay pipe dating from the mid Nineteenth Century is another mystery. It does not appear in McCarthy’s 1948 or 1978 articles.  

McCarthy noted, without exploring its significance, that Towle had found “several pieces of coal, unburnt, at different depths, as deep as 91.44 cm”. It is possible that someone using the cave as a shelter had collected coal from the nearby railway line. However, Michael Jackson, an archaeologist, has pointed out that it is unlikely that piece of coal would be vertically displaced to a depth of “91.44 cm”. Michael suggested that the “coal” was most likely to be torbanite, a fine grained black oil shale which was possibly mined at the Ruined Castle in the Jamison Valley. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, 26th August 1796, Governor Hunter mentioned oil shale being found on the banks of the Grose River. I had of revisiting the head of the river, or where it divides into a NW & SW branch, here I passed a day in looking over our former discoveries, I also ascended the hill which was nam’d after his Grace of Richmond, and recognised several places which I had marked Seven years ago, there has not been any new discovery made in this neighbourhhood with an account of which you may (?) be much entertained. – In the NW branch at the head of this river (which has been nam’d I believe by Capt. Paterson the Grose) there has there has been some pieces of a Black stoney substance found in its bed, which upon a particular examination proved to be a kind of coal and burns very well from this circumstance it would appear that there may be a considerable quantity of this substance in the Body of some of the neighbouring Hills – I know not whether Capt. Paterson may have ever written to you on this subject. I think he informed me he intended sending you sending to you a specimen of the Coal, but lest  

Another puzzle was the almost entire absence of animal bones and mollusc shells. In layer F in various parts of the deposit we obtained a few small pieces of bone only 2 cm. long, some of which are burnt fragments. There is also a fragment of a fresh-water mussel shell (Unio sp.) and two complete snail shells (Strangesta strangei and Meredolum depressum) from layer F. Layer E yielded several more fragments of burnt bone. No shell or bone implements were found. Therefore a list of the foods of the inhabitants of the rock-shelter cannot be made. The absence of bone and shell remains may be a reflection of the acidic nature of Sydney soils.

Through examining private collections and being shown other sites down to the Nepean’s junction with the Grose River; McCarthy was able to extend his report to include a series of  

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268 Page 41–42, Nelson,  


270 *Philip Hammon and R. Pellas - 'The Burning Mists of Time'.*  


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workshops, cave stencils, a number of rock engravings particularly of kangaroos and a possible fish-trap.

Bunyan showed McCarthy “extensive workshops for the production of uniface pebble implements, edge-ground axe-heads and Bmga-knives, all of which have been collected on the surface or turned up by the plough on the rich farming and dairying flats in this area. I have, fortunately, been able to examine a large series of these implements comprising 46 in the Australian Museum, 106 in the C. C. Towle Collection of Stone Implements (Australian Museum), and 268 in Mr. G. Bunyan's collection. Thorpe and Stanley (1928) gave a brief description of the workshops and some of the implements. The main site is an extensive area at Castlereagh which extends for half a mile along and back from each bank of the river, in the bed of which is an inexhaustible supply of pebbles. There are four other workshops to the south, .... The most favoured material among the Nepean pebbles for the large implements is hornfels, although a wide range of other stones is present. Axe-heads of the same kinds occur in the whole of the area eastward to the coast but they are not included in this study.”

He found that the site near Shaws Creek was probably the largest of the in the central coastal area of NSW. There were many axe grinding grooves, many of great depth and many below the current water level. He found a number of very long grooves which he thought were for working wood.

`At Lower Castlereagh ... on the eastern bank of the main channel of the river between Black's Falls and Rose Falls, the sandstone outcrops for half a mile in horizontal beds now forming a series of narrow and broad ledges, whilst there are many large blocks which have been broken off the outcrops and washed into the river bed during periods when the river has been at a high level. The lower series of ledges, and many of the blocks, are thickly covered with an immense number of grooves from 15 to 60 cm. long, 2·5 to 8 cm. wide, and 1·5 to 6·5 cm. deep; the whole series can only be seen when the river is very low during the summer months, or in times of drought. The great majority ... are axe-grinding grooves, and these are relatively short and broad, up to about 32 x 5 x 3·5 cm. Here and there are long narrow grooves which were used to smooth the surface of spears, and these are about 50 x 4 x 1·5 cm., whilst some of the axe-grooves have also been used for this purpose. The most remarkable grooves ..., however, are very long, wide and deep, those measured as examples being 60 x 8 x 5, 55 x 5 x 2·5, 53 x 7·5 x 5·25, and 50·5 x 3·5 x 3·5 cm. These are also to be seen here and there, and one series of eight side by side was noted. Some of them occur on the vertical ends and faces of the rocks and these are very deep, being up to 15 cm. These large grooves were probably produced by rubbing in them wooden club-heads and digging-sticks, and also axe-heads, to smooth the surface; a straight shaft will not fit into them because their deepest point is in the middle and both ends are shallow. Their edges are sharp whilst those of the axe-grooves and spear-grooves are rounded and frequently only slightly convex. It is obvious that this grinding workshop was used for a very long period of time, and it is probably the most extensive site of its kind in the central coastal district. Axegrooves in varying numbers are also scattered about the creeks and rock surfaces of the foothills and gullies in this Blue Mountains' scarp.`


McCarthy was shown other artefacts by George Bunyan. One was a “large portable axe-grinding stone ... revealed by an excavator-grab at a depth of forty feet in a gravel island in the river bed.”

McCarthy saw “three sites of rock engravings at Castlereagh.” One engraving of a kangaroo had been made with a steel axe and was therefore according to McCarthy not “genuine”. ... “old residents claimed their’ parents told them that these figures were cut by a local native more than eighty years ago with a steel tomahawk that he got from one of the settlers. Both figures are incomplete, and an examination of their outlines revealed that the smaller one was undoubtedly made with a steel pick and it shows a different art style from the characteristic engravings of these animals. The large one is a genuine engraving by the aborigines re-done in parts with a pick.”

McCarthy also examined “a large rounded and isolated outcrop of sandstone, sloping from south to north, with a steep face on its northern and western sides.” This site is now known as KI or K1. McCarthy made no mention of the dog engravings which suggests they may be of recent origin.

‘A kangaroo hunt ... is engraved across this rock. A magnificently portrayed buck with a doe close behind him is posed in full flight to the westward. The buck has three ears, two eyes, toes and fingers, but the doe lacks all these details. Four pairs of large kangaroo. Tracks about 180 cm. apart lead away to the south-east, whilst one pair and a single one are directed to the south-west. The outlines of these kangaroos and tracks are all smooth rubbed grooves 2.5 to 4 cm. wide and 1-25 cm. deep, very distinct and well preserved.

There is a small circular outline showing punctures 1-5 cm. wide, but shallow, between two of the pairs of kangaroo tracks, but the balance of this figure has been chipped away by a vandal. A human foot-like outline occurs near one pair of tracks but it is now impossible to say whether it is an engraving or not. Axe-grinding grooves are scattered about.

In the northern face of the rock is a small rock-shelter, the deposit on the floor of which has been dug out by campers. Implements scattered about as a result comprise normal flake and blade scrapers, elouera adze-flakes, ‘and edge-ground pebble axes, but no Bondi points have been found to date, so that the site would appear to belong to the Eloueran culture period.”

McCarthy carried out five further excavations at rock shelter sites on the western fringe of the Blue Mountains in the Capertee Valley during the 1960s. He found saw-edged flakes, which he called Capertian. These were older than the Lapstone artefacts. As a result McCarthy identified a sequence of changes which he called “the Eastern Regional Sequence”. He identified three phases “which he named Capertian (the earliest),Bondaian and Elouran. ... Bondi points were restricted to the lower levels at Lapstone Creek but Eloura and geometric microliths continued into the upper levels. At Capertee 3, McCarthy first noted the appearance of ground-edged hatchets in the ‘Bondian’ levels.”

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275 Page 27, ibid.
276 Page 28, ibid.
277 Pages 28-29, ibid.
system has increasingly fallen out of favour as more quantitative approaches have been adopted.\(^\text{279}\)

While it is true that relations between Aboriginal people and archaeologists have improved there still remains the central issue that between 1788 and 1970 Aboriginal people lost ownership of their heritage, at first informally and then formally. During much of the twentieth century archaeology was the preserve of enthusiastic amateurs preoccupied with the origins of Aboriginal people and the earliest dates of settlement. Many of the pioneers of Australian archaeology “ransacked” Aboriginal sites along the Nepean, to use the phrase of F.D. McCarthy, Australia’s first archaeologist. The National Parks and Wildlife Act 1967 and its subsequent amendments somewhat ironically “protected” Aboriginal sites and artefacts, including traditional burials, by making them Crown property. The act legislated that artefacts acquired by individuals before 1970 remained their property. While hundreds of Aboriginal artefacts from the Nepean River were donated to museums others remain in private collections or were dispersed and scattered.\(^\text{280}\)

‘In 1969 the New South Wales Government became the second government in Australia to legislate to protect elements of Aboriginal heritage. This occurred with amendments to the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1967. The Act, which had previously established the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) and transferred areas administered by the Park Trusts to NPWS, through the 1969 amendments identified and defined Aboriginal relics that existed on national parks, and certain other lands, as being the property of the Crown. It also became an offence under the Act to knowingly disturb, damage or destroy those relics without the prior consent of the Director General of NPWS. The amendments also established the Aboriginal Relics Committee. Between 1967 and 1974 a broad range of other amendments were made to the Act. This series of amendments was consolidated into the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974. As part of this consolidation process, and following on from the clear need established under the Aboriginal Sites of Significance Survey (1973–1983), the 1974 Act included a provision for the declaration of Aboriginal Places.’\(^\text{281}\)

‘In NSW, Aboriginal objects are ‘the property of the Crown’ (i.e. owned by the State of NSW). There are two exceptions to this. 1. Aboriginal objects that were in private collections prior to April 1970 ... remain the property of the owner of the collection. 2. Aboriginal objects that are ‘real property’, which means they are legally considered part of privately owned land on which they are found, are the property of the land owner. Such objects can include rock art, scarred or carved trees, and grinding grooves. Regardless of whether Aboriginal objects are owned by the State of NSW or are in private ownership (as in the two cases described above), they are protected under the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974.

... Aboriginal human remains (not including a body buried in a cemetery) are considered Aboriginal objects under the NPW Act and ownership of the remains lies with the State of NSW. State ownership continues after human remains are returned to, or repatriated to, Aboriginal groups. The NPW Act allows the transfer for safekeeping of human remains (and any other Aboriginal objects) to an Aboriginal person or Aboriginal organisation. The person

\(^{279}\) Pages 101-102, Val Attenbrow, Sydney’s Aboriginal Past: investigating the archaeological and historical records, UNSW Press, 2010.

\(^{280}\) A study of over 300 stone axes from the Cumberland Plain held by the Australian Museum revealed that 90% were from river-rolled cobbles, the closest source being identified as the gravels of the Nepean/Hawkesbury River system (Corkhill 2005:48 in Australian Archaeology, No. 60).

or organisation must enter into a ‘Care Agreement’ with the Office of Environment and Heritage. A Care Agreement is a document that sets out the obligations of OEH and the Aboriginal person or Aboriginal organisation for the safekeeping of the transferred Aboriginal objects including human remains.\textsuperscript{282}

Josephine Flood’s 1983 *Archaeology of the Dreamtime: the story of Prehistoric Australia and her people* was a ground-breaking work in its time. It is interesting to note how archaeological thinking has moved since then. The theory that the appearance of new small tools coinciding with the arrival of the dingo about 6,000 years ago was evidence of “diffusion of ideas and possibly migration of people from outside” has lost traction in recent years.\textsuperscript{283} The dingo is now thought to have arrived in Australia about 18,000 years ago;\textsuperscript{284} and the growth of the small tool tradition across Australia is now thought to be a common response to changing environmental conditions manifested in different tool forms. Exploring the use of backed blades Josephine Flood focuses on the hafting of backed blades, particularly death spears. Recent research points to the backed blade having a wider range of uses. While the works of Stockton, Tinsdale and Birdsell are addressed, Flood makes only references F. D. McCarthy in her notes. She does not address his “Eastern Regional Sequence” in her work and the Lapstone Creek rock shelter is only identified on a map.\textsuperscript{285}

Father Eugene Stockton, both priest and archaeologist has carried out archaeological work in the Sydney Region for much of his life. During the 1960s he carried out a number of excavations across the Blue Mountains which were occupied 22,300 years ago. In the 1970s he and others found artefacts in the Castlereagh quarries which dramatically pushed back estimates of when Aboriginal people began to settle the region.

‘The Penrith Lakes occupy an area once heavily quarried for blue metal. While inspecting the Nepean quarries for signs of past climates Stockton and Holland found artefacts that were undoubtedly human at the base of the gravels (such as choppers, steep-edged scrapers, serrated flakes). ... Initial radiocarbon dating of the gravels in which the artefacts were found suggested a date of 27,000 BP, but Nanson and Young noticed that carbon samples from below the water table were contaminated by younger carbon introduced by the groundwater. A new series of tests, using specially treated carbon and the newer method of thermoluminescence (TL) dating, suggested that the gravels were laid down more than 40,000 years ago. More recently these findings have been revised, answering the queries of other archaeologists, clarifying the riverine stratigraphy and dating the basal gravels up to 50,000 years ago. .... Currently these artefacts are among the oldest known signs of certain human presence in Australia.\textsuperscript{286}

Stockton carried out excavations at two sites on Shaw’s Creek; KI and KII, which challenged McCarthy’s sequencing. KI “revealed a heavy concentration of artefacts (6000 per cubic metre) reflecting considerable human activity in a favourable ecological setting, with plentiful and varied supplies of food and tool-making stone. It also presented the problem for the

archaeologist of a sandy deposit where human occupation caused underlying artefacts to be disturbed and mixed.” Of the seven layers, European artefacts were found in Levels I to III. Stockton carried out experiments that showed artefacts such as glass fragments were vertically displaced by movement within the shelter. This had implications for F.D. McCarthy’s “Eastern Regional Sequence”. “A nearby rockshelter (KII) had the environmental advantages of the first site without its stratigraphic problems”.

KII proved to be the “oldest dated inhabited rock-shelter in the Sydney Region is known as Shaws Creek K2 on the western side of the Nepean River. A charcoal sample from near the base of the excavated deposit provided a radiocarbon age of around 17800 years for initial habitation.”

The following table from Stockton provides an analysis of the excavation. It uses Stockton’s classification of early, middle and late Bondaian, rather than McCarthy’s Bondaian and Elouerian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>soil</th>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Dates (cal BP)</th>
<th>Total artefacts</th>
<th>N0.m²</th>
<th>% tools</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>0-1,500</td>
<td>2,396</td>
<td>5,743</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Late Bondaian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.55m</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>1,500-1,700</td>
<td>2,737</td>
<td>7,820</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Middle Bondaian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 m</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>2,174</td>
<td>1,239</td>
<td>3,177</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Early Bondaian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 m</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>4,600-15,300</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Capertian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>17,800</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Capertian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>432</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>Capertian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yaaamundian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the findings are:
- Denticulates\(^{\text{290}}\) though more common in the lower phases persisted to the end.
- Back-blunted flake tools appeared in Phase III and persisted to the end, though declining in the final phase.
- Eloueras co-existed with bondi points throughout the last three phases, peaking in the middle and declining towards the end.
- Increasingly, in the top three phases, appear a variety of techniques aiming for greater control of flaking concomitantly with the productions of fine small tools.
- Bipolar pieces appeared in the lower three phases, but greatly increased to the end.
- Fragments of edge-ground axes appeared in phase III and II, but predominately in the last.
- The percentage of chert pieces declined steadily throughout the sequence, especially with the appearance of more quartz and basalt, associated with the occurrence of bipolar pieces and edge-ground axes.
- Thick flake tools were present throughout the sequence, but in steadily declining numbers.
- Edge-trimmed flake tools were present throughout the sequence in increasing numbers, amounting to half the tool kit in the final phase.
- The mean weight of flakes, which is a valuable index of change within a site and between sites, declined from 6.4gm to 5.3gm in the lower three phases, dropping to 1.4 in phase III and declining more gradually to 0.9 in the final phase.

\(^{\text{287}}\) Page 57, Stockton
\(^{\text{288}}\) Page 20 Eugene
\(^{\text{289}}\) Page 59, Stockton
\(^{\text{290}}\) Tools in which one or more edges have been worked into a saw like edge.
Another valuable index for intra- and inter-site comparison is the percentage of core, pebble and thick flake tools in the whole-tool kit: this declined from 67% to 41% in the lower three phases, dropping to 16% in phase III, thereafter stabilising at 20%.

Counting waste as part of the whole assemblage, the percentage of tools in assemblage in each phase declined from 17% to 119% in the lower three phases, dropping sharply to 3.5% in the phase III and more gradually to 2.5% in phase I.

On this wide range of parameters there appear sudden technological changes between phase IV and III, i.e., at about 4,500 years ago, while there is greater homogeneity and more gradual trends of change within the earliest three phases and within the last three phases.  

Stockton observed how the Capertian technology which lasted for about 10,000 years transitioned into the Bondaiian, with an enormous increase in flaking about 4,500 years ago. He noted that in Europe this would have been interpreted as evidence of an invasion, but in Australia there was no evidence of such an invasion. He also noted how flaking was Australian wide at this time, but different tools were produced in different places.

In contemplating how rock-shelters were used Stockton raised the possibility that they were base camps with surrounding satellite camps which were specialised in nature, e.g., procurement of resources.

Jim Kohen’s PHD thesis on the western Cumberland Plain, “encompassing Richmond in the north and Penrith and Blacktown in the south”, recorded over 222 open sites.

The study showed that a large proportion of all recorded open deposits (artefact scatters) is close to river and creek lines, with 65% being within 100 m of a permanent water supply. Subsequent investigations have revealed more sites in the area.

One large open site at Jamison Creek, close to where it flows out of the Blue Mountains into the Nepean River at Emu Plains, revealed on excavation a Capertian zone around 7,800 cal BP 9SU-1233 and a Bondian zone above a hearth dated about 4,360 cal BP (SUA-1231). The Lapstone open site revealed a number of small tool assemblages suggesting that it too was a base camp. It also revealed that European artefacts from the 1830s and 1840s such as glass, pottery, metal axes and metal from spades, knives etc., were scattered amongst Aboriginal artefacts and had been incorporated into Aboriginal technology.

Yellomundee Regional Park became public land in 1986 and was formally gazetted in 2000 covering an area of 485 hectares and extending for 8.6 Kilometres in a north-south direction from Yarramundi to Emu Heights. The physical landscape of what is now Yellomundee Regional Park bears little resemblance to that of two hundred years ago. The 1867 flood shifted the junction of the Nepean Hawkesbury and Grose Rivers downstream and to the east.

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291 Pages 57-59 Eugene
292 Page 66 Eugene
293 Page 63, Eugene

*Pondering the Abyss* 256 last updated 28/10/16
From 1954 to 1986 the area was quarried. Siltation and erosion have altered the land. Artefacts which now lay on the surface now may well have been covered a century ago. The Park has been used by mountain bike riders since 1989 with a network of trails crisscrossing the area. Horse riding is permitted in the Park. 298

In 2005 Tessa Corkhill carried out “an analysis of 326 edge-ground hatchet heads collected from the region surrounding Sydney, New South Wales. A study of attributes based on raw material and form reveals that the majority of blanks in all areas are likely to have originated in gravels of the present Nepean/Hawkesbury River and abandoned palaeochannels, which are mainly located about 50 km inland from Port Jackson.”

Corkhill went on to ask a number of pertinent questions:
‘1) How did the hatchets get to be where they were found? Were they lost, discarded or what? And why?
2) Why have so few hatchets been found in Hawkesbury Sandstone country, particularly since nearly all grinding grooves are located in this terrain?
3) If people had easy access to inferior material but had difficulty in getting good material, what choices did they make and in what circumstances?’ 299

Peter Hiscock and Val Attenbrow revisited MCarthy’s Capertee 3 findings in 2005 to challenge traditional classification based on similarities in shape as opposed to classification based on quantitative analysis of the artefacts: ‘... excavators identified regional differences in the assemblages and in the timing of the changes, and proposed alternative names for the phases: Pre-Bondian, Bondaian and Post-Bondaian. Then Phases I, II and III were proposed by archaeologist Ron Lampert ... Subsequently Stockton & Holland, followed Lampert’s line of argument, divided the ‘Bondaian’ into two phases, so there were four phases: Capertian, then Early, Middle and Late Bondaian. Late Bondaian was equivalent to the original Elouran and post-Bondaian.” Such an approach has great significance in addressing whether changes are sudden or incremental. 300 It signalled the need for a more nuanced approach that includes changes in ground-edged hatchets, bi-polar artefacts such as retouched flakes, differing stone materials, shell fish-hooks, differing technologies and the impact of environmental changes. 301

Since the late 1970s microscopic use-wear and residue analyses have enabled convincing inferences to be made showing backed artefacts had a range of uses in eastern Australia.

Robertson’s 2005 integrated residue and use wear analysis included 50 backed artefacts from Lapstone Creek rockshelter, near Emu Plains. Those designated Bondi points (46) had evidence that they functioned as incising and/or drilling, scraping and cutting tools, with task associations of bone-working, wood-working and non-woody plant processing. Many had resin adhering indicating they were once once hafted. ... In the Sydney region and elsewhere the use of Bondi points and geometric microliths as spear barbs and/or tips has been

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identified less often than other functions. As with other tools, backed artefacts were multifunctional and multi-purpose components in a range of different tools.\textsuperscript{302}

Attenbrow also argues that: “Changes in vegetation patterns in the Sydney region over the past 60,000 years are unlikely to have necessitated major redistributions of of human population or greatly influenced mobility patterns. Changing sea-levels would have had a far greater impact.”\textsuperscript{303}

The scheduling of 33 hectares of Yellomundee Regional Park as an “Aboriginal Place” is significant for its recognition in the Minister’s press release not only of its prehistoric but historic past.

\begin{quote}
\textbf{OFFICIAL NOTICES}

NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDLIFE ACT 1974

Declaration of an Aboriginal Place Pursuant to Section 84

\textit{Shaws Creek Aboriginal Place Yellomundee Regional Park}

\textbf{PURSUANT} to section 84 of the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974, I, the Minister for the Environment, being of the opinion that the place known as Shaws Creek is, and was, of special significance to Aboriginal culture, declare the lands described in Schedule "A" as an Aboriginal Place.

The value for which the Aboriginal Place is of special significance to Aboriginal culture includes, but is not limited to, the area having special significance to the Darug and other local Aboriginal peoples.

Shaws Creek sits within the traditional territory of the Boorooberongal clan of the Darug. Traditional rock engravings link across its landscape and depict different art formations connecting to artefacts which are all physical and spiritual links to ancestors. It was once a traditional meeting place for the Aboriginal people of Western Sydney.

The park was named after Yarramundi a "clever man" and Chief of a Darug clan. Historically it was also a site of confrontation, tragedy and loss as the Aboriginal camps at Shaws Creek suffered the vengeance of retaliation during the many conflicts that raged along the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers in the early days of settlement. The place has a natural beauty where the elements of vegetation, rock formations and river created a highly aesthetic landscape; it was also a place that could sustain great numbers of people with ample water available from the river and having root vegetable harvests readily on hand.

The Darug people used the place then and now as an educational place and a resource rich place where children and young people could learn from Elders about traditional practices, such as collecting and using the readily available bush foods and natural medicines in the area. The area acted and still acts as a bush school room, where today’s children also learn about their history and are taught traditional stories. Part of their story being the frontier violence that took place across this site and across the region as colonists settled along the rivers. Its story tells of resistance as Aboriginal warriors fought to hold onto their lands and to find justice for their people. It is a story of resilience as Aboriginal people survived. The story of their leaders, their warriors, and their resilience should be told and recognised.

Signed at Sydney this 27th day of June 2014.
\end{quote}

The Hon. ROB STOKES. M.P.,
Minister for the Environment

SCHEDULE "A"
Land District - Penrith; LGA - Blue Mountains
County Cook, Parish Nepean, about 33 hectares, being the area shown by hatching in the diagram hereunder. Papers: FIL09/8326.
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Last updated: 22/07/15

Pondering the Abyss 260

Page 2446, New South Wales Government Gazette No. 59, 30th June 2014.
Civilisation and heritage

When I framed the question *How has the Heritage identity of the Hawkesbury been formed* I mistakenly thought that the heritage identity of the Hawkesbury was formed as a consequence of the frontier moving beyond the Nepean Hawkesbury Valley, leaving behind dynastic mansions as showpiece headquarters for sprawling squatting empires. I thought floods; weeds; soil exhaustion; overstocking; the 1867 Lithgow Zig Zag, and the crossing of the Hawkesbury River by a railway bridge in 1889; had turned the Hawkesbury into a quaint somnolent backwater in which the Koori presence passed unnoticed. Because I did not realise the long history of Heritage in mythologising and legitimating conquest I was wrong in mistaking this mellowness as being unique. By their very nature, all frontiers move on, passing over the wreckage of the original owners; leaving the apologists to cover their mess. Gradually I realised that *Civilisation and Heritage* were metaphors for property and power; the deep underlying currents that provided the motivation to rationalise and justify the disposssession and removal of the Other.

Despite a millennia of invasions by Romans, Angles, Saxons and Vikings, the Norman Conquest was a turning point in English history. When William, the illegitimate son of Robert Duke of Normandy and descendant of Viking raiders, led a ragbag of land hungry adventurers to conquer England in 1066; he brought with him the Old French word, *eritage*, meaning that which has been, or may be, inherited. To protect and maintain his *eritage* William founded an extraordinarily conservative religious, social and political structure characterised by: a hereditary monarchy; an established church; and a hereditary aristocracy buttressed by primogeniture and laws of entail.

Probably no other people have had such experience of being colonised and colonising others. Heritage became the blood-line of the English world. In the next millennia the English went on to use force and division to control and exploit subject peoples in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Africa, America, Asia and Australia. From the beginning of settlement the Hawkesbury settlers blithely ignored Koori sovereignty and replicated, not just an English landscape, but English cultural heritage, upon a land that already belonged to someone else.

The colonial settlement of the Hawkesbury was that of a parasite consuming its host to replicate aspects of the social, political and economic structures of England. It was a pattern replicated across New South Wales and across the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century. Consciously or unconsciously, on the April 1791 expedition Governor Phillip began to forge the heritage of the Hawkesbury naming Richmond Hill and the Green Hills for their similarities to their namesakes near his childhood home on the Thames at Fulham. It is likely that others with an awareness of the origins of these names were responsible for naming The Terrace and Ham Common, for their links with the Thames. Others reinforced the Anglicisation of the Hawkesbury with the names of contemporary political leaders, soldiers and sailors: Bathurst, Castlereagh, Cornwallis, Nelson, Pitt and Wilberforce.

Perhaps not unsurprisingly many of those who did most to shape the Englishness of the Hawkesbury were men lacking wealth, power or position and whose ambitions could not be realised in England.

The Plymouth draper, Alexander Macarthur, left his business to his eldest son, James. His second son, John, was a half-pay officer for five years before resuming his military career and joining the NSW Corps.
Samuel Marsden was a blacksmith’s son, whose zeal as a lay preacher attracted the attention of the Clapham sect, which led to his admittance to Magdalene College and his appointment to the chaplaincy of New South Wales.

Lachlan Macquarie had begun life as a Scottish tenant farmer’s son whose only hope of advancement was to join the army and use his military career to his advantage. He was able to buy back his mother’s ancestral lands as a result of: a judicious marriage in India to an heiress who died tragically young from consumption; as paymaster juggling regimental funds to his advantage; and with prize money from his various campaigns. Macquarie was eventually able to return to his ancestral lands. However, ever short of money, he died in London, while pursuing his pension. It was Governor Macquarie who, in late 1810 and early 1811, further stamped an English model of settlement onto the Hawkesbury by locating the five towns; each one, apart from Wilberforce, within reasonable walking distance of another; and each with churches, cemeteries, schools and market places in central locations. Naming the main settlement, Windsor, further reinforced the link with the Thames.

William Cox was a half pay officer who, on transfer to the NSW Corps was fortunate to be appointed regimental paymaster. He paid the soldiers in kind, rather than coin. Despite over-reaching himself, coming undone financially, and being sent back to England to face charges, Cox appears to have kept the majority of the regimental funds by entrusting them to Joseph Holt.

‘There was a chest of Mr Cox’s in my care... when it was packed and filled. I was sent for and I drover four twelpenny nails into the lid after it was locked, and then I got three men of the strongest men was about me and myself to carry it out of Mr Cox’s house into mine. I don’t know what was in it but I may truly guess, for Mr Cox brought out seventeen thousand pounds of hard cash to pay the army, and I know it was tea and sugar and rum and wearing apparel the army was paid with, so this chest was very heavy.’

The contents of this chest may have allowed the Coxes to re-establish themselves at Clarendon on the Hawkesbury in 1804 after losing the Brush farm.

Replicating English class was a manifestation of the establishment of colonial dynasties by aspirational settlers. In November 1802 George Caley reported to his patron Sir Joseph Banks an encounter with Captain Anthony Kemp of the NSW Corps on a road to Sydney.

‘I overtook them in a bad part of the road, and the horse being restive, made me to be upon my guard as I passed the carriage, at the same time I chanced not to pull my hat off. He called out to me in a loud haughty voice. I immediately stopped, and he held up his whip as if he was going to give me a cut. He then asked me why I did not pull my hat off as I passed him. I told him I did not know I was bound to do so. He instantly demanded my name and threatened to lodge a complaint to Governor about me; and that he would make me pull off my hat to him equally as I would do to the Governor, and treated me very insolently. I plainly

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saw that he was a conceited coxcomb, and said but little to him further than letting him know I would not pull my hat off to him.”

The issue of emancipists was fertile ground for men of high morals to take a stand on class. The Reverend Samuel Marsden, despite being perpetually torn between Canaan and God, took such ground in refusing Governor Macquarie’s appointment to serve on a roads committee in 1810 with Andrew Thompson, an emancipist who had some irregular marital arrangements. Around the same time and for similar reasons Archibald Bell refused to serve on the bench with Andrew Thompson.

Elizabeth Macarthur in a March 1816 letter to her friend Eliza Kingdon neatly expressed the emerging concept of exclusiveness: “On particular days, such as the King’s or Queen’s Birthday there are parties at Government House, numbering occasionally 150 persons. I will not say that these assemblies have been very select. However there is a sufficiency of pleasant, agreeable persons to visit and to be visited by, to satisfy one who is not ambitious to have a very numerous visiting acquaintance.”

Surgeon Peter Cunningham wryly recorded the pretensions of this bunyip aristocracy.

‘While strolling once with an acquaintance, on my first arrival in the colony, we chanced to encounter a couple of our men of rank, with one of whom my friend walked aside, to hold some private conversation, leaving the other and me standing together. As the gentleman was known to me by sight, and I knew him also to have lately come down the country in a direction which I was about to lake on the morrow, I incautiously asked of him the state of the roads. But what was my surprise when, drawing himself up with a most self-important air, he replied ... "Upon my word, I don’t know you, sir!"

... I naturally began to marvel who this great man could be, and should doubtless have set him down as the Duke de las Sierras, or the Marquis of Aquaro at least, had I not been afterwards assured that he was simply a retired subaltern of infantry some time rusticated here.

When one considers the uses of phrases such as “the sterling” as opposed to “currency lads and lasses” and “half-caste” in the sense of impure or debased, one realises that these hierarchies reflected perceptions not only of class but also race.

The exhaustion of Hawkesbury soils and the impact of floods, weeds and diseases on agriculture saw the children of the “Hawkesbury patriarchs, particularly those of the free settlers, in the forefront of the next wave of frontier expansion. One of the Bell family said that he could ride from the Gulf of Carpentaria to Sydney and hardly sleep one night out of the house of a relative.” The wealth generated on the leapfrogging frontier saw the creation

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5 Pages 240-241, Peter Cunningham, Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Angus and Robertson, 1966.

of dynastic homes on the Hawkesbury. Fairfied, Hobartville, Clarendon and Belmont became, and remain, icons of the Hawkesbury’s heritage.

As one would expect from English families, primogeniture gave privilege to the elder sons and left the risks to the younger sons. William Faithfull, born in 1806, and his brother, George Faithfull, born in 1814, retreated from their Bontharambo run near Benalla in the face of repeated Koori attacks in 1838. The older brother, William retired to his father’s safer and established Springfield grant on the Goulburn Plains and George to Wangaratta. William later became a member of the Legislative Council. 7 Joseph Fleming, 1811-1891 was a squatter, business man and was elected to the first Queensland parliament in 1859. His younger brother John Henry, 1816-1894, was the leader of the Myall Creek massacre who escaped to the bolt hole of the Hawkesbury. 8

By the late nineteenth century “Heritage”, was taking on its more modern meaning of an individual and collective sense of belonging to “places, values, traditions, events and experiences that capture where we’ve come from, where we are now and gives context to where we are headed as a community”. 9 The reality was that just as people long ago placed stones over graves to keep the spirits underground, so heritage was masking the messy bits of the Hawkesbury’s history.

Andrew Garran, politician and writer took advantage of the centenary of settlement when he published Picturesque Atlas of Australia, in 1888. The following extract describing the Hawkesbury focuses on the rusticity of Windsor and Richmond after the frontier has moved on. His account of early settlement excludes any references to Aboriginal people.

‘Windsor, which next to Parramatta is the oldest of the country towns, still retains the characteristics of early days. The ivy creeps over the old brick walls; the trees look almost weary with age in many neglected gardens. Old men in checked cotton shirts, moleskin trousers and cabbage-tree hats, sit beneath the long verandahs of one-storied inns and tell tales of the old, old times. Characteristic, too, of those times is St. Matthew's Church, built substantially on high ground in the Basilican style of architecture. The foundation stone of this church was laid, says the official record, a little after sunset on Sunday, October 11th 1817, by Governor Macquarie, and his speech on that spring evening was short and very much to the point. He saw the ‘holey dollar’ (the Spanish dollar with the centre cut out) safely deposited in the bottle the stone with a square, tapped it with the mallet, and saying ‘God bless St. Matthew's Church,’ left it in peace, but not, as shown in the sequel, in security. For that night sundry rascals uplifted the stone, broke the bottle and abstracted the dollar. His Excellency, holding to the belief that coin of the realm was the only sure foundation for the church, began the proceedings de novo, called together the whole of the respectable inhabitants and the notabilities of the vice-regal court, addressed them in a pathetic manner, passed a high eulogy, on the clergy, and planted other dollars, which, alas for the morality of the times, were within two days likewise abstracted. After this it appears that the Governor contented himself with fulminating against the probable robbers, and permitting the walls to rise without the silver basis. Yet no good luck attended this. For we read that ‘two years after, the walls of the building had to be pulled down to the very foundation owing to some defect in their construction, and another building of much larger

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7 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30th August 1929.  
dimensions and of the best materials was commenced on its site.’ This church is the St. Matthew’s of to-day.

Four miles west of Windsor is Richmond, another village dating from the first decade of the colony. It is not so busy now as it has been - for the railways have diverted trade on which its early prosperity, was built - but it still shows evidence, not only of past vigour, but of present vitality. Two great stock routes converge on the slope of the hill on the other side of the river. By the northern one, known as the Bulga Road, came down sheep and cattle from Patrick’s Plains on the Hunter River, along a rough and somewhat grassless track. The other route came from the far west, and crossed the Blue Mountains by what is still known, after the surveyor who discovered it, as Bell’s line. This route takes the dividing ridge between the waters of the Grose and those of the Colo and joins the other line near Mount Clarence. Richmond, therefore, was the gateway through which for many years passed the greater portion of the live stock destined for the Sydney market. The Kurrajong hills look down upon Richmond from the northern side of the river. Their seaward slope is covered with singularly fertile soil, originally thickly timbered and clothed with a dense undergrowth of rich scrub vegetation. Most of this has now been cleared away, and orange-trees have been planted to the summit - an elevation of nearly two thousand feet. The drive up the steep ascent is very beautiful, the undulating ground of the fertile lower slopes presenting a landscape of remarkably soft and varied aspect. The hill has long been celebrated for the purity and mildness of its air, and is a favourite resort for invalids.  

The opening of the railway line to Richmond in 1864 and passenger steam boats on the river made the Hawkesbury easily accessible to plein-air painters with their newly invented tubed paint and box easels. It was not a rugged frontier but the “quaintness” of the transformed landscape that attracted artists. Charles Conder camped at Singleton’s Mill and painted Sentrybox Reach in 1886. Julian Ashton painted The Corner of the Paddock at Richmond in 1888. Charles Conder painted The farm, Richmond, New South Wales and Spring Time on the Griffith farm at Richmond in 1888. Cove on the Hawkesbury, 1888, was another of Conder’s Hawkesbury works. In the summer of 1896 Arthur Streeton, looking up the Hawkesbury from The Terrace and inspired by Shelley’s Blue isles and snowy mountains near Naples, produced the iconic Australian work, The Purple Noon’s Transparent Might. In 1899, David Henry Souter, 1862-1935, Scottish born artist and journalist, wrote an article for The Australian Magazine describing the artistic inspiration provided by the Hawkesbury. Souter’s vision of the Hawkesbury was autumnal, framed by Keats’ “Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness” not blinding light and gum trees and concluded with “the swift coming of the dark”.

12 Julian Ashton recalled him as “a slim, debonair young man of about twenty-four years of age, with a little gold pointed beard and fair complexion. When he wasn’t painting he was quoting Keats and Shelley.” Apparently Streeton later recalled that he had painted The Purple Noon’s Transparent Might in a state of “artistic intoxication with thoughts of Shelley in my mind”. P146, Jane Clark and Bridget Whitelaw, Golden Summers, Heidelberg and Beyond, International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1985.
13 “The sun is warm, the sky is clear, The waves are dancing fast and bright; Blue isles and snowy mountains wear The purple noon’s transparent might” Stanzas written in Dejection – December 1818, near Naples, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822)
'From a Painters Point of View

We had always been unable to decide whether the Hawkesbury looked best in her spring attire of pink and green or in the more sombre robes of early autumn.

Then the skies are warm grey with streak's of amber, and the landscape runs from the gold of the ripe maize fields, through the browns of the bare paddocks, to the various purples of the frost grass in the old orchards. Then the hills are less blue and nature has abandoned her pale cadmium in favor of yellow ochre. No more does the sun, rising in a cloudless east, throw cool blue shadows across the picture. The peach trees that blazed in pink and purple are now a network of greenish brown sticks, and the morning panorama is a slowly widening harmony of hazes in yellow grey.

The river is more shrunken, and the red brown sand of the shallows merges in the grey blue of the depths, and settles in mellow sage where the willows dip their green tresses in the stream. A flock of ducks sport in a tiny back water and a hawk high overhead passes like a shadow across the sky.

The farm yards are ever interesting, littered with implements of quaint design that have seen their day of service, and are now rusting honourably near the field of their former triumphs.

The stable doors gape widely, for the horses are at work afield. A magpie whistles mischievously from the fence, and fowls squat in the shade of an idle dray. There is corn-husking in the open barns, where merry women and children strip the lemon tinted husks from the yellow cobs. At their feet they lie in broad harmonies of brown and yellow, with notes of pale green, intensified by contrast, peeping here and there among the shells. A brood of sleek black piglings nose about for dead ears, and to the merry babble of the huskers supply an accompaniment of rich basses, varied by piping trebles. There are stretches of glad green earth, where one may bask in the sunshine; or, lying lazily in the shade of orange trees, watch the wine-green shadows that the willows throw on the placid river.

"Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness.

Con Winter takes us to view his pumpkin patch, where a million melons raise their round bellies to the ripening sun. The foreground is green and amber, with a fringe of funereal ti-trees in the middle distance.

Between their stems one may catch glimpses of the sunlit river, with red and white cows knee-deep in the shallows. At the further bank the deep water is in shadow from the purple brown earth of the cliff - a cliff towering precipitously and worn bare and rugged by recurrent floods, but touched here and there with big fronded ferns and tussocks of green grass that grow luxuriantly in the moist recesses.

In the left-hand corner of the picture is Con himself, in his washed blue jeans, his broad panama hat throwing his ruddy face in rich shadow save where the sun just catches the tip of his yellow beard.

Then there are the farm roads, between walls of ripe corn ten feet high, corn tasselled with waving brown threads, and here and there a bitten ear - red as blood - weeping on a withered stalk; roads where the frost grass is breast high and the ruts worn by the cart wheels show like chasms in a tropical forest. Hedges of gnarled quince trees spotted with whitey-green moss on their grey bark. Fig trees with their plenteous foliage, and trim
poplars, like town maidens at a country fair. And the quaint rambling farm-houses, their slab sides aglow with colour or gleaming with a dazzling whiteness, margined with riotous little flower gardens where Canterbury bells nod pleasantly and tall sunflowers turn their unwinking eye to the sun. Robust dahlias and fluttering cosmeas hide the weather-worn fence through which a fussy hen has led her brood of chickens to see the world. Quaint pigeon houses, reared on lofty poles girded with tin, defend their croodling tenants from the predatory cats. Milking sheds where friskier cattle than ever browsed on English fodder are "bailed up" fore and aft by the bronzed " rouse-about" who replaces the milkmaid of the old world.

And then the swift coming of the dark; when the western yellow changes to crimson that deepens to purple, and anon the sky is lemon-tinted against the cold grey of the mountain tops. Diamond-like stars scintillate in a zenith of steel blue, and it is night. '14

The following extract from the concluding chapters of the anonymous Memoirs of William Cox contained important elements of myth making and heritage building. The anonymous author focused on a limited range of “men of more than ordinary pluck and energy” and paralleled their endeavours in “a wild, hard land” with Abraham’s taking of the Promised Land, thereby continuing and extending Marsden’s metaphor of New South Wales being the Promised Land. The author provided a continuity of nation building by linking the personal achievements of these “brave” and “masterful” men with Sir Robert Garran’s poem, One People, One Destiny. In asserting that they “made Australia for us” the anonymous author created a debt to these men and excused “the morality of the men who made Australia”.

In the remainder of the extract the author constructed a simplistic interpretation view of the destruction of Koori society on the western plains. Aboriginal people were “dangerous … plentiful and exceedingly treacherous”. In a continuance of the Biblical tradition, “Saturday was cunning as a serpent, and an inveterate foe of our race”. Aboriginal people used to come around the stations and the “hirelings” would flee to Bathurst when a white man was speared. While to shoot them was “repellant to English ideas” the implication was that was what had to be done. The author was quick to reassure the gentle reader, however, that the “blacks really exterminated themselves. As the district became more populous they moved further back, or stayed in the villager and drank themselves to death,” with the result “that the present generation has scarsely seen a black in the district”. For the benefit of the hypercritical the author spelt out in no uncertain terms that “they were men whom we, their descendants, should delight to honour, and we owe them a debt of gratitude for all they have done for us.”

‘... when the pioneers went forth to take up land they had to take their flocks and herds with them; their ox waggons and their household goods. There were no stores, no parcels post, no means of replenishing. They went out from the filmy borders of a young civilisation into the strange, roadless land of the blackfellow, the wallaby, and the laughing jackass. So they moved slowly, and watch had to be set all the time to guard against attack from the blacks. William Lawson wanted a friend and neighbour; so he persuaded George and Henry Cox to set out on that long march to the good land that lay afar off. Their agreement was that the Cox's were to take all the land on the south bank of the Cudgegong River, and Lawson would take all that on the north. And yet, that was little over 75 years ago! It sounds so far off, in its

simple, patriarchal method of dividing the country that it stands beside an earlier story —

listen: “And Lot, also, which went with Abraham, had flocks and herds and tents. And the
land was not able to bear them both, that they might dwell together; for their substance was
great, so that they could not dwell together. And there was strife between the herdmen of
Abraham’s cattle and the herdmen of Lot’s cattle ... and Abraham said unto Lot, ‘Let there be
no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for
we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If
thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right hand; or if thou depart to the right
hand, then I will go to the left.’” So the squatters, in the genesis of the world, selected their
stations, and the story is old and hoary, thousands of years old. But so also did William
Lawson and George Cox, and that day is but little over 75 years from us. And here it is well
to pause and make a remark. Some of the hypercritical, even of
our own people, say unkind
things about the morality of the men who made Australia. Some would measure the men of
the days of Phillip and Hunter and Macquarie by the standards of the Commonwealth, but
the standard is false, for the conditions of existence were vastly different. The gentlemen who
came out here then found a wild, hard land, with none of the fashions or customs of the land
they had left.

They were masterful men, brave men, and they stood not upon ancient methods, but they
adopted the best means to win to an end; and Garran sings now —

There was shame in the bitter beginning;
There was Freedom’s averted face;
But honour was there for the winning,
And the breed of a sturdy race;
And the solitudes sang of endeavour,
And the cities arose by the sea:
God spake: "One destiny ever,
One people that is to be?"15

15 The following is the second part of a three part poem written by Robert Garran on the proclamation of the
Commonwealth of Australia. Robert was the son of Andrew Garran and became Australia’s founding public
servant. In bringing God, England and Australia together (without mentioning Blackfellows) in such a
triumphant panegyric, Garran probably did his career a lot of good.

II.

ONE PEOPLE, ONE DESTINY.

God spake, when the island’s firm bases
He set in the midst of the main -
God spake, when He portion’d their places
To mountain, and river, and plain:
Ere the solitudes sang of endeavour,
Ere the cities arose by the sea,
God spake: "As this island for ever
Is one, so its destiny be!

"I have girdled it round with the ocean,
I have vaulted it o’er with the sky;
I have order’d the stars in their motion
To keep angel-watch from on high;
I have made its wide marches unbroken
From sea to the uttermost sea:
I have set the high Cross as a token
‘to tell of My changeless decree”

Than forth from the Isles of the freemen,
Questing for worlds unknown,
England sent England’s seamen,
Who found it, and knew it their own.
And forth to the new dominions
They made Australia for us, and the reading of the darkest days of Australian history is not so dark as the days of Genesis, of the days of Sodom and Gomorrah, of the cave-dwelling days of Zoar. Men sneer at our pioneers, but it is the sneer of ignorance. They were grand men, those pioneers of Australia!

When George Cox started out with his stock he was going to a new land. It is strange reading now, when we see what the land has become. These two passed a place that is now called "Burrundulla," one of the finest places in the colony, where George Cox finally made his home, but he thought it was "too swampy." Strange it sounds indeed when one looks over the beautiful station that stands there to-day. They moved down to a water-hole which the blackfellows called "Mudgee," and there they camped in the year 1822. To-day the town of Mudgee occupies the site of the old camp. It is distant 190 miles from Sydney, and is easily reached by train. It is a busy town, of nearly 5000 inhabitants, and all around are the homes of the famous sheep-breeders of Australia.

Some three miles down the river a hut and yards were erected on a pretty piece of park land called Menah, and that was where Mr. George Cox had his out-station when Allan Cunningham found him in 1823. It was a memorable meeting, and when one stands in the town of Mudgee now, on a show day, when the town is all alive with excitement, the story of 1823 becomes utterly incredible. Yet such has been our rate of development. So has Australia grown.

One other item that belongs to the period must be told, in order to make clear the position of the men of that day. The blacks were very dangerous. They were plentiful and exceedingly treacherous. They used to come about the stations, and were very difficult to deal with, because to shoot them for coming near was repellant to English ideas, yet to allow them, to loaf about was to endanger the lives of all the white people in the camp. It is easy to criticise, but it was difficult to exist, and the pioneers had grievous troubles. The chief blacks of the district had been named by the white people after the days of the week. The great chief was "Sunday," but the deadliest enemy of the newly-arrived whites was "Saturday." He was a powerful black, cunning as a serpent, and an inveterate foe of our race. The servants of the

Steer’d sail, and squadron, and fleet,
And the spurn’d of Freedom’s pinions
Found Freedom beneath their feet.

There was shame in the bitter beginning;
There was Freedom’s averted face,
But honour was there for the winning,
And the breed of a sturdy race,
And the solitudes sang of endeavour,
And the cities arose by the sea;
God spake "One destiny ever,
One people that is to be "

But men parted the land assunder,
In despite of the holy word,
And again, in the voice of thunder,
God spake, and the people heard:
"I have made the wide marches unbroken
From shore to the uttermost shore;
Lo! thus be your destiny spoken –
One people for evermore!"

R. R. GARRAN
Sydney Morning Herald, 2nd January 1901.

16 Lot and his daughters sheltered in a cave at Zoar when the other four cities of the Plain were destroyed.
new stations stood in mortal terror of the blacks, for their stealthy methods got on to the nerves of the hirelings, and when a white man was speared they all fled to Bathurst. Those were the days that tried men's souls, and nobody can understand the courage that was required to face the situation except those who saw the influence of the Breelong blacks, only a little time ago...

... the blacks really exterminated themselves. As the district became more populous they moved further back, or stayed in the village and drank themselves to death...

The early pioneers of Australia have but scant justice meted out to them. They must have been men of more than ordinary pluck and energy. When we find a number of gentlemen prepared to give up all the comforts of civilized life, and brave the dangers of an unknown region, to herd with felons and risk their lives amongst savages, to be cut off for months from all communication with the friends and relatives they left behind them, shows that they were men whom we, their descendants, should delight to honour, and we owe them a debt of gratitude for all they have done for us.  

10th November 1894: - land redeemed from the wilderness

'We look across the Blue Mountains remembering the story of the poor exile who broke from Castle Hill in the forlorn hope that by scaling them he might reach again the home which lay thousands of leagues beyond the ocean, and how the limited knowledge of the day, deeming them impassable, commented after on his folly. We drive down the main street of Windsor, pass the red mass of St Matthew's, and the long low roofs of Captain Brabyn's mansion, and marvel on our homeward way at the changes a few decades have effected - changes more rapid than any which could have been foreseen by the pioneer settlers who 80 years ago raised their Ebenezer on land redeemed from the wilderness.  

1889. M.

The final chapter of Memoirs of William Cox is an elegiac evocation of tradition and dynasty. Like Souter the anonymous author sought to create an air of quiet, somnolence. “The town, is old and sleepy. It may be a little larger than it was in the days of Governor Macquarie, but — not much. It is quiet and heedless. No storms come to Windsor. The fevered life of modern, days has gone over the ranges, or north, or south, leaving Windsor to sleep and dream.” In the discourse of denial, the image, “to sleep and dream”, was probably the ultimate act of hubris. The image was paraphrased from Hamlet’s to be or not to be soliloquy. Shakespeare followed “to sleep, perchance to dream” with: “Aye, there's the rub,  

For in that sleep of death, what dreams may come,  
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,  
Must give us pause.”

By focusing on Clarendon, Hobartville, Belmont and the graveyards of the Cox and Belmont families the author mythologised the Coxs and Bells as “grand old families” and “the forefathers of the great race that fills the land to-day”. Images such as “As you ride along the fences you are shaded by the great big English oaks that were planted there by the boy from Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School at Wimbourne Minster” reinforced the continuity of

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English tradition and heritage. In concluding the work the author tied the settlement of Australia to a vision of an empire that stretched across the world.

The final chapter of *Memoirs of William Cox* with it elegiac evocation of tradition and dynasty is almost a definitive discourse of settlement. The author used the decaying Clarendon homestead as a locus between the traditions of England and the fortunes of the combined Bell and Cox dynasties that reached across Australia. In this discourse, by portraying the Hawkesbury as a place “*to sleep and dream*”, the author employed the elements of myth to distance the past, to conveniently ignore the role of the emancipists in settling the Hawkesbury, to shroud the nightmares and horrors of settlement and bring closure to the period. The reality was of course, that men like Abbott, Bell, Brabyn, Cox, Faithfull, Macarthur, Macquarie and Marsden would have led remarkably unnoticed lives if they had not left Britain to seek fortunes in the Empire.

‘THE OLD FAMILIES.

CHAPTER XIV.

Australia lacks a "Sacred Place!" "We have, as yet, no "Shakespeare country," no holy river like the Ganges, no Delphic Temple, no Mecca, no tombs of saints, nor holy martyr places. We have not yet risen (?) to a Lourdes or Holywell. Some day men will travel to Windsor to see where sleep "the rude forefathers"¹⁹ of Australia. They will stand beside the Hawkesbury and read from its stolid flood the romance of the earlier days. But that time is not yet. The gods walked with men in the far-off times; we never dream that the gods are with us to-day. Nor have we yet acquired a leisure class, which can afford to take interest in purely sentimental matters. Yet the Windsor district, where our history began, is full of intense interest to-day. The old "Government House" still stands beside the river, on a high spot, where it was safe from floods. Not that the Governor dwelt there, mind you; but it was a house built by the Government for public use, and it was a brave house in its day. The broad shingle roof is perfect yet, but it has sagged from the line of truth and beauty, and is failing fast; yet the cedar beams and door-posts are strong as ever. The town, is old and sleepy. It may be a little larger than it was in the days of Governor Macquarie, but — not much. It is quiet and heedless. No storms come to Windsor. The fevered life of modern, days has gone over the ranges, or north, or south, leaving Windsor to sleep and dream.²⁰

Just a few miles out you come to Clarendon, once the home of William Cox. The homestead is close to the big common, on one side, and on the other it overlooks a great stretch of river-flat, rich as a Dutch valley, where the horses and cattle are rolling fat. As you ride along the fences you are shaded by the great big English oaks that were planted there by the boy from Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School at Wimbourne Minster. There is a square, correct waterhole inside the fence that is suggestive of William of Orange and the fashions of the English Court long ago. It is covered with fat duck-wood and water-lilies, and you can imagine that golden carp are living there now, as they have lived for centuries — but your imaginings would be wrong. Our country has no "centuries" yet. It is only 100 years since William Cox landed here, and he came early.²¹ There is a new house inside of the fence, and new children look on a world that is new to them; but, away to the right of the modern house

¹⁹ From Thomas Gray’s *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*.
²⁰ A paraphrase of “*to sleep, perchance to dream*”, from *Hamlet*.
²¹ William Cox was a half–pay lieutenant when he transferred to the NSW Corps in exchange for Lieutenant Bethwick. He came to NSW in 1800 as paymaster of the NSW Corps. He was in England 1807-11 on charges of using his rank of paymaster for his own gain. On his return he took up the position of magistrate on the Hawkesbury. He is best known for building the road across the Blue Mountains.
is the old house of the founder of Clarendon. It is a large cottage house, built of brick and plaster. It has large, handsome rooms, and a wooden wainscot runs round the ancient drawing-room. The man who built that house in the olden times had a big soul. He had seen grand places in England. He came to our land as a gentleman, and expressed his deepest convictions in massive work. But, alas, in our land woodwork endureth not. We have "white ants," which eat the inside from solid timbers, and leave only a thin shell for Time to play with. As you walk across the once solid floor of native timber it gives way beneath the feet, and the gray dust rises that tells of rot, ruin, and decay. The covered paths of deadly termites on some of the spider-haunted beams tell of the force that lives when all is decaying. Poor old house!

Outside, the grass and the weeds are working havoc with the once truly-laid stones, and the old levels are all askew. The rose bushes have run wild, and are tangled up with the box borders that run beside old guava trees. The wisteria flowers as beautifully as ever, even while it climbs over the orange and the lemon trees. All is wild and uncared for. The trim paths are overgrown with weeds, and the wind is moaning and sighing through the oak trees; and the old master who built the house and laid the paths is sleeping beside his wife, over yonder at St. Matthew's. And all the old, familiar objects that his eye loved to rest on are tumbling to decay, and we sing as we wander—

"Change and decay in all around I see, Oh, Thou, who changest not, abide with me."\(^22\)

Old William Cox left this house to his son George, and by him it was left to his son Charles, and he sold it to Arthur Dight, because he could not live there owing to his asthma; and so it passed out of the family.

But look around, and everywhere you find traces of the Cox family. Near by is the once stately Hobartville, with its great trees and its famous horse paddocks, and its history. Wm. Cox, jun, formed that place. He was old William Cox's eldest son, and when the father came out in the "Minerva" young William was left at Home. He was an officer in the English Army, and served in the Peninsular War, and married Miss Piper, daughter of the famous man who gave his name to Point Piper, in Sydney Harbour. William Cox, jun., came out after his father had settled here, and he made a good colonist. He settled first at Hobartville, and afterwards took up stations about Muswellbrook, on the Hunter River.

Then, away across the river, above the bridge, you can see shining the roofs and chimneys of Belmont, where old Archie Bell lived. He came out in the year 1803 as Lieutenant Archibald Bell, with the 102nd Regiment (the New South Wales Corps). He was one of the strong men of his day, and founder of the far-reaching Bell family. His son, Archie, was the bold young bushman who found his way over the Kurrajong to the Bathurst-road, after Lawson, Wentworth, and Blaxland had found the way via Penrith and Emu Plains. The road that young Archie found was called "Bell's Line," and so it is even unto this day. He received a grant of land on the Hunter for his discovery, and was the first man who drove cattle into that district. The Bells of Pickering are his grandchildren.

George Cox, son of old William Cox, married Miss Bell, of Belmont, and so the house on Belmont Hill became a sort of centre from which the Bells and the Cox's radiated all over the country, so that to-day, wherever you go in Australia, you come across some members of those grand old families. On the hillside at Belmont sleeps old Archibald Bell, his wife, and

\(^22\) From Henry Francis Lyte’s 1847 hymn, Abide With Me.
his granddaughter. In the churchyard at Windsor, just across the river, sleeps old William Cox and his wife, the forefathers of the great race that fills the land to-day, and a new world has sprung up since they left the troubled young colony. We of the larger Commonwealth are just beginning to take an interest in the men who made our history, and as the years roll on, and Australia grows larger and more important, so will our interest increase in the early men who laid the foundations of our country. They braved the dangers of the deep in the olden time to found a new nation in the Southern Seas, and to-day we have proven our love to the old land. The men of the Cox type who laid the first timbers of Southern Empire are the ones who enabled us to sing—

"Shake out each fold of the ensign old — the emblem fair and free Of the island throne that's an Empire grown — the flag that sweeps the sea; The flag of the folk who with hearts of oak braved the uncharted sea.

For the old blood runs in Briton's sons, and, tho' the seas exile, We bridge the wave with banners brave that float from isle to Isle —
The flag of the Little Islands, and the flag of the Great South Isle!

23

* I.

AUSTRALIA TO ENGLAND.

"Sidere mens eadem mutato." (Though the constellations change, the disposition remains the same).

Changed are the constellations,
But our hearts are the hearts of yore,
That greet thee, Mother of Nations,
With a word from a wider shore
Where an Empire's Outpost stations
The flag that our fathers bore.

O'er thee, the Plough and Wagon—
O'er thee, the Bear and Dragon
Swing round the Pole, with midnight scroll
The northern skies emboss.
O'er as Magellan masters
His mystical cloud-clusters—
Circles and sparkles, ere night darkles.
Lo! the starry Cross.

To the flag of the English, homage! —our kindred underworld:
And sharing our love, shake out above the Austral flag unfurl'd:
With the brave old flag let the daughter-flag together float unfurl'd:
Blazon its bars with the cross of stars, that the word to the poles may run
How the North and the South are wedded, how the ends of the Earth are one;
How the crosses of the Kingdoms Free, and the Cross of the Skies are one!

Yea, we are poles asunder,
And yet we are heart to heart,
That the nations look and wonder,
And the armies stand apart,
And the sound of the world's war-thunder
Dies down in the wide world's mart.

From the northern bergs and ices
To the isles of the southern spices
The same flag flies to the changing skies
Wherever the tempests toss.
Wherever the old Ocean floweth,
Thou know'st - and the wide world knoweth —
'Neath northern skies thou thy foes arise
Thou hast sons 'neath the Southern Cross.

Shake out each fold of the ensign old - the emblem fair and free
Of the island throne that's an Empire grown – the flag that sweeps the sea:
J. H. M. Abbott, obviously did no homework in asserting that the free settlers of the Hawkesbury were the original “Cornstalks”. The assertion that “The first of the free settlers who commenced the march westwards 'squatted' there, and owned the land by right of occupation” was simplistic and plain wrong. Ticket of Leave convicts were the first settlers on the Hawkesbury and all the early settlers had land grants. Thomas Bigge rather grittingly was among the first to notice the unusual size and health of the children of the Hawkesbury convicts.

“Place the average bush-bred boy of eighteen beside the same aged English lad and note the difference.

The Cornstalk is the almost immediate successor of the Hawkesbury native is indeed symbolical of the evolution of that physically perfect being. Years ago, we of the present generation are told, if you should see anywhere a particularly tall, brawny, well-made, big man, you might be morally certain that he hailed from the farms upon the Hawkesbury River flats. The first of the free settlers who commenced the march westwards 'squatted' there, and owned the land by right of occupation. If they could obtain them, they took wives unto themselves, and reared up families. And the families subsisted principally upon pumpkin and ground maize, and wore no boots in their childhood, and led a free, wild, untrammeled sort of life. So they grew into tall, clean-limbed, deep-chested men, and sturdy, comely women, and spread North and West and South over the land and their offspring were the fathers and mothers of the Cornstalks of to-day.”

27th June 1902: Boer War celebrations
As part of the celebrations marking the end of the Boer War a parade was held. Hawkesbury Agricultural College students, in various vehicles participated carrying banners of “Peace”. Among the vehicles was the “H. A. College lorry, on which was built a blackfellow’s gunyah. The students were dressed in aboriginal style, and had a camp-fire on the lorry.” The fact that the “students were dressed in aboriginal style” suggests that in the minds of the organiser minds there were no Koori people left in the Hawkesbury.

19th December 1902: our noble Australian Rhine
In describing a steam trip on the Hawkesbury the author took up some old stylistic devices to embark upon a new stream of stream of racist consciousness. He portrayed the Hawkesbury “in the heat of the summer's day”, focusing on “rich alluvial flats, whereon are to be seen waving fields of thriving corn”. He then draws the reader “back to the dim long ago”. His use of the phrase “terra incognita” is the first I have come across in this context and is used to disconnect Koori people from their land, to label them as savages and convey them to the dustbin of extinctions.
Enchanting beauty and fairylike scenery abounds all along the river. Not a portion could truthfully be described as barren of interest. Now we are passing rich alluvial flats, whereon are to be seen waving fields of thriving corn. Now the steamer turns a corner, and we are confronted with a frowning mountain, with a "wealth of verdure clad" standing like some grim sentinel in the heat of the summer's day. There is no lack of scenery - no lack of pleasing pictures for the tourist's eye or the artist's brush on our noble Australian Rhine. As the little vessel glides over the river's rippling bosom, one's mind unconsciously wanders back to the dim long ago - a time when all these smiling and industriously cultivated farms were a vast terra incognita, and when our noble river was peopled by wandering tribes of dusky and warlike aborigines.27

30th April 1904: Story of the Blacks
In April 1904 the Windsor and Richmond Gazette began a series of articles by Charles White entitled Story of the Blacks. These stories were syndicated across Australian newspapers and were national in nature. The chapters relating to the events of 1816 can be found elsewhere in this work. They are confusing and contradictory. Charles White was incorrect in his explanation of the difficulties he encountered in gathering information; the authorities were not too "absorbed in the task of European settlement", rather they were absorbed in concealing what happened in 1816. Both the Editor28 and Charles White used "Civilization" as a collective euphemism for acts of extermination. "The aborigines as a race have been practically civilized off the face of the earth which was their inheritance, and those who occupy the land once theirs are like to forget that ever a black man lived upon the soil." The legacy of "forgetfulness", or wilful amnesia, is of course one that still lives with us.

‘30th April 1904: Story of the Blacks
In this issue we commence Mr Charles White's "Story of the Blacks," and it will continue for many weeks. Those who desire to know this interesting history of an almost extinct race should order copies at once.29

The Story of the Blacks.
The Aborigines of Australia.
[By Charles White, author of "Convict Life in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land," "Australian Bushranging," &c.] (Published by Special Arrangement.)
INTRODUCTORY.
The black race of Australia will in a short time be but a memory, for the final issue in the unequal struggle between the white man and his coloured brother is not far off, and the last chapter of the history of the aborigines is even now being written.

In dealing with this subject I do not purpose devoting much time to speculation concerning their origin; that is a division in which the general reader could not be expected to take any interest, however attractive it may be to scientists. My aim has been to place before the reader a simple narrative of facts illustrative of the life of the Australian blacks in their savage state, and the condition of semi-civilization into which many of them were brought by their contact with the white man after possession of the land was taken by Governor Phillip

28 ‘Civilisation, and rum - which is an outcome of the former - have almost effectually wiped Out the original - or aboriginal - inhabitants of this country, and will be as effectual in all other parts where the experiment is tried.' Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 8th September 1888, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72557779
and the motley crowd that crossed the sea from England with him to form a British settlement on this far-off Australian shore. My information has been gathered from many sources, direct and indirect, and throughout the long search for reliable material upon which to work there has ever been present with me a feeling of profound regret that the opportunity for compiling an exhaustive, succinct and reliable account of the original inhabitants of these lands should have been allowed to pass away with the lives of the men who might have seized it and made better use of it, by reason of the then intimate relationship with them, than even more competent historians can possibly do at the present day. For years after the first settlement of the colony the authorities were too much concerned with regulating the lives of worse savages than the natives to give attention to a work so insignificant as that of studying the life of the dark-skinned mortals upon whose land they had settled - too eager to wring blood from manacled humanity of their own cast of countenance and colour of skin - too much absorbed in the task of European settlement, to care whether the race that was being exterminated was worth a thought. And to-day the position stands thus: The aborigines as a race have been practically civilized off the face of the earth which was their inheritance, and those who occupy the land once theirs are like to forget that ever a black man lived upon the soil. When the sight of the natives was striking because of its novelty a few sentences were written from which can be gathered what the men who saw them first thought of them; but mere impressions do not make up reliable history, and only such of the statements first made as have been proven true by subsequent dealings with the different tribes can be accepted as of any value whatever. It is well to gather up these earlier records, however, for the men who made them saw the natives in their most natural condition, and had the best opportunity of observing their appearance, habits and customs in their primitive state. The readers of this story must not expect anything approaching nicety of arrangement in the simple record of facts which I have essayed to place before them. A writer who wished to win a reputation for skill in this direction would require to be put in possession of better material than that which is possible of collection from the incongruous mass of disjointed narratives, oral and written, which I have gathered during the search of years. My chief concern has been to secure correctness, rather than to preserve uniformity, and I can only hope that any lack of the latter that may make itself apparent will not cause the reader to miss the points of aboriginal character which the facts recorded are intended to illustrate. This much by way of explanation - not apology.

Post centenary mythologizing

In the quarter century following the celebration of Macquarie’s proclamation of the Hawkesbury towns the pages of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette were used by a number of writers to mythologise the past. Curiously, neither Henry Fletcher, William Freame, John Ferguson, nor George Reeve were born in the Hawkesbury. The past was romanticised, settlers sanctified and Aboriginal people demonised. George Reeve in particular shaped the way in which the Hawkesbury views its past by focusing on the genealogies of Hawkesbury families.

30th November 1917: - The Old Hawkesbury

Just as Biblical traditions and natural Philosophy were no friends of Koories so Science also was manipulated by local writers in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette. Henry Fletcher trotted out what were tired stereotypes even in 1917 to denigrate Koori people. Fletcher got his science wrong. The Hawkesbury was never connected to the Parramatta River.

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Local writers are fond of dishing up reminiscences of this river valley, but I complain that they are altogether too new — some hundred years ago, or so, at most. Is there not some local geologist to tell us the old, old story of the Hawkesbury a hundred thousand or trillion years ago? to tell us of the time when the Blue Mountains were three times their present height and covered with snow and glaciers; the water pouring down their sides in a huge torrents that tore its way at racing speed, to the now Parramatta River, dug out Sydney Harbour, and the great gateway through the Heads?

... If you look at our mountains, or any others in Australia, you see that they are not tall and peaked like the Alps or the Andes, but dumpy, rounded ridges. This I assume, is because, being very old, they have worn their points off. Millions of years of rain, snow and wind have ground them down,

While we are the youngest people, we live on the oldest land in the world; and our aboriginals are the most primitive race of living men known. We live to day in a land that has seen all existing countries under water; but our blackfellows who escaped the general bath do not appear to have hustled themselves; They were the first 'Go-slower,' and have been going slow ever since.

1924: Ebenezer memorial stones
In celebrating the centenary of the first communion at the Ebenezer church in 1924 the Rev. D. Baird continued the theme that “the Land of Promise was this fair land of Australia”.

“Rev. D. Baird said: — The story has been often told of how God in His providence, said to the founders of this Church, as he said to some of ourselves, what he said to Abraham of old “Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land that I will shew thee.” And in their case, the Land of Promise was this fair land of Australia. Again, our experience in this land as a Church, has been one of difficulty surmounted by the Grace of God. As a bush burning but never consumed, but instead growing till its branches now well-nigh cover the: whole continent. Again, last year we spoke of the many memorial stones, set up here and elsewhere to the honor of God, and to the memory of the war heroes, who went from amongst us to fight God's battles for King, and country, and Christian civilisation. We put up these Ebenezer memorial stones saying like the men of old: “Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.”

And now to-day, let us listen to one word of counsel and warning, spoken by Moses of old, a man who saw into the very heart of things, and saw that true religion was the very soul of any nation, and that the loss of it meant death to any people, that it brings from God blessings in the city, in the field, in the family, in cattle and sheep, in basket and in store, and he calls Heaven and earth to witness, as I do this day, that if we forget our God, and lose our Christian faith, we as a people shall most surely perish from the earth, like the Aboriginal nation whom we are dispossessing, and whom we see fading away before our eyes.” In case the reader had any doubts of the legitimacy of the settlement of Australia, the author of the article reminded them that the country was in a state of nature, tenanted by aboriginals, numerous and often dangerous.

32 Ebenezer is a Hebrew word meaning stone of hope. Ebenezer memorial stones are reminders of God’s presence.
26th January 1927: - peaceful penetration
The address by John Alexander Ferguson, Procurator to the New South Wales General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, during the HISTORIC EBENEZER CHURCH ANNIVERSARY DAY CELEBRATIONS on the 26th of January 1927 was truly INTERESTING. After a brief tribute to the earliest heroes of Australian history such as Cook and Phillip, Ferguson moved onto the Ebenezer Pioneers. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that no section of our early heroes did more for Australia than those, who, by their peaceful penetration of this country, developed its latent wealth, and by the efforts of themselves and their descendants raised Australia to its present proud position. Whether there were blushes or sniggers at what was the most sexually-charged imagery in this study remains unrecorded. Certainly there was no voice of protest that the peaceful penetration was more like a rape. Again the 1805 attack on Henry Lamb by savage hordes was revisited.

'118 YEARS OLD HISTORIC EBENEZER CHURCH ANNIVERSARY DAY CELEBRATIONS INTERESTING ADDRESS BY MR. J. A. FERGUSON, B.A. 35

THE 118th anniversary of the old historic Presbyterian Church at Ebenezer was celebrated on Anniversary Day (January 26) and, notwithstanding unfavorable showery weather, there were about 150 people present. Among the visitors were the Right Rev. the Moderator, J. H. G. Auld, B.A., the Procurator (Mr. J. A. Ferguson, B.A., LL.B) the well-known historical writers (Messrs Wm. Freame 36 and Geo. G. Reeve 37), and representatives of the Presbyterian pioneer families of the district.

THE EBENEZER PIONEERS The Procurator (Mr. J. A. Ferguson) then delivered an interesting address on the Ebenezer Pioneers. He said that attempts had been made at various times to apportion the relative credit due to the earliest heroes of Australian history. Some would award pride of place to Captain James Cook, R.N, for his remarkable voyage and discoveries; others to Captain Arthur Phillip, for his selection of Sydney harbor for the first settlement, and his brave and wise conduct of the affairs of that infant community. All such comparisons were, however, offensive and necessarily futile. 'Those men performed their tasks nobly and are entitled to immortal fame,' continued Mr. Ferguson. 'Worthy, however, to be mentioned with them are those whom we would honor and commemorate to-

35 Sir John Alexander Ferguson, 1881-1969, came to NSW when his father, a Presbyterian minister, was transferred from NZ. Ferguson was a distinguished judge, historical bibliographer and member of the Presbyterian Church. While he may have done the research for his talk alone, I am inclined to think that he may have collaborated with Freame and Reeve as both wrote on the attack on Lamb’s farm in 1805, which in fact never took place.
36 William Freame, 1867-1933, was born in Victoria and moved to Sydney. A painter and decorator by trade he became a researcher and writer on local history. He was involved in local government and was an Anglican lay preacher. Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 29th September 1933, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/86056602
37 George Reeve, 1875-1933, was born in Victoria and was a journalist by trade. The following extract from his obituary gives some insights into his work. ‘He was an intensely patriotic man, and as the grit, courage and determination of our early settlers appealed to him he started out about twenty years ago to write their history, during the course of which he was a frequent visitor to the Hawkesbury. … Though he possessed a kind and sympathetic nature, he was fearless and outspoken and had strong opinions of many things which he was never afraid to express.’ Reeve’s preoccupation with the Ebenezer church and settlers found its fulfillment in his burial in the Ebenezer churchyard. Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 28th April 1933, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/86052384.
day—the Ebenezer Pioneers. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that no section of our early heroes did more for Australia than those, who, by their peaceful penetration of this country, developed its latent wealth, and by the efforts of themselves and their descendants raised Australia to its present proud position. Let me briefly recall to you some of the reasons why we should eternally venerate these fathers and founders of our country and our church. It required strong determination and a resolute heart to decide in favor of migration to New South Wales in 1802. The country was but 14 years old—a vast prison under military rule at the end of the earth, communication with England being rare and uncertain. The reports from the settlement had been anything but reassuring. On various occasions the people had been on the verge of starvation, owing to the small local production of foodstuffs and the uncertainty of English supplies. The possession of soil was disputed by a war-like and treacherous race. The Blue Mountains still formed an impassable barrier. The inducements offered to the migrants were not great—a grant of 100 acres with rations for the settlers from the Government store until they became self-supporting. A long voyage in a sailing vessel, carrying 200 prisoners of the Crown in addition to the emigrants, was not a pleasant prospect. Nevertheless, ten free settler families left Deptford on the Thames in the ship Coromandel on February 18, 1802, and arrived in Sydney on June 13, 1802, after a remarkably good and quick passage. It was possible to obtain from a perusal of the columns of our first newspaper, the ‘Sydney Gazette’ (first issued in 1803), proceeded the speaker, a very fair idea of the conditions ruling in Sydney when they arrived. Governor Phillip Gidley King mustered them on board and interviewed them. This was sufficient indication to them that the Government was practically an autocracy, and Sydney itself was a great prison camp. The drum beat and bugle calls night and morning spoke of the tent force necessary to control the settlement and afford some measure of security for life and property. 

The sense of insecurity arising from the large numbers of escaped convicts was increased in many quarters by the danger of attacks from aboriginals. An extract from the ‘Sydney Gazette’ of June 2, 1805, States:—‘Last Wednesday, (May 29, 1805) a number of natives assembled near the farm of Henry Lamb, of Portland Head, who at the time was absent from home. After remaining some considerable time without manifesting any disposition to violence, they all ascended a ridge of rocks at a trifling distance from the house, where they kindled their fires, and rising suddenly commenced an assault upon the settler’s little property, against which it was impossible to devise any means of security. A number of firebrands were showered about the house and different sheds. They were thrown from a considerable distance by means of the moutang, or fizzgig, and the premises, being by this device set fire to were in a short time wholly consumed, the family being able, with difficulty, to save themselves. The settler on his return went immediately in pursuit of the wanton assailants towards the interior of the mountains, but by a feint they eluded pursuit, having first taken that route, and afterwards struck off for the Nepean.’ Living thus in dread for the safety of his wife and family, removed from medical and all other comforts, the settler had to clear his land, and plant it.

A stall of soft drinks and sweets also helped to increase the funds of the Australian Inland Mission.38

29th April 1927: - Henry Lamb again
On the 29th of April 1927 George revisited Henry Lamb for the last time. Why Reeve so determinedly repeated this story is puzzling. The “two furious onslaughts made on the house

and women and children inmates of the Lamb family by the Maroota Blacks” probably did not happen. Certainly there is no record of an 1808 attack as Reeve claimed. The Sydney Gazette on the 7th of July 1805, blamed a young Koori girl taken in by the Lamb’s for firing the Lamb’s and Yeouller’s farms. No-one drew attention to Lamb’s partner, Elizabeth Chambers, who had set fire to her master’s house in 1792.39 It was certainly one of the most curious distortions of the Hawkesbury’s historical record, which only makes sense when it and the other articles relating to Henry Lamb are placed within the context of Martha Everingham’s death in 1926 and the subsequent attempts to place a memorial on her grave.40 As well, attention must be drawn to Reeve’s 1933 poem, St. Matthew’s Windsor, in which Reeve deliberately distorts factual evidence to demonise Aboriginal people.41

‘SIDELIGHTS FROM HAWKESBURY HISTORY
SHOWING WHAT THE EARLY FORE-FATHERS OF WINDSOR THOUGHT OF EACH OTHER WITH ANNOTATIONS OF THE PRINCIPALS.
(BY GEO. G. REEVE)
(For the ‘Windsor and Richmond Gazette’)

PART II.
Mr. Edward Abbott was a Major in the 102nd. Regiment (New South Wales Corps) and came to this State with that Regiment, arriving at Sydney on the 26th June, 1790. When a detachment of the soldiery were sent to Windsor to guard the settlers against the attacks and looting of their farm produce and stock by the blacks, Major Abbott was placed in charge, and he resided at the first military barracks built in the old town. Joseph Holt, in his informative work entitled "Memories of Joseph Holt," speaks very highly of Edward Abbott and another officer, Captain John Piper. Abbott left Windsor about the year 1814, having been appointed Deputy Judge Advocate for Van Dieman’s Land by Governor Macquarie.

Henry Lamb had a farm on the Hawkesbury River opposite Johnston’s, Portland Head, or “New Berwick” Farm. The place is owned by Mr. Chas. Turnbull. The well-known grandson of pioneer John Turnbull, Mr. John Warr Turnbull lives on the farm with his son. The property, which is known by the name of “Kelso” was acquired in the early twenties by Mr. Ralph Turnbull, the first, and his Australian-born brother, George Turnbull, the first. The surrounding ridge near the old "Lamb" homestead is indeed a very historic place as being the exact site of two furious onslaughts made on the house and women and children inmates of the Lamb family by the Maroota Blacks (Aboriginals) during the year 1805, and again in the year 1808. So it will be seen that the Lambs are a very old Hawkesbury family, and some of the pioneer Lamb's descendants are still on the old river. I am of the opinion that the founder of the family, Mr. Henry Lamb, had been a soldier who had been induced to become a settler.42

20th October 1931: THE HAWKESBURY
J. H. M. Abbott returned to his theme of the uniqueness of the Hawkesbury Native and the special place of the Hawkesbury in Australian history in the following Windsor and

40 Unfortunately, Ronald Macquarie Arndell, author of Pioneers of Portland Head, in a 1964 address to the Presbyterian Historical Society repeated the Sydney Gazette’s, 2nd June 1805 account of the burning of the Lamb farm. The Ebenezer Church Newsletter, No. 18 April 2015 reprinted Arndell’s address in its entirety. Bad history endures.
Richmond Gazette article. While acknowledging the dispossession of Aboriginal people Abbott made it clear that this was clearly an old-time thing and not one to inquire about.

'There is no district in all Australia quite like the Hawkesbury, no race of people altogether similar to the “Hawkesbury Native,” and no other town of such a sort as Windsor.

The casual visitor to the Hawkesbury, who wishes to see for himself the cradle of the Australian race — that is to say, of the race that dispossessed (not without some regrettable strife and bloodshed) the original Australians — and who has not much time to fool about with an inquisitive nose for old-time things, there is no better place to spend a day or two in than Windsor. The quaint old town is the true capital of Old Australia, after Sydney. But Old Australia is more obvious, in Windsor than in Sydney. If you have eyes to see, you may learn more Australian history in a day than you will learn from the aspect of the modernised capital in a year. If you should have time to wander through the district a little, and care anything at all about the origins of the country to which you belong, you will be richly rewarded if you ride, drive, motor, or tramp down stream.  

21st April 1933: St. Matthew’s Church
As the settlement began with the Reverend Richard Johnston’s thanksgiving sermon on the 3rd of February 1788 it is appropriate that this work concludes with a study of Reeve’s poem of thanksgiving, “ST. MATTHEW’S CHURCH, WINDSOR WITH A FRAGMENT OF “WINDINGSHORE” HISTORY.”

Windingshore history is a reference to Alexander Pope’s 1713 poem Windsor Forest. Windsor Forest was created by William I as a royal hunting forest. Pope used the forest as a platform to celebrate British history, commencing with the Garden of Eden, Milton’s Chaos and closed with the prophetic vision that “Earth’s distant ends our glory shall behold.”

George Reeve drew upon one particular verse as a basis for St. Matthew’s Church: “Oh would’st thou sing what Heroes Windsor bore, What Kings first breath’d upon her winding shore, Or raise old warriours, whose ador’d remains In weeping vaults her hallow’d earth contains!”

There is an earlier usage of “winding shores” which Reeve appears unlikely to have read. In Book III of Virgil’s Aeneid the “winding shores” are on the island of Strophades where the fleeing Trojans land and fight the Harpies who object to their oxen and goats being slaughtered. The prophetess Celaeno told them that they were in the wrong place and would suffer as a result.

Reeve’s ballad posited St. Matthews Anglican church at Windsor and its attendant graveyard as the focus of an archetypal celebration of settlement, race, religion and empire.

In legitimising settlement Reeve medieavalised the church and graveyard to create a sense of heritage, longevity and dynasty.

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Reeve placed the church as the centrepiece of settlement; Biblical scenes in “stain’d glass” both filtered and illuminated the lives of the pioneers. *Conscience* was in Reeve’s eyes the instrument of correcting the “gloom and error” of the convict system.

Reeve created a continuum of defenders of Church and Crown, citing those buried in the cemetery, stretching from the beginnings of settlement to the Great War.

Racial integrity was an important aspect of Reeve’s poem. The choir were “fair children”, the graves held dynasties “in race and line unbroken.”

“Peace on earth” was posited by Reeve as the worthy reward for the sacrifices of the “old times grim”.

Reeve’s poem contained all the other attributes of the language of settlement: silence and omission, denial, distortion and self interest.

In legitimating settlement Reeve pre-empted the “invasion” debate by casting an Aboriginal person as an invader: “And Freebody, who shot a black invader, That menac’d Windsor town”. Unless Simon Freebody had shot an Aboriginal person and the killing had not been recorded then Reeve’s claim was wrong on several accounts. Reeve would have known through the *Historical Records of New South Wales* and *Historical Records of Australia* that Simon Freebody was one of five settlers found guilty of the murders of Little George and Little Jemmy in 1799. The transcript of the trial contained evidence that Simon Freebody “killed Little George by thrusting a cutlass into him”. The killings took place on Argyle Reach. “Windsor town” did not exist until 1810.

Reeve’s focus on the centrality of the church in the history of Windsor is exaggerated. Reeve ignores the discrimination practiced against the Catholic convicts by the Church of England. Reeve exaggerates the influence of the church in transforming the convicts. This transformation was largely carried out by the convicts themselves as they gained access to land.

Self interest must also be taken into account when examining Reeve’s obsessive interest in the local churches. Reeve had been admitted to Windsor District Hospital in January 1933 with a heart condition and it was known “that the end was merely a matter of time”.

Published two days before his death *St. Matthew’s Church, Windsor* was Reeve’s last work. According to his obituary Reeve “expressed a wish to be buried at Ebenezer Presbyterian cemetery, and it was fitting that his mortal remains should he laid to rest in that historic God’s Acre, among the early pioneers concerning whom he loved to write about”.

Reeve’s *St. Matthew’s Church, Windsor* is a classic example of wilful disassociation between past wrongs and the inherited benefits of those wrongs.

‘ST. MATTHEW’S CHURCH,
WINDSOR
WITH A FRAGMENT OF “WINDINGSHORE” HISTORY

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By GEO. G. REEVE

The Apse is quaint and starr’d and olden,
The sunlight streams in splendour golden,
On each and every morn;
Through stain’d glass scenes from Bible glories,
Of foremost pioneers whose homely stories,
The walls adorn.

The rays are shed in brilliant splendour,
On many a dead and gone defender,
Of Church and Crown; On Cupitt, a brave soldier,47
And Freebody, who shot a black invader,
That menac’d Windsor town.

Old-time Officer George Loder,48
Rests near, in race and line unbroken,
Of years long past;
And dames and maidens, proud and stately,
Lie here with folded arms sedately,
And eyes shut fast.

Upon their graves the sunlight lingers.
Then shines again on anthem singers,
Of old times grim;
For these ’midst many a sacred relic,
Fair children sing the song angelic,
The annual anniversary hymn.

The song .of peace — these gentle voices,
These glad young hearts that life rejoices,
My fancy thought;
Are paying homage to the minister,
To all the people’s foes disaster,
And military tyrants wrath.

Gone are the days of gloom and error,
Conscience breaks the rod of terror,
By Hawkesbury’s winding shore
And as the children sing their message,
Of peace on earth — the joyful presage,
Old Windsor brightens more. 49

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47 George Cupitt, NSW Corps soldier buried in St. Matthews cemetery.
48 A serjeant in the NSW Corps and buried in St. Matthews cemetery.
Judith Wright: - self forgiveness
Throughout the writing of the history of settlement First Peoples have invariably been given the responsibility for their own destruction. In The Generation of Men, 1959, Judith Wright told the story of her grandparents, Albert Andrew Wright and Charlotte May, nee Mackenzie, as they moved north out of the Hunter Valley. Judith Wright used her grandfather’s diaries to write the stories, yet despite the diaries having “seldom mentioned the people of the country on which he had intruded”. Judith Wright in a most convoluted manner placed the blame for the destruction of Aboriginal people upon their own collective heads. Wright’s strange proposal of self forgiveness was predicated upon the total extermination of First Peoples. The real value of the following extract lies in the recognition of the fear and guilt that haunted the men of Albert Wright’s generation. It also helps explain the determination of settler Australia to exterminate the past. Mary Gilmore, in Old Days, Old Ways, 1934, offered an equally fallacious justification for extermination. It is only through women writers such as Catchpole, Gilmore and Wright that we gain any insights into the effects of fear upon settlers. History writing dominated by men is invariably distorted.

‘Albert began to understand that this was where the danger lay, the mortal wound that the blacks had had known how to deal in return for their own dispossession. ‘You must understand us or you must kill us,’ they had said; and understanding would have meant - something beyond the powers of the white men, some renunciation impossible to be made. Not for many years, it seemed to him, could that wound be healed. It lay at the bottom of the hatred and contempt that so many men held for the blacks, and which, as he thought of it now, he had himself used as a refuge when it was necessary to condone some wrong or another, some injustice convenient to himself.

To forgive oneself - that was the hardest task. Until the white men could recognise and forgive that deep and festering consciousness of guilt in themselves, they would not forgive the blacks for setting it there. The murder would go on – open or concealed – until the blacks were all gone, the whites forever crippled.

He imagined a whole civilization haunted, like a house haunted by the ghost of a murdered man buried under it. The thought recalled to him suddenly the day when he had seen – or imagined – that tall warrior standing on a plain where no warrior could have been, beckoning him across to nothing but a low tussock and the teasing heat-waves of the shimmering air. Yes they were all haunted - his generation. Perhaps his sons would be able to forgive, to lay that ghost in themselves; perhaps it would remain forever at the root of this country, making every achievement empty and every struggle vain.


51 ‘It was then that men said in fear; “If once the blacks procure arms .” So the poor black had to die before arms became his possession; before women had to be shut in a room fearing the firing of a roof, fearing the failure of their men’s limited ammunition, and having for their only comfort the knowledge that, when the time came, enough bullets would be saved for each of them and their children; as I knew they would be saved for my mother and me. Those were the old days when, by those who knew them, the blacks were still reckoned as an Australian population of several millions. And millions meant armed power.’ Page 84, Old Days Old Ways, Mary Gilmore, Angus and Robertson, 1985.

When I first started writing this work I envisaged it would focus on contact history in the Richmond Windsor area and finish around 1840. It was not long before I was swept past the Fall and the many branches of polygenesis and degeneracy. Just as the sandstone cliffs of Bungool and Lover’s Leap narrow the river I abandoned reading modern secondary works and focused on the language of the primary sources. Sinuous lagoons behind the banks of the river traced the silences, omissions and denials of those early records. Inexorably I bobbed along to the 1894 death of John Henry Fleming, past the 1910 centenary of Macquarie’s five towns until I thought I had found “tranquil water” with the deaths of Martha Everingham and George Reeve in 1926 and 1931 respectively. Just as the salt water mixes with the fresh around Wiseman’s Ferry I found that elements of Language of Settlement continued on into modern secondary sources; and with the Land Rights Act, Bicentennial, the Native Title Act and the subsequent History Wars I found myself swirling around the rocks of Bouddi Point where the Hawkesbury joins the great East Australian Current.

Contact history in the Hawkesbury is still a sensitive issue at a local and national level. There are many descendants of early settlers whose thoughts and feelings are locked on their relatives who were killed by Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people who trace their ancestry back to the Hawkesbury are beginning to explore their past. Important work is being done on the site of the old Black Town on the junction of Rooty Hill and Richmond Roads. Yellomundee National Park on the banks of the Nepean is seeing a revival of traditional land practices. Modern writers such as Denholm, Pilger and Reynolds have begun an ongoing debate over the memorialisation of the frontier wars that largely began on the Hawkesbury. Keith Windschuttle has done us all a great service by demanding high standards of scholarship in this area. Hawkesbury Council is to be commended for funding the digitising of many Hawkesbury newspapers. By digitising thousands of primary sources our state and national libraries have enabled quality research to take place.

In the following comments on modern works, should anyone feel that their work is treated unfairly please contact me on nangarra@bigpond.com. Constructive comment is invited.

In 1962 D. G. Bowd published Macquarie Country: A History of the Hawkesbury. Chapter 6: The Aborigines was a watershed in works on the history of the Hawkesbury, in being a sensitive, source-based treatment; placed within the work, rather than as a foreword or postscript. Bowd sensitively evoked the friendliness and trust of the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury in their initial contacts with the settlers. Despite their assumed superiority, Bowd accurately and instinctively realised the fear that prompted settlers to seize hostages and use “friendly” Aboriginal people as protective guides. Bowd used Collins, The Historical Records of NSW, The Historical Records of Australia and the Sydney Gazette to address the killings on Argyle Reach in 1794; the 1799 murder trial; and the hostilities of 1804, 1805 and 1816. Bowd seemed unaware that small pox had already impacted upon the Hawkesbury before settlement commenced and that other European diseases such as influenz, tuberculosis and gonorrhoea came with the settlers in 1794. Bowd missed the complexities of the killings on Argyle Reach in 1794; he seemed aware of the connection between hostilities and the extension of settlement, but unaware of the connection between drought and violence; he made no attempt to avoid the ferocity or the horror of the killings on the Hawkesbury, but appears to have obfuscated over Macquarie’s 1816 proclamations.

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53 Page 178, Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness, J. M. Dent and Sons, London 1969, originally published 1902. 54 Bouddi, a Darkinung word meaning water swirling around rocks, is on the northern side of the mouth of the Hawkesbury.
Bowd’s elegiac conclusion that the “music and laughter of the Hawkesbury tribes have been silenced, their customs forgotten, and their traditions lost” was the last ebb of the discourse of doomed savagery, sinking into the backwaters of historical obscurity. After the 1967 Referendum many Australians tentatively began to assert their identity as First Peoples of Australia. There are now several thousand Australians who trace their ancestry back to the Aboriginal survivors of settlement on the Hawkesbury.

During the activism that culminated in the 1967 referendum, the anthropologist, W. E. H. Stanner produced a number of significant writings that culminated in his 1968 Boyer Lecture. W. E. H. Stanner’s insights are probably the most penetrating of any writer on race relations in Australia. Stanner’s use of metaphor lifts his writing out of the ordinary. Unfortunately, his thoughts appear to have been neglected by many modern writers. Like most writers of the time footnotes were not used.

His work has been collected in The Dreaming & other essays, Black Inc. Agenda, 2009. A number of his writings are relevant to the Hawkesbury.

Caliban Discovered, 1962, addresses changing European attitudes towards Aboriginal people. Stanner’s reference on page 92 to Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury warning settlers of a coming flood in 1796 is probably a mistake for 1799.

‘In each of four centuries – from the 17th onward – over which the Aborigines have won European attention there were complicated warps of outlook towards them and, from those warps, the facts about them were given twists. ... there were vast changes in mentality and atmosphere between 1644 (the time of Tasman and Hobbes), 1770 (the time of Sheridan, Johnson, Rousseau and Cook) and 1898 (the time of Trollope, Sir James Frazier, and Spencer and Gillen).’ ... 

‘There have been perhaps seven or eight fairly distinct views which can be labelled, with little more distortion than is inevitable in putting a tag on any dominant tendency. There were visions of Caliban, of The Noble Savage, of The Comic Savage, of The Orphan or Relict of Progress. Of Primal or Protozoan Man, of The Last of His Tribe, of The Ward in Chancery, and of the Reluctant European. Broadly speaking, they followed each other in that order, but they also overlapped and even became mixed up.’

The History of Indifference Thus Begins, 1963, is a disturbing commentary on Australian society and gives valuable insights into the growth of Aboriginal activism.

‘At Phillip’s departure there were already present both the elements, and the conditions for the persistence, of two realities which continued without material change, except for the worse, over the next 150 years. One was a pattern of racial relations, the other a structure of racial equities. They were the products of a process – meeting, sporadic violence, a general struggle, and the imposition of terms by the stronger – which always appeared wherever settlement went. ... It seems to follow that one cannot make full human sense of the development of European life in Australia without reference to the structure of racial relations and the persistence indifference to the fate of the Aborigines; in short, without an

analysis of the Australian conscience. Part of such a study would be the apologetic element in the writing of Australian history, an element that sticks out like a foot from a shallow grave.

One cannot dismiss the fact that three realities co-existed with the unfolding of ‘the Australian story’. Racial conflict persisted wherever any Aborigines survived; many Aborigines made continuous efforts to adapt themselves to new conditions of life; and among a few Europeans, an interest in the subjugated race never wholly died. The relevance of those facts may have been unappreciated or denied; they may have been passed over in the writing of history; but without them, there could have been no ground or spring for the renascent humanitarianism of the 1930s. ...

Phillip’s period is interesting because it produced the materials whose decay-products made the ground fertile for such rank growths. The vision of primitive man was already trifocal – romantic, realistic and sardonic. As might perhaps have been expected, the collapsed romanticism turned into violence, the realism into indifference, and the sardonicism turned into contempt. The ensemble of violence, indifference and contempt suited the mood and needs of a transplanted people. What makes the case for a relational history, within a field containing two people, is the continuous working of a single influence with two victims – a sightlessness towards Aboriginal life, and an eyelessness towards the moral foundation of Australian development. Let us call it simply the fact of indifference. It denotes a whole syndrome of psycho-social qualities, which were as much an enabling cause or condition of Aboriginal ruin as they were of the shaping of European mentality and life in Australia. 

As an anthropologist witnessing the destruction of Aboriginal society in the Northern Territory during the 1930s W. E. H. Stanner was uniquely qualified to speak on relations between Aboriginal people and White Australians between 1788 and 1968.

‘In 1932 I went to a remote place in the Northern Territory to study some little known tribes. It was a broken-down settlement which might well have been the Illawarra or the Hawkesbury of a hundred years or so before. There was an exiguous scatter of farmers, cattlemen and miners with leaseholds over lands still lived on by the remnants of the local tribes, which felt that they had an ancient and unbroken title to the lands.

On the outskirts of the settlement there were a few groups of ‘myalls’ (bush natives) who were as wild as hawks, timid and daring by turns, with scarcely a word of English, and in two minds what to do: drawn towards the settlement because the break in the tribal structure had reached them too, but unreconciled to the prospect of a sedentary life. Some of them were being tempted in, others pushed away, as the need, fear or expediency of the Europeans dictated in almost Phillipian stops and starts. 

In his 1968 Boyer Lecture W. E. H. Stanner began by observing the construction of a “basic structure” of relationships in the first five years of European settlement, “which ever since has formed part of the continuing anatomy of Australian life”.

In the first month of settlement Governor Phillip brought with him “a hopeful theory of human affairs.” He hoped “to coax the Aborigines into close relations with the settlement and to give them ‘a high opinion of their new guests’ (the words are his) by refraining from any show or use of superior force.” In less than a month relations began to break down. Aboriginal people stayed away from the settlement. “Phillip and other officers suspected the convicts and to a lesser extent the Aborigines, but not themselves or the fact and design of the colony.” From May to October Phillip, without a word of any Aboriginal language attempted “to convey his good intent”. In October, as violence continued and fear began to mount in the settlement, he reversed his previous policy and sent out “a firing party” which was successful in that it kept Aboriginal people away for months. By the end of 1788 starvation loomed as a real possibility. Governor Phillip decided to kidnap some Aboriginal people, apparently to convince them of the advantages “of joining their lives with those of the settlers”. Watkin Tench, according to Stanner was of the opinion that the Governor’s motive was to use them to find resources to extend the colony’s survival. Over a period of months Governor Phillip kidnapped Arabanoo, who died of small pox; and then Colby and Bennelong, both of whom escaped. In September 1790 Governor Phillip, as brave and wrong-headed as ever, was speared at Manly Cove.

Towards the end of 1790 Stanner observes that three themes began “to weave themselves together in a way that will have a signal bearing on Australian history”. Firstly something broke “in the fabric of native life around Port Jackson, and from every side the Aborigines, unforced, begin to flock into the settlement”. Sydney’s streets filled “with the dispossessed, the homeless and the poverty-stricken from all over the County of Cumberland, and before long, from places beyond”. Secondly the settlers by this time were able to fend for themselves. They no longer needed Aboriginal help. Thus began the “history of indifference”. Thirdly Pemulwuy speared McEntire. Blind to McEntire’s villainy, Phillip sent out two unsuccessful head-hunting punitive expeditions.

In a later stage of his lecture (page 204ff) Stanner explored the nature of Aboriginal responses to invasion.

‘A tradition of writing since Banks and Cook insists on describing the Aborigines as an ‘inoffensive’ people, or uses some other adjective to hint at innate docility or submissiveness or weakness of temperament or character. From this vein of thought one often hears it argued that they would have had a better fate if like the maouri, the Zulu, or some of the American Indians they had stood their ground and given battle. It is one of the least probable might-have-beens of history, and the whole line of thinking is badly mistaken.

The Aborigines were originally a high-spirited and in their own way a militant people. They were not however, an organised martial people, and that was why we broke them up so easily. The genius of their society lay in other directions and it was this otherness, fundamentally, that led to their undoing. They had no need for the larger social and political organisations, the executive leadership, and the skill or wherewithal for operations of scale that channel militancy into martial capacity to serve a flag and a cause. When the time of need came they were at a loss.’

He goes onto to list Aboriginal weapons: spears, clubs, throwing sticks, boomerangs and fire; that “threw panic into many a settlement and imposed a reign of fear on some regions for a long time. But if they had guns it could only have spun out the story to the same end. A population so sparse that it average density was one person to a square mile made the
concentration of a sizeable force difficult, and commissariat by hunting and foraging made more difficult still the holding together of sufficient force long enough to be effective. In the long run the situation was a hopeless one. The continent was lost and won, not by campaigns and operations of scale, but by local attrition. It was inched away, locality by locality. The marvel is that the defenders did so well.”

On pages 206ff he goes onto explore the impact of conquest. He identifies: “homelessness, powerlessness, poverty and confusion”; as creating self perpetuating cycles of dependence and inertia.

W. E. H. Stanner speaks of a “different tradition that leaves us tongueless and earless” in recognising how homelessness robbed Aboriginal people of the basis of every individual and group relationship. The loss of Aboriginal leadership was exacerbated by the throwing together of disparate Aboriginal groups who had no reciprocal relationships with each other. Paternalism created poverty and dependency. “Confusion” came from the inability of Aboriginal people “to grasp the European plan of life”.


Rowley deals with the Hawkesbury on pages 28-31 and 151. In pages 28-31 he begins with the Hawkesbury and moves onto the western plains. Rowley’s focus is on the relationship between governments, free settlers, convicts and Aboriginal people. He began the section observing that “Within the first decade of settlement on the Hawkesbury River, the Aboriginal came to be seen as a depredator and a pest rather than as a potential labourer.” He noted that:

- “Macquarie” urged “the settlers to form vigilante groups to repel attacks but not to take the offensive”.
- “the dilemma of every early Australian governor, for the Aboriginal was a British subject, to be instructed and protected.”
- “A state of war was seldom recognised as such, and when it was, it was then rather as ‘civil war; with the declaration of martial law’.”

Rowley’s insights into race relations are extremely perceptive, “the whites could do much as they wished and at the same time have the defence that Aboriginal morality did not exist. The Aboriginal tradition of using sexual-relationships to cement social ties rendered them especially vulnerable in the face of a predominately male settler group.”

In exploring the devastating impact of alcohol on Aboriginal people, Rowley offers the opinion that “social controls of a traditional nature are especially vulnerable when the whole basis of the tradition is in question; even more so when, as in this case, it has been wrecked by rapid depopulation, loss of control of their land, and the obvious disregard of indigenous religious assumptions by the newcomers, not to their disaster but to their advantage; by the new factors which make initiation of the young men and even correct marriage, impossible;”

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by the complete disregard by the white men who have shared the women or the land, of traditional obligations."  

David Denholm, author of *The Colonial Australians*, 1975, was an Australian author and teacher. Chapters 2 and 3 are particularly relevant to the Hawkesbury and are noteworthy for their sensitive insights.

‘The Darug, resisted the Hawkesbury River settlers for twenty-two years and inflicted on the Hawkesbury settlers a casualty rate similar to that sustained by the Australian armed forces in World War II, about one in thirty four.’

Ronald Macquarie Arndell was a descendant of Thomas Arndell. His 1976 work, *Pioneers of Portland Head: Builders of Church and School, Early Settlers of the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers and Squatters of the North-West New South Wales and Southern Queensland including Family Genealogies*, was, as the name indicates, strongly genealogical in nature. As such, while care must be taken, it is rich in pickings about individuals and the Hawkesbury.

Like many of his contemporaries Arndell continued to see the lower case “a” for Aboriginal people.

This work is important in pointing out that some settlers, such as Thomas Arndell and Captain John Grono had good relations with Aboriginal people.

His work provides information about George Hall’s family. George Hall’s third son John, as a young man of 18 accompanied surveyor Oxley’s 1818 expedition from the Wellington Valley to Port Macquarie. He left Oxley at Newcastle and with an Aboriginal guide was probably the first settler to cross from the Hunter to Wisemans Ferry. Arndell claims that Thomas Simpson Hall was wounded and two of his men killed at Wee Bollo Bollo on the Meki River near modern Moree in 1836. This differs from other accounts that place the killings in 1838. On his death George Hall held a total area of 1,250,000 acres.

On Pages 164 and 173-178, Arndell outlined the complex relationships of the Kennedy family. James Raworth Kennedy and his sister, Elizabeth Moore Kennedy, the children of a Kent clergyman arrived on the *Sovereign* on 5 November 1795. Within one generation, the families of Kennedy, Howe, Broughton, Hume, Dight, Doyle and Dargin were all related by marriage and became first cousins. These families were spread across the Nepean, Hawkesbury and Hunter valleys. Many of these families had positive relations with Aboriginal people.

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65 Page 28.
68 Page 146, ibid.
69 Page 151, ibid.
70 Pages 141-2, ibid.
Many of the Portland Head settlers were associated with the *Coromadel*. William Jacklin was one of the more unusual Portland Head settlers. William Jacklin arrived as a convict in 1791 aged 43. Despite being destitute, his character was such that he was allowed to rent a Hawkesbury farm probably in 1795. He married Elizabeth Cardell, another convict in 1798 at Parramatta. Sometime after 1804 he took up a 30 acre grant on the left bank of the river opposite George Hall’s “Percy Place”. He appears to be been assigned a convict in 1813.

“There is no record in contemporary records of Jacklin having any trouble with the blacks. This is significant since his neighbours William Stubbs, and Henry Lamb and Matthew Everingham, who were only a few miles north of his farm, suffered repeated attacks. This implies that Jacklin treated the blacks with compassion, and they in turn respected his property.”

Arndell’s account of the attack on William Stubbs home is sympathetic to Aboriginal concerns and issues.72

On Page 233, Arndell repeated the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* story 31st October 1924 about “Lover’s Leap” being named after two young Aboriginal lovers of “forbidden lineage” who leapt from its heights to escape punishment. I am highly suspicious of the veracity of this tale.

Arndell is particularly good in describing the movements of the sons and daughters of the early settlers. Thus, William Bligh Turnbull, 1809-1892, the youngest son of John Turnbull, farmed the Upper Colo till 1868, when he shifted with his family to Euroka on the Macleay River at Kempsey.73

A particularly important reference is to William Bailey, who shot a warrior about to spear him while he was burning off on his grant just south of St. Alban’s Common.74 There is no other record of this killing.

Keith Wiley’s dedication in *When the Sky Fell Down: the destruction of the Tribes of the Sydney Region, 1788-1850s*; “to all those connected with the achievement of land rights for Aborigines – an event which I believe may mark the beginning of a new era of hope for a sadly misused people,” is quite telling in terms of a naïve optimism to legislate change for the better in an uneven power relationship.

In 1979, it was a major work, breaking new ground. Despite being uneven and dated, Wiley brings insights and understandings that are still relevant. “Thus the writer seeking to present historical events as they might have seemed to the original inhabitants must depend heavily on the observations of the European invaders. Usually these are shaped by a very erroneous concept of society and the writer must attempt his own evaluation of them in context with the acts of resistance and co-existence undertaken by the victims and their occasional recorded utterances.”75 However, Wiley’s claim that “Occasionally the Aborigines speak to us directly, as in the reported conversations with Bennelong, Colby Bungaree and others”, must

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71 Pages 179 ff. bid.
72 Page 229, ibid.
73 Page 255-6, ibid.
74 Page 257, ibid.
be read with the caveat that all such conversations were second-hand and most were recorded in terms of an unequal power relationship.

The map of the “Distribution of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Sydney Region before 1788” which shows the “Dharuk” tribe between Penrith, Liverpool and Parramatta is now outdated.

The title of Chapter One, *Awakening from the Dreamtime* is derived from W.E.H. Stanner’s Boyer Lecture, *After the Dreaming*. Despite obviously having read Stanner’s work, and being aware of the diverse nature of Aboriginal responses to invasion, Keith Wiley draws upon an apocalyptic Victorian story of the sky falling in after the props holding the sky up rotted away, to explain Aboriginal responses to invasion in 1788. I can find no evidence to support the relevance of his claim to the Sydney region.

In Chapter eight, *The Black War*, Keith Wiley offers a useful overview of the settlement of the Cumberland Plain and beyond. Initially the “better-than-average soils near Sydney and Parramatta were taken up”, followed by the “alluvial lands along the Hawkesbury and Georges Rivers”. The forest lands of the Cumberland Plain were taken next. Around 1815 the graziers began moving into “the Illawarra, Argyle, Westmoreland and middle Hunter Valley districts”.

The latter part of Chapter eight focuses on the Hawkesbury, in particular the fighting in 1804-05. The value of this section is undermined by Keith Wiley’s use of imprecise and value laden words and phrases such as “some were prepared to betray offenders among their own people” and the “Aborigine who had betrayed his European hosts at mealtime and killed one of them was known as Branch Jack”. His account of Musquito relies upon evidence that I believe is now suspect.

Valerie Ross is an important historian of the Hawkesbury and its settler families. The title of her 1980 work, *Matthew Everingham A First Fleeter and his Times*, gives some sense of the scope of this work. It is a story of her ancestor, Matthew Everingham, in the context of his time. It is a somewhat unusual work in that the “stories which introduce each chapter are imaginary though based on fact”. Chapter six begins with a fictionalised account of the spearing of Matthew, his wife Elizabeth and their assigned servant on their Sackville Reach farm in May 1804. Despite the difficulties posed by fictionalising a historical event of which there is a paucity of factual information, Valerie provided an objective account of the fighting in 1804-05 on the river.

I have a suspicion that the phrase “the other side of the frontier” in the tile of Henry Reynolds, *The Other side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the invasion of Australia*,

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UNSW Press, 1981, was first used by Stanner. It was certainly quoted by Keith Wiley on page 9 of *When the Sky Fell Down* in 1979 in quotation marks.

In *A Hawkesbury Story*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1981, reprinted 1989 with corrigenda, Valerie Ross, continues on from *Matthew Everingham A First Fleeter and his Times*. It contains accounts of Branch Jack, page 203; an account of Colebee’s assistance in the capture of a party of bushrangers in 1822, page 28; the killing of Richard Evans in 1812 on China Farm, page 73; and Devil Devil, on page 31. Chapter nine, page 199ff. begins with a fictionalised dream by John Everingham of an Aboriginal attack on the Everingham homestead in 1805 and a massacre in which his older brother participated in, as reported by Everingham descendants. The chapter then moves on to describe the relationship between John Everingham, (b. 1817) son of Matthew Everingham I, and Mildred Saunders, an Aboriginal woman. The death certificate of Ephraim Everingham identified John Everingham as his father and Mildred Saunders as his mother. Ephraim was the husband of Martha Hibbs who died in 1926.

The rest of the chapter moves across rock carvings, the various conflicts. Mrs Felton Mathews witnessing of a wallaby hunt in 1834, and the Sackville Reach Aboriginal reserve. I have not yet been able to source references to relations between Aboriginal people and Caroline Love, page 200, Thomas Dillon, pages 203-04 or *John Brown at ‘Flat Rock’ Lower Portland*, page 204.

Like Bowd before her, Valerie Ross concludes the chapter with the vanishing of the Aboriginal world.


There are only two references to Aboriginal people in this history of the settlement of the MacDonald Valley. The first, on page 61, relates to John Bayley clearing his land near what is now the village of St. Albans in 1820. According to family legend, John Bayley, kept a gun by his side as he cleared the land during the day and he slept in a hollow log away from his camp at night. In the morning he “would often find the camp site embedded with numerous spears hurled from the nearby bush by objecting blacks who still roamed the district. They were hostile and treacherous.” It would be most unlikely that Bayley’s sleeping spot would have escaped the attention of Aboriginal people. The phrase “hostile and treacherous” indicates that negative attitudes towards Aboriginal people have a long life. Ronald Macquarie Arndell in *Pioneers of Portland Head* tells of a William Bailey who shot an Aboriginal man while clearing his land. I don’t know whether these similar accounts deal with the same man.

The second mention is on page 111 and is in reference to the “declaration in 1966 of Dharug National Park as a ‘primitive area’ … The Park covers some 30,000 acres and is named in memory of the Aboriginal tribe whose home and hunting grounds it once was.” I have not yet been able to determine by what process this park was declared to be the home of the Dharug people. Certainly most modern writers are of the opinion that the park is in Darkinung land.
Stan Stevens’, *Hawkesbury Heritage*, Hawkesbury Shire Council, 1984, was commissioned by Hawkesbury Shire Council “as a record of many of its historic buildings”.

In the first chapter, settlement is described without any mention of colonial conflict. The only reference to Aboriginal people is that the Hawkesbury was “Known as Deerubun to the Aborigines”.

On page 15 there is an unsourced reference to the St Matthew’s burial register, which at that time was the only record of births, deaths and marriages in the Hawkesbury. Thus the man “Speared by natives, died March 1, 1814” was William Reardon, speared at Mulgoa and buried at Castlereagh. The lack of any apparent reference in the transcript of the burial records to “Jane, an Aboriginal, supposed 20, no service, the woman being unbaptised” points to the fragmentary and confusing nature of records relating to Aboriginal matters.

On page 26 there is a reference to fighting in 1794 and on page 61 a reference to the 1799 flood warning.

All of this information is unsourced, which is not untypical of the times in which was written.

Jim Kohen’s, *Aborigines in the West: Prehistory to present*, Western Sydney Project, 1985, was the second monograph in a series on western Sydney produced by Nepean College of Advanced Education. Jim Kohen was completing a doctorate in prehistory at Macquarie University at this time.

The work is organised in chronological order with an informative selection of illustrations: prehistory; social organisation in 1788; economy and material culture; early contacts: 1788-1800; the conflict 1800-181; co-existence: 1816-1850; missions and reserves; and assimilation, 1900-1980.

Jim Kohen has had an important role in raising awareness of the Aboriginal presence on the Cumberland Plain. He has played an important role in raising awareness that the Darug people were not extinct and had been quietly going about their business without attracting attention. Jim Kohen has also had a strong influence in defining the Hawkesbury River as the northern boundary of the Darug people. He is an advocate of the argument that the Darug and Eora are not separate entities, but branches of the same larger entity.

Jim Kohen is in a minority in arguing that Governor Phillip made contact with Gomberee and Yellomundee on the Hawkesbury River, north of Richmond. The general consensus is that the meeting took place at Bardo Narang Creek, north of Pitt Town.

I do not agree with Jim Kohen that Governor King made a “noble gesture” in promising not to extend settlement downstream. There was not much suitable land left down river and he was already in the process of surveying it.

Jim Kohen is I believe the first writer to note the correlation of drought and violence. This finding is largely ignored by later authors.

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81 Lake Macquarie Family History Group Inc. *St. Matthews Church of England Windsor NSW Parish Registers 1810 to 1856*, Hawkesbury City Council, 2003;
The small pox outbreak was in 1789, not 1791.

Valerie Ross’, *The Everingham Letterbook: letters of a first fleet convict*, Anvil Press, 1985, is important for introducing Matthew Everingham, an important Hawkesbury settler and analysing his 1795 expedition into the Blue Mountains. It contains his letter describing seeing Aboriginal campfires from the Blue Mountains.

In *The Blue Mountains: Grand Adventure for all*, Peter Stanbury and Lydia Bushell (editors), The Macleay Museum, 1985; Chapter 3 *Aborigines of the Blue Mountains*, by Nola Robertson, does not start well: “This chapter is about ghosts. It is about the people who used to live in the Blue Mountains before European settlement in the Blue Mountains.” The author draws upon various linguistic, historical, anthropological and archaeological sources. The chapter is useful for showing changes in Aboriginal occupancy in the Blue Mountains.

Bobbie Hardy’s, *Early Hawkesbury Settlers*, Kangaroo Press, 1985, is divided into two parts. The first is an overview of settlement and the second consists of an alphabetical list of settlers. In the settlement section Bobbie Hardy provides a tight overview of settlement that sensitively addresses the conflicts between settlers and Aboriginal people. A problematic caption on an engraving, “A rainbow serpent incised into Hawkesbury sandstone by long-forgotten tribes” continues the paradigm of Aboriginal extinction.82

The second part, an alphabetical biographical listing of early settlers is invaluable, particularly for referencing those settlers who apparently had no conflict with Aboriginal people. As in any work, Hardy’s sources need to be verified. I have found a few mistakes. The case of Boston’s sow (page 15) took place at what is now east Circular Quay, not on Boston’s Bardonarrang property.

- Thomas Akers, who was wounded in 1794 moved to Campbelltown around 1811 and his son, Thomas, was a guide to the military in 1816. By the 1840s elements of the family had moved to the Illawarra and Cooma.83
- Thomas Arndell as a magistrate and farmer was in frequent contact with Aboriginal people.84
- There were three William Bakers in the Hawkesbury, the store keeper, the settler and the NSW Corps soldier. Hardy makes no mention of the William Baker who was wounded in 1799.85
- Henry Baldwin bought Wellow Farm on the left bank of Freemans Reach, I assume from, David Collins in 1797. The farm was apparently plundered by Aboriginal people. Young Otto Baldwin “crossed the Dartbrook pass to the Liverpool plains, a rare pioneer cattleman who made the Aboriginals his friends.”86
- Archibald Bell attempted to ingratiate himself with Commissioner Bigge by assuring him of the high regard that the Aboriginal people of “Bootie” (Putty) “held for his son”.87
- The South Creek farm of Ann and William Blady was plundered in 1799.88

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84 Pages 54-6, ibid.
85 Pages 58-59, ibid.
86 Page 61, ibid.
87 Pages 64-66, ibid.
88 Page 70-71, ibid.
• Robert Braithwaite, a gentleman farmer, witnessed the exhumation of the bodies of Little George and Little Jemmy in 1799 (significantly he had been a naval officer and probably had no truck with the NSW Corps).  

• David Brown, special constable who had been speared in 1798 is often confused with another David Brown on the Hawkesbury. One of his sons, Joseph, settled on the Burdekin River.

• George Bruce had a very colourful life in the colony. His memoirs can be found in Life of a Greenwich Pioneer by himself. Bruce may have been Caley’s insect collector who was arrested by Marsden.

• Robert Cartwright, minister and Hawkesbury farmer is praised for his compassion towards Aboriginal people. It is my understanding that the descendants of Maria Lock do not share this enthusiasm.

• Margaret Catchpole, midwife and housekeeper to the Rouses, Dights and Faithfulls. In her letters she revealed her fear of Aboriginal people.

• Thomas Chaseland/Chaseling was a Portland Head farmer along with Abraham Youler, James Dunne and Henry Lamb. In 1805 a young Aboriginal girl who had been taken by Henry Lamb was caught attempting to burn the Chaseling farm down. Hardy is wrong in stating that “the wild one, Thomas junior, at ten years old, was off on the first of those sealing voyages” The Tom Chaselands who became a sealer was his half-brother. Bobbie hardy was unaware of the Aboriginal connection in the Chaseland family.

• Thomas Cheshire, a convict who enlisted in the NSW Corps, was given a grant on Sackville Reach in 1796. Along with the others he was driven out. Descendants included pioneers of Bathurst and Wollombi.

• William Cox’s family spread far and wide. One son, James migrated to Tasmania in 1814. George was a pioneer in the Bathurst district (unhindered ... by consideration for the local Aboriginals) and married Elizabeth Bell.

• James Dunne, was a neighbour of Henry Lamb and Thomas Chaseling. He was investigated for shooting and wounding an Aboriginal man, but the evidence of Henry Lamb and Dunne’s convict servant, averted any punishment.

• Matthew Everingham, a profligate lawyer’s clerk, who was transported for stealing some legal books. He, his wife and their convict servant, were speared in May 1804 while apparently harvesting corn. Their five children were spared. Their farm is now the Sackville Ski Gardens.

• John Fenlow was turned in by Aboriginal people after escaping custody. He was later hung for shooting his convict servant while drinking.

• The Flemings came to NSW in 1791. Joseph, a NSW Corps soldier died shortly after arrival. His widow, Mary with two children Eleanor and Henry, married Benjamin Jones and they farmed Henry’s Bardonarrang grant. Eleanor married the constable David Brown. Henry married Elizabeth Hall in 1810. The Jones’ moved onto Tasmania. Henry

\[\text{References:}\]

89 Pages 74-75, ibid.
80 Pages 76-77, ibid.
91 Pages 77-78, ibid. I have yet to consult Life of a Greenwich Pioneer by himself.
92 Pages 80-82, ibid.
93 Page 82-83, ibid.
94 Pages 84-86, ibid.
95 Page 86, ibid.
96 Pages 89-90, ibid.
97 Page 106, ibid.
98 Page 112, ibid.
99 Page 116, ibid.
appeared to have been something of a tearaway, but a successful farmer. Henry, like the Halls, expanded into the MacDonald Valley. Their ten children married into other Hawkesbury families creating a strong network. Joseph was MLA for West Moreton. John Henry is best known for leading the Myall Creek massacre.¹⁰⁰

- Robert Forrester killed an Aboriginal boy in 1794, not 1795. He was not home the night Little George and Little Jemmy were killed.¹⁰¹
- Simon Freebody was involved in the killing of Little George and Little Jemmy. He was not a successful farmer. His daughter Sarah married John Hoskisson, son of Thomas Hodgkinson who had been killed in 1799.¹⁰²
- Jonathon Griffiths along with Samuel Thorley established a shipyard on Griffith’s farm below the Richmond Bridge. Their boat Hazard was wrecked in 1809, the captain perished, but the ship’s boy was saved by Aboriginal people. The location of the wreck is not cited. In 1819 the Glory of Richmond sailed for Tasmania. On board were Tom and Coalby.¹⁰³
- John Grono probably preceded Jonathon Griffith as a Hawkesbury boat builder. His yard was on Canning Reach. His Speedwell was wrecked at Broken Bay in 1804 but he recovered soon after.¹⁰⁴
- George Hall came as one of the Coromandel settlers. Bungool, Percy Place, Merrimount and Lilburnsdale were all Hall properties. The Halls and the Flemings moved into the MacDonald Valley. Family legend has it that an Aboriginal guide showed his son John across the range at Wollombi. From there the Halls spread into the Hunter¹⁰⁵
- Joseph Harpur was a Hawkesbury schoolmaster. His son was Charles Harpur who became a colonial poet who displayed a sympathetic attitude to Aboriginal people. Joseph eventually returned to Parramatta and Charles moved into the Hunter Valley.¹⁰⁶
- Thomas Hobby was not only a NSW Corps officer but also a 100 acre landholder on Rickaby’s Creek. Hobby activities with Aboriginal people are found in the 1799 trial records.¹⁰⁷
- Thomas Hodgkisson (spelt Hoskisson by Hardy) was killed in 1799. His son, John, was born soon after his killing. John married Sarah Freebody in 1818 and became a Liverpool Plains pastoralist. His half-sister, Lucy, married Henry Forrester, son of Robert Forrester who had killed an Aboriginal lad in 1794.¹⁰⁸
- John Howe had a farm on Swallow Rock Reach. He was wounded there in 1804. He was among the first to cross into the Hunter and establish land holdings there.¹⁰⁹
- Thomas Huxley had an isolated farm on the Colo. There was no reported trouble with Aboriginal people, which, according to Hardy, suggests that he maintained good relations with Aboriginal people. Thomas moved to Port Macquarie before returning to the Hawkesbury.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁰ Page 120, ibid.
¹⁰¹ Page 121, ibid.
¹⁰² Page 122, ibid.
¹⁰³ Pages 128-9, ibid.
¹⁰⁴ Pages 131-3, ibid.
¹⁰⁵ Pages 133-4, ibid.
¹⁰⁶ Pages 136-7, ibid.
¹⁰⁷ Pages 143-44, ibid.
¹⁰⁸ Pages 144-45, ibid.
¹⁰⁹ Pages 145-147, ibid.
¹¹⁰ Page 149, ibid.
• Andrew Johnston was another Coromandel settler whose property was furthest downstream at Portland Head. Hardy suggests that as there was no reported trouble with Aboriginal people, he maintained good relations with Aboriginal people.  

• Henry Lamb was a NSW Corps soldier who was first granted land on Rickaby’s Creek in 170989 and then on the right bank of Portland Reach. An Aboriginal child who Lamb took, probably at Lane Cove reportedly burnt down the Lamb farm, the Youler farm and was caught attempting to burn down the Chaseling farm. Curiously, Elizabeth Chambers, Lamb’s convict partner had burnt down her employer’s home to hide her thievery.

• Matthew Lock(e) according to Hardy had no problems with Aboriginal people on his Wilberforce farm.

• Edward Luttrell’s 400 acre grant of Hobartville made him one of the colony’s largest landowners in 1806. However, misfortune seemed to dog the Luttrell’s. Edward quickly went back to his medical career. His sons Edward and Robert had fatal contact with Aboriginal people.

• Neil McKellar, like his fellow NSW Corps officer, Thomas Hobby, was a Hawkesbury landowner. His Argyle farm gave Argyle Reach its name. Cooley Creek, named for his partner, Sarah Cooley formed one of the farms boundaries. McKellar was a participant in the 1799 murder trial. While McKellar and Private Faithful were involved in the shooting of Boston’s pig, the incident took place in Sydney, not on the Hawkesbury. McKellar was lost at sea off the coast of Chile in 1802. By 1806 Argyle Farm appeared to have been in the hands of Palmer and Cox.

• John Molloy had some medical expertise but lacked qualifications. He was a farmer, surgeon and boat owner, seemingly endlessly engaged in litigation. He was a witness in the 1799 murder trial.

• Edward Powell, revolutionary war soldier and seaman became a constable and landowner on the Hawkesbury. His only punishment for his involvement in the 1799 murder of Little George and Little Jemmy was the loss of his position as constable. While proprietor of the Half way House at Homebush his pigs were killed Aboriginal people.

• Edward and Richard Reynolds, brothers, were transported to NSW and became Hawkesbury farmers. In 1814 Edward adopted Elizabeth Wilberforce, daughter of a white man – probably his assigned servant, and an Aboriginal woman. Bobbie Hardy claims that Richard Reynolds, the son of Richard Reynolds and Sarah Starling was killed by the blacks. However, on the Roots website it is claimed that he died in 1890.

• Thomas Rickerby was a well known Hawkesbury identity. In 1802 he took an Aboriginal child (probably of mixed parentage). The child was christened John Pilot Rickerby and died aged five.

• Phillip Roberts was an ex soldier who was transported and enlisted in the NSW Corps. His farm on the left bank below Sackville, granted 1803, appeared to have suffered no
Aboriginal attacks. His descendants moved into the Colo and MacDonald Valleys and further north to Macleay.  

- William Singleton’s Bushell’s Lagoon farm was the scene of conflict with Aboriginal people in 1808.  
- William Stubbs drowned in May 1805, the day after Aboriginal people stripped his farm.  
- No mention is made of Andrew Thompson’s leadership of an attack on an Aboriginal camp in 1805.  
- John Turnbull, another Coromandel settler on the left bank of the river below John Howe. Turnbull apparently had no trouble with Aboriginal people.  
- James and Thomas Webb were brothers and seamen. Thomas Webb was speared and mortally wounded in 1795. His brother James progressively acquired property downstream. Webb’s Creek is named after him.  
- John Wilson prior to transportation was a seaman. On the expiry of his sentence he preferred to live with Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury rather than take up a land grant. He moved between the two worlds and was probably one of the most successful early explorers. He was speared in 1799.  
- William Yardley was a Sussex Reach farmer whose death in a burning house was blamed on Aboriginal people. It was more likely that he was murdered by those close to him.

John Pilger, author of Heroes, originally published 1986, Vintage, 2001, is well known for taking a controversial stand. The following extract is of particular importance because it identified Aboriginal resistance to invasion as being as valid as any of Australia’s foreign interventions.

‘the war on the Hawkesbury River was really a contest between Great Britain and a nation which, outnumbered and without guns, went down fighting to the last man, woman and child. In a land of cenotaphs, not one stands for those who fought and fell in their own country.’

The Hawkesbury was an early entry into the “History Wars” with Henry Reynolds, Frontier, Allen and Unwin, 1987. Reynolds writes from a national perspective. On pages 4 to 6 he cites a number of primary sources from across Australia in the first century of settlement in which the writers stated that a war was being fought by both Aboriginal people and settlers. As regards the Hawkesbury he noted “an ’open war’ started with Hawkesbury River clans as settlers began to farm the valley in 1795.” Reynolds described the Hawkesbury as “Australia’s first frontier”.

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121 Page 193, ibid.  
122 Page 200, ibid.  
123 Page 203, ibid.  
124 Pages 206-7, ibid.  
125 Page 209-210, ibid.  
126 Page 214, ibid.  
127 Page 216, ibid.  
128 Page 139, ibid.  
Between pages 36 and 40 he outlines the development of frontier warfare across Australia 1788-1838. The Hawkesbury figures largely in his account with references to the 1795 and 1816 punitive expeditions.

With such a broad approach and without diminishing the value of Reynold’s work, such a broad approach, across time and space, gives little opportunity to explore the minutiae of the complex relations that existed on the Hawkesbury frontier.

For its demolition of popular understandings of Terra Nullius Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, Penguin, 1987, is a pivotal book in Australian history and politics. Between pages 56-61 Reynolds touches upon the Hawkesbury, referencing early contacts. I don’t agree with Reynolds that the coastal Aboriginal people were strangers to the Hawkesbury as evinced by Phillip’s 1791 expedition. Nor do I agree that Governor King after his meeting with three Aboriginal men in 1804 determined not expand settlement further downstream. While Reynolds sees this important in flagging the future of the reserve system, he does not appear to realise that in the same despatch King reported surveying the downstream area.

On pages 3-7 of *The Ferry, The Branch, The Creek: aspects of Hawkesbury History*, Dharug and Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society, 1987, the authors, Lorraine Banks, Milton Lidgard, Patrick Matthew and Bruce Singleton provide a sympathetic overview of pre-contact Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury and the conflicts that arose during settlement. The final paragraph concludes with the declaration of the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve as a public reserve in 1952 and the erection of a stone monument to commemorate the Hawkesbury Aborigines.

It is a valuable resource for tracing the settlement of the lower Hawkesbury.

First published in 1987 Robert Hughes’ book *The Fatal Shore*, with its focus on the convicts was an important contribution to the Bicentennial debate.

There are several sections in the work addressing Aboriginal issues. In the first chapter Hughes describes Aboriginal people as “Pleistocene colonisers”. He draws upon First Fleet sources and contemporary linguistic and anthropological works to portray the “Daruk”, “Iora” and “Tarawal tribes in 1788.

In Chapter 4, *The Starvation Years*, Hughes examines the early years of Phillip’s settlement on Sydney Harbour, going over small pox and the conflicts between convicts and Aboriginal people.

In Chapter 8, *Bunters, Mollies and Sable Brethren*, Hughes provides an overview of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers, particularly convicts and emancipists up to and including the Myall Creek massacre.

Hughes paints with a broad brush and there is little light in his work.

Michael Martin’s, *On Darug Land - An Aboriginal perspective*, Greater Western Education Centre, 1988, was an important work for its time. The first part of the work deals with traditional pre-contact Aboriginal life. The section on languages is particularly good as it

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includes a grammar. The remainder of the work deals with contact history. Importantly it concludes with “continuity”. The work ranges across the Cumberland Plain including an illustration of huts on the La Perouse Reserve.

The radicalism of Al Grassby’s and Marji Hill’s, Six Australian Battlefields: the black resistance to invasion and the white struggle against colonial oppression, Angus and Robertson, 1988, is a grim reminder of the conservative shift in Australian culture since then.

Chapter one, Invasion deals with Australian pre-history to 26th January 1788.

Chapter two, The Army of Occupation, provides an overview of the marines, NSW Corps, British regiments, mounted police, native police and various paramilitary forces of the colonies.

Chapter three, the Hundred Years War is a grim catalogue of invasion and dispossession.

Chapter four, The Twin Battles of Sydney begins with the resistance of the Eora, particularly Pemulwuy and Tedbury.

Governor Phillip met Gombeere at Bardoo Narang, not north of modern Richmond.¹³³

The “Battle of the Hawkesbury” as described by Grassby and Hill, near Richmond Hill did not take place as described. It was most likely to have been a clearing operation along Argyle and Freeman Reaches.¹³⁴

Jocelyn Powell’s and Lorraine Banks’, ed., Hawkesbury River History: Governor Phillip, exploration and early settlement, Darug and Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society, 1990, remains an important resource for the study of contact history. It consists of seven essays on various aspects of Hawkesbury history. Several essays address contact history in various ways. One essay, Aboriginal life on the Lower Hawkesbury at the time of European settlement by Anne Ross, uses archaeological and historical evidence to distinguish between the Dharug and Guringai peoples. Despite the impact of Land Rights and Native Title legislation which has turned the identity of Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury into a battlefield, it remains an important essay.

Henry Reynolds’, With the White People, Penguin, 1990, challenges many stereotypes about the role of Aboriginal people in the settlement of Australia. This is a work that ranges across Australia. There is one reference to the lower Hawkesbury where Bill Falconer and Bill Ferris had not only adopted European first and family names but were also successful professional housebreakers as well”.¹³⁵

Graeme Davison, Journeys into History, Weldon Russell, 1990, is a collection of photographic essays, divided into themes about places in Australia. Josephine Flood wrote the introductory chapter, The introductory theme, Tracks from the Dreaming, contained one essay: Aboriginal heritage in the Flinders Ranges, by Josephine Flood. In the second section,

¹³⁴ Pages 91-5, ibid.
Across the First Frontier, Helen Proudfoot wrote the first essay, *Five Towns in a Landscape*. Strongly heritage in nature, the chapter makes no mention of Aboriginal people. This has been a not unusual model of presenting works on Australian history and culture. Effectively the treatment of Aboriginal issues stopped in 1788. This is not an attack on individual authors. It is simply the way things were done.

Yvonne Bowning’s, *St. Peters Richmond: the early people and burials*, Dennis Browning, Kurrajong, 1990, contains an extraordinary collection of information about the early settlers of Richmond, much of which has been quantified. On page 509, there is a breakdown of burials showing spikes in 1828-30 and 1838-39 that corresponded with influenza outbreaks in the colony. While tenuous, it is possible to argue that influenza was the cause of death of Elizabeth Wilberforce and probably Colebee. Joseph Hobson was not aged 16 when killed in 1816 by Aboriginal warriors (page 490). The index contains no reference to Aboriginal people; however, there is a possibility that Red Jack (page 427) who was ordered by the coroner to be buried on the 4th of February 1855 may have been an Aboriginal man.

The work is also valuable for its maps.


On page 120, Chapter 6: *Shades of Grey: Early Contact in the Blue Mountains*, in Eugene Stockton (ed.), *Blue Mountains Dreaming*, Three Sisters Productions Pty. Ltd., 1993, Maureen Breckell dismisses Toby Ryan’s account of a massacre around 1820. I have several problems with Breckell’s arguments. Ryan was recounting events which had probably told to him by his parents. It is natural that his account was imprecise. Ryan linked the massacre with his birth around 1817 or 1818. It is more likely that it occurred in 1816. Road building did not stop in 1814, but continued for a number of years. The details of the Springwood barracks can be verified by several forces. At least two of the men named by Ryan can be identified. Perhaps the strongest argument for the massacre taking place are the details of the killings. They were chillingly consistent with other accounts.

James Kohen’s, *The Darug and their Neighbours: the traditional Aboriginal owners of the Sydney region*, Darug Link in Association with Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1993, is an important and broad-ranging work about the Darug people and their neighbours. It starts with traditional life and culture, moves across contact history and into the genealogies of the Locks, Matthew Everingham, John Luke Barber and John Randall. It contains dictionaries of the Coastal Darug (Eora) language, Kurringgai language and Gundungurra language. This is a particularly important work tracing the lives of Aboriginal people living on the Sydney Plain in the late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

I don’t agree with Jim Kohen’s thinking that Governor Phillip met Gombeeree on the 14th of April, 1791 at “*The Hawkesbury River to the north of Richmond*”136 I think that Yellamun came from the Nepean, not the Hawkesbury.137
Leonard L. Barton’s, *The Military History of Windsor NSW*, Len Barton, 1994, addresses the histories of the various regiments that garrisoned Windsor from the NSW Corps in 1795 to the present day. As well, Len Barton explores some of the archaeological research relating to the various locations of the garrisons. He uses the 1799 murder trial transcript to address Aboriginal issues. The work is particularly relevant in the records of land grant to NSW Corps soldiers. On the 22nd of July 1795 grants of 25 acres each were made to eighteen soldiers. On the 15th of August 1795, grants of 25 acres each were made to twenty four soldiers. On the 2nd of September 1795, three soldiers received grants of 25 acres each. On the 5th of September 1795, sixteen soldiers received grants, each of twenty five acres. On the 1st of May 1797, twenty-nine soldiers and former marines received land grants varying from twenty-five to one hundred and fifty acres. In June 1797, seven NSW Corps soldiers received land grants of twenty-five to seventy-five acres each.\(^{138}\)

The chapter on Aboriginal people is largely drawn from the 1799 murder trial.

On page 50 there is an unsourced mention of the 17th Regiment maintaining a roving patrol at Wiseman’s Ferry in 1831 to protect settlers from Aboriginal attacks and run away convicts. I have not found any other reference to this.

John P. Powell’s, *Placenames of the Greater Hawkesbury Region*, Hawkesbury River Enterprises, 1994, provides an alphabetical list of Hawkesbury placenames. Unfortunately the sources are not identified, so they should be treated with caution and consultation with local Aboriginal communities.

Two of the most significant for this work are:
- Little Pittwater, between Hungry Beach and Challenger Head on Broken bay was known in 1835 as “Nerang Pittwater”. Its name probably came from Hawkesbury sailors and points to a Hawkesbury patois used by Aboriginal people and settlers.
- Looking Glass Rock, a rock slab standing vertically in the water at the entrance to Looking Glass Bay in Cowan Creek, is so named because of an Aboriginal prophecy that the settlers would leave when the waters rose and covered the rock. I do not know the source of this story. The rock does not have a known Aboriginal name.

Jan Barkley’s and Michelle Nichols’, *Hawkesbury 1794-1994: the first 200 years of the second colonisation*, Hawkesbury City Council, 1994, was written in the context of the Hawkesbury’s Bi-centenary.

The beginning sentence on page 1, “To both the Aboriginal people, the first colonists and the Europeans, the second colonists, the river was a source of sustenance and a channel of communication”\(^{139}\), is written within a deeply Eurocentric and utilitarian perspective, despite it dealing with two disparate cultures. Frederick Turner, author of *Beyond Geography*, has


\(^{138}\) Pages 24-26.

noted these differences as being “the difference between the cosmos considered as “Thou” and the cosmos considered as “It.””

This book was written shortly after the High Court recognised Native Title in 1992. To describe Aboriginal people as “colonists” flies in the face of that decision and all conventional meanings of the word. The Oxford English Dictionary definition of “colony” as being Latin in origin; its original meaning, “a settlement of Roman citizens in a hostile or newly conquered country”; and its modern meaning a “settlement in a new country; a body of settlers, forming a community politically connected with their parent state”, begs the question, what political state were Aboriginal people a colony of?

The chapter moves onto descriptions of rock carvings and the role of the river in Aboriginal life. The chapter leaps to the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve and provides an important account of the lives of Aboriginal families living in the Hawkesbury during the Twentieth Century.

The account of conflict between Aboriginal people and settlers is addressed on page 87. Conflict is explained as being in relation to land use and land ownership. No mention is made of the 1794 killings. The account of the 1795 fighting begins with the killing of three settlers. No mention is made of Abbott’s 1795 punitive expedition. A brief account is provided of a NSW Corps expedition led by “Captain Paterson” following the Rowe killings. While I am aware that there was at least one such expedition I am unaware of “Captain Paterson” leading such an expedition.

The photograph of George Trooper on page 92 is identical to the photograph of an Aboriginal man identified as Billy Tom on page 26 of Hawkesbury Personalities, Spanning the Centuries of Hawkesbury’s History.

In her introduction to, Losing Ground: an environmental history of the Hawkesbury-Nepean Catchment, Hale & Iremonger, 1995, Sue Rosen makes the insightful observation that: “The invasion of Australia was fostered and promulgated by powerful fraternities of scientists, government officers, politicians and capitalists who were able to link imperial ambitions with the interests of capital and science.” On page ix, there is a small but good map of the Hawkesbury catchment.

The nature of Sue Rosen’s themes can be found in Chapter one, “Before the Invasion”, “Ironically, the Aboriginal people had prepared the land for the British occupation, but the British failed to understand that the maintenance of such a landscape was dependent not only on fire but seasonal occupation. Nor did they understand that the permanent demand placed upon land by the introduction of private ownership and year-round production would destroy the very aspects of the environment that they found so attractive.”

The following three chapters, Exploration and Appropriation, 1788-1800; Intensification of Settler Activity, 1800-1820; and The Demands of Graziers, 1820-1850; are particularly important in showing the impact of settlement on Aboriginal people and the environmental.


- Stephen Martin’s, Varieties of convict experience in the Hawkesbury, contains no mention of contact between convicts and Aboriginal people.
- Soldiers and Specialisation: the NSW Corps on the Hawkesbury, The lack of footnotes means that the author’s claims cannot be substantiated. The author uses the name “Dharruk”.
- The dangers of travelling the Windsor Road, Brian McDonald. The essay mentions the help given by Richmond Jack in apprehending three bushrangers on the Richmond Road in 1825.
- Naming Places along the Hawkesbury River, J.P. Powell. This article is of particular interest because of the statement that about 70% of the 4,000,000,000 place names in Australia have an Aboriginal origin. The author notes the paucity of Aboriginal names in the Hawkesbury, attributing it to: “early settlement by Europeans, the effects of patronage, and the rapid demise of most of the Aboriginal population”. The author notes that there are fewer Aboriginal names in Mangrove Creek than in Berowra Creek, reflecting different period of settlement. This is an important contribution to our understanding of settlement.
- Early Boat Building on the Upper Hawkesbury River, Jan Barkley Jack. The essay is an important source because of the information it provides about Hawkesbury boats crewed by Aboriginal men.
- Wisemans Ferry at the Cross Roads, R. Ian Jack. Primarily an essay on the historical development of Wisemans Ferry. There is an early paragraph on the pre-contact life of the “Dharug”.
- In Tourism on the Hawkesbury, J. P. Powell notes there was a tourist vessel on the Hawkesbury in 1983 named “Deerubbun”.

Inga Clendinnen’s Dancing With Strangers, The Text Publishing Company, 2003, has attracted a number of prizes. Clendinnen’s work focuses very much on the early years of settlement, which avoids having to address the later punitive expeditions. While I can appreciate Clendinnen’s reluctance to use the descriptor “Aborigine” because “it is a colonial construct crusted with later stereotypes”, I am completely baffled as why she would use the exonym, “Australian”.143

Clendinnen is very good at reading between the lines. I am impressed by Clendinnen’s exploration of why a convict woman, “was found disguised in men’s apparel in the native’s hut on the east point of the cove”. Equally her suggestion that the meeting between Colebee and Gomberee at Bardonarrang had been prearranged so that Colebee could talk to Gomberee about the invaders is equally impressive.144

On pages 156-7 Clendinnen describes Dawes objection to go on the punitive expedition to punish Aboriginal people for the killing of McEntire without addressing the reason for Dawe’s refusal; i.e., Phillip’s order to collect heads. I do not agree with Clendinnen that “Phillip’s primary concern was to stage a histrionic performance of the terror of British law” in sending out two punitive expeditions to avenge the killing of McEntire. Clendinnen’s

claim that Phillip “had a good anthropological eye” is anachronistic and not one that I can agree with.145

John Connor’s, *The Australian Frontier Wars: 1788-1838*, UNSW Press, 2003, is another important contribution to our understanding of our shared history.

In the chapter, *The Hawkesbury-Nepean River*, 1795-1816, pages 35-52, John Connor argues that the Hawkesbury and Nepean “were the location of the first frontier war in Australia” because once conflict broke out over control of the land, compromise was impossible.

John Connor establishes a context for his study by defining Deerubun, or the Hawkesbury, as the home of the Darkinung, Darug, Eora and Darawal peoples. John Connor relies upon conventional wisdom that the Darug name comes from the yams that was farmed along the banks of the river. He advances the argument that it was both the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers to the British because of two separate explorations. I have reservations about this approach. The tribal names and boundaries that John Connor uses are still controversial issues and were not used in the period under study. I am of the opinion that Governor Phillip distinguished the Nepean from the Hawkesbury, not because of separate expeditions, but because he thought that what is now the Grose River was the mainstream of the Hawkesbury River and that the Nepean was a tributary. The matter is complicated by the 1867 flood which shifted the junction of the Hawkesbury, Grose and Nepean Rivers to the east and north.

I have some problems with John Connor’s use of evidence from across the Cumberland Plain to support his thesis of the Hawkesbury as the First Frontier War. Pemulwuy’s 1797 attack on Parramatta146 and his attacks on farms on the Georges River in 1801 do not form part of the Hawkesbury Nepean frontier war.147 The relationship between Macarthur and Tedbury is not relevant to the Hawkesbury Nepean. Macarthur was ensconced at Elizabeth Farm at this time. Tedbury’s fight with an Aboriginal man from Botany Bay at the Brick fields in December 1805 is not relevant to the Hawkesbury.148 There is no evidence to suggest that the spearing of an Aboriginal woman at the Hawkesbury involved a man from another Aboriginal community.149 I can find no evidence that Tedbury carried out raids on the Hawkesbury 1808-09. His attacks were around the George’s River area. I think John Connor would have made a far stronger case by including the whole of the Cumberland Plain in his treatment of frontier warfare, not just the Hawkesbury Nepean.

I think John Connor’s use of Atkins May 1795 diary entry, “It would be impossible to describe the scenes of villainy and infamy that passes at the Hawkesbury” is unfortunate. Atkins was describing the immorality of the convict settlers, not their treatment of Aboriginal people.150

While I am of the opinion that there was a frontier war I have reservations that the phrase simplifies our understandings of the complex interactions between Aboriginal people and settlers on the frontier.

John Connor identifies several stages in the war.

- There were a spiralling series of tit for tat killings in the period 1794-99.
- Aboriginal people developed innovative tactics to attack settlers, including:
  - corn raids, 1795-1805; carried out by large numbers of men, women and children in late autumn and early winter. Corn was attractive to Aboriginal people. Unlike wheat or barley it did not need preparation and it could be stored.
  - attacks on farmhouses, often carried out Autumn and winter, 1797-1805.
  - fire used to destroy wheat crops in late spring and summer.
- Aboriginal people became more sophisticated in dealing with firearms. He doesn’t mention the initial Aboriginal fear of firearms expressed by climbing trees in terror. This terror certainly continued throughout the period under study.

John Connor has made a brief and valuable outline of settler aggression and the punitive expeditions. He describes how settlers attempted to enslave Aboriginal children, and killed and tortured Aboriginal people during 1794. When Aboriginal people eventually responded and killed settlers during 1795 the Governor sent out a series of punitive expeditions. John Connor outlines a number of settler expeditions including Andrew Thompson’s 1805 expedition to the Nepean and the failed attack on a camp at North Rocks in 1805. He cites the use of detachments of the Veteran’s Corp to act as guards on the farms and Governor Macquarie’s use of the light and grenadier companies of the 46th Foot to sweep the Hawkesbury Nepean Valley in April 1816. John Connor recognises how the irregular nature of this warfare favoured Aboriginal people in avoiding damaging contact. He describes how settlers and the military attempted to use night-time attacks on sleeping camps to catch Aboriginal people unawares...It is unfortunate that John Connor missed Magistrates Cox’s, probably devastating sweep of the Nepean Hawkesbury valleys in the second half of 1816 using co-ordinated parties of soldiers, youngsettlers and native guides.

John Connor quite correctly points out that revenge was often a motivation for Aboriginal aggression. However, I think that he simplifies the matter in considering the killing of Wimbow (not Wimbolt) in 1799. While it is possible that Wimbow was killed because he had kidnapped an Aboriginal woman it is more likely that he was killed because he had not met his obligations in entering into a sexual relation with the woman. It is more likely that Robert Lutterell was killed at an Aboriginal camp, attempting to take Aboriginal women rather than in a revenge attack.151

David Collins’ statement that “At that settlement an open war seemed about this time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers”, is I think an unfortunate simplification. Collins’ Account was written with a view to revive a flagging career. He was not going to bite the hand that he hoped would feed him. We know from a private letter that Collins wrote to his friend Edward Laing in June 1795 that “The natives at the Hawkesbury are murdering the settlers. Abbott and MacKellar with Co soldiers are in turn murdering the natives (but it cannot be avoided)”152 My findings are that there was an intermittent frontier war on the Hawkesbury 1794-1816; but it was a war between one culture who were building an empire

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based upon organised conquest and another culture which resolved conflict through individualised and ritualised combat and which may well have rejected the concept of organised mass killing as a means of conflict resolution.

I think that John Connor would have been better served using the burnings of the South Creek farms of Cuddie and Crumbey in 1804 and 1805 and the attacks led by Branch Jack, on the farms of Llewellyn and Adlam, ex military settlers on the Upper and Lower Half Moon Reaches in 1805 to support his argument of Aboriginal burnings of farm houses. William Yardley was probably not incinerated in an Aboriginal attack on his farmhouse in 1805. His wife and servant were charged, but not tried, for his murder. I have concerns with John Connor’s sentence: “three attacks at Portland Head in 1805 were carried out using intelligence gathered from the farms by an English-speaking thirteen-year-old Darug girl”. The “three attacks” were not carried out by hordes of warriors hurling flaming spears at the farms. The burning of the Lamb and Youller farms were apparently the act of an Aboriginal girl caught setting fire to the Chaseling farm. The “Darug girl” was probably not Darug. She had been taken as an infant by Henry Lamb, a NSW Corps soldier, who had been given a land grant at Lane Cove when he came to the colony in 1794. It is logical to assume that he acquired the child, then probably an infant of two, from Lane Cove. The fires on the Lamb, Youller and Chaseling farms are among the most puzzling on the Hawkesbury, particularly as there was a known arsonist on the farms – Elizabeth Chambers, Henry Lamb’s partner who had set fire to her master’s house in 1791 to cover her thefts.

There is also the complicating factor that settlers such as Matthew Locke at Wilberforce; Andrew Johnston, whose farm was furthest downstream at Portland Head; and Thomas Huxley on an isolated Colo River farm; appeared to have had no problem with Aboriginal people.

I have some concerns with John Connor’s use of tribal names and supposed tribal rivalries. The account of an Aboriginal group coming to a settler’s farm on the 11th of June 1804 probably had more to do with the group seeking protection from the NSW Corps than their enthusiasm to fight other Aboriginal people. I think that John Connor, like many others, has been deceived by the Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 12th May 1805, into thinking that Andrew Thompson attack upon a Nepean River camp of “Branch natives”, involved Aboriginal people from around the Colo River. It is my argument that Governor King and George Howe, the editor of the Sydney Gazette, deliberately distorted records so that authorities in England thought that the fighting in 1804-5 was confined to the lower Hawkesbury and that the upper Hawkesbury was pacified. John Connor is quite alone in thinking that the “Portland Head tribe” who were raiding farms at this time were “probably the Kurrajong group of the Darug”. Historical records of the time quite clearly show that the “Portland Head tribe” and the “Branch natives” were those Aboriginal people around the First and Second Branches, or the MacDonald and Colo Rivers. Yaragowby was not the leader of the “Branch natives”/“Portland Head tribe” killed in Andrew Thompson’s attack. Yaragowby/Yaragowhy was one of “the Richmond Hill chiefs” summoned by magistrates Arndell and Marsden to help bring about peace in July 1804. In 1805 he had been at the Green Hills and slipped away to warn the Aboriginal people on the Nepean River camp of Thompson’s impending attack.

I find John Connor’s treatment of Aboriginal guides of concern. John Connor’s two “Burraberongal men” who assisted the settlers were in the words of the *Sydney Gazette*, “a couple of Richmond Hill natives”. John Connor has misread the *Sydney Gazette*, 19th May 1805, in thinking that the “Richmond Hill native” who accompanied Warby was called Tuesday. The incident referred to occurred on a Tuesday.

John Connor rejects Brooks and Kohen’s claim that *Parramatta Native Institution*, pages 23-4 & 29, that Aboriginal guides “led British expeditions away from the groups they were trying to pursue; however, to suggest a pan-Aboriginal identity existed at this time is probably anachronistic. Guides may have led the British away from their quarry out of fear of a revenge attack, but this is a quite different motivation.” The only case that I am aware that there is any evidence of guides leading settlers astray is on Archibald Bells first expedition to Mount Tomah. In other cases such as Colebee with Captain Schaw on the Wingee caribee river in 1816 Colebee reported that the tracks of the warriors were two days old. Bundle and his kinsman, Bootbarrie/Budburry left Captain Wallis’s party in April 1816 when the nature of the military expedition became apparent to them. Captain Wallis was then guided by settlers to an Aboriginal camp near Broughton’s farm which he destroyed. I find John Connor’s reasoning regarding guides of concern. His ready acceptance of the *Sydney Gazette*’s account of assistance provided to Andrew Thompson by the two “Richmond Hill natives” in return for some Aboriginal women is problematic. In 1801 Magistrate Marsden arrested Caley’s convict assistant who refused to act as a guide in an attack upon an Aboriginal camp. In 1816 a settler refused to take Captain Schaw’s party any closer to an Aboriginal camp in another night operation. We know that Colebee’s sister Maria was essentially a hostage in the Native Institution, which placed Colebee in a delicate position. After their involvement in the 1816 expeditions Creek Jemmy and Colebee were apprehensive about retribution from Aboriginal people down the Hawkesbury River in late 1816. “The Creek Natives seem to be under some apprehension of punishment from the Natives low down the River joined by some from towards Kissing Point. Should Your Excellency see Bidgee Bidgee while Creek Jamie is at Sydney it may be prevented as it should be if possible.” The role of the guides remains complex and not well understood.

John Connor makes the interesting point that there was drought in 1810-11 but no violence. I am not sure whether there was a drought in 1810-11. But he is correct in linking drought with violence. My point is that violence coincided with drought and expanding settlement.

I don’t agree with John Connor’s map of Captain Schaw’s actual operation. While it is true that Schaw referred to using the “Colo Road”, I don’t think Schaw marched up to the Colo River. I think he moved down to Ebenezer and crossed the river there to Arndell’s Cattai farm.

In his last paragraph of the chapter John Connor wrote that raids recommenced after Schaw’s expedition “and a further smaller punitive expedition was sent out”. This was magistrate Cox’s expedition which I think totally devastated Aboriginal communities along the Nepean Hawkesbury valley.

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156 Bidgee Bidgee was awarded with a brass gorget naming him chief of the Kissing Point Tribe on the 6th of June 1816. 157 158
While I am critical of Connor’s details, this is a profoundly important work in shifting Australian thinking.


Keith R. Binney’s, Horsemen of the First Frontier (1788-1900) and The Serpents Legacy, Volcanic Productions, Australia, 2005, is a wonderfully deceptive book. It uses the theme of the horse in Australia to provide an insight into the development of the colony of New South Wales. In Section One: The County of Cumberland, 1788 to 1860, he author provides biographies of the military officers, the civil officers, the merchants, the first free settlers, the governor’s families and the emancipists. Later sections follow the expansion of settlement. The book is particularly valuable not just for its biographies, but for its insights into relations with Aboriginal people.

Unlike many other historians, Grace Karskens, has framed The Colony: a history of early Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 2009, within an Aboriginal context. Chapter 1, Deep Time and Human History: the Sydney environment provides a geological, archaeological, anthropological and Aboriginal cultural overview of the Sydney Plain. My only quibble is with a map showing Sydney harbour as it was 10,000 years ago. It is my understanding that the coast would have been much further to the east than shown on the diagram. Chapter 2, Encounters in Eora country, addresses early contact in a sensitive and even-handed manner.

The final chapters, 11-14, address conflict between settlers and Aboriginal owners.

I am not sure whether or not Karskens addresses European ideas of the origins of Aboriginal people. On page 353 she parenthesises the phrase ‘Adamites and Evites’ without a footnote. I have not been able to trace the source. However, on page 409 she quotes George Worgan’s 1788 letter to his brother describing Aboriginal women as “Evites” and “wood-nymphs”. I assume Worgan was the source of ‘Adamites and Evites’. However, Karskens does not seem aware of the implications of this phrase in the context of European ideas on Aboriginal origins.

“There were some Old and young Women in this Tribe, whom the Men seemed very jealous & careful of, keeping them at Distance behind some young Men, who were armed with Spears, Clubs & Shields, apparently as a Guard to them. We could see these curious Evites peeping through the Bushes at Us, and we made signs to the Men, who were still with Us, that We wished to give some Trinkets to the Women, on which, One of their Husbands, or Relations (as we supposed) hollowed to them in an authoritative Tone, and one of these Wood-Nymphs (as naked as Eve before she knew Shame) obeyed and came up to Us; when; we presented her with a Bracelet of blue Beads for her obliging Acquiescence; She was extremely shy & timid, suffering Us, very reluctantly, even to touch Her; Indeed, it must be merely from the Curiosity, to see how they would behave, on an Attempt to be familiar with them, that one would be induced to touch one of Them, for they are Ugly to Disgust, in their Countenances and stink of Fish-Oil & Smoke, most sweetly.”

In addressing the early relations between settlers and Aboriginal people in Chapter 11, Karskens appears to follow the model of interaction set out by W. E. H. Stanner in his 1968 Boyer Lecture.

In Chapter 12 the author focuses on Sydney and explores the differences between Stanner’s and Clendinnen’s interpretations of Phillip’s head-hunting expedition following the spearing of McEntire. A particularly good part is Karskens commentary upon Bernard Smith’s analysis of the Botany Bay painter’s “Mr. White, Harris and Laing with a party of Soldiers visiting Botany Bay Colebee at that place, when wounded” which shows both Colebee and Botany Bay Colebee.

Chapter 13 addresses the 1805 war on the Cumberland Plain. I find the author’s assessment of Henry Lamb to be more positive than mine. An important point made by the author is the paucity of contemporary material about the inland people compared to the wealth of information compiled by the settlers about the coastal people.

One of the strengths of Karskens’ book is her ability to bring in the work of others. In Chapter 13 she references the work of anthropologist Deborah Bird Rose in describing how “Aboriginal country, long known, occupied and managed, was rendered ‘empty’, ‘timeless’ and ‘wild’ by colonisation. ‘I suggest we imagine it’, she writes, ‘as a rolling Year Zero that is carried across the land cutting an ontological swath between “timeless” land and “historicised” land’.” Karskens balances this with the idea of an “interwoven counter-theme: the ‘middle ground’, the world of relations and negotiations between settlers and Aborigines”.

Karskens provides an overview of the development of the frontier, beginning with the redoubt on The Crescent at what is now Parramatta in 1788; moving onto Prospect and Toongabbie in 1791; the Hawkesbury 1794-99; “Pemulwuy’s war” 1797-1802; the Hawkesbury 1804-05; Tedbury’s war; the fighting on the Nepean in 1814; and the fighting along the Nepean Hawkesbury Rivers 1815-16.

I don’t agree with Karskens’ statement that “Talboon, Corriangee and Doolon were Gandangarra men.” I think they were Hawkesbury men.

Karskens is good at exploring the intricacies of colonial relations. She rightly asks whether Bitugally and Yellooming were seeking shelter on Kennedy’s Appin farm or were there to protect the Kennedy’s from hostile warriors.

There is a very good illustration on page 520 of a group of people from the Cabramatta Tribe.

Chapter 14, Aftermath is particularly good in that it juxtaposes settler expectations of the extermination of Aboriginal people with the ongoing Aboriginal presence on the Sydney Plain.

Keith Vincent Smith’s, Mari Nawi: Aboriginal Oddessys, Rosenberg, 2010, was published in conjunction with an exhibition at the State Library of NSW in 2010. This is an important
work. It explores the early contact between Aboriginal people in canoes and the ships of the First Fleet. It follows young Bondel, the first Aboriginal seafarer, to Norfolk Island in 1791. It explores the presence of Aboriginal women on East Indiamen; and the experiences of exiles such as Musquito, Bulldog and Tristan; it describes the exploratory voyages around Australia and across the Pacific in which Aboriginal people participated; and the voyages in which Aboriginal people crewed the sealing boats.

This work is highly relevant to the Hawkesbury, dealing as it does with Musquito, Richmond Jack, Colebee, Tommy Chaseling/Chaselands and Captain; all Hawkesbury men.

Jan Barkley-Jack’s, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed: a new look at Australia’s third mainland settlement, 1793-1804*, Rosenberg, 2009, challenges traditional stereotypes about the early settlement of the Hawkesbury. It is framed by the arrival of the first convict settlers in the 1790s and the arrival of the Coromandel settlers in the early 1800s.

Chapter 8, *Hawkesbury Indigenous Culture Meets Colonial Practice*, deals with Aboriginal and settler contact and is in the middle of the book. In this chapter the author explores the reasons and nature of conflict and distinguishes between settlers and the military. The author argues that “competition for scarce resources was inevitable, and there is evidence that the European disregard for Indigenous beliefs and needs so long established in the river territory caused personal rifts between particular settlers and certain clanspeople.”

The author argues that of the “40 or more Indigenous peoples” killed on the frontier in the period under study that “settlers as a group distinct from soldiers, convicts, boatmen and labourers, were responsible for only four of the known deaths of Indigenous people outside the sanction of the government between 1794 and 1802.”

The author rejects “John Connor’s statements that there was a full frontier war at Hawkesbury from early 1795 to 1802”.

The author concludes the chapter with the important assessment that despite the “contentions of Collins and modern writers such as Robert Hughes, Michael Martin and John Connor, acts against Indigenous clanspeople were not the bloodthirsty work of all Hawkesbury settlers in a continuous frenzy of lawlessness up to the beginning of 1803.”

I am not sure why the author uses “Indigenous” in the chapter heading and a mix of “Indigenous peoples” and “Aboriginal” in the text.

The author prefaces the chapter with a discussion of conflict on the Hawkesbury within the context of the “History wars”. The author states “that no Windschuttle-type apologetic for European activities can be contemplated at Hawkesbury. In no way does the evidence support Keith Windschuttle’s recently well-publicised premise ‘that the colonisation of Australia was carried out under the rule of law, with restraint and a minimum of bloodshed.’

*On the other hand, the term ‘a war’ does not fit the earliest Mulgrave Place frontier either.*

Significantly, the author points out that “there was an insatiable curiosity about exconvict lifestyle and an actual search to substantiate the poor behaviour which the officers and gentlemen believed, based on contemporary ideas about class, must stem from such a settlement. Any facts or scraps of derogatory gossip from the district were avidly sought and recorded in letters and diaries …”. 166

The author examines Aboriginal and settler relations in detail, however, I do not share her opinion that “Captain Edward Abbott brought a strong yet seemingly restrained military presence to the Hawkesbury.” 167 Such a statement cannot be supported when one considers a letter written on 11th June 1795 by David Collins to his friend Edward Laing: “We have little or no news. The natives at the Hawkesbury are murdering the settlers. Abbott and MacKellar with Co soldiers are in turn murdering the natives (but it cannot be avoided).” At the same time the Rev Fyshe Palmer wrote to Doctor John Disney that the government “sent sixty soldiers to kill and destroy all they could meet with, and drive them utterly from the Hawkesbury. They seized a native boy who had lived with a settler, and made him discover where his parents and relations concealed themselves. They came upon them unarmed, and unexpected, killed five and wounded many more. The dead they hang on gibbets, in terrorem. The war may be universal on the part of the blacks, whose improvement and civilisation will be a long term deferred. The people killed were unfortunately the most friendly of the blacks, and one of them more than once saved the life of a white man.” 168

I think the author is brave to claim that “During Abbott’s command, Indigenous attacks for the first time appear to involve clans from two different sections of the river – those around the main settlement and a separate group or groups downriver.” 169 I have found no informed historical evidence to support any such speculation on the nature of Aboriginal social organisation at that time. Yellomundee, for example, appears to lived in several locations across the Hawkesbury.

The author appears to create a case that whereas “Abbott and McKellar, under whose commands the governor’s instructions appear adhered to thoughtfully, Hobby appeared to have floundered.” While I agree with the author that Hobby was “inexperienced” I certainly do not agree with her assessment of Abbott.

This is an invaluable resource in understanding the process of settlement in the Hawkesbury. I think the author has gone a long way towards addressing the demonising of the ex-convicts by their superiors. However, given the paucity of recording of operations against Aboriginal people in the period I find it difficult to concur with some of the author’s arguments.

Dr. Geoff E. Ford’s, Darkiñung Recognition: An Analysis of the Historiography for the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the Northwest of Sydney, is a 2010 University of Sydney Master of Arts thesis that can be found online at http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/7745

In his thesis Dr. Ford argues that “the traditional country of the Darkiñung-language people occupied by them at the time of settlement ... was the country of the ranges bounded by the Hawkesbury River floodplain to the south and the Hunter River floodplain to the north”.

I cannot agree with Dr. Ford’s argument on page 88 that: “The Hawkesbury River was identified by its Branches from the time of Governor Phillip's 1789 expedition, of which the south Branch was the main river. Thus the identification given to the Hawkesbury Aborigines was ‘The Branch’ natives, first applied to those of the Grose River Branch.”

While it is true that, for a number of years, the MacDonald River was known as “The First Branch” or ‘Lower Branch”; and the Colo River was known as “The Second Branch” or “Upper Branch”; the main course of the Hawkesbury River was only known momentarily as the “South Branch” by John Hunter in June 1789 as the Sirius’ long boats swung out of the Colo and into the main course of the Hawkesbury.

My research indicates that:
- there are only a very small number of primary source documents referring in any way to “Branch natives”;
- Settlers perceived the “Branch natives” to come from the country around and between the First and Second Branches, i.e., the MacDonald and Colo Rivers; and
- If there is any primary source from the period that refers to “The Branch Tribe”170 I have not yet encountered it.

Peter Turbet’s, The First Frontier, the occupation of the Sydney region, 1788 to 1816, Rosenberg, 2011, is a breath of fresh air in this field. It is well researched, objective and balanced. It is an absolute treasure. The particular strength of this book lies in its treatment of the troubles on the Nepean.

In the significantly titled chapter Dispossessing the Aborigines, of Richard Cox’s biography of his great-great-grandfather, William Cox: Blue Mountains road builder and pastoralist, Rosenberg, 2012, the author builds a hypothesis that the “Aborigines did not suffer outrage from William”; which I find difficult to accept.

Few modern historians would agree with Richard Cox’s opinion that, Governor Phillip “placed two native men, Colebe and Bennelong ... in his personal care”. It is my understanding that the 73rd Regiment left in 1814, hence I find Richard Cox’s claim that Archibald Bell commanded a detachment of that regiment at Windsor from 1812 to 1818 somewhat puzzling. Perhaps these men had stayed in the colony as part of the Veteran’s Company. Despite quoting from Cox’s and Macquarie’s correspondence, from the 11th to the 19th July 1816, and despite William Cox reporting on the 15th that Cocky, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie had been killed171, Richard Cox writes on page 222 that: “It appears that the natives were not caught. “

Richard Cox, like a number of other historians, mistakenly assumes that the 1819 petition to Governor Macquarie regarding the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the

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171 Page 187, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853 ML, reel CY2743;
Aborigines’ was evidence of the humanitarian concerns of William Cox and other leading lights. The petition was in fact in opposition to the establishment of a “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the Aborigines”.

Quite correctly, on page 227, Richard Cox makes the point that it is unclear whether it was the father or one of the sons that made the comment at Bathurst about “manuring the ground”.

Richard Cox makes no mention of the killing of a shepherd and two hundred sheep on the Mulgoa estate in August 1816. Richard Cox makes no mention of William Cox’s leadership in the punitive expeditions in the second half of 1816 in which up to 400 Aboriginal people were reportedly killed.

While the relationship between Aboriginal people and William Cox forms only one chapter of the work I do not find that Richard Cox advances enough evidence to support his assertion on page 230 that “The Aborigines did not suffer outrage from William Cox.”

Reclaiming our Footprints: a living history of the Darug people of the Hawkesbury, Vicky Thom, Christine Miller and Sonya Parker, MoshPit Publishing, 2013, is an important work as it is written by Aboriginal people about Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury. This is the first of a planned series of works and deals with traditional Aboriginal life on the Hawkesbury.

On the 25th of June 2013 the Hawkesbury Council passed a motion to fly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flags and to add “this is the land of the Darug people” on the “Welcome to Hawkesbury City Council” signs. Council consulted with Aunty Edna Watson regarding appropriate wording, spelling and appearance of signage (colour and font).

Henry Reynolds has an extraordinary capacity to articulate the big picture of history. On pages 246-248, of Forgotten War, New South Publishing, 2013, he draws upon Clausewitz to explain that war was a political act, that the frontier wars “were fought for the possession of land and the exercise of sovereignty.” Reynolds extended this argument which he began in Law of the Land, claiming that it “was a transaction of global significance, involving the seizing of control of one of the world’s great landmasses. And the changes were permanent. They were not overturned in subsequent peace settlement. There was no retrospective return of sequestered property. There were no reparations. The wave of decolonisation passed Australia by, reaching only as close as the north coast of Torres Strait. There was no return of sovereignty, no final lowering of the imperial flag.”

The book makes brief mention of the Hawkesbury despite the cover art drawing upon William Charles Piguret’s On the Nepean, New South Wales, 1881. On pages 64-65, Reynolds briefly described conflict on the Hawkesbury. On page 106 he writes, “Massive Aboriginal raids on the ripened corn and reprisals from the increasingly desperate farmers and military detachments led to what historian of early Sydney called the ‘maize wars’.”

Keith Windschuttle’s article in Chronicle: Quadrant, January-February 2014, No. 503, Volume LVIII, Number 1-2. Sydney, has several components. It is part of the ongoing “History Wars”. It is part of the reaction against proposals that the Australian War Memorial

should recognise the frontier wars as legitimate Australian wars. It is a rejection of Henry Reynolds’s latest book, *Forgotten War*. It announces the publication of a book which was not published “in time to take its place in the discussions about our past during the Anzac Centenary in April 2015.”

Windschuttle’s essay is relevant to the Hawkesbury through his criticism of Reynolds’s *Forgotten War*. Windschuttle rejects the argument of Henry Reynolds, Grace Kaskens and John Connor that Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury waged war against the settlers by “systemic raids on the corn crop”, burning crops and killing animals.

‘According to Reynolds, in the early years of British settlement the Hawkesbury River district was the site of a bloody contest of momentous proportions in which the Aborigines sought to destroy the livelihood of the settlers and drive them from the land. Moreover, it was the archetype of the recurrent warfare that came to define the colonial frontier as it spread across Australia throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.’

On the surface, Reynolds would appear to be on firm ground. There is a broad consensus among today’s academic historians that in very early colonial times the Aborigines waged war against the settlers by raiding their crops. The most ambitious account is by the military historian John Connor.

However, in 2009 Jan Barkley-Jack produced a substantial study of nearly 500 pages on the early history of the district, titled *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed: A New Look at Australia’s Third Mainland Settlement 1793–1802*.... Barkley-Jack repudiates the prevailing consensus, especially the interpretation of John Connor:

“The burning of settler property can hardly be seen as a mainstream weapon of the Aborigines at the Hawkesbury ... on the evidence, there appears little support for Connor’s statements that there was a full frontier war at Hawkesbury from early 1795 to 1802.”

‘My own view is that there was no encounter between whites and blacks anywhere on the Australian frontier that could accurately be described as warfare. There was nothing even remotely resembling, for instance, the genuine colonial warfare between British settlers and the Maoris in New Zealand.

I am far from alone in this and am arguing a case originally made in the 1950s and 1960s by the anthropologist Bill Stanner and in 1970 by the historian Charles Rowley. Instead, the process of first contact right across the continent was one of Aborigines “coming in” to white society in order to gain a more reliable and recurrent supply of food than available in the sparse and arduous world of nomadic hunting and gathering. White society was a powerful magnet and many Aborigines vied with one another to join it. To make this case in some detail, however, I need to finish a book of my own on the subject which, hopefully, will be published in time to take its place in the discussions about our past during the Anzac Centenary in April 2015. 173

Windschuttle’s arguments are contentious. As noted earlier, Jan Barkley-Jack wrote “that no Windschuttle-type apologetic for European activities can be contemplated at Hawkesbury. In no way does the evidence support Keith Windschuttle’s recently well-publicised premise ‘that

the colonisation of Australia was carried out under the rule of law, with restraint and a minimum of bloodshed.’

On the other hand, the term ‘a war’ does not fit the earliest Mulgrave Place frontier either.”

Windschuttle’s paraphrase of Jan Barkley-Jack misses the subtlety of Jan Barkley-Jack’s argument. On page 298 Jan Barkley-Jack wrote, ’the burning of settler property can hardly be seen as a mainstream weapon of the Aborigines at the Hawkesbury in the Eighteenth century and the earliest years of the nineteenth century as some claim.’ Some twenty six pages later she wrote, ’John Connor refers to the happenings at Hawkesbury as constituting the first Australian frontier war, implying it had general and deliberate attacks by both sides from the beginning of settlement. Whether there is justification for holding this view after 1802 is a different question, but on the evidence, there appears little support for Connor’s statements that there was a full frontier war at Hawkesbury from early 1795 to 1802, or for believing it to be the case in the first year of Mulgrave Place settlement in 1794.

Neither can it be ignored that certain Europeans gave cause for tribal retribution.”

Windschuttle’s view “that there was no encounter between whites and blacks anywhere on the Australian frontier that could accurately be described as warfare. There was nothing even remotely resembling, for instance, the genuine colonial warfare between British settlers and the Maoris in New Zealand” is problematic and heavily laden with connotation. “Warfare” is a highly complex issue and Windschuttle makes no attempt to define what he means by it. His reference to “genuine colonial warfare between British settlers and the Maoris in New Zealand” only clouds the issue. The fighting in New Zealand was waged on the one side by the British army, rather than settlers and the Maori were settlers themselves, fighting often from fortified Pa. Windschuttle skims over the asymmetric nature of colonial war. As hunters and gatherers Aboriginal people were not logistically able to field large numbers of warriors. The decentralised nature of Aboriginal society made it nigh on impossible to co-ordinate large numbers of warriors. The personalised and ritualised nature of Aboriginal conflict is signified by the narrowness of the shield. The purpose of the Aboriginal shield was to deflect missiles. It was not a weapon to be used in close combat fighting as either a defensive or offensive weapon. The British on the other hand were superb masters of logistics, able to project a fleet across the world and deliver an overwhelming armed force virtually wherever they pleased. The word “genuine” also has connotations of legitimacy that are totally unwarranted.

I have not yet found anything in Stanner’s writing to justify Windschuttle’s claim that: “I am far from alone in this and am arguing a case originally made in the 1950s and 1960s by the anthropologist Bill Stanner and in 1970 by the historian Charles Rowley. Instead, the process of first contact right across the continent was one of Aborigines “coming in” to white society in order to gain a more reliable and recurrent supply of food than available in the sparse and arduous world of nomadic hunting and gathering. White society was a powerful magnet and many Aborigines vied with one another to join it.”

As noted earlier, W. E. H. Stanner did write the following, which is certainly not what Windschuttle appears to be claiming.

‘In 1932 I went to a remote place in the Northern Territory to study some little known tribes. It was a broken-down settlement which might well have been the Illawarra or the Hawkesbury of a hundred years or so before. ... On the outskirts of the settlement there were a few groups of ‘myalls’ (bush natives) who were as wild as hawks, timid and daring by turns, with scarcely a word of English, and in two minds what to do: drawn towards the settlement because the break in the tribal structure had reached them too, but unreconciled to the prospect of a sedentary life. Some of them were being tempted in, others pushed away, as the need, fear or expediency of the Europeans dictated in almost Phillipian stops and starts.’ 

Hawkesbury Personalities, Spanning the Centuries of Hawkesbury’s History, Journal of the Hawkesbury Historical Society, No. 3 ~ 2014, is a collection of biographies of people who have lived in the Hawkesbury. The work has a strong genealogical perspective. While such works rarely address colonial conflict, they often provide details about relations between settlers, properties etc., that are not found in other works. There is one biography of an Aboriginal man, Thomas Evans/Billy Tommie: 1872-1921. The photograph of Billy Tom on page 26 is identical to the picture of George Trooper on page 92 of Hawkesbury 1794-1994: the first 200 years of the Second Colonisation. I have no idea of which man the photo is of.

Lyn Stewart’s, Blood Revenge: murder on the Hawkesbury 1799, Rosenberg, 2015, is an important work for several reasons. Lyn Stewart explores for the first time the legal ramifications of the charges against the settlers. In Chapter 5 she points out that while Governor Hunter wanted a charge of “wanton Murder”, Richard Dore turned this into “wantonly killing two natives” which had lesser consequences in the case of a guilty verdict. Lyn Stewart is to be congratulated for finding unpublished elements of the trial. Lyn Stewart’s work is also significant in that she is a descendant of one of the settlers found guilty of killing Little George and Little Jemmy. I was at the launch of Lyn Stewart’s book which was attended by other descendants of settlers involved in the 1799 killings. While little was said by the other descendants, I think that Lyn Stewart has made a courageous move in confronting what must be a terrible legacy. My only concern with a very brave and insightful book is her concluding apology in which she refers to “our Aboriginal Australians”. We still have a long way to go.

For many years a dug-out canoe has been exhibited at the Australiana Village at Wilberforce as bizarre proof of the existence of a superior race of canoe builders who may, or may not, have migrated to Tasmania upon the arrival of the First Fleet. Alongside it are two signs, the first which is quite old:

‘Aboriginal Dugout Canoe
This canoe was washed down the Hawkesbury River in the 1964 flood and lodged on the beach opposite this village. A carbon check dates this canoe in excess of 400 years of age and therefore built by natives who were superior in canoe building to the natives in this area when the "first fleet" arrived in 1788. It is possible that these natives may have migrated to Tasmania. As a race are now extinct.

and a more recent addition.

‘Dugout Canoe
This dugout canoe was found in the Hawkesbury river near the Village’s bottom paddock by Bill McLachlan in 1970. Bill swam out to the canoe and had it raised from the bottom of the river. Alex Hendrikson, a prominent Windsor historian and antique dealer (deceased) had the boat carbon dated; it was believed to be 300 years old in 1970. The village stands on the traditional lands of the Dharug people, who would have used the canoe for fishing and travelling.’

Alongside the canoe is a display case containing various Aboriginal artefacts without provenance and a number of rocks.
This is the story of what came before and what went after Phillip stood on a high point, which cannot be accurately located, looking for a river he mistakenly surmised issued forth from a gap in the Blue Mountains to the west. A hill between the cliffs he called Richmond Hill. We do not know whether he was disappointed that there was no sign of the jewel-rich volcanoes that Lord Morton had hinted to Cook might lay in the South Land when he reached Richmond Hill in 1789. What is now called Richmond Hill lies to the north of Phillip’s 1789 Richmond Hill. The river, now dammed, nutrient-enriched effluent, he called both the Hawkesbury and the Nepean River. Others called it Tench’s River or Worgan’s River. Its older name may have been De-rab-bun,1 Deerubbin,2 Venrubbin,3 Deerubbin,4 Deerabubbin,5 Durububbin,6 or Derrubin.7 It would be tempting to think that Edward Cox, grandson of William Cox, drew upon his childhood friendship with Aboriginal children on the Fernhill estate at Mulgoa for the name of his thoroughbred stallion, Darebin. However, Cox bought the horse off Samuel Gardiner, a Melbourne breeder and where Darebin is a Wurundjeri word apparently meaning swallow.8 The fact that there is so much confusion over the names of a place reveals much of the ways in which the history of it and its people have been recorded.9

1 This is the earliest reference I have found. Pages 356-357, Collins, David, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume I, London 1802, A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1975.
2 Empire, 20th September 1865, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp del/article/64144137. It was apparently used as an nom de plume in a letter referring to a meeting held at St Albans.
5 "The aboriginal name for the Hawkesbury River was not 'Deerubbin,' as many folk imagine, but 'Deerabubbin,' according to at least two dictionaries of aboriginal words." Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 13th August 1952, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp del/article/85676172
8 http://www.onlymelbourne.com.au/darebin#.VmM-4_l97IU
9 Some of the ways in which the journals of these early explorers have been transcribed have only exacerbated the confusion. Captain John Hunter, on page 233 of his An Historical Journal (Digital order Number a1518120, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/ItemViewer.aspx?itemid=823673&suppress=N&imgindex=64), recorded how Phillip navigated his way up the Hawkesbury, came back out of what was to become the Colo River and turned upstream into what is now the Hawkesbury River: "at 7 we Embarked & dropt down until we came to the Entrance of this Second Southern Branch, certain the main River, where we found good depth of water 6 & 7 fathoms, this from its depth encourag’d us to hope that it might extend a great distance to the Westward; we advanc’d up this branch about thirteen or fourteen Miles before we put ashore for the night."

On page 103 of Bach’s An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea, 1787-1792, by John Hunter; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Phillip, Lieutenant P. G. King, and Lieutenant H. L. Ball; Angus and Robertson, 1968; Hunter’s original record had been transcribed and altered to read: “at seven o’clock we embarked, and rowed down until we came to the entrance of the second southern branch, where we found good depth of water, in six and seven fathoms. This, from its depth, encouraged us to hope that it
The geology and Prehistory of the Nepean Hawkesbury

The pre-history of the Nepean Hawkesbury has provided multiple examples of non-Aboriginal people projecting explanations of the origins, nature or character of Aboriginal people onto snippets of language, stone tools, geological oddities, a misunderstood Dreaming story, or even a non-Aboriginal artefact. A lack of direct contact with Aboriginal people does not appear to have been a hindrance to these cobbling endeavours.

Modern archaeology has evolved into a nuanced science. Early ideas of discrete and hierarchical races populating Australia have been discredited in the face of overwhelming evidence showing that environmental factors have enormous impacts upon people’s physical appearance and culture. Most importantly, modern archaeology shows that prehistoric Aboriginal people were dynamic and resilient in their response to climatic and sea level changes during the last Ice Age. However, these findings must be balanced with the knowledge that Aboriginal people have had little impact upon the archaeological processes and are left with the cultural legacy of disturbed sites and removed artefacts.

*might extend a great distance to the westward: we went up this branch about 13 or 14 miles before we put on shore for the night."

Bach’s removal, for whatever reason, of the insertion “certainty the main River”, incorrectly creates for the secondary reader the impression that Hunter and Phillip did not realise they were on the main stream of the Hawkesbury River. Hunter following the Eighteenth Century predilection for capitalising everything moving or stationary capitalised “Southern Branch”. Bach sensibly removed the upper case from “Southern Branch”. This was the first and last occasion in any primary source that I have seen that the Hawkesbury was ever referred to as the “south branch”. The first “South Branch” was Pitt Water (page 110, ibid.) and I have only found one other reference to it as the “South Branch”, that being in 1804.

“Last week eight very fine Pheasants were shot at Perrara, on the South Branch of the River Hawkesbury, by one of our most experienced foresters. These birds are some of the finest that have been killed for a considerable time past, and will no doubt find a speedy market.” Sydney Gazette, 27th May, 1804, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626216

Hornsby Shire Council identify Perrara as Berowra. The name "Berowra" is said to be Aboriginal for "place of many winds". The parish was originally named Berowra, and the town established on Peat's Ferry Road took its name from that. The road from the railway station to Berowra Waters was completed in 1902, which was when Jack Smith began to operate a ferry. Before that Berowra was only known as Dusthole Bay. The origin of the word "Berowra" is believed to be "Perrara" to which the earliest known reference occurs in the Sydney Gazette. Source: Ralph J. Hawkins, http://www.hornsby.nsw.gov.au/library/resources-and-research/street-and-place-names-wiki4/berowra/berowra

When approaching Richmond Hill, Hunter recorded that “We frequently, in some of the reaches which we passed through this day, saw very near us the hills, which we suppose as seen from Port Jackson, and called by the governor the Blue Mountains” (page 104, An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea, 1787-1792, by John Hunter; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Phillip, Lieutenant P. G. King, and Lieutenant H. L. Ball; edited by John Bach, Angus and Robertson, 1968). It is Phillip’s “Blue Mountains” that has endured rather than his “Carmathen” and “Landsdowne Hills”.

It is, however, impossible for modern archaeology to throw light into every aspect of prehistoric Aboriginal life. White settlement has destroyed many traces of an Aboriginal presence particularly on the Cumberland Plain. In 2001, 4,340 Aboriginal sites in the Sydney Region had been registered. These sites include archaeological deposits, shell middens, engraved images, pigment images, grinding grooves, abraded channels, water holes, stone quarry or source, scarred trees and carved trees. In addressing archaeological issues have deliberately not addressed engraved and pigment images or scarred and carved trees because of their spiritual significance.

The acidic soils of the Sydney Basin ensure that bone and skin in archaeological sites rarely survive more than three to four thousand years. Shell deposits can survive up to 6,450 years. In the oldest sites, stone artefacts and ochre are the only evidence of human occupancy and form the basis of many archaeological sites in the Sydney Basin.\(^\text{11,12}\)

Traditionally archaeologists favoured rock shelter over open sites for excavations. Rock shelters offer artefacts deposited in stratigraphical layers with charcoal deposits that lend themselves readily to dating. However, as has been increasingly realised artefacts can often be vertically displaced, confusing their interpretation. Open sites are more of an archaeological challenge as charcoal is frequently not present.\(^\text{13}\)

Some of the significant sites in western Sydney listed chronologically with their earliest radiometric age and standard deviation follow.

- **Cranebrook Terrace**, an open site: \(41,700 \pm 3000/-2000\) years.
- **Shaws Creek K2**, a rock shelter: \(14,7000 \pm 250\).
- **Jamisons Creek 1**, an open site: \(7,010 \pm 110\).
- **Rouse Hill RH/CD7**, an open site: \(4,690 \pm 80\).
- **Lapstone Creek**, a rock shelter: \(3,650 \pm 100\).
- **Quakers Hill 2**, an open site: \(3,450 \pm 60\).
- **Second Ponds RH/SP125**, an open site: \(3,351 \pm 40\).
- **Plumpton Ridge**, an open site: \(2250 \pm 89\).
- **Parklea PK/CD1+2**, an open site: \(1,070 \pm 60\).
- **Second Ponds RH/SP13C**, an open site: \(989 \pm 38\).\(^\text{14}\)

In 1986 Jim Kohen broadened the focus of archaeological investigation by identifying 222 open deposits on the Cumberland Plain between Richmond, Penrith and Blacktown. The study found that 65% were within 100 m of a permanent water supply. Within the western Cumberland Plain silcrete, tuff and chert were the dominant stone materials. Superficially it would appear that the greatest population densities were on the coast,

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coastal estuaries and the Hawkesbury sandstones; and the fewest on the Wianamatta shales. This, however, may be an underestimation as closer settlement on the Cumberland Plain destroyed evidence of an Aboriginal presence.¹⁵

Historically the narrow reliance upon stone artefacts has distorted understandings of prehistoric Aboriginal life. The early archaeology of the Sydney Basin focused on the shape of stone artefacts found in rock shelters which created impressions of sudden and transformational change, thereby supporting theories that Australia was peopled by successive waves of racially distinct people. Modern archaeology focuses more on the quantitative analysis of technologies used in the manufacture of stone implements rather than the shape of implements which suggests that changes may have been more incremental than previously thought.¹⁶

Modern methodologies still remain unable to address the significance of different sites. A site may have been a base camp, a transit camp, a meal place, a quarry or a butchering site.¹⁷ “The numbers of stone artefacts found in each archaeological site varies enormously – some have very few whilst others have thousands.” Such variations may reflect changes in numbers, mobility patterns and length of stay as well as the possibility that the purpose of the site may have changed over time. We do not know how the people moved in response to falling and rising sea levels or what archaeological sites lie beneath the waves. We do not know whether population levels fell or rose in response to the harsh weather of the Ice Age. We do not know why new technologies appeared and others fell into disuse. We do not know why some raw materials replaced others. We do not know how different sites were used. Unfortunately archaeology provides little insights into the early colonial period, “most excavated middens and archaeological deposits in the Sydney region have not revealed a discrete early colonial stratigraphic layer and/or the upper deposits have been disturbed (sometime up to 20cm deep) by recent rockshelter users such as 1930s depression occupants, scout groups and anglers.”¹⁸

It is not possible to explore the archaeological record of western Sydney without addressing the geology of the Sydney Basin. The formation of the Sydney Basin began with the deposition of marine sediments in the Early Permian, 280-260 million years ago. During the Triassic Period sedimentary layers were deposited: the Narrabeen Group of lithic sandstone, quartz sandstone, claystones, siltstones and conglomerate; the quartz rich Hawkesbury sandstone with interbedded shale, the thin beds of Mittagong sandstone; and the Wianamatta shales, sandstones and claystones. In the middle of this period, 187-163 million years ago, uplift took place and the basin was created and became dry land. During the Cenozoic Era, less than 60 million years ago, sedimentation from rivers, many of which are long gone, led to the formation of iron and aluminium-rich laterite soils on the Hawkesbury sandstone, Narrabeen and Wianamatta Groups.

While many Aboriginal stone implements have volcanic origins few were quarried directly from places such as Prospect Hill which is the remnant of volcanic activity about 210 million years ago or the basalt caps of Mount Banks, Mount Tomah, Mount Wilson etc., which are all that are left of volcanic flows between 17 and 14 million years ago.\(^{19}\) Pebbles, cobbles and boulders with a volcanic origin were washed down from these places into the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers to be sourced by Aboriginal people.

The silcrete cobbles of Plumpton Ridge were a significant quarry for Aboriginal people well into the Nineteenth Century. Plumpton Ridge is a barely noticeable rise dividing Bells Creek from Eastern Creek. Once it was a river bed, laid down approximately twenty five to twenty million years ago as part of the St Marys Formation. It is possible that silcrete cobbles from Plumpton Ridge were washed down into the Nepean River.

Whether the eastern escarpment of the Blue Mountains was the result of the uplift of the Lapstone and Kurrajong Monoclines, or the slipping down of the Sydney Basin is irrelevant to this work. What is significant to this work is that the Nepean River shifted course three to two million years ago to run north along the escarpment cutting into the Triassic Hawkesbury sandstone and forming the Castlereagh Neck.\(^{20}\)

During the Pleistocene Epoch\(^{21}\) unconsolidated terraces were deposited along current and old channels of the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers. These terraces begin at the Nepean’s junction with the Warragamba and extend to Pitt Town.

Around 50,000 years ago in the Late Pleistocene when the area began to slip into the last ice age; the Nepean River was larger, stronger and more variable than it is now. During the Holocene,\(^{22}\) basal gravels and a sandy-clay overburden derived from the Tertiary and Pleistocene terraces were laid down in the bed of the current Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers to form the Castlereagh Terrace upstream of the Castlereagh Neck where the river narrows, braids and drops in a series of small falls.\(^{23}\) These basal gravel beds contain fine-grained siliceous rock types\(^{24}\) that lent themselves readily to flaking and igneous or metamorphic rock types suitable for making ground-edge hatchets.\(^{25}\) Sandstone was used for filing or grinding these tools.\(^{26}\)

\(^{19}\) [http://australianmuseum.net.au/the-sydney-basin](http://australianmuseum.net.au/the-sydney-basin)


\(^{21}\) Globally the Pleistocene Epoch, 2,588,000 to 11,700 years ago was one of repeated glaciations.

\(^{22}\) The Holocene Epoch follows the Pleistocene from 11,700 to the present. Together the Pleistocene and the Holocene make up the Quaternary Period.


\(^{24}\) Siliceous rocks are sedimentary rocks containing silica as their main element, e.g., quartz, silcrete, chert, jasper, chalcedony, flint, tuff, tonstein, rhyolite, indurated siltstone, indurated mudstone, quartzite and petrified wood. Page 120, Val,

\(^{25}\) Igneous rocks, i.e., rocks which are volcanic in origin and metamorphic rocks which are transformed under extreme heat or pressure include basalt, granite, granitic dolerite, diorite, hornblende quartz, porphyry, cordierite hornfels and spotted politic hornfels, otherwise known as spotted altered claystone.
The open sites on the Wianamatta Group soils are dominated by silcrete, tuff or chert, with very little quartz which meant that the raw materials on the Cumberland Plain lent themselves more readily to flaking rather than the ground-edge traditions. The Pleistocene Agnes Band Sand and the Cranebrook Formation contained pebbles, cobbles and boulders of quartz, quartzite, chert, porphyry, basalt, acid volcanic, hornfels and occasionally silcrete. Silcrete, silicified wood, quartzite and quartz pebbles, cobbles and occasional boulders are found in the Mulgoa, South and Eastern Creek valleys, the Rickaby Creek Gravel and the Maroota Sands in the north-west. As well porphyry, hornfels and tuff have been found in the Rickabys Creek Gravels, and jasper, agate, chert and unspecified metamorphic rocks in the Maroota Sands. Ochres and white pipeclay are found as pockets and lenses within both sandstone and shale beds.

Aboriginal people hunted and foraged along the river using knapped choppers, steep-edged scrapers and serrated flakes. These tools utilised both the core and the flakes; and were made by both free-hand percussion and bi-polar techniques. These implements have been dated to 50,000 years and are amongst the oldest known signs of a human presence in Australia. From wood and plant material Aboriginal people probably made spears, clubs, digging sticks, nets and baskets, however, no traces remain.

While no fossilised remains of mega fauna have been found in the Sydney Region it is likely the short-faced kangaroos, marsupial lions, giant horned tortoises and diprotodons became extinct across Australia about 40,000 years ago. Their extinction remains controversial. The most recent research uses statistical modelling to argue that while climate change had a part in mega fauna extinction; Aboriginal fire practices which changed the environment were a more significant factor in their extinction. This is a more nuanced approach than early theories which argued that Aboriginal people “blitzed” the megafauna into extinction.

During the Last Glacial Maximum, 30,000 to 18,000 years ago sea levels dropped between 110 and 130 metres lower than present levels. At Broken Bay the coast was...
about 20 kilometres further to the east. Temperatures were about 6 to 10 degrees celsius lower and there was less rainfall. Rainforests and tall open forests contracted and were replaced by woodlands. A rock shelter at King’s Tableland in the Blue Mountains dated to 26,500 years ago offers the earliest radio-carbon dated evidence of Aboriginal occupation in the region. 

Around 18,000 years ago the climate became warmer and wetter as the glaciers retreated and sea levels began to rise again. A radio-carbon date of 17,800 years establishes the presence of Aboriginal people in the Shaws Creek KII rock shelter. The assemblage of stone artefacts is similar to other rock shelters in the Blue Mountains, Upper Mangrove Creek and South Coast with variations representative of different local source materials. The earliest artefacts at Shaws Creek included cores and flakes resultant from their manufacture. The most common tools were retouched flakes. These were larger than those produced in the Late Holocene, 4,000 to 3,500 years ago. The smallest tools were thumbnail scrapers and dentated saws (serrated flakes). Tuff and chert were the main raw materials, though silcrete and quartz were also used.

The last glacial period ended about 11,700 years ago. The coastline stabilised in its present location between 11,000 and 10,000 years ago while the river valleys continued to fill. About 7,000 years ago the sea reached its highest level about 1 to 2 metres above present levels and did not stabilise at present levels till about 1,400 years ago. Between 11,500 and 7,000 years ago precipitation and temperatures continued to rise reaching their maximum about 8,000 years ago.

Core tool and flake artefacts manufactured in the early Holocene period, 11,700 to 5,000 years ago, by both free hand percussion and bi-polar techniques have been found in greater numbers in sites which were occupied during this period such as Curracurrang 1, Darling Mills SF2, Jamison Creek and Regentville. However, the bipolar technique increased in usage over time, not replacing free hand percussion, but adding to it. These implements begin to appear at the Upper Mangrove about 8,500 years ago and at Capertee 3 about 7,500 years ago.

The bi-polar technique involved shaping or retouching a flake along one edge to create an implement with a thick steep angled back, which lent itself being gripped or fastened to wood. These backed implements are usually less than 30mm in length but can be up to 80mm long. Originally thought to be barbs or tips on spears recent analysis shows they

33 Pages 37 and 152, Val Attenbrow, Sydney’s Aboriginal Past: investigating the archaeological and historical records, UNSW Press, 2010.
36 McCarthy used the terms Bondi points and Elouera in reporting his excavation of the of the Lapstone Rock shelter. Bondi Points were originally found at Bondi. I have not been able to determine where the term “elouera” or “allowrie” in an earlier form came from.
were multi-purpose and multi-functional, being used in cutting and scraping wood, plants, skin and bone\textsuperscript{37} as well as being fastened to spears with resin.\textsuperscript{38}

Small tool production proliferated with the harsher and more unpredictable weather conditions brought about by the El Nino Southern Oscillation Index during the mid Holocene Period about 7,000 years ago. People were probably forced to forage further for food with lighter tools.\textsuperscript{39} Between 6,000 and 4,000 years ago the production of backed artefacts peaked.\textsuperscript{40} Around 5,000 years ago more favourable conditions returned. Around 3,000 years ago there was increased variability in conditions with the return of the El Nino Southern Oscillation. Woodlands increased at expense of rain forest and forest. Ground-edged hatchets and grinding grooves begin to appear about 4,000 years ago.\textsuperscript{41} In south-east Australia the backed blade was predominant and in north-west Australia the surface-flaked point and adze was predominant.

The number of sites in the Sydney Region and the number of artefacts increased in number around this time. The earliest Bondaian artefacts at Lapstone rock-shelter are at least 3,650 years old.\textsuperscript{42} Along the coast around 1,600-1,400 years ago there appears to have been a shift from fine-grained siliceous silcrete, tuff, chert and petrified wood to quartz as the preferred raw material. This shift has also been noted in sandstone rock shelters such as Lapstone Creek in the hinterland, however, it occurred later. Raw material changes in the older stratified sites appear to be associated with changes in the types of tools used, e.g., the Bondi points; and the ways in which they were manufactured. This may reflect the impact of environmental and/or cultural factors.\textsuperscript{43} The use of backed implements lessened or ceased between 1,500 to 1,000 years ago on the coast and somewhat later on the sandstone hinterland. Attenbrow thinks that backed implements were last used 340 years ago on the Cumberland Plain.\textsuperscript{44} In the sandstone country the manufacture of ground-edge hatchets increased. Quartz continued as the main resource for bi-polar flaking; but silcrete, tuff and chert continued to be used, particularly on the Cumberland Plain. These changes may reflect changed access to raw materials, particularly along the coast. Attenbrow suggests that mobility may have declined and that there were three distinct groups, those on: the sandstone country, the Cumberland plain.

\textsuperscript{37} Gail Robertson, Val Attenbrow & Peter Hiscock, \textit{Multiple uses for Australian backed artefacts}, https://www.academia.edu/235125/Multiple_uses_for_Australian_backed_artefacts
\textsuperscript{40} Page 102, Val Attenbrow, Sydney's Aboriginal Past: investigating the archaeological and historical records, UNSW Press, 2010.
\textsuperscript{41} V Attenbrow, 'Habitation and land use patterns in the Upper Mangrove Creek catchment, NSW central coast, Australia', in J Specht, V Attenbrow, and R Torrence (eds), Shaping the Future Pasts: Papers in Honour of J. Peter White, Australian Archaeology, vol 57, 2003, pp 20–31
\textsuperscript{43} Pages 120-122, Val Attenbrow, Sydney’s Aboriginal Past: investigating the archaeological and historical records, UNSW Press, 2010.
\textsuperscript{44} Page 102, Val Attenbrow, Sydney’s Aboriginal Past: investigating the archaeological and historical records, UNSW Press, 2010.
and the coast. There does not appear to evidence to support the hypothesis that the kangaroo population was over-hunted and that the hatchet manufacture was increased for possum hunting.  

Around 1,400 years ago the sea level dropped to its present level. The climate in the last 1000 years was similar to the present climate. In the last 1,000 years there was a decline in the backed artefact tradition. However, it is important to note that a Bondi point made from glass was found at Kurnell in 1971. Bi-polar artefacts, both core and flake, made mainly from quartz are the most common artefact at this time. It has been suggested that there may have been a raw material shortage. Free-hand percussion best suits larger stones and the bi-polar method would be used where the stone was less than 15 or 20 millimetres. It also appears that many flakes were retouched rather than being discarded. Ground-edged hatchet heads often have pits on one or both sides suggesting they were used as anvils during bi-polar working of stone. “... the decrease in stone artefact numbers documented in many sites in the most recent millennia, combined with increasing site numbers, which occurs in both coastal and hinterland zones, may have as much to do with long-term changes in subsistence, land use or resource use patterns (including changing mobility patterns) as to changes in material culture.”

In 1788, except for the backed artefacts, the Aboriginal tool kit probably incorporated all stone implement types that had been in use for the previous 15,000 years. While ground edge axes were used along the Nepean Hawkesbury Rivers, wood, bone and shell were the basis of the coastal peoples’ tool kit. Fish hooks made from shell appeared on the coast around 1,000 years ago.

A recent study of the western Cumberland Plain estimated the population at 500 to 1,000 people within a 600 sq km area, with a minimum overall density of around 0.5 persons/sq km. Other recent estimates for the total number of Aborigines around Sydney are between 2000 and 3000 people, and others for the greater Sydney region (including the Lower Blue Mountains) are between 4000 and 8000. The area in and around the junction of the Grose and Nepean rivers was particularly favourable; combining plain, plateau and riverine environments. Water birds, emu, eastern grey kangaroo, wombats, possums, a range of goannas and snakes were plentiful on the land surrounding the Nepean River. The river provided a variety of fish, eels, fresh water mussels and crayfish. Yams appeared to have been grown along both banks of the river. The officers’ journals

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frequently refer to traps along the banks of the rivers and creeks. It was an area, which in 1788, appears to have had plentiful and readily available food.

**Watkin Tench: Literary Allusion and Political Comment**

As a participant and witness to wide-ranging social and political change in the American War of Independence, the West Indies, the settlement of NSW and the French Revolution, Watkin Tench (1758-1833), is of particular interest to the historian. He was a well-educated man who benefited from the patronage of wealthy benefactors and led an active military life defending and promoting the interests of his country on three continents. He wrote three books about his experiences.

In Australia he is best remembered as an officer of the marines on the First Fleet and the author *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay: With an Account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants &c*, London, 1789, and *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales, Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; and of its Natural Productions: Taken on the Spot*. The second book was published in London in 1793, shortly after Tench returned with the marines on HMS Gorgon. Tench used his diaries and field journals, which are no longer available, to write up the final work. The last chapters show evidence of being brought up to date on his return.

This work explores some incidents from *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales*. The incidents are:

- Tench’s discovery of the Nepean River in June 1789;
- The military expeditions led by Tench to punish Aboriginal people for Pemulwuy’s killing of McIntyre in December 1790;
- Governor Phillip’s overland expedition to Richmond Hill in April 1791; and
- Tench and Dawes follow-up expedition to Richmond Hill in May 1791.

On the 26th June 1789, Tench, seeking a river reportedly to the west, led a party from Parramatta to Prospect Hill where he paused, recalling the voyage of the world’s first great coloniser: “surveying ‘the wild abyss; pondering our voyage.’ Before us lay the trackless immeasurable desert, in awful silence”.

It was this quote from *Paradise Lost*, hinting at the devastation caused by small pox that caught my attention. Fitzhardinge, the editor of the 1979 edition of Tench’s work noted the many references to various literary works as being examples of Tench’s education, but he did not note any other significance. Michael Flynn’s Silent Boundary project on the Holroyd Council’s website alerted me to Tench’s use of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*.\(^{51}\)

I then revisited *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, looking particularly at Tench’s descriptions of his exploration of the Cumberland Plain and the two punitive expeditions he commanded. Tench emerges from his pages as being:

- a man of conscience and intellect; concerned at the impact of industrialisation;

– a Deist, or strongly attracted to Deism and stimulated by Enlightenment thinking, particularly that coming from Scotland. Deism was probably at its strongest as the Enlightenment began to challenge the position of organised religion and before Charles Darwin explained everything. Deists rejected organised religion and believed that reason and observation of the natural world revealed the existence of one God. Deists saw a continuum between the present world and the pagan classical past. A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson is characterised by a confusing mixture of accurate and inaccurate quotations from works such as Milton’s Paradise Lost, Goldsmith’s The Deserted Village, James Thompson’s The Seasons as well as the Elizabethan Poor Laws. The nature of these sources signals that he was probably a Deist in his beliefs. The complexity of his imagery leads one to wonder whether he was deliberately masking his thoughts from the general reader or struggling to remember books left on the other side of the globe;
– an active and conscientious officer committed to his country’s interests who longed to return home;
– as prone to human error as anyone else, not taking adequate water supplies when exploring Botany Bay, nearly losing his life in quicksand and nearly drowning on the Hawkesbury;
– well aware of the looming destruction of Aboriginal society. He had been in North America as shown by his transference of terminology, e.g., Indians and wigwams, and would have seen the impact of colonisation there;
– powerless as an officer of the Crown to prevent the destruction of Aboriginal society, but prepared to disagree with his superiors when he thought their orders were unjust;
– like many another public servants, both past and present, he buried his personal observations cryptically in his works so as not to offend the hand that fed him; and
– probably the only European in that period of initial contact to realise his common humanity with an Aboriginal person and honestly record the encounter.

Tench’s discovery of the Nepean River in June 1789
When Governor Phillip was appointed to command the expedition to Botany Bay he was appointed to command not only the transportation of the convicts but also the settlement itself. This was one of many breaks from tradition that would shape the nature of the settlement. Under normal circumstances command of the settlement would have rested with Major Ross of the Marines.

Prior to the departure of the First Fleet, Governor Phillip had time to contemplate the nature of the settlement and how to ensure its survival. Thus from an early date Phillip mounted expeditions to find a river with land suitable for farming.

52 “The last expedition which I ever undertook in the country I am describing was in July 1791, when Mr. Dawes and myself went in search of a large river which was said to exist a few miles to the southward of Rose Hill. We went to the place described, and found this second Nile or Ganges to be nothing but a saltwater creek communicating with Botany Bay, on whose banks we passed a miserable night from want of a drop of water to quench our thirst, for as we believed that we were going to a river we thought it needless to march with full canteens.”
In March 1788 he led two unsuccessful expeditions into Broken Bay looking for a large river.\footnote{\textit{on the map.}} In April 1788 he trekked to what is probably Narrabeen lagoon before heading westward across difficult terrain about fifteen miles from the sea-coast, where he looked across to where the Grose River divides the escarpment of the Blue Mountains and came, quite logically and erroneously, to the conclusion that the large river he was seeking lay in the gap. He began the Anglicising of the Hawkesbury by calling the northernmost ridge the Carmarthen Hills\footnote{\textit{on the map.}} after the Marquis of Carmarthen, who was Secretary of State for the Foreign Department and the southernmost ridge the Lansdowne Hills\footnote{\textit{on the map.}} after the Marquis of Lansdowne. A hill in between he called Richmond Hill,\footnote{\textit{on the map.}} possibly after the Duke of Richmond, the Master-General of the Ordnance.\footnote{\textit{on the map.}} If he saw what is now called the Nepean Gorge far off to the south-west, he did not realise that was where his river left the ranges, rather than the gap between the Carmarthen and Lansdowne Hills.\footnote{\textit{on the map.}}

Later, on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of April 1788 Governor Phillip led another expedition to the “\textit{head of the harbour}” and pushed to the west for five days coming to a hill that he called “\textit{Bellevue}” from where he could see “\textit{the Carmarthen Hills, as likewise, the hills to the}”

\textit{So complete an opportunity of forming a judgment, enables me to speak decisively of a place, which has often engaged conversation and excited reflection. Variety of opinions here disappeared. I shall, therefore, transcribe literally what I wrote in my journal, on my return from the expedition. “We were unanimously of opinion, that had not the nautical part of Mr. Cook’s description, in which we include the latitude and longitude of the bay, been so accurately laid down, there would exist the utmost reason to believe, that those who have described the contiguous country, had never seen it. On the sides of the harbour, a line of sea coast more than thirty miles long, we did not find 200 acres which could be cultivated.”}

Phillip consistently overestimated the distances that he travelled and how far away things were. Nor is there any real guarantee that places they were talking about then, are necessarily the same now. Thus, while there is fairly general consensus that Phillip’s Richmond Hill is where St John of God Hospital now stands, there is no real certainty that it is the hill that Phillip first saw in 1788.\footnote{\textit{on the map.}} Newton Fowell in describing this expedition estimated that the Governor “\textit{had been about 40 mile in land}” which was not possible unless referring to the round trip. Watkins Tench who was not on the expedition but reported that to “\textit{their great surprise, they observed indisputable tracks of the natives having been lately there, though in their whole route none of them were to be seen; nor any means to be traced, by which they could procure subsistence from the sea shore}”. References to native paths are not frequent in early journals. Phillip does not mention them. This example from Tench is significant in showing his surprise at Aboriginal people behaving in a way contrary to what Banks had led the Europeans to expect. Elizabeth MacArthur wrote in a letter dated 7\textsuperscript{th} March 1791 that “\textit{beyond a certain distance round the colony there is nothing but native paths, very narrow and very incommodious}” (Page 501, HRA).
southward”. They appeared to be about thirty miles away.\textsuperscript{59} Surgeon White accompanied Phillip on this expedition and in his journal entry for the 26\textsuperscript{th} of April 1788 reversed the “Carmarthen” and “Lansdowne” hills, clearly illustrating the problems that researchers face when eyewitnesses get the names wrong.

‘Beyond the chasm we came to a pleasant hill, the top of which was tolerably clear of trees and perfectly free from underwood. His excellency gave it the name of Belle Veüe.

From the top of this hill we saw a chain of hills or mountains, which appeared to be thirty or forty miles distant, running in a north and south direction. The northernmost being conspicuously higher than any of the rest, the governor called it Richmond Hill; the next, or those in the centre, Lansdown Hills; and those to the southward, which are by much the lowest, Carmarthen Hills.\textsuperscript{60}

On the 6\textsuperscript{th} of June 1789, with the return of the Sirius from the Cape of Good Hope bringing badly needed supplies, Phillip was able to use the ship’s boats to lead a third expedition into Broken Bay and was successful in finding the Hawkesbury River. Tench was not present on this expedition but the following extract describes Phillip’s discovery of the Hawkesbury on the 6\textsuperscript{th} of June, 1789.

‘Broken Bay, which was supposed to be completely explored, became again an object of research. On the sixth instant, the governor, accompanied by a large party in two boats, proceeded thither. Here they again wandered over piles of mis-shapen desolation, contemplating scenes of wild solitude,\textsuperscript{61} whose unvarying appearance renders them incapable of affording either novelty or gratification. But when they had given over the hope of farther discovery, by pursing the windings of an inlet, which from its appearance, was supposed to be a short creek, they suddenly found themselves at the entrance of a fresh water river, up which they proceeded twenty miles, in a westerly direction; and would have farther prosecuted their research, had not a failure of provisions obliged them to return. The river they described to be of considerable breadth, and of great depth; but its banks had hitherto presented nothing better than a counterpart of the rocks and precipices which surround Broken Bay.\textsuperscript{62}

On the 28/9\textsuperscript{th} June 1789 Governor Phillip led a second expedition by boat up the Hawkesbury River as far as Yarramundi Falls and past Richmond Hill. Whether this was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{59} Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney, Pages 138-139, \textit{Historical Records of New South Wales}, Sydney, Government Printer, 1893.
  \item \textsuperscript{60} John White, \textit{Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales}, London 1790, http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks03/0301531h.html
  \item \textsuperscript{61} These terms of desolation may well be drawn from Paradise Lost. One of the scenes of “mis-shapen desolation” that they passed may have been Looking Glass Rock, a “fallen rock slab standing vertically in the water on the downstream entrance to Looking Glass Bay in Cowan Creek”. On Midsummer’s Day “the rising sun illuminates the rock so that it shines like a mirror. There is a story that the local Aborigines believed that when the water rose to cover the rock the white men would leave.” Page 70, John P. Powell, \textit{Place Names of the Greater Hawkesbury Region}, Hawkesbury River Enterprises, 1994.
  \item \textsuperscript{62} P152-153, Tench, Captain Watkin, \textit{Sydney’s First Four Years}, Library of Australian History, 1979.
\end{itemize}
the same Richmond Hill as Phillip saw in the distance in March 1788 is now immaterial. Phillip was delighted with Richmond Hill. He had found the farming land that he had been searching for. His fellow travellers, however, were far less sanguine at the sight of flood detritus high in the branches of trees on the riverbank. Phillip should not be judged harshly for thinking that the Grose River was the main course of the Hawkesbury River. We have no way of knowing what the junction of the Nepean, Hawkesbury and Grose Rivers looked like in 1788 as the 1867 flood shifted the bed of the Nepean and Hawkesbury rivers to the east and the junction of the Grose further to the north. Twentieth Century quarrying has further compromised the landscape.

While Tench was not on Phillip’s explorations of Broken Bay it is possible from his and others accounts to postulate that in 1789 small pox moved north from Sydney Harbour into Broken Bay. Like other observers of Phillip’s March 1788 expedition, Tench noted “The Indians who live on its banks are numerous”. 63 Tench’s report of Aboriginal people along the Hawkesbury river in June 1789 being affected by small pox is supported by Hunter who accompanied Phillip on both trips and described an encounter “on the south branch of Broken-Bay” with a Aboriginal woman recovering from small pox. 64 In September 1789 William Bradley recorded, “During our stay in the S’. Arm, only three of the Natives were & but but few others seen.” 65 Thus by June 1789 small pox had moved across the Harbour and up to Broken Bay, and it is possible to conjecture that it was working its way onto the upper reaches of the Hawkesbury. 66

‘A second expedition, to ascertain its course, was undertaken by his excellency, who now penetrated (measuring by the bed of the river) between 60 and 70 miles, when the farther progress of the boats was stopped by a fall. 67 The water in every part was found to be fresh and good. Of the adjoining country, the opinions of those who had inspected it (of which number I was not) were so various, that I shall decline to record them. Some saw a rich and beautiful country; and others were so unfortunate as to discover little else than large tracts of low land, covered with reeds, and rank with the inundations of the stream, by which they had been recently covered. All parties, however, agreed, that the rocky, impenetrable country, seen on the first excursion, had ended nearly about the place whence the boats had then turned back. 68 Close to the fall stands a very beautiful hill,

65 Page 172, William Bradley, A Voyage to New South Wales, Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969.
66 Cowan Creek probably had a sizeable Aboriginal population prior to 1788. “On every hillside, beneath every hollow in the rock, one sees growths of the long, rank grass which flourishes on kitchen middens of the Aboriginal [people]. One can see clearly, as a section is made through the stuff, the places where the aboriginal fires were lit, perhaps centuries ago; then another layer of ashes, which must have been years in accumulating; then again more ashes and so on.” Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday 14 August 1894. http://berowralivinghistory.com/2013/02/01/on-cowan-creek/
67 At the junction of the Grose and Nepean Rivers.
68 Just below where the MacDonald River joins the Hawkesbury.
which our adventurers mounted, and enjoyed from it an extensive prospect. Potatoes, maize, and garden seeds of various kinds were put into the earth, by the governor's order, on different parts of Richmond-hill, which was announced to be its name. The latitude of Richmond-hill, as observed by captain Hunter, was settled at 33° 36' south.

Here also the river received the name of Hawkesbury, in honour of the noble lord who bears that title.

Natives were found on the banks in several parts, many of whom were labouring under the small-pox. They did not attempt to commit hostilities against the boats; but on the contrary shewed every sign of welcome and friendship to the strangers.

David Collins in his account of the same expedition was more forthcoming than Tench in his concern at the dangers posed by floods.

‘July 14.] The governor returned from his second visit to the river, which he named the Hawkesbury, in honour of the noble lord at the head of the committee of council of trade and plantations. He traced the river to a considerable distance to the westward, and was impeded in his further progress by a shallow which he met with a short distance above the hill formerly seen, and then named by him Richmond Hill, to the foot of which the course of the Hawkesbury conducted him and his party. They were deterred from remaining any time in the narrow part of the river, as they perceived evident traces of the freshes having risen to the height of from twenty to forty feet above the level of the water. They represented the windings of the river as beautiful and picturesque; and toward Richmond Hill the face of the country appeared more level and open than in any other part. The vast inundations which had left such tokens behind them of the height to which they swell the river seemed rather unfavourable for the purpose of settling near the banks, which otherwise would have been convenient and desirable, the advantages attending the occupation of an allotment of land on the margin of a fresh-water river being superior to those of any other situation. The soil on the banks of the river was judged to be light; what it was further inland could not be determined with any certainty, as the travellers did not penetrate to any distance, except at Richmond Hill, where the soil appeared to be less mixed with sand than that on the branches.

Captain John Hunter who was on Phillip’s June 1789 trip provided much valuable information about the Hawkesbury and its people. On the 3rd of June 1789 they rowed ‘seven or eight miles” up the Colo River to where it forked. Hunter observation of the Aboriginal people seen on the Colo clearly articulated the same concern of other officers as to how Aboriginal people survived in an environment so removed from the coast and a reliable fish diet. “We saw several natives in these branches, but they fled into the woods.

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69 Tench uses the word “prospect” on a number of occasions, often with a reference to Paradise Lost.
70 This was presumably the same Richmond Hill that Phillip saw in April 1788. The latitude is more appropriate for Grose Wold than the modern Richmond Hill.
71 P152-153, Tench, Captain Watkin, Sydney’s First Four Years, Library of Australian History, 1979
on our approach: the wretched condition of the miserable natives who have taken up their residence, for a time, so far back from the sea coast, where no fish are to be had, is far beyond my description; they, no doubt, have methods of snaring or killing the different kinds of animals which are to be found here, otherwise I think it impossible they could exist at any distance from the sea: for the land, as far as we yet know, affords very little sustenance for the human race.”

On the 4th of June they rowed from the mouth of the Colo River and reached Richmond Hill. On the way they saw plentiful evidence of Aboriginal people, suggesting that small-pox had not yet reached them. They met two Aboriginal men, possibly Gomberee and Yellomundee. Neither showed any signs of small-pox.

Twice Captain Hunter noted yam beds, which he seemed unable to perceive as evidence of human cultivation. “The natives here, appear to live chiefly on the roots which they dig from the ground; for these low banks appear to have been ploughed up, as if a vast herd of swine had been living on them. We put on shore, and examined the places which had been dug, and found the wild yam in considerable quantities, but in general very small, not larger than a walnut; they appear to be in the greatest plenty on the banks of the river; a little way back they are scarce.” His second observation, upstream of Richmond Hill, also did not take into consideration that these yam beds may have been cultivated. “On the banks here also we found yams and other roots, and had evident marks of the natives frequenting these parts in search of them for food.” Hunter’s journal points to the richness of the Aboriginal food base.

Hunter’s journal is important because it shows that Governor Phillip had reached the Castlereagh Neck on the 5th. Despite the friendly meeting with two Aboriginal men on the previous day it would appear that the Governor’s party were deliberately avoided on the 5th. Those who have a physical inclination to tramp around the countryside with Hunter’s journal in hand must be warned that in 1867 a flood shifted the Nepean to the east and the Grose’s junction the with the Nepean further downstream. Yarramundi Falls probably disappeared as a result of twentieth century gravel excavations.

‘In the woods we frequently saw fires, and sometimes heard the natives; in the afternoon we saw a considerable number of people in the wood, with many fires in different places; we called to them in their own manner, by frequently repeating the word Co-wee, which signifies, come here; at last, two men came to the water-side with much apparent familiarity and confidence: I thought, from this circumstance, that they had certainly seen us before, either at Botany-Bay, Port Jackson, or Broken-Bay; they received a hatchet, and a wild duck, which had been just before shot from the boat; and in return, they threw us a small coil of line, made of the hair of some animal, and also offered a spear, which was refused. The only argument against their having seen us before is, that they were the

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first we had met with who appeared desirous of making a return for any present they received.

Here the banks of the river are low and covered with what we call the pine-trees of this country; which indeed have received that name merely from the leaf, which is a good deal like the pine, but the wood is very different.

The natives here, appear to live chiefly on the roots which they dig from the ground; for these low banks appear to have been ploughed up, as if a vast herd of swine had been living on them. We put on shore, and examined the places which had been dug, and found the wild yam in considerable quantities, but in general very small, not larger than a walnut; they appear to be in the greatest plenty on the banks of the river; a little way back they are scarce.

We frequently, in some of the reaches which we passed through this day, saw very near us the hills, which we suppose as seen from Port Jackson, and called by the governor the Blue Mountains.

At five in the evening, we put ashore at the foot of a hill, where we passed the night; and at day-light in the morning of the 5th, we embarked, and continued our way up the river; in which we still found good depth of water, from two to five fathoms, and 60 or 70 fathoms wide. As we advanced, we found the river to contract very fast in its breadth, and the channel became shoaler; from these circumstances, we had reason to believe that we were not far from its source: the ebb tides were pretty strong, but the floods were only perceptible by the swelling of the water.

In the evening we arrived at the foot of a high mountain, which was spread over with lofty trees, without any underwood; and saw a pleasant looking country, covered with grass, and without that mixture of rocky patches in every acre or two, as is common in many other places: we ascended some distance, and erected our tents for the night. The river here is not more than twenty fathoms wide. In the night, when every thing was still, we heard distinctly the roaring of what we judged to be a fall of water; and imagined from this circumstance, that we should not be able to advance much farther.

In the morning, we walked to the top of the hill, and found we were not more than five or six miles from a long range of mountains, between which, and that where we stood, there is a deep valley, or low country, through which, probably, a branch of this river may run. This range of mountains we supposed to be those which are seen from Port Jackson, and called the Blue Mountains: they limit the sight to the west-north-west. In that range of high land there is a remarkable gully, or chasm, which is seen distinctly at a distance, and from which we appeared to be distant about five miles. The hills on each side of this gap were named by Governor Phillip; on one side the Carmarthen, on the other, the Lansdown hills; and that on which we stood was called Richmond-hill.

In the morning of the 6th, we examined the river, which, as I have before observed, was narrow and shoally; its bed was composed of loose round stones and sand: it was now
low water, and not a sufficient depth to float the boats: we therefore delayed any farther attempt to get up until it should be near high water; and, in the mean time, determined to take a view of the country round this hill; which, had it been clear of trees, would from its commanding height, have given a most extensive prospect to the eastward, northward, and southward; but the range of hills before-mentioned were still higher, and of course limited our view to the westward.

While the other gentlemen of the party were along with the governor, examining the country, I employed myself in taking the meridian altitude of the sun, by which I found the highest part of the hill to be in latitude 33° 37' south.75

The gentlemen spoke highly in favour of the country as far as they walked; it was perfectly clear of any kind of under-wood; the trees upon it were all very tall, and stood very wide apart; the soil was also examined, and found very good: a small patch was dug up, and a few potatoes, Indian-corn, melon, and other seeds sown. This was a common practice, when a piece of ground, favourable from its soil, and being in an unfrequented situation, was found, to sow a few seeds of different kinds: some of the little gardens, which had been planted in this manner, and left to nature, have been since visited and found thriving, others have miscarried.

After making these observations, the tide being made, we put off in the boats, and endeavoured to get higher up, but were frequently aground: by the time we had reached half a mile higher than the foot of Richmond-hill, we met the stream setting down so strong, that it was with much difficulty we could get the boats so high. We here found the river to divide into two narrow branches, from one of which the stream came down with considerable velocity, and with a fall over a range of stones which seemed to lye across its entrance: this was the fall which we had heard the night before from our situation on the side of Richmond-hill.

We found too little water for the boats which we had with us to advance any farther, and the stream was very strong, although weak to what it may reasonably be conjectured to be after heavy rains; for here we had evident marks of the vast torrents which must pour down from the mountains, after heavy rains. The low grounds, at such times, are entirely covered, and the trees with which they are overgrown, are laid down (with their tops pointing down the river,) as much as I ever saw a field of corn after a storm; and where any of these trees have been strong enough to resist in any degree the strength of the torrent, (for they are all less or more bent downwards) we saw in the clifts of the branches of such trees, vast quantities of large logs which had been hurried down by the force of the waters, and lodged from thirty to forty feet above the common level of the river; and at that height there were great quantities of grass, reeds, and such other weeds as are washed from the banks of the river, hanging to the branches.

75 The exact location of Phillip’s Richmond Hill is debatable. John Hunter calculated Richmond Hill’s latitude as being 33 degrees and 37 minutes South. This reading places Richmond Hill on what is now Grose Wold and south of what is now identified as Richmond Hill. Watkin Tench recorded that Richmond Hill was 33° 37' S, the location of modern Richmond Hill; page 153, Watkin Tench, *Sydney’s First Four Years*, Library of Australian History, 1979.
The first notice we took of these signs of an extraordinary swelling of the water, was twelve or fourteen miles lower down, and where the river is not so confined in its breadth: there we measured the same signs of such torrents twenty-eight feet above the surface of the water: the common rise and fall of the tide did not appear to be more than six feet.

On the banks here also we found yams and other roots, and had evident marks of the natives frequenting these parts in search of them for food. They have no doubt some method of preparing these roots, before they can eat them; for we found one kind which some of the company had seen the natives dig up; and with which being pleased, as it had much the appearance of horse-radish, and had a sweetish taste, and having swallowed a small quantity, it occasioned violent spasms, cramps in the bowels, and sickness at the stomach: it might probably be the casada root.

We found here many traps, for catching animals, in which we observed the feathers of many birds, particularly the quail.

We now gave up the hope of tracing this river higher up with our boats; and, as in case of heavy rains setting in, which might be expected at this season of the year, there would be considerable danger, while confined in this narrow part of the river, we pushed down and encamped the night of the 6th, about seven miles below Richmond-hill.  

While the trip proved to be positive in regard to the interaction of the explorers and Aboriginal people Captain Hunter noted that on the Colo River a hatchet had been left as a gift at a hut from which the adults had fled leaving the children. The hut was later found to be empty and the hatchet had been left behind. “It is really wonderful that these people should set so little value upon such an useful article as an axe must certainly be to them; this indifference I have frequently seen in those who have been shewn the use of it.”

William Bradley also gave an account of the Governor’s expedition. He identified the gravel beds as being an Aboriginal work site.

“The Main Channel to the SW took many windings, following which until they got into very shoal water with very large hard stones of which the Natives make their hatchets &c. & at the beginning of the falls, they found themselves at the foot of a hill which they ascended, Capt. Hunter observed theLatitude on it 33:37 So. The Governor named it Richmond Hill.

As they proceeding up the River, the Trees had much the appearance of there being great torrents in a rainy Season, Grass Mud & pieces of timber were found in them measured

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30 feet from the surface of the River to that of the Tree where they had been lodged in the
great freshes or Torrents.”

It is mistakenly thought by some that Tench was being punished when he wrote that he had been “unluckily invested with the command of the outpost at Rose Hill”. This is not the case. Tench was unlucky in the sense that Phillip used his naval officers in their ship’s boats for the expedition up the Hawkesbury. On the day before Tench and Arndell set out for the Nepean, “The Governor went to Rose Hill in consequence of receiving information of a large peice (sic) of water being discover’d some distance to the W. ward of Rose Hill, but he being anxious to pursue his discovery of the River in Broken Bay left this for the present.”

Thus when Captain Tench, Mr. Arndell, assistant surgeon of the settlement, Mr. Lowes, surgeon's mate of the Sirius, two marines, and a convict commenced an overland expedition on the 26th of June 1789 in search of the river it was likely to have been an authorised expedition. Tench begun his journey; from what Bennelong called Murrong, Phillip called Bellevue Hill, and which later became Prospect Hill; and framed it within the context of Satan’s pondering of the journey across the abyss to the Garden of Eden.

Tench’s account of his journey is particularly interesting because while he saw strong evidence of an Aboriginal presence he did not record seeing any Aboriginal people. Given the common English belief that First People clung to the coastline, one would have expected Tench, standing on Prospect Hill would have recorded seeing smoke from Aboriginal campfires. He did not do this. The absence of Aboriginal people between Prospect Hill and the Nepean River is puzzling. If small pox had reached this area it would be logical to expect that Tench would have reported seeing bodies. Matthew Everingham from a vantage point in the Blue Mountains in 1795 described “The different Settlements we could discover by their various smoak ascending, as far as ever our eyes could discern … where the Cows strayed) some thousands of natives little fires” which suggests that Aboriginal people avoided Tench. However, the absence of any later specific reference to the presence of Aboriginal people between Prospect Hill and the Nepean, apart from The Blacktown and Marsden’s Mamre property, remains one of the more puzzling aspects of this study.

‘At this period, I was unluckily invested with the command of the outpost at Rose Hill, which prevented me from being in the list of discoverers of the Hawkesbury. Stimulated, however, by a desire of acquiring a further knowledge of the country, on the 26th instant, accompanied by Mr. Arndell, assistant surgeon of the settlement, Mr. Lowes, surgeon's

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78 Page 170, William Bradley, A Voyage to New South Wales, Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969.
79 Page 166, Lieutenant William Bradley, A Voyage to New South Wales, Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969.
80 Alternate spellings are Mar-rong and Mararong. See www.williamdawes.org Book C, Pages 50-51 and www://Holroyn NSW gov au/_data/assets/pdf_file/00175219/chapter2.pdf
82 There are no references to Aboriginal people in accounts of Dawes’ expedition to Mt Twiss in the Blue Mountains in December 1789.
mate of the Sirius, two marines, and a convict, I left the redoubt at day-break, pointing our march to a hill, distant five miles, in a westerly or inland direction, which commands a view of the great chain of mountains, called Carmarthen Hills, extending from north to south farther than the eye can reach. Here we paused, surveying “the wild abyss; pondering our voyage.” Before us lay the trackless immeasurable desert, in awful silence. At length, after consultation, we determined to steer west and by north, by compass, the make of the land in that quarter indicating the existence of a river. We continued to march all day through a country untrodden before by an European foot. Save that a melancholy crow now and then flew croaking over head, or a kangaroo was seen to bound at a distance, the picture of solitude was complete and undisturbed. At four O’clock in the afternoon we halted near a small pond of water, where we took up our residence for the night, lighted a fire, and prepared to cook our supper. - that was, to broil over a couple of ramrods a few slices of salt pork, and a crow which we had shot. At daylight we renewed our peregrination; and in an hour after we found ourselves on the banks of a river, nearly as broad as the Thames at Putney, and apparently of great depth, the current running very slowly in a northerly direction. Vast flocks of wild ducks were swimming in the stream; but after being once fired at, they grew so shy that we could not get near them a second time. Nothing is more certain than that the sound of a gun had never before been heard within many miles of this spot.

We proceeded upwards, by a slow pace, through reeds, thickets, and a thousand other obstacles, which impeded our progress, over coarse sandy ground, which had been recently inundated, though full forty feet above the present level of the river. Traces of the natives appeared at every step, sometimes in their hunting-huts, which consist of nothing more than a large piece of bark, bent in the middle, and open at both ends, exactly resembling two cards, set up to form an acute angle; sometimes in marks on trees which they had climbed; or in squirrel-traps; or, which surprised us more, from being new, in decoys for the purpose of ensnaring birds. These are formed of underwood and reeds, long and narrow, shaped like a mound raised over a grave; with a small aperture

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83 In April 1788 Phillip used the name “Carmarthen Hills” to describe the hills north of the Grose River.
84 While West by North is one of the 32 cardinal points of the nautical compass with a direction of 281.25°, and a variation between 275.63° and 286.87° [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Points_of_the_compass], and would have taken Tench to the mouth of the Grose River; it is more likely that Tench planned to explore between west and west by north, i.e., between modern Penrith and the junction of the Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury Rivers, which would explain his reference to the Westmoreland Hills. The map following page 120 of Fitzhardinge’s 1979 edition of Tench’s works shows that Tench reached the Nepean near the modern Victoria Bridge. Lieutenant William Dawes map shows his December 1789 trip overlaying Tench’s earlier journey.
85 While I have not measured the azimuth accurately I am of the opinion that if possible, Tench’s gaze would have taken him in a straight line to Britain.
86 The Nepean River was apparently known as Tench’s River for a number of years.

* A squirrel-trap is a cavity of considerable depth, formed by art, in the body of a tree. When the Indians in their hunting parties set fire to the surrounding country (which is a very common custom) the squirrels, opossums, and other animals, who live in trees, flee for refuge into these holes, whence they are easily dislodged and taken. The natives always pitch on a part of a tree for this purpose, which has been perforated by a worm, which indicates that the wood is in an unsound state, and will readily yield to their efforts. If the rudeness and imperfection of the tools with which they work be considered, it must be confessed to be an operation of great toil and difficulty.
at one end for admission of the prey; and a grate made of sticks at the other: the bird enters at the aperture, seeing before him the light of the grate, between the bars of which, he vainly endeavours to thrust himself, until taken. Most of these decoys were full of feathers, chiefly those of quails, which shewed their utility. We also met with two old damaged canoes hauled up on the beach, which differed in no wise from those found on the seacoast.

Having remained out three days, we returned to our quarters at Rose-hill, with the pleasing intelligence of our discovery. The country we had passed through we found tolerably plain, and little encumbered with underwood, except near the river side. It is entirely covered with the same sorts of trees as grow near Sydney; and in some places grass springs up luxuriantly; other places are quite bare of it. The soil is various: in many parts a stiff arid clay, covered with small pebbles; in other places, of a soft loamy nature: but invariably, in every part near the river, it is a coarse sterile sand. Our observations on it (particularly mine, from carrying the compass by which we steered) were not so numerous as might have been wished. But, certainly, if the qualities of it be such as to deserve future cultivation, no impediment of surface, but that of cutting down and burning the trees, exists, to prevent its being tilled.

To this river the governor gave the name of Nepean. The distance of the part of the river which we first hit upon from the sea coast, is about 39 miles, in a direct line almost due west. 86

Despite not being with Tench, Lieutenant William Bradley’s journal gives additional information about Aboriginal people on the Nepean at the time of Tench’s journey. 87

‘Tuesday.30th. 88 An Officer return’d from a Visit to those at Rose Hill, during his stay there, they made a party to the W. ward 18 or 20 Miles when they were obstructed by water, which they found to be fresh & apparently a part of a very considerable river; they found Natives there who had traps for catching Ducks great quantities of which were seen; they also had snares for taking Opossums & other Animals: This part of the River which Capt. Tench fell in with bore nearly West, from Rose Hill, estimated distance 18 Miles; It is conjectured to be a part of that River which the Governor is now gone to trace; they did not observe any tide but a constant set to the NWN in which direction the branch they fell in with lay; Its breadth they reckon about 80 fathoms & to appearances deep water; Capt. Tench attempted crossing it in an Old Canoe which was found there, but was obliged to give it up by her filling, the Banks appear’d very high & as if they were subjected to great Torrents in Rainy Season; In this excursion they met with level open Country for some Miles & the Grass short, so as not to be troublesome in walking.

Near the banks on the Et. Side they found a party of Natives sitting round a fire broiling a Kangaroo Rat, they all ran away as soon as they discover’d any Person near them.

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86 Page 153-155, Captain Watkin Tench, Sydney’s First Four Years, Library of Australian History, 1979
87 Page 126, William Bradley, A Voyage to New South Wales, Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969.
88 June 1789.
Amongst other things found there, was a peice, made of the skins of small animals sew’d or laced together, some part was of the Opossum skin, the rest of some animal the fur much superior; these were curiously carved on the inside, every skin having a different pattern & the whole formed a peice that was supposed they might use to cover a child with: The Needle they use was found; It is a hard peice of wood much in size & shape of a small bodkin, with which they make holes (it not having an eye) to receive the thread which was found & appears to be the sinewy fibres from the tail of some small animal.

Tuesday.7th. A second party return’d from Rose Hill after having visited the River that had been discover’d to the Wt.ward, some small distance lower down than the former party had been, they supposed it to be fordable but did not venture on account or a strong set & a fall with it: One of the part crossed it in an Old Canoe buoy’d up bundles of Reeds & the wild fig tree which they found would swim, they found Wild Yams on both sides of the River.

In his writing Tench frequently brought together several literary references and reworked them. “Here we paused, surveying ‘the wild abyss; pondering our voyage.’ Before us lay the trackless immeasurable desert, in awful silence” is drawn from Paradise Lost.

The image of “in awful silence” came from Book I. “Satan, with bold words breaking the horrid silence” continued to plot against God after being “hurled headlong flaming from th’ Ethereal Skie ... down to bottomless perdition.”

To get to Eden Satan had to cross the “wild abyss”, which was God’s “dark materials to create more worlds”.

’a dark illimitable Ocean without bound,  
Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,  
And time and place are lost.  

Before starting his voyage to seduce Adam and Eve

‘Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend  
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,  
Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith  
He had to cross.  

Paradise Lost is an epic poem about the fall of Lucifer, his seduction of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. It was written by John Milton in the context of the Puritan revolution, the English Civil War, the Restoration and the colonisation of

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89 July 1789.  
91 John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book I, Lines 82-83.  
92 Ibid., Book I, Lines 45-47.  
93 Ibid., Book II, Lines 891-893.  
94 Ibid., Book II Lines 917-920.
the New World. \textit{Paradise Lost} moves across time, space and void, to “justify the ways of God to men” (Book 1, line 26) and to show how Satan’s “malice served but to bring forth infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shewn on Man by him seduced, but on himself treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance poured” (Book 1, Lines 217-220).

Tench’s reference to Satan’s journey to seduce Adam and Eve is quite deliberate and a knowing comment on the looming impact of the people from Beriwāl upon the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury. Indeed, Milton himself used the imagery of colonisation in describing Satan’s approach to God’s new World.

‘And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
Fanning thir odiferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea North-East winds blow
Sabean Odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest, with such delay
Well pleas’d they slack their course, and many a League
Cheer’d with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles
So entertain’d those odorous sweets the Fiend
Who came thir bane.

Part of the fascination of Tench is that he deliberately rolls references together as well as altering quotations to suit his purposes. The second image of the “trackless immeasurable desert, in awful silence” evokes the silent void contemplated by Satan. As well it draws upon the Language of settlement and the transformation of the desert into agricultural land, which was the purpose of Tench’s and Governor Phillip’s search. In Book II of \textit{Paradise Lost} Mammon tells the other demons that:

‘This desert soil
Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
Nor want we skill or art from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heaven show more?’

The other part of this image relates to the silence. The image of “horrible silence” is again drawn from \textit{Paradise Lost}:

95 William Dawes in his vocabulary lists the word “Berwal” meaning “England” (Microfilm MAV/FM4 3431, frame 797 and “A great distance off” (Microfilm MAV/FM4 3432, frame 347. He defines “Berewalgal” as meaning “the name given us by the natives” (MAV/FM4 34232 347).
96 William Dawes uses the term Buribirajal in Notebook B, page 43.
'Satan, with bold words,  
*Breaking the horrid silence*\(^{99}\)

By so pointedly using images from *Paradise Lost* Tench was not just making a political comment on the nature of colonialism, he was also addressing contemporary thought on the questions surrounding the origins and nature of native people.

One of the curiosities of our early history is King’s journal entry, after a visit to Prospect Hill with Governor Phillip probably on the 9\(^{\text{th}}\) of April 1790. “A river has been discovered by Captain Tench, of the marines, which runs near the foot of Lansdown-Hills; its direction appears to be north and south, but how far it runs to the southward cannot be ascertained, though there is great reason to suppose it runs a considerable way, as it does not empty itself into Botany-Bay, it therefore appears probable that it may come into the sea about Long-Nose, or Cape St. George, where there is an appearance of a good harbour.”\(^{15,100}\) One writer has used this entry to claim that Tench ended up on a tidal reach of the Hawkesbury, despite Bach’s footnote (15) on page 427 of the above work, “The River was the Nepean, later proved to be the same stream as the Hawkesbury; it flows towards the north and King’s views on its mouth are a result of his misunderstanding of the direction of its flow.” King’s misunderstanding is quite easy to explain. He had been sent to Norfolk Island in February 1788; returning on the 4\(^{\text{th}}\) of April 1790, only a week before going to Prospect; and left again on the 17\(^{\text{th}}\) of April 1790, with the Governor’s despatches on the *Supply*.\(^{101}\)

There is other proof that Tench went to the Nepean and not a tidal reach of the Hawkesbury. Bradley recorded Tench’s return on Tuesday 30\(^{\text{th}}\) of June 1789 and noted “they did not observe any tide”.\(^{102}\)

As well there were other follow up expeditions. Bradley, page 168 recorded on Tuesday, the 7\(^{\text{th}}\) of July 1789, “A second party return’d from Rose Hill after having visited the River that had been discover’d to the W.ward, some small distance lower down than the former party had been”.\(^{103}\) On Tuesday, the 15\(^{\text{th}}\) of September 1789, again from Bradley, “A party went to visit the River to the W.ward of Rose Hill”.\(^{104}\)

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\(^{100}\) Page 268, *An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea, 1787-1792, by John Hunter; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Phillip, Lieutenant P. G. King, and Lieutenant H. L. Ball*; edited by John Bach, Angus and Robertson, 1968.


Governor Phillip’s despatch of 13th February 1790 was quite positive about the country that he had seen on his journey up the Hawkesbury River to Richmond Hill and indicates he was in one of these follow up expeditions.

‘Richmond Hill (near the foot of which a fall of water prevented our proceeding further with the boats) is the southern extremity of a range of hills, which running to the northward, most probably join the mountains which lay nearly parallel to the coast, from fifty to sixty miles inland. The soil of Richmond Hill is good and it lays well for cultivation. Our prospect from the hill was very extensive to the southward and eastward, the country appearing, from the height at which we were, to be a level covered with timber; there is a flat of six or seven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which separates Lansdowne and Carmarthen Hills, and in this flat I suppose the Hawkesbury continues its course, but which could not be seen for the timber that, with very few exceptions, covers the country wherever the soil is good.

The great advantages of so noble a river, when a settlement can be made on its banks, will be obvious to your Lordship.

A few paragraphs on he described the Nepean River from a firsthand perspective as rising at the foot of the mountains, being three to four hundred feet wide and emptying into the Hawkesbury. The estimated width of the river should not be dismissed by the modern reader. Clearing of the river banks resulted in the collapse of those banks during the disastrous floods of the 1860’s.

Twenty miles to the westward there is a more considerable river, the source of which I suppose to be at the root of the mountains. The banks of this river, which most probably empties itself into the Hawkesbury, are high; the soil a good light mould and covered with trees; the wood of some of these trees is very light; they are about the size of large walnut-trees, which they resemble; they shed their leaves and bear a small fruit which is said to be very wholesome. This river likewise frequently rises thirty feet above its common level; it is, as far as I have seen it, from three to four hundred feet in breadth. I named it the Nepean, and from its banks I hope to reach the mountains, which has been attempted by a party who crossed the river, but after the first day’s journey they met with such a constant succession of deep ravines, the sides of which were frequently inaccessible, that they returned, not having been able to proceed more than fifteen miles.

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105 It would be tempting and possible to attribute the name “Green Hills” to Paradise Lost, however, as Richmond Hill, The Terrace and the Green Hills are all locations on the Thames, not far from Phillip’s birthplace at Fulham, the explanation is probably far more prosaic. Ham House on the Thames may also have lent its name to Ham Common in continuation of this theme. Enfield, now North Richmond also probably was linked to the Thames Valley.


107 See Page 97-100, Cooramill, Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010: “the banks of the river and acres and acres of the farms nearby were washed away”.

108 The “party” was of course led by Lt. Dawes, who on the 9th of December 1789 set out to cross the Nepean and explore the Blue Mountains. Dawes’ 1791 map shows his course laid over Tench’s earlier route. Later in August 1790 Watkin Tench made another expedition to the North West and realised that the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers were the same river.
in five days; when they turned back they supposed themselves to be twelve miles from the foot of the mountains.  

The following paragraphs from the same dispatch highlighted the difficulties of ensuring a reliable food base for the colony and Phillip’s vision for bringing out farmers from England and placing them on large farms on the Cumberland Plain. His vision was remarkably prescient, though possibly not in the way he envisaged. Few settlers would be granted holdings of five hundred to a thousand acres; officers of the NSW Corps and the King and Bligh families being the exceptions. These grants were mainly between Parramatta and the Nepean Hawkesbury River. Soldiers and convicts had smaller holdings along the banks of the Nepean Hawkesbury River and acted as a buffer between the closer settlement and Aboriginal people.

‘As the land for several miles to the southward and twenty miles to the westward of Rose Hill, that is to the banks of the Nepean, is as fine land for tillage as most in England (some few particular excepted, the soil of which is poor, but bears a very small proportion to the good land), I propose that tract of land for those settlers which may be sent out; and though they will be placed at some distance from each other, for the conveniency of water (from one to two and three miles), they will have nothing to apprehend from the natives, who avoid those parts we most frequent, and always retire at the sight of two or three people who are armed.  

As the labour of clearing the ground of timber will be great, I think each settler should not have less than twenty men on his farm, which I suppose to be from five hundred to one thousand acres; it will be necessary to give that number of convicts to those settlers who come out, and to support them for two years from the public stores; in that time, if they are any ways industrious – and I do not think they will be able to do it in less time – at the expiration of two years, they may return half the convicts they have been allowed, and would want no further assistance from Government.

It may be necessary to grant lands to officers and soldiers who becoming settlers, will, of course, be entitled to every indulgence; but few of the officers now here have reaped any great advantage from being allowed convicts; and it is attended with unavoidable inconveniences, from the convicts being left so much to themselves, and from their mixing with the soldiers. It may be found more to the advantage of the Crown, and the officers likewise, if officers on duty in this settlement were allowed a certain quantity of grain to support their livestock until they have a market to go to; and I make no doubt but that in the third year from the time settlers arrive there will be a market well supplied with grain, poultry, hogs, and goats, all of which there has been a great increase, but killed, from wanting corn to support them; and the natives so frequently setting fire to the

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110 William Dawes in his vocabulary lists the word “djerebar” or “Jerabber” which he describes as “the name given to the musquet. The natives frequently called us by the name they give the musquet”. Microfilm: MAV/FM4/3432, frame 351.
country, which they do to catch the opossum, flying squirrel, and other animals, has prevented swine from being turned out, as was intended.\textsuperscript{111}

In his despatch of 17 June 1790 Phillip stated his determination not to settle the Hawkesbury until there were “proper people to conduct it”.

‘The river Hawkesbury will, I make no doubt, offer some desirable situations, and the great advantages of a navigable river are obvious; but before a settlement can be made there proper people to conduct it must be found, and we must be better acquainted with the country. Settlers may be sent there hereafter, but then we must have small craft to keep up communication.’\textsuperscript{112}

Given the events that unfolded over the following decade Phillip’s concerns were probably well founded. It is unclear who the first White people to settle the Hawkesbury were. Certainly Ruse in 1794 was not the first settler.

In August 1790 Tench made a second expedition north-west from Rose Hill and realised that the Nepean and Hawkesbury were the same river.

‘Towards the end of the month, we made a second excursion to the north-west of Rosehill, when we again fell in with the Nepean, and traced it to the spot where it had been first discovered by the party of which I was a member, fourteen months before;\textsuperscript{113} examining the country as we went along. Little doubt now subsisted that the Hawkesbury and Nepean were one river.’\textsuperscript{114}

**Punitive expeditions following the killing of McEntire by Pemulwy in December 1790**

In early December 1790 Pemulwy speared and killed McEntire, Governor Phillip’s gamekeeper.\textsuperscript{115}

This incident was a turning point for the Governor in several ways. Phillip’s instructions anticipated that the danger that the convicts posed to Aboriginal people. However, no consideration was given to the possibility that Aboriginal people might resist the invasion of their lands. The conventional wisdom was that Aboriginal people were so degenerate that they were only capable of surviving from day to day, little better than the wild beasts. The incident and Phillip’s response brought into focus two issues that were to beset the


\textsuperscript{113} This is probably the expedition commencing 26 June 1789.

\textsuperscript{114} Page 175, Captain Watkin Tench, *Sydney’s First Four Years*, Library of Australian History, 1979.

See the entry for May 1791 in which Tench describes walking along the right bank of the river without noticing Richmond Hill on the opposite bank in August 1790.

\textsuperscript{115} A gamekeeper was a convict who, armed with a musket, would hunt wild game to supplement the dinner table.
English for the next two centuries, i.e., the difficulty the governors had in reconciling their orders from England with the realities of the frontier and the applicability of English Common Law to Aboriginal people.

The first of these Phillip dealt with in a fairly typical bureaucratic manner. The despatch to Lord Grenville on 7th November 1791 appears to be the only official record of these two punitive expeditions, and then, only in reference to problems Phillip was having with Dawes. I have so far not found a despatch of December 1790 relating to the two punitive expeditions. In the extract from the General Orders of the 13th of December 1790 Phillip appears to demonstrate a concern for the safety of Aboriginal women and children. However, such strictness in written orders was not uncommon among commanding officers sending junior officers into the field on independent commands. As well, if something did go wrong, it was relatively easy to transfer blame to a reckless and insubordinate junior. Nor does Phillip include in his despatch his verbal orders for Tench to bring in the heads of ten Aboriginal men. We only know of this through Tench’s account. Silence, omission, distortion and denial became standard linguistic tools for Governors concealing the realities of settlement from their superiors.

Extract from the General Orders of the 13th of December 1790

Several tribes of the natives still continue to throw spears at any man they meet unarmed, by which several have been killed or dangerously wounded, the Governor, in order to deter the natives from such practices in future, has ordered out a party to search for the man who wounded the convict in so dangerous manner on Friday last, though no offence was offered on his part and to make a severe example of that tribe. At the same time the Governor strictly forbids (under pain of the severest punishments), any soldier or other person not expressly ordered out for that purpose, ever to fire on any native, except in his own defence, or to molest him in any shape, or to take away any spears or other articles which they may find belonging to those people. The natives will be made severe examples of whenever any man is wounded by them, but that will be done in a manner which may satisfy them that it is a punishment inflicted on them for their own bad behaviour; and of which they cannot be made sensible if they are not treated with kindness while they continue peaceable and quiet.

A party consisting of 2 captains, 2 subalterns, and 40 privates (with a proper number of non-commissioned officers from the garrison, with three days’ provisions, &c., to be ready to go out tomorrow morning at daylight, in order to bring in six of those natives who reside near the head of Botany bay, or if that should be found impracticable, to put that number to death.

116 The irreconcilable split between the Governor and Dawes led to the eventual departure of this most able officer from the colony.
117 Phillip was alone in his defence of McIntire. Other commentators hint at unnamed deeds and were not surprised by the nature of McIntyre’s death.
Every possible attention is to be paid not to injure any women or children: and nothing belonging to the natives is to be brought away, but all their spears and other weapons are to be destroyed and left on the ground.

On this order appearing, Lieut. Dawes whose tour of duty it was to go out with the party, refused that duty by letter to senior officer of the detachment (Capt. Campbell), who, finding it impossible to persuade Lieut. Dawes to obey the order brought the letter to the Governor, who likewise took great pains to point out the consequence of his (Lieut. Dawes) being put under an arrest. Late in the evening Lieut. Dawes informed Capt. Campbell that the Revd. Mr Johnson thought he might obey the order, and that he was ready to go out with the party, which he did; but after the service was over, informed the Governor that “he was sorry he had been persuaded to comply with the order,” and very clearly shewed that he would not obey a similar order in future.’

Phillip’s highly selective recollection of the events of December 1790 highlights for the reader the difficulties faced in putting together an objective interpretation of the interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers from primary sources. William Paterson’s account to his superiors of the next official punitive expedition in June 1795 is as highly selective as Phillip’s.

Phillip’s decision to abandon the English Common Law principle of punishing the individual wrongdoer in favour of collective retribution was no doubt influenced by his failure to identify and punish the killers of the rushcutters and would underpin future punitive expeditions. Phillip’s order to put to death ten Aboriginal men and bring in their heads was certainly outside the Articles of War and quite unusual. I strongly suspect the decision can be traced to Phillip’s service in the West Indies during the Seven years War in 1760-62 when the British were fighting the French and a slave revolt broke out on Jamaica. In this period it was common practice for rebellious slaves to be executed, decapitated and their heads placed on pikes to terrorise other slaves.

In justifying the punitive expedition, Phillip’s claim that his spearing was the result of a misapprehension is quite breathtaking. Given his record of taking Aboriginal people, his spearing was possibly punishment for his past actions, a pre-emptive strike to prevent what was perceived to be another attempt at abduction, or an outraged reaction to Phillip’s attempt to take what was probably a death spear. To describe it as a misapprehension robbed the Aboriginal man of his humanity and cloaked Phillip in a cloak of unjustified humility.

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118 Unfortunately no record has been left of the theological argument used by Reverend Johnson to persuade Dawes to go on a headhunting expedition.
119 Given the differences in the various accounts of Phillip’s spearing it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to what happened or the motivations of the participants.
120 According to Tench, the name “Willemerang” was obtained by Dawes. In his vocabulary William Dawes wrote “The man who threw a spear” alongside “Willemerang”. It is an unusual turn of phrase to identify the man who speared Phillip. Perhaps it was an unfinished fragment (Microfilm: MAV/FM4/3432, frame 363).
While one can sympathise with Phillip’s frustration and growing realisation that the fancies of armchair philosophers about Aboriginal people had nothing to do with the realities of the Australian frontier; it is worth noting the depth of Tench’s understanding of European impact on Aboriginal people in his December 1789 description of Bennelong. Whenever Bennelong recounted his battles to Tench, he “‘poised his lance, and shewed how fields were won.” This image is drawn from Goldsmith’s *The Deserted Village*, a poem about the destruction of British rural life by the forces of the Economic Revolution.

‘The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,  
Sat by his fire, and talk’d the night away;  
Wept o’er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done,  
Shoulder’d his crutch, and show’d how fields were won.”

Given that Bennelong had been kidnapped by Governor Phillip there is additional irony in the comparison with the old soldier who had been taken in by the village.

What follows is Tench’s account of the two unsuccessful punitive expeditions that he led. The account is important for two main reasons. Firstly it had implications for future military operations in the colony and secondly Tench allows us to see quite clearly into the mind of a conscientious officer struggling to deal with what were effectively bad orders.

Several writers have noted the ludicrousness of the Governor’s attempt to delay Colebee from intercepting the expedition. This would not happen in the future. In 1794 on the Hawkesbury an Aboriginal boy was tortured and murdered because it was suspected he was a spy. In 1799 again on the banks of the Hawkesbury two Aboriginal boys were murdered on similar grounds.

We gain some insight into Tench’s feelings when he describes how he was able to persuade the governor to modify the severity of his order. Interestingly Tench makes no mention of Dawes initial refusal to take part in the expedition. There may be a number of reasons for this. He may have felt that it was not his business; he also may not have wished to damn his friend by writing about it publicly.

The first expedition was nearly a disaster when Tench and others were caught in a quicksand that he described as a “Serbonian bog”, which is another reference to *Paradise Lost*.

‘A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog  
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk.”

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122 @ on the map.  
123 Lines 592-4, John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book II.
The reference has particular significance as it refers to the aimless wanderings in Hell of demons who were confined while Satan made his way across the abyss in Book II of Paradise Lost. This could be an illumination of Tench’s predicament of being a bit player in the back row of a global extravaganza, but it is more likely to be a comment on his discomfort at commanding a punitive expedition to bring back Aboriginal heads to avenge the death of a man whose actions, in Tench’s opinion, had brought about his own demise.

‘On the day after he (Governor Phillip) returned to Sydney, the following order was issued:

Several tribes of the natives still continuing to throw spears at any man they meet unarmed, by which several have been killed, or dangerously wounded, the governor, in order to deter the natives from such practices in future, has ordered out a party to search for the man who wounded the convict McEntire, in so dangerous a manner on Friday last, though no offence was offered on his part, in order to make a signal example of that tribe. At the same time, the governor strictly forbids, under penalty of the severest punishment, any soldier or other person, not expressly ordered out for that purpose, ever to fire on any native except in his own defence; or to molest him in any shape, or to bring away any spears, or other articles which they may find belonging to those people. The natives will be made severe examples of whenever any man is wounded by them; but this will be done in a manner which may satisfy them that it is a punishment inflicted on them for their own bad conduct, and of which they cannot be made sensible if they are not treated with kindness while they continue peaceable and quiet.

A party, consisting of two captains, two subalterns, and forty privates, with a proper number of non-commissioned officers from the garrison, with three days provisions, etc. are to be ready to march to-morrow morning at day-light, in order to bring in six of those natives who reside near the head of Botany Bay; or, if that should be found impracticable, to put that number to death.

Just previous to this order being issued, the author of this publication received a direction to attend the governor at head quarters immediately. I went, and his excellency informed me that he had pitched upon me to execute the foregoing command. He added that the two subalterns who were to be drawn from the marine corps, should be chosen by myself; that the sergeant and the two convicts who were with McEntire, should attend as guides; that we were to proceed to the peninsula at the head of Botany Bay; and thence, or from any part of the north arm of the bay, we were, if practicable, to bring away two natives as prisoners; and to put to death ten; that we were to destroy all weapons of war but nothing else; that no hut was to be burned; that all women and children were to remain uninjured, not being comprehended within the scope of the order; that our operations were to be directed either by surprise or open force; that after we had made any prisoners, all communication, even with those natives with whom we were in habits of intercourse, was to be avoided, and none of them suffered to approach us. That we were to cut off and bring in the heads of the slain; for which purpose hatchets and bags would be furnished. And finally, that no signal of amity or invitation should be
used in order to allure them to us; or if made on their part, to be answered by us: for that such conduct would be not only present treachery, but give them reason to distrust every future mark of peace and friendship on our part.

His excellency was now pleased to enter into the reasons which had induced him to adopt measures of such severity. He said that since our arrival in the country, no less than seventeen of our people had either been killed or wounded by the natives; that he looked upon the tribe known by the name of Bideegal, living on the before mentioned peninsula, and chiefly on the north arm of Botany Bay, to be the principal aggressors; that against this tribe he was determined to strike a decisive blow, in order, at once to convince them of our superiority and to infuse an universal terror, which might operate to prevent farther mischief. That his observations on the natives had led him to conclude that although they did not fear death individually, yet that the relative weight and importance of the different tribes appeared to be the highest object of their estimation, as each tribe deemed its strength and security to consist wholly in its powers, aggregately considered. That his motive for having so long delayed to use violent measures had arisen from believing, that in every former instance of hostility, they had acted either from having received injury, or from misapprehension.

"To the latter of these causes," added he, "I attribute my own wound, but in this business of McEntire, I am fully persuaded that they were unprovoked, and the barbarity of their conduct admits of no extenuation; for I have separately examined the sergeant, of whose veracity I have the highest opinion, and the two convicts; and their story is short, simple, and alike. I have in vain tried to stimulate Baneelon, Colbee, and the other natives who live among us, to bring in the aggressor. Yesterday, indeed, they promised me to do it, and actually went away as if bent on such a design; but Baneelon, instead of directing his steps to Botany Bay, crossed the harbour in his canoe, in order to draw the foreteeth of some of the young men; and Colbee, in the room of fulfilling his engagement, is loitering about the lookout house. Nay, so far from wishing even to describe faithfully the person of the man who has thrown the spear, they pretended that he has a distorted foot, which is a palpable falsehood. So that we have our efforts only to depend upon; and I am resolved to execute the prisoners who may be brought in, in the most public and exemplary manner, in the presence of as many of their countrymen as can be collected, after having explained the cause of such a punishment; and my fixed determination to repeat it, whenever any future breach of good conduct on their side shall render it necessary."

Here the governor stopped, and addressing himself to me, said if I could propose any alteration of the orders under which I was to act, he would patiently listen to me. Encouraged by this condescension, I begged leave to offer for consideration whether, instead of destroying ten persons, the capture of six would not better answer all the purposes for which the expedition was to be undertaken; as out of this number, a part might be set aside for retaliation; and the rest, at a proper time, liberated, after having seen the fate of their comrades and being made sensible of the cause of their own detention.
This scheme, his Excellency was pleased instantly to adopt, adding, "if six cannot be taken, let this number be shot. Should you, however, find it practicable to take so many, I will hang two and send the rest to Norfolk Island for a certain period, which will cause their countrymen to believe that we have dispatched them secretly." The order was accordingly altered to its present form; and I took my leave to prepare, after being again cautioned not to deceive by holding signals of amity.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 14th we marched. The detachment consisted, besides myself, of Captain Hill of the New South Wales Corps, Lieutenants Poulder and Dawes, of the marines, Mr. Worgan and Mr. Lowes, surgeons, three sergeants, three corporals, and forty private soldiers, provided with three days provisions, ropes to bind our prisoners with, and hatchets and bags to cut off and contain the heads of the slain. By nine o'clock this terrific procession reached the peninsula at the head of Botany Bay, but after having walked in various directions until four o'clock in the afternoon, without seeing a native, we halted for the night.

At daylight on the following morning our search recommenced. We marched in an easterly direction, intending to fall in with the south-west arm of the bay, about three miles above its mouth, which we determined to scour, and thence passing along the head of the peninsula, to proceed to the north arm, and complete our Search. However, by a mistake of our guides, at half past seven o'clock instead of finding ourselves on the south-west arm, we came suddenly upon the sea shore, at the head of the peninsula, about midway between the two arms. Here we saw five Indians on the beach, whom we attempted to surround; but they penetrated our design, and before we could get near enough to effect our purpose, ran off. We pursued; but a contest between heavy-armed Europeans, fettered by ligatures, and naked unencumbered Indians, was too unequal to last long. They darted into the wood and disappeared.

The alarm being given, we were sensible that no hope of success remained, but by a rapid movement to a little village (if five huts deserve the name) which we knew stood on the nearest point of the north arm, where possibly someone unapprised of our approach, might yet be found. Thither we hastened; but before we could reach it three canoes, filled with Indians, were seen paddling over in the utmost hurry and trepidation, to the opposite shore, where universal alarm prevailed. All we could now do was to search the huts for weapons of war: but we found nothing except fish gigs, which we left untouched.

On our return to our baggage (which we had left behind under a small guard near the place where the pursuit had begun) we observed a native fishing in shallow water not higher than his waist, at the distance of 300 yards from the land. In such a situation it would not have been easily practicable either to shoot, or seize him. I therefore determined to pass without noticing him, as he seemed either from consciousness of his own security, or from some other cause, quite unintimidated at our appearance. At length he called to several of us by name, and in spite of our formidable array, drew nearer with unbounded confidence. Surprised at his behaviour I ordered a halt, that he might overtake us, fully resolved, whoever he might be, that he should be suffered to come to us and leave us uninjured.
Presently we found it to be our friend Colbee; and he joined us at once with his wonted familiarity and unconcern. We asked him where Pimelwi was, and found that he perfectly comprehended the nature of our errand, for he described him to have fled to the southward; and to be at such a distance, as had we known the account to be true, would have prevented our going in search of him, without a fresh supply of provisions.

When we arrived at our baggage, Colbee sat down, ate, drank, and slept with us, from ten o’clock until past noon. We asked him several questions about Sydney, which he had left on the preceding day*; and he told us he had been present at an operation performed at the hospital, where Mr. White had cut off a woman’s leg. The agony and cries of the poor sufferer he depicted in a most lively manner.

[*He had it seems visited the governor about noon, after having gained information from Nanbaree of our march, and for what purpose it was undertaken. This he did not scruple to tell to the governor; proclaiming at the same time, a resolution of going to Botany Bay, which his excellency endeavoured to dissuade him from by every argument he could devise: a blanket, a hatchet, a jacket, or aught else he would ask for, was offered to him in vain, if he would not go. At last it was determined to try to eat him down, by setting before him his favourite food, of which it was hoped he would feed so voraciously, as to render him incapable of executing his intention. A large dish of fish was accordingly set before him. But after devouring a light horseman, and at least five pounds of beef and bread, even until the sight of food became disgusting to him, he set out on his journey with such lightness and gaiety, as plainly shewed him to be a stranger to the horrors of indigestion.]

At one o’clock we renewed our march, and at three halted near a freshwater swamp, where we resolved to remain until morning: that is, after a day of severe fatigue, to pass a night of restless inquietude, when weariness is denied repose by swarms of mosquitoes and sandflies, which in the summer months bite and sting the traveller, without measure or intermission.

Next morning we bent our steps homeward; and, after wading breast-high through two arms of the sea, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, were glad to find ourselves at Sydney, between one and two o’clock in the afternoon.

The few remarks which I was able to make on the country through which we had passed, were such as will not tempt adventurers to visit it on the score of pleasure or advantage. The soil of every part of the peninsula, which we had traversed, is shallow and sandy, and its productions meagre and wretched. When forced to quit the sand, we were condemned to drag through morasses, or to clamber over rocks, unrefreshed by streams, and unmarked by diversity. Of the soil I brought away several specimens.

Our first expedition having so totally failed, the governor resolved to try the fate of a second; and the ‘painful pre-eminence’ again devolved on me.

124 Satan; so call him now, his former name
The orders under which I was commanded to act differing in no respect from the last, I resolved to try once more to surprise the village before mentioned. And in order to deceive the natives, and prevent them from again frustrating our design by promulgating it, we feigned that our preparations were directed against Broken Bay; and that the man who had wounded the governor was the object of punishment. It was now also determined, being full moon, that our operations should be carried on in the night, both for the sake of secrecy, and for avoiding the extreme heat of the day.

A little before sun-set on the evening of the 22nd, we marched. Lieutenant Abbot, and ensign Prentice, of the New South Wales corps, were the two officers under my command, and with three sergeants, three corporals, and thirty privates, completed the detachment.

We proceeded directly to the fords of the north arm of Botany Bay, which we had crossed in our last expedition, on the banks of which we were compelled to wait until a quarter past two in the morning, for the ebb of the tide. As these passing-places consist only of narrow slips of ground, on each side of which are dangerous holes; and as fording rivers in the night is at all times an unpleasant task, I determined before we entered the water, to disburthen the men as much as possible; that in case of stepping wrong every one might be as ready, as circumstances would admit, to recover himself. The firelock and cartouche-box were all that we carried, the latter tied fast on the top of the head, to prevent it from being wetted. The knapsacks, etc. I left in charge of a sergeant and six

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Is heard no more in Heaven; he of the first,  
If not the first Arch-Angel, great in power,  
In favour and pre-eminence,‘  
Lines 658-671, John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book V.

I have found a direct source for “painful preeminence” in:  
‘In Parts superior what advantage lies?  
Tell (for you can) what is it to be wise?  
‘Tis but to know how little can be known,  
To see all others' faults, and feel our own:  
Condemn'd in business or in arts to drudge,  
Without a second, or without a judge,  
Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land?  
All fear, none aid you, and few understand.  
Painful preeminence! yourself to view  
Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.’  

125 Edward Abbott (or Abbot) was born in 1766 in Montreal, Canada. The Australian Dictionary of Biography records him as joining the army at 13, i.e., in 1779 and being commissioned as First Lieutenant in the 34th Regiment in March 1785. As the 34th Regiment was withdrawn into Canada after the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 it is likely that it was the 34th regiment that he joined as an ensign in 1779. The regiment he joined had considerable experience fighting against and with Native Americans. An officer of the 34th commanded a company of sharpshooters that became known as rangers during the Revolutionary War. Thus when the regiment returned to England in 1786 he brought with him a wealth of knowledge and experience of frontier warfare. He joined the NSW Corps, or Botany Bay Rangers, in 1789 and arrived in Sydney in June 1790 along with John MacArthur. Lieutenant Abbott would lead the punitive expedition to the Hawkesbury in June 1795.
men, who from their low stature and other causes, were most likely to impede our march, 
the success of which I knew hinged on our ability, by a rapid movement, to surprise the 
village before daybreak.

The two rivers were crossed without any material accident: and in pursuit of my 
resolution, I ordered the guides to conduct us by the nearest route, without heeding 
difficulty, or impediment of road. Having continued to push along the river-bank very 
briskly for three quarters of an hour, we were suddenly stopped by a creek, about sixty 
yards wide, which extended to our right, and appeared dry from the tide being out: I 
asked if it could be passed, or whether it would be better to wheel round the head of it. 
Our guides answered that it was bad to cross, but might be got over, which would save us 
more than a quarter of a mile. Knowing the value of time, I directly bade them to push 
through, and every one began to follow as well as he could. They who were foremost had 
not, however, got above half over when the difficulty of progress was sensibly 
experienced. We were immersed, nearly to the waist in mud, so thick and tenacious, that 
it was not without the most vigorous exertion of every muscle of the body, that the legs 
could be disengaged. When we had reached the middle, our distress became not only 
more pressing, but serious, and each succeeding step, buried us deeper. At length a 
sergeant of grenadiers stuck fast, and declared himself incapable of moving either 
forward or backward; and just after, Ensign Prentice and I felt ourselves in a similar 
predicament, close together. 'I find it impossible to move; I am sinking;' resounded on 
every side. What to do I knew not: every moment brought increase of perplexity, and 
augmented danger, as those who could not proceed kept gradually subsiding. From our 
misfortunes, however, those in the rear profited. Warned by what they saw and heard, 
they inclined to the right towards the head of the creek, and thereby contrived to pass 
over.

Our distress would have terminated fatally, had not a soldier cried out to those on shore 
to cut boughs of trees*, and throw them to us—a lucky thought, which certainly saved 
many of us from perishing miserably; and even with this assistance, had we been 
burdened by our knapsacks, we could not have emerged; for it employed us near half an 
hour to disentangle some of our number. The sergeant of grenadiers in particular, was 
sunk to his breast-bone, and so firmly fixed in that the efforts of many men were required 
to extricate him, which was effected in the moment after I had ordered one of the ropes, 
destined to bind the captive Indians, to be fastened under his arms.

[*I had often read of this contrivance to facilitate the passage of a morass. But I confess, 
that in my confusion I had entirely forgotten it, and probably should have continued to do 
so until too late to be of use.]

Having congratulated each other on our escape from this 'Serbonian Bog,' and wiped our 
arms (half of which were rendered unserviceable by the mud) we once more pushed 
forward to our object, within a few hundred yards of which we found ourselves about half 
an hour before sunrise. Here I formed the detachment into three divisions, and having 
enjoined the most perfect silence, in order, if possible, to deceive Indian vigilance, each
division was directed to take a different route, so as to meet at the village at the same moment.

We rushed rapidly on, and nothing could succeed more exactly than the arrival of the several detachments. To our astonishment, however, we found not a single native at the huts; nor was a canoe to be seen on any part of the bay. I was at first inclined to attribute this to our arriving half an hour too late, from the numberless impediments we had encountered. But on closer examination, there appeared room to believe, that many days had elapsed since an Indian had been on the spot, as no mark of fresh fires, or fish bones, was to be found.

Disappointed and fatigued, we would willingly have profited by the advantage of being near water, and have halted to refresh. But on consultation, it was found, that unless we reached in an hour the rivers we had so lately passed, it would be impossible, on account of the tide, to cross to our baggage, in which case we should be without food until evening. We therefore pushed back, and by dint of alternately running and walking, arrived at the fords, time enough to pass with ease and safety. So excessive, however, had been our efforts, and so laborious our progress, that several of the soldiers, in the course of the last two miles, gave up, and confessed themselves unable to proceed farther. All that I could do for these poor fellows, was to order their comrades to carry their muskets, and to leave with them a small party of those men who were least exhausted, to assist them and hurry them on. In three quarters of an hour after we had crossed the water, they arrived at it, just time enough to effect a passage.

The necessity of repose, joined to the succeeding heat of the day, induced us to prolong our halt until four o'clock in the afternoon, when we recommenced our operations on the opposite side of the north arm to that we had acted upon in the morning. Our march ended at sunset, without our seeing a single native. We had passed through the country which the discoverers of Botany Bay extol as 'some of the finest meadows in the world*.' These meadows, instead of grass, are covered with high coarse rushes, growing in a rotten spongy bog, into which we were plunged knee-deep at every step.

[*The words which are quoted may be found in Mr. Cook’s first voyage, and form part of his description of Botany Bay. It has often fallen to my lot to traverse these fabled plains; and many a bitter execration have I heard poured on those travellers, who could so faithlessly relate what they saw.*]

Our final effort was made at half past one o’clock next morning; and after four hours toil, ended as those preceding it had done, in disappointment and vexation. At nine o’clock we returned to Sydney, to report our fruitless peregrination.

But if we could not retaliate on the murderer of M'Entire, we found no difficulty in punishing offences committed within our own observation. Two natives, about this time, were detected in robbing a potato garden. When seen, they ran away, and a sergeant and a party of soldiers were dispatched in pursuit of them. Unluckily it was dark when they overtook them, with some women at a fire; and the ardour of the soldiers transported...
them so far that, instead of capturing the offenders, they fired in among them. The women were taken, but the two men escaped.

On the following day, blood was traced from the fireplace to the sea-side, where it seemed probable that those who had lost it, had embarked. The natives were observed to become immediately shy; but an exact knowledge of the mischief which had been committed, was not gained until the end of two days, when they said that a man of the name of Bangai (who was known to be one of the pilferers) was wounded and dead. Imeerawayneyee, however, whispered that though he was wounded, he was not dead. A hope now existed that his life might be saved; and Mr. White, taking Imeerawayneyee, Nanberee, and a woman with him, set out for the spot where he was reported to be. But on their reaching it, they were told by some people who were there that the man was dead, and that the corpse was deposited in a bay about a mile off. Thither they accordingly repaired, and found it as described, covered—except one leg, which seemed to be designedly left bare—with green boughs and a fire burning near it. Those who had performed the funeral obsequies seemed to have been particularly solicitous for the protection of the face, which was covered with a thick branch, interwoven with grass and fern so as to form a complete screen. Around the neck was a strip of the bark of which they make fishing lines, and a young strait stick growing near was stripped of its bark and bent down so as to form an arch over the body, in which position it was confined by a forked branch stuck into the earth.

On examining the corpse, it was found to be warm. Through the shoulder had passed a musquet ball, which had divided the subclavian artery and caused death by loss of blood. No mark of any remedy having been applied could be discovered. Possibly the nature of the wound, which even among us would baffle cure without amputation of the arm at the shoulder, was deemed so fatal, that they despaired of success, and therefore left it to itself. Had Mr. White found the man alive, there is little room to think that he could have been of any use to him; for that an Indian would submit to so formidable and alarming an operation seems hardly probable.

None of the natives who had come in the boat would touch the body, or even go near it, saying, the mawn would come; that is literally, 'the spirit of the deceased would seize them'. Of the people who died among us, they had expressed no such apprehension. But how far the difference of a natural death, and one effected by violence, may operate on their fears to induce superstition; and why those who had performed the rites of sepulture should not experience similar fears and reluctance, I leave to be determined. Certain it is (as I shall insist upon more hereafter), that they believe the spirit of the dead not to be extinct with the body.

Baneelon took an odd method of revenging the death of his countryman. At the head of several of his tribe, he robbed one of the private boats of fish, threatening the people, who were unarmed, that in case they resisted he would spear them. On being taxed by the governor with this outrage, he at first stoutly denied it; but on being confronted with the
people who were in the boat, he changed his language, and, without deigning even to palliate his offence, burst into fury and demanded who had killed Bangai.\(^{126}\)

The killing of Bangai was a precursor to the conflict that began on the Hawkesbury in 1794. What is of note here is Bennelong’s angry reaction in holding up the fishing boat. What it certainly shows, which Tench appears not to realise, is that Bennelong perceives himself to be on equal terms with the people from Beriwāl, and not under British rule, as the Europeans would see it. It is worth comparing Tench’s account with Collin’s, which follows.

‘Information having been received toward the close of the last month, that some natives had thrown a spear or fiz-gig at a convict in a garden on the west side, where they had met together to steal potatoes, the governor sent an armed party to disperse them, when a club being thrown by one of the natives at the party, the latter fired, and one man was wounded. This circumstance was at first only surmised, from tracing a quantity of blood from the spot to the water; but in a few days afterward the natives in the town told us the name of the wounded man, and added, that he was then dead, and to be found in a cove which they mentioned. On going to the place, a man well known in the town since the intercourse between us and his countrymen had been opened was found dead, and disposed of for burning. He had been shot under the arm, the ball dividing the subclavian artery, and Mr. White was of opinion that he bled to death.

It was much to be regretted that any necessity existed for adopting these sanguinary punishments, and that we had not yet been able to reconcile the natives to the deprivation of those parts of this harbour which we occupied. While they entertained the idea of our having dispossessed them of their residences, they must always consider us as enemies; and upon this principle they made a point of attacking the white people whenever opportunity and safety concurred. It was also unfortunately found, that our knowledge of their language consisted at this time of only a few terms for such things as, being visible, could not well be mistaken; but no one had yet attained words enough to convey an idea in connected terms. It was also conceived by some among us, that those natives who came occasionally into the town did not desire that any of the other tribes should participate in the enjoyment of the few trifles they procured from us. If this were true, it would for a long time retard the general understanding of our friendly intentions toward them; and it was not improbable but that they might for the same reason represent us in every unfavourable light they could imagine.\(^{127}\)

**Governor Phillip’s overland expedition to Richmond Hill in April 1791**

Despite his decision not to settle the Hawkesbury until he had “proper people” to do so Governor Phillip led an overland expedition from Rose Hill to Richmond Hill in April 1791. This expedition failed to reach Richmond Hill due to a mapping error on the previous journey that resulted in Richmond Hill being located further downstream than it actually was. Phillip took Colebee and Boladaree on assumption that they would know


the country. Tench was on the expedition and has left us a wonderful record of his observations of Colebee and Boladaree and the Aboriginal people they encountered on the way. Tench’s description of the behaviour of Colebee and Boladaree leaves little doubt that they were entirely confused about their role on the expedition and had a wonderful time mocking the Europeans and pretending ignorance of where they were. It is possible that when the explorers realised they had been heading away from Richmond Hill the antics of Boladeree and Colbee were designed to deter the explorers from going there. Tench’s account is noteworthy because it marks the completion of the image that he commenced on Prospect Hill using Milton’s *Paradise Lost*.

While it is not exactly clear where Governor Phillip’s party started their journey from in April 1791, it is likely that they crossed an area known variously as The Ponds (Ponds Creek) or the Northern Boundary (of the Field of Mars where land grants were being made to settlers with a military background). It may well be that they passed a gigantic rock outcrop that was referred to in Governor Macquarie’s 1810 diary as the New Jerusalem Rock (the origin of the name is uncertain but Marsden and other missionaries such as Hassall were given land grants in this area). The area was referred to as the Pendant Hills, Pennant Hill/s and later Pennant Hill. I could not help but notice a link between this journey across the “steep barren rocks” and the building of the “ridge of pendant rock” between Hell and Earth by the demons.

> ‘Now had they brought the work by wonderous art  
> Pontifical, a ridge of pendant rock,  
> Over the vexed abyss, following the track  
> Of Satan to the self-same place where he  
> First lighted from his wing, and landed safe  
> From out of Chaos, to the outside bare  
> Of this round world: With pins of adamant  
> And chains they made all fast, too fast they made  
> And durable!’

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128 ‘SYDNEY.  
His Excellency and Family resumed to Town on Monday evening.

A select party made an excursion on Saturday morning last to Jerusalem which lies about six or seven miles from Parramatta, towards the Northern Rocks. Several hours were occupied in contemplating the natural beauties of the variegated scene, surrounded by the stately forest which protects it from the scorching summer sun.

In the centre of its valley, encompassed by stupendous rocks, “a murmuring stream” delectable to the taste meanders to the untaught notes of nature’s feather’d care, that charm the ear with wild irregularity. Here caverns open to the uncloath’d tribe, whose far recess forbids the approach of rude and chilling winds. The warretaw there lifts its crimson head to decorate the bough, and to enrich the romantic site with its spontaneous beauties. Meditation here might find a blest retreat, where every object would present a theme of adoration to its great Creator. Highly gratified in an excursion that could not fail of exciting admiration, the Company returned at noon to the house of a Gentleman at Parramatta, and were joined by His Excellency to dinner.’


Various theories for the origin of the names Pendant Hills and Pennant Hill/s have been suggested. The most common being that it was named in honour of the naturalist Pennant, but there is no supporting evidence for this. A Cornish origin has been suggested, but the evidence is light. As well, it is claimed to have been named after a semaphore station, which did not come into existence until 1824. While Tench may have suggested the name Pendant Hills, it is highly likely that a naval officer, such as Phillip, on seeing the encircling ridges realised their similarity to a swallow-tailed Commodore’s pendant and applied the name to the entire high ground. Similarly, as the area became more settled and geographic names became more localised, another naval officer with a sense of humour may have realised the similarity of the narrow main ridge to a ship’s pennant and changed the name to Pennant Hills.

The party made their way from to what is now Mobbs Hill before turning northwest and headed along the ridges to emerge probably around Pitt Town and moved down stream thinking Richmond Hill was to the east.

After crossing and following Cattai Creek to a high spot they saw Richmond Hill from a “pile of desolation, on which, like the fallen angel on the top of Niphates, we stood contemplating our nether Eden, his excellency was pleased to give the name of Tench’s Prospect Mount.”

130 @on the map.
131 It was about at this point that Colebee and Boladaree told the party “that this part of the country was inhabited by the Bidjigals, but that most of the tribe were dead of the small-pox”. Chapter XXI, John Hunter, An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, London, 1793. http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/15662/pg15662.txt. Jim Kohen’s excavation of Second Ponds Creek at Quakers Hill revealed that “there is no evidence for occupation after European settlement of Australia. Perhaps this might be explained by the ethnographic accounts from this general area which indicate that smallpox drastically reduced the population prior to 1790 A.D.” Page 266, Jim Kohen, Prehistoric settlement in the western cumberland plain: resources. environment and technology. PHD thesis, Macquarie University, 1986.
132 While the word Prospect had wide usage in the colonial discourse, one can only speculate whether Tench and Phillip shared some humour drawn from Paradise Lost, for Governor Phillip called the hill “Tench’s Prospect Mount”. Certainly the irony was not lost on Tench. There are a number of references to “Prospect” in Paradise Lost. Two are illustrated below.

‘Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.
Only begotten Son, seest thou what rage
Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds
Prescrib’d no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heap’d on him there, nor yet the main abyss
Wide interrupt, can hold; so bent he seems
On desperate revenge, that shall redound
Upon his own rebelious head.’
John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book III, Lines 77-86.

‘over head up grew
Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,

Pondering the Abyss 361 Last updated: 28/10/16
Tench’s account of the trip to the Hawkesbury completed his comparison with Satan’s flight across the abyss to Mount Niphates and brought to an end Tench’s use of literary allusions drawn from *Paradise Lost*. When Satan landed on Mount Niphates, his journey across the abyss was complete; the Garden of Eden, and the seduction of Adam and Eve was nigh.

‘toward the coast of earth beneath,
Down from the ecliptick, sped with hoped success,
Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel;
Nor staid, till on Niphates’ top he lights.”

As always, Tench is circumspect in his choice of words. His use of this imagery from *Paradise Lost* is very telling. It shows us the mind of a well travelled, well educated man who realises that the European impact on Aboriginal people is going to be catastrophic, and fully understands his role in the coming destruction of that society. Certainly Tench stands out among his peers for his awareness; none of his peers or fellow writers displayed such a grasp of contemporary thinking on colonial experience. The passage is less clear in what it tells us about his perceptions of Aboriginal people. Certainly his observations of Colbee and Boladeree and other Aboriginal people, while keen, often miss what is going in their minds. Certainly one catches his sense of despair at comprehending the view that “consisted of nothing but trees growing on precipices; not an acre of it could be cultivated. - Saw a tree on fire here, and several other vestiges of the natives. To comprehend the reasons which induce an Indian to perform many of the offices of life is difficult: to pronounce that which could encourage hope, or stimulate industry, to attempt its penetration”. One also wonders when he referred to “our nether Eden” whether he was contemplating the possibility of a separate creation.

The meeting at Bardo Narrang between Phillip, Gomebeere and Yellomundi is of particular significance. It was the second occasion that the Governor was presented with gifts by an Aboriginal person at this location, the previous occasion being in 1789. Captain John Hunter, who was not on the trip, but probably used Collins’ journal for his own, made an important record: “Though our natives appeared to be on very friendly terms with their new acquaintances, yet they certainly had no particular affection for them, and spoke of them very lightly when they were out of hearing; particularly

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*Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A Sylvan Scene, and, as the ranks ascend,
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
The verdurous wall of Paradise upsprung;
Which to our general Sire gave prospect large
Into his nether empire neighbouring round.’*


I have rewritten this paragraph after Dr. Geoff E. Ford pointed out the improbability of my geography.

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134 I use Bardo Narang here in the old sense of the Pitt Town area rather than the Creek.
Ballederry, who said the youngest man of the two was bad: his name was Yal-lah-mien-di; they supposed him to be the old man's son, and the child to be his grandson. The old man called himself Go-me-bee-re, and said the child's name was Jim-bah; they were of the tribe of Bu-ru-be-rong-al. Many Australians trace their ancestry through Maria Lock to Yal-lah-mien-di and Go-me-bee-re and identify themselves as Bu-ru-be-rong-al.

In April, 1791, an expedition was undertaken, in order to ascertain whether or not the Hawkesbury and the Nepean, were the same river. With this view, we proposed to fall in a little above Richmond Hill, and trace down to it; and if the weather should prove fine, to cross at the ford, and go a short distance westward, then to repass the river, and trace it upward, until we should either arrive at some spot which we knew to be the Nepean, or should determine by its course, that the Hawkesbury was a different stream.

Our party was strong and numerous: it consisted of twenty-one persons, viz. The governor, Mr. Collins and his servant, Mr. White, Mr. Dawes, the author, three gamekeepers, two serjeants, eight privates, and our friends Colbee and Boladeree. These two last were volunteers on the occasion, on being assured that we should not stay out many days, and that we should carry plenty of provisions. Baneelon wished to go, but his wife would not permit it. Colbee, on the other hand, would listen to no objections. He only stipulated (with great care and consideration) that during his absence, his wife and child should remain at Sydney under our protection, and be supplied with provisions.

But before we set out, let me describe our equipment, and try to convey to those who have rolled along on turnpike roads only, an account of those preparations which are required in traversing the wilderness. - Every man (the governor excepted) carried his own knapsack, which contained provisions for ten days; if to this be added, a gun, a blanket, and a canteen, the weight will fall nothing short of forty pounds. Slung to the knapsack, are the cooking kettle, and the hatchet, - with which the wood to kindle the nightly fire, and build the nightly hut, is to be cut down. Garbed to drag through morasses, tear through thickets, ford rivers, and scale rocks, our autumnal heroes, who annually seek the hills in pursuit of grouse and black game, afford but an imperfect representation of the picture.

Thus encumbered, the march begins at sunrise, and with occasional halts, continues until about an hour and a half before sunset. It is necessary to stop thus early to prepare for passing the night, for toil here ends not with the march. Instead of the cheering blaze, the welcoming landlord, and the long bill of fare, the traveller has now to collect his fuel, to erect his wigwam, to fetch water, and to broil his morsel of salt pork. Let him then lie

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136 On the 11th of April.
137 There are eight references to “wilderness” in Paradise Lost.
138 His description of having to “drag through morasses, tear through thickets, ford rivers, and scale rocks” is echoed in:
“O’er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare”.
John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book II, Line 948
139 Tench’s service in North America is shown by his choice of language.
down, and if it be summer, try whether the effect of fatigue is sufficiently powerful to overcome the bites and stings of the myriads of sand flies and musquitoes which buzz around him.

**Monday, April 11, 1791.** At twenty minutes before seven o'clock, we started from the governor's house at Rose Hill, and steered for a short time nearly in a north-east direction; after which we turned to north 34° west, and steadily pursued that course until a quarter before four o'clock, when we halted for the night. The country for the first two miles, while we walked to the northeast, was good, full of grass, and without rock or underwood; afterwards it grew very bad, being full of steep barren rocks, over which we were compelled to clamber for seven miles, when it changed to a plain country, apparently very sterile, and with very little grass in it, which rendered walking easy. Our fatigue in the morning had, however, been so oppressive, that one of the party knocked up. And had not a soldier, as strong as a pack-horse, undertaken to carry his knapsack, in addition to his own, we must either have sent him back, or have stopped at a place for the night which did not afford water. Our two natives carried each his pack, but its weight was inconsiderable, most of their provisions being in the knapsacks of the soldiers and gamekeepers. We expected to have derived from them much information relating to the country; as no one doubted that they were acquainted with every part of it between the sea-coast and the river Hawkesbury. We hoped also to have witnessed their manner of living in the woods, and the resources they rely upon in their journeys. Nothing, however, of this sort had yet occurred, except their examining some trees, to see if they could discover on the bark any marks of the claws of squirrels and opossums, which they said would shew whether any of those animals were hidden among the leaves and branches. They walked stoutly, appeared but little fatigued, and maintained their spirits admirably, laughing to excess when any of us either tripped or stumbled; misfortunes which much seldomer fell to their lot than to ours. At a very short distance from Rose Hill, we found that they were in a country unknown to them; so that the farther they went, the more dependent on us they became, being absolute strangers inland. To convey to their understandings the intention of our journey, was impossible. For, perhaps, no words could unfold to an Indian, the motives of curiosity, which induce men to encounter labour, fatigue, and pain, when they might remain in repose at home, with a sufficiency of food. - We asked Colbee the name of the people who live inland, and he called them Boò-roo-ber-on-gal; and said, they were bad; whence we conjectured, that they sometimes war with those on the sea coast, by whom they were undoubtedly driven up the country from the fishing ground, that it might not be overstocked: the weaker here, as in

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140 *Our method, on these expeditions, was to steer by compass, noting the different courses as we proceeded; and counting the number of paces, of which two thousand two hundred, on good ground, were allowed to be a mile. At night when we halted, all these courses were separately cast up, and worked by a traverse table, in the manner a ship's reckoning is kept; so that by observing this precaution, we always, knew exactly where we were, and how far from home: an unspeakable advantage in a new country, where one hill, and one tree, is so like another, that fatal wanderings would ensue without it. This arduous task was always allotted to Mr. Dawes, who, from habit and superior skill, performed it almost without a stop, or an interruption of conversation: to any other man, on such terms, it would have been impracticable. '

141 In noting and interpreting the actions of Colebee and Boladeree it is important to note this sentence. It is only when we understand that they had no idea of the purpose of the journey do their actions begin to make sense.
we asked how they lived. He said, on birds and animals, having no fish. Their laziness appeared strongly when we halted; for they refused to draw water, or to cleave wood to make a fire; but as soon as it was kindled (having first well stuffed themselves), they lay down before it and fell asleep. About an hour after sunset, as - we were chatting by the fire side, and preparing to go to rest, we heard voices at a little distance in the wood. Our natives caught the sound instantaneously, and bidding us be silent, listened attentively to the quarter whence it had proceeded. In a few minutes we heard the voices plainly; and wishing exceedingly to open a communication with this tribe, we begged our natives to call to them, and bid them to come to us, to assure them of good treatment, and that they should have something given them to eat. Colbee no longer hesitated, but gave them the signal of invitation, in a loud hollow cry. After some whooping, and shouting, on both sides, a man, with a lighted stick in his hand, advanced near enough to converse with us. The first words, which we could distinctly understand were, 'I am Colbee, of the tribe of Cad-i-gal.’ The stranger replied, 'I am Bér-ee-wan, of the tribe of Boorooberongal.' Boladeree informed him also of his name, and that we were white men and friends, who would give him something to eat. Still he seemed irresolute. Colbee therefore advanced to him, took him by the hand, and led him to us. By the light of the moon, we were introduced to this gentleman, all our names being repeated in form by our two masters of the ceremonies, who said that we were Englishmen, and Bùd-ye-yee (good), that we came from the sea coast, and that we were travelling inland. Bèreewan seemed to be a man about thirty years old, differing in no respect from his countrymen with whom we were acquainted. He came to us unarmed, having left his spears at a little distance. After a long conversation with his countrymen, and having received some provisions, he departed highly satisfied.

142 Tench was reflecting conventional contemporary wisdom.

143 The fact that Colebee hesitated before calling Bèreewan, in, shows that he was unclear of the intentions of the Europeans. He called him in when he understood that Bèreewan was not in danger.

144 There is a controversy over the larger social identity of Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury which is clouded by the lack of reliable historical evidence and the cultural expectation of European observers that Aboriginal people had a tribal structure revolving around a patriarchal chief. Robert Mathew’s identification of the Dhar’-rook dialect (R. H. Mathews and M. M. Everitt, ‘The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of N. S. Wales’, Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, vol. 34, 1900, 262–81) evolved into the Darug people being the traditional owners of western Sydney; a view not shared by all. The name Boorooberongal for the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury appears only in the records of this expedition. Some writers have linked the name Boorooberongal with possums (burimun, page 69, Thieberger and McGregor, Macquarie; Aboriginal Words, Macquarie Library Pty Ltd, 1994) which appeared, from the records of this expedition, as an important food source for the local people. However, consideration must also be given to a connection with burra meaning eel (page 70, ibid.). Baramada (page 76, ibid.) is an early form of Parramatta, meaning place of the eels. Further upstream on the Nepean, George Bunyan identified the Aboriginal people around Penrith as being Booroogorang (Nepean Times, 18 December 1958). I have not found any source for Bunyan’s claim. Further upstream still is the Burrarorang Valley, however, this has a more likely connection with the Gundungurra word burru, meaning kangaroo (page 14, William Russell, My Recollections, Fast Books, 1991). I think I am alone in linking the Boorooberongal people with the eel.

145 William Dawes in his vocabulary lists the word “Berwal” meaning “England” (Microfilm MAV/FM4 3431, frame 79?) and “A great distance off” (Microfilm MAV/FM4 3432, frame 347. He defines “Berewalgal” as meaning “the name given us by the natives” (MAV/FM4 34232 347).
Started this morning at half past six o’clock, and in two hours reached the river. The whole of the country we passed was poor, and the soil within a mile of the river changed to a coarse deep sand, which I have invariably found to compose its banks, in every part, without exception, that I ever saw. The stream at this place is about three hundred and fifty feet wide; the water pure and excellent to the taste; the banks are about twenty feet high, and covered with trees, many of which had been evidently bent by the force of the current, in the direction which it runs, and some of them contained rubbish and drift wood in their branches, at least forty-five feet above the level of the stream. We saw many ducks, and killed one, which Colbee swam for. No new production among the shrubs growing here was found: we were acquainted with them all. Our natives had evidently never seen this river before: they stared at it with surprise, and talked to each other. Their total ignorance of the country, and of the direction in which they had walked, appeared, when they were asked which way Rose Hill lay; for they pointed almost opposite to it. Of our compass they had taken early notice, and had talked much to each other about it: they comprehended its use; and called it “Nåå-Môro,” literally, “To see the way”;- a more significant or expressive term cannot be found.

April, 1791. Supposing ourselves to be higher on the stream than Richmond Hill, we agreed to trace downward, or to the right hand. In tracing, we kept as close to the bank of the river, as the innumerable impediments to walking which grow upon it, would allow. We found the country low and swampy: came to a native fire-place, at which were some small fish-bones: soon after we saw a native, but he ran away immediately. Having walked nearly three miles we were stopped by a creek which we could neither ford, or fall a tree across: we were therefore obliged to coast it, in hope to find a passing place, or to reach its head. At four o’clock we halted for the night, on the bank of the creek. - Our natives continued to hold out stoutly. The hindrances to walking by the river side, which plagued and entangled us so much, seemed not to be heeded by them, and they wound through them with ease; but to us they were intolerably tiresome. Our perplexities afforded them an inexhaustible fund of merriment and derision: - did the sufferer, stung at once with nettles and ridicule, and shaken nigh to death by his fall, use any angry expression to them, they retorted in a moment, by calling him by every opprobrious name which their language affords. - Boladerree destroyed a native hut to-day very wantonly, before we could prevent him. On being asked why he did so, he answered, that the inhabitants inland were bad; though no longer since than last night, when Bereewan had departed, they were loud in their praise. But now they had reverted to their first opinion: - so fickle and transient are their motives of love and hatred.

Wednesday, April 13th, 1791. We did not set out this morning until past seven o’clock, when we continued to trace the creek. The country which we passed through yesterday was good and desirable to what was now presented to us: it was in general high, and

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146 Tuesday, April 12th, 1791.
147 Probably around the northern end of Pitt Town.
148 Cattai Creek

"Their general favourite term of reproach is Go-nin-Pat-ta, which signifies, an eater of human excrement," - modern English has a very concise and familiar translation.
universally rocky. "Toiling our uncouth way," we mounted a hill, and surveyed the contiguous country. To the northward and eastward, the ground was still higher than that we were upon; but in a south-west direction we saw about four miles: the view consisted of nothing but trees growing on precipices; not an acre of it could be cultivated. - Saw a tree on fire here, and several other vestiges of the natives. To comprehend the reasons which induce an Indian to perform many of the offices of life is difficult: to pronounce that which could encourage hope, or stimulate industry, to attempt its penetration. About two o'clock we reached the head of the creek; passed it, and scrambled with infinite toil and difficulty to the top of a neighbouring mountain, whence we saw the adjacent country, in almost every direction, for many miles. I record with regret that this extended view presented not a single gleam of change, which could encourage hope, or stimulate industry, to attempt its culture. We had, however, the satisfaction to discover plainly the object of our pursuit, Richmond Hill, distant about eight miles, in a contrary direction from what we had been proceeding upon. It was readily known to those who had been up the Hawkesbury in the boats, by a remarkable cleft or notch - which distinguishes it. It was now determined that we should go back to the head of the creek, and pass the night there; and in the morning cut across the country to that part of the river which we had first hit upon yesterday, and thence to trace upward, or to the left. - But, before I descend, I must not forget to relate, that to this pile of desolation, on which, like the fallen angel on the top of Niphates, we stood contemplating our nether Eden, his excellency was pleased to give the name of Tench's Prospect Mount.

Our fatigue to-day had been excessive: but our two sable companions seemed rather enlivened than exhausted by it. We had no sooner halted, and given them something to eat, than they began to play ten thousand tricks and gambols. They imitated the leaping of the kangaroo; sang; danced; poized the spear; and met in mock encounter. But their principal source of merriment was again derived from our misfortunes, in tumbling amidst nettles, and sliding down precipices, which they mimicked with inimitable drollery. - They had become, however, very urgent in their inquiries about the time of our return; and we pacified them as well as we could, by saying it would be soon; but avoided naming how many days. Their method of testifying dislike to any place is singular: they point to the spot they are upon, and all around it, crying Weè-ree, Weè-ree, (bad) and immediately after mention the name of any other place to which they are

149 “Toiling our uncouth way” is drawn from the meeting of the demons discussing Satan’s proposal to corrupt God’s new creation.

'whom shall we send
In search of this new World? whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet
The dark, unbottomed, infinite Abyss,
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his airy flight,
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy Isle?'

150 The high ground above Cattai Creek.

151 The Grose Valley
attached, (Rose Hill or Sydney for instance) adding to it Bud-ye-ree, Bud-ye-ree (good). Nor was their preference in the present case the result of caprice; for they assigned very substantial reasons for such predilection: "At Rose Hill," said they, "are potatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, fish, and wine: here are nothing but rocks and water." These comparisons constantly ended with the question of "where's Rose Hill; where?" on which they would throw up their hands, and utter a sound to denote distance, which it is impossible to convey an idea of upon paper.\textsuperscript{152}

\textbf{Thursday, April 14th, 1791.} We started early, and reached the river in about two hours and a half. The intermediate country, except for the last half mile, was a continued bed of stones, which were in some places so thick and close together, that they looked like a pavement formed by art. When we got off the stones, we came upon the coarse river sand before mentioned.

Here we began to trace upward. We had not proceeded far, when we saw several canoes on the river. Our natives made us immediately lie down among the reeds, while they gave their countrymen the signal of approach. After much calling, finding that they did not come, we continued our progress until it was again interrupted by a creek, over which we threw a tree, and passed upon it. While this was doing, a native, from his canoe, entered into conversation with us, and immediately after, paddled to us, with a frankness and confidence, which surprised every one. He was a man of middle age, with an open cheerful countenance, marked with the small pox,\textsuperscript{153} and distinguished by a nose of uncommon magnitude and dignity: he seemed to be neither astonished, or terrified at our appearance and number. Two stone hatchets, and two spears, he took from his canoe, and presented to the governor, who in return for his courteous generosity, gave him two of our hatchets, and some bread, which was new to him, for he knew not its use, but kept looking at it, until Colbee shewed him what to do, when he cat it without hesitation. We pursued our course, and to accommodate us, our new acquaintance pointed out a path, and walked at the head of us; a canoe, also with a man and a boy in it, kept gently paddling up abreast of us. We halted for the night, at our usual hour, on the bank of the river.\textsuperscript{154} Immediately we had stopped, our friend (who had already told us his name) Gom-be-ree, introduced the man and the boy, from the canoe, to us: the former was Yêl-lo-mun-dee, the latter Dèe-im-ba. The ease with which these people behaved among strangers, was as conspicuous, as unexpected. They seated themselves at our fire, partook of our biscuit and pork, drank from our canteens, and heard our guns going off around them, without betraying any symptom of fear, distrust, or surprize. On the opposite bank of the river, they had left their wives and several children, with whom they frequently discoursed; and we observed, that these last manifested neither suspicion, or uneasiness of our designs towards their friends.

\textit{Having refreshed ourselves, we found leisure to enter into conversation with them. It could not be expected that they should differ materially from the tribes with whom we...}

\textsuperscript{152} It is possible that the urgings of Boladeree and Colbee to return to Rose Hill may have been designed to distract the explorers from turning around and heading towards Richmond Hill.

\textsuperscript{153} This provides more evidence of the extent of the small pox epidemic.

\textsuperscript{154} On the map.
were acquainted. The same manners and pursuits, the same amusements, the same levity and fickleness, undoubtedly characterized them. What we were able to learn from them was, that they depend but little on fish, as the river yields only mullets, and that their principal support is derived from small animals which they kill, and some roots (a species of wild yam chiefly) which they dig out of the earth. If we rightly understood them, each man possesses two wives. Whence can arise this superabundance of females? Neither of the men had suffered the extraction of a front tooth. We were eager to know whether or not, this custom obtained among them. But neither Colbee, nor Boladeree, would put the question for us; and on the contrary, shewed every desire to wave the subject. The uneasiness which they testified, whenever we renewed it, rather served to confirm a suspicion, which we had long entertained, that this is a mark of subjection imposed by the tribe of Came ragal, (who are certainly the most powerful community in the country) on the weaker tribes around them. Whether the women cut off a joint of one of the little fingers, like those on the sea coast, we had no opportunity of observing. These are petty remarks. But one variety struck us more forcibly. Although our natives and the strangers conversed on a par, and understood each other perfectly, yet they spoke different dialects of the same language; many of the most common and necessary words, used in life, bearing no similitude, and others being slightly different.

That these diversities arise from want of intercourse with the people on the coast, can hardly be imagined, as the distance inland is but thirty-eight miles; and from Rose Hill not more than twenty, where the dialect of the sea coast is spoken. It deserves notice, that all the different terms seemed to be familiar to both parties, though each in speaking preferred its own."

Stretched out at case before our fire, all sides continued to chat and entertain each other. Gombeeree shewed us the mark of a wound which he had received in his side from a spear: it was large, appeared to have passed to a considerable depth, and must certainly have been attended with imminent danger. By whom it had been inflicted, and on what occasion, he explained to Colbee; and afterwards (as we understood) he entered into a detail of the wars, and, as effects lead to causes, probably of the gallantries of the district; for the word which signifies a woman, was often repeated. Colbee, in return for

155 This is another example of the Europeans struggling to comprehend Aboriginal culture and misinterpreting it as a result.

'* How easily people, unused to speak the same language, mistake each other, every one knows. - We had lived almost three years at Port Jackson (for more than half of which period, natives had resided with us) before we knew that the word Bèe-al, signified no, and not good, in which latter sense, we had always used it, without suspecting that we were wrong; and even without being corrected by those with whom we talked daily. The cause of our error was this. - The epithet Wee-ree, signifying bad, we knew; and as the use of this word, and its opposite, afford the most simple form of denoting consent, or disapprobation, to uninstructed Indians, in order to find out their word for good, when Arabanoo was first brought among us, we used jokingly to say, that any thing, which he liked, was Weeree, in order to provoke him to tell us that it was good. When we said Weeree, he answered Becal, which we translated, and adopted for good; whereas he meant no more than simply to deny our inference, and say, no - it is not bad. - After this, it cannot be thought extraordinary, that the little vocabulary, inserted in Mr. Cooke's account of this part of the world, should appear defective, even were we not to take in the great probability of the dialects at Endeavour river, and Van Dieman's land, differing from that spoken at Port Jackson. And it remains to be proved, that the animal, called here Pat-a-ga-ram, is not there called Kangaroo.'
his communication, informed him who we were; of our numbers at Sydney and Rose Hill; of the stores we possessed; and above all, of the good things which were to be found among us, enumerating potatoes, cabbages, turnips, pumpkins, and many other names which were perfectly unintelligible to the person who heard them, but which he nevertheless listened to with profound attention.

Perhaps the relation given by Gombeereee, of the cure of his wound, now gave rise to the following superstitious ceremony. While they were talking, Colbee turned suddenly round and asked for some water. I gave him a cup-full, which he presented with great seriousness to Yellomundee, as I supposed to drink. This last indeed took the cup, and filled his mouth with water; but instead of swallowing it, threw his head into Colbee's bosom; spit the water upon him; and immediately after, began to suck strongly at his breast, just below the nipple. I concluded that the man was sick; and called to the governor to observe the strange place which he had chosen to exonerate his stomach. The silent attention observed by the other natives, however, soon convinced us that something more than merely the accommodation of Yellomundee, was intended. The ceremony was again performed; and after having sucked the part for a considerable time, the operator pretended to receive something in his mouth, which was drawn from the breast. With this he retired a few paces, put his hand to his lips, and threw into the river a stone, which I had observed him to pick up slyly, and secrete. When he returned to the fire-side, Colbee assured us, that he had received signal benefit from the operation; and that this second Machaon,156 had extracted from his breast, two splinters of a spear, by which he had been formerly wounded. We examined the part, but it was smooth and whole; so that to the force of imagination alone must be imputed both the wound and its cure. Colbee himself, seemed nevertheless firmly persuaded that he had received relief; and assured us that Yellomundee was a Càr-ad-yee, or Doctor of renown. And Boldaree added, that not only he, but all the rest of his tribe were Càr-ad-yee of especial note and skill.

The Doctors remained with us all night, sleeping before the fire in the fullness of good faith and security. The little boy slept in his father's arms; and we observed, that whenever the man was inclined to shift his position, he first put over the child, with great care, and then turned round to him.

Friday, April 15th, 1791. The return of light aroused us to the repetition of toil. Our friends breakfasted with us; and previous to starting, Gombeereee gave a specimen of their manner of climbing trees, in quest of animals. He asked for a hatchet, and one of ours was offered to him; but he preferred one of their own making. With this tool, he cut a small notch in the tree he intended to climb, about two feet and a half above the ground, in which he fixed the great toe of his left foot, and sprung upwards, at the same time embracing the tree with his left arm: in an instant he had cut a second notch for his right toe on the other side of the tree, into which he sprung; and thus alternately cutting on each side, he mounted to the height of twenty feet, in nearly as short a space as if he had ascended by a ladder, although the bark of the tree, was quite smooth and slippery; and the trunk four feet in diameter, and perfectly strait. To us it was a matter of

156 Son of Asclepios, the god of medicine, and doctor to the Greeks in the Trojan War.
astonishment; but to him it was sport; for while employed thus, he kept talking to those below, and laughing immoderately. He descended with as much case and agility, as he had raised himself. Even our natives allowed that he was a capital performer, against whom, they dared not to enter the lists; for as they subsist chiefly by fishing, they are less expert at climbing on the coast than those who daily practice it.

Soon after they bade us adieu, in unabated friendship and good humour. Colbee and Boladeree parted from them with a slight nod of the head, the usual salutation of the country; and we shook them by the hand, which they returned lustily.

At the time we started, the tide was flowing up the river, a decisive proof that we were below Richmond Hill.\textsuperscript{157} We had continued our march but a short time when we were again stopped by a creek, which baffled all our endeavours to cross it;\textsuperscript{158} and seemed to predict that the object of our attainment, though but a very few miles distant, would take us yet a considerable time to reach, which threw a damp on our hopes. We traced the creek until four o'clock, when we halted for the night. The country on both sides, we thought in general unpromising; but it is certainly very superior to that which we had seen on the former creek. In many places it might be cultivated, provided the inundations of the stream can be repelled.

In passing along we shot some ducks, which Boladeree refused to swim for, when requested; and told us, in a surly tone, that they swam for what was killed, and had the trouble of fetching it ashore, only for the white men to eat it. This reproof was, I fear, too justly founded; for of the few ducks we had been so fortunate as to procure, little had fallen to their share, except the offals, and now and then a half-picked bone. True, indeed, all the crows and hawks which had been shot were given to them; but they plainly told us that the taste of ducks was more agreeable to their palates; and begged they might hereafter partake of them. - We observed that they were thoroughly sick of the journey, and wished heartily for its conclusion: the exclamation of "Where's Rose Hill; where?" was incessantly repeated, with many inquiries about when we should return to it.

\textbf{Saturday April 16th, 1791.} It was this morning resolved to abandon our pursuit, and to return home; at hearing of which, our natives expressed great joy. We started early; and reached Rose Hill about three o'clock, just as a boat was about to be sent down to Sydney. Colbee and Boladeree would not wait for us until the following morning; but insisted on going down immediately, to communicate to Baneelon, and the rest of their countrymen, the novelties they had seen.

The country we passed through, was, for the most part, very indifferent, according to our universal opinion. It is in general badly watered: for eight miles and a half on one line, we did not find a drop of water.\textsuperscript{159}
David Collins perpetuated misunderstandings about food sources for the inland Aboriginal people by unfavourably comparing Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury with those of coast. Collins appeared unable to comprehend that that Aboriginal people had a wide range of foods and their land was as cultivated as any European farmscape.

‘In general, indeed almost universally, the limbs of these people were small; of most of them the arms, legs, and thighs were thin. This, no doubt, is owing to the poorness of their living, which is chiefly on fish; otherwise the fineness of the climate, co-operating with the exercise which they take, might have rendered them more muscular.

Those who live on the sea-coast depend entirely on fish for their sustenance; while the few who dwell in the woods subsist on such animals as they can catch. The very great labour necessary for taking these animals, and the scantiness of the supply, keep the wood natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast. It has been remarked, that the natives who have been met with in the woods had longer arms and legs than those who lived about us. This might proceed from their being compelled to climb the trees after honey and the small animals which resort to them, such as the flying squirrel and opossum, which they effect by cutting with their stone hatchets notches in the bark of the tree of a sufficient depth and size to receive the ball of the great toe.

The first notch being cut, the toe is placed in it; and while the left arm embraces the tree, a second is cut at a convenient distance to receive the other foot. By this method they ascend very quick, always cutting with the right hand and clinging with the left, resting the whole weight of the body on the ball of either foot.

In an excursion to the westward with a party, we passed a tree (of the kind named by us the white gum, the bark of which is soft) that we judged to be about one hundred and thirty feet in height, and which had been notched by the natives at least eighty feet, before they attained the first branch where it was likely they could meet with any reward for so much toil.

The natives who live in the woods and on the margins of rivers are compelled to seek a different subsistence, and are driven to a harder exercise of their abilities to procure it. This is evinced in the hazard and toll with which they ascend the tallest trees after the opossum and flying squirrel. At the foot of Richmond Hill, I once found several places constructed expressly for the purpose of ensnaring animals or birds. These were wide enough at the entrance to admit a person without much difficulty; but tapering away gradually from the entrance to the end, and terminating in a small wickered grate. It was between forty and fifty feet in length; on each side the earth was thrown up; and the whole was constructed of weeds, rushes, and brambles; but so well secured, that an animal once within it could not possibly liberate itself. We supposed that the prey, be it beast or bird, was hunted and driven into this toil; and concluded, from finding one of them destroyed by fire, that they force it to the grated end, where it is soon killed by their spears. In one I saw a common rat, and in another the feathers of a quail.

By the sides of lagoons I have met with holes which, on examining, were found excavated for some space, and their mouths so covered over with grass, that a bird or beast stepping on it would inevitably fall in, and from its depth be unable to escape.

In an excursion to the Hawkesbury, we fell in with a native and his child on the banks of one of the creeks of that noble river. We had Cole-be with us, who endeavoured, but in vain, to bring him to a conference; he launched his canoe, and got away as expeditiously as he could, leaving behind him a specimen of his food and the delicacy of his stomach; a piece of water-soaked wood (part of the branch of a tree) full of holes, the lodgment of a large worm, named by them cah-bro, and which they extract and eat; but nothing could be more offensive than the smell of both the worm and its habitation. There is a tribe of natives dwelling inland, who, from the circumstance of their eating these loathsome worms, are named Cah-bro-gal.

They resort at a certain season of the year (the month of April) to the lagoons, where they subsist on eels which they procure by laying hollow pieces of timber into the water, into which the eels creep, and are easily taken.

These wood natives also make a paste formed of the fern-root and the large and small ant bruised together; in the season they also add the eggs of this insect. 161

John Hunter in his journal left an account which complements Watkin Tench’s. It also confirms the importance of the Castlereagh Neck as a major Aboriginal worksite.

‘Colebe and Ballederry concluded they had come this journey in order to procure stone hatchets, as the natives get the stones whereof they make their hatchets from that part of the river near Richmond-Hill, which the old man said was a great way off, and the road to it was very bad.

Colebe and Ballederry had at first supposed, that Governor Phillip and his party came from the settlement to kill ducks and patagorongs; but finding they did not stop at the places where those animals were seen in any numbers, they were at a loss to know why the journey was taken; and though they had hitherto behaved exceedingly well, yet, as they now began to be tired of a journey, which yielded them no sort of advantage, they endeavoured to persuade the governor to return, saying, it was a great way to the place where the stone hatchets were to be procured, and that they must come in a boat.

On the party leaving this place, the old native returned to his canoe, but he joined them soon afterwards, and gave Governor Phillip two stone hatchets, two spears, and a throwing-stick: this present was made in consequence of our two natives telling him who all the party were. In return for the old man’s present, he had some bread, some fish-hooks, and a couple of small hatchets given him. The spears were well made; one of them had a single barb of wood fixed on with gum, the other had two large barbs cut out of the

solid wood, and it was as finely brought to a point as if it had been made with the sharpest instrument. The throwing-stick had a piece of hard stone fixed in gum instead of the shell which is commonly used by the natives who live on the sea coast: it is with these stones, which they bring to a very sharp edge, that the natives make their spears.”\textsuperscript{162}

Gregory Blaxland’s journal entry for the 31\textsuperscript{st} of May, 1813, while on the western side of the Blue Mountains, provides additional insights into Aboriginal technology.

‘Traces of the natives presented themselves in the fires they had left the day before, and in the flowers of the honeysuckle tree scattered around, which had supplied them with food. These flowers, which are shaped like a bottle-brush, are very full of honey. The natives on this side of the mountains appear to have no huts like those on the eastern side, nor do they strip the bark or climb the trees. From the shavings and pieces of sharp stones which they had left, it was evident that they had been busily employed in sharpening their spears.’\textsuperscript{163}

**Tench and Dawes follow-up expedition to Richmond Hill in May 1791.**
Following the failure of the previous expedition to reach Richmond Hill Tench and Dawes made another journey commencing on 24\textsuperscript{th} May 1791 that was successful in locating Richmond Hill.

This expedition is noteworthy for an incident that took place at the bottom of Richmond Hill where Deedora assisted Tench’s party to cross the river and Tench recognised his common humanity with a Aboriginal man.

The key sentence in his account is typical of Tench in that he misquotes within parentheses and embeds direct quotes into the thread of the sentence without acknowledgement.

‘Let the banks of those rivers, ”known to song”, let him whose travels have lain among polished nations, produce me a brighter example of disinterested urbanity, than was shewn by these denizens of a barbarous clime, to a set of destitute wanderers, on the side of the Hawkesbury.’\textsuperscript{163}

The first allusion, “known to song” defied Fitzhardinge because it was a misquote from the 1730 poem *The Seasons*, by the Scottish poet, James Thompson, who was reportedly a Deist. Tench also draws another element, “barbarous climes”, from the same poem.

‘Should Fate command me to the furthest verge
Of the green earth, to distant barbarous climes,

Rivers unknown to song; where first the sun
Gilds Indian mountains, or his setting beam
Flames on the Atlantic isles, 'tis nought to me;
Since God is ever present, ever felt,
In the void waste as in the city full;"  

I have traced the reference to “polished nations” to several writers but the most likely is Adam Ferguson, a Scottish Enlightenment figure and author of An Essay on the History of Civil Society. The essay written 1767 explores the transition of societies from savagery to civilization. The “polished nations” were the civilised societies of Europe. The last element of the sentence, “destitute wanderers”, is drawn from the English Poor Laws and dates back to Elizabethan times. Under the Poor Laws, parishes had a responsibility to care for destitute wanderers.

Denization was an old process in English Common Law whereby a foreigner was able to obtain residency through paying a fee for a letter patent. The denizen was able to purchase property, but not inherit property or hold office. Sir William Blackstone in his Commentaries on the laws of England, 1765-69, described a denizen as being in “a kind of middle state, between an alien and a natural-born subject”.  

All in all, a clever sentence where the author uses a range of references to European custom and thinking to show that the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury were as civilised, responsible and compassionate in their behaviour to strangers as any in the polished nations.

‘Having eluded our last search, Mr. Dawes and myself, accompanied by a serjeant of marines’ and a private soldier, determined on another attempt, to ascertain whether it lay on the Hawkesbury or Nepean. We set out on this expedition on the 24th of May, 1791; and having reached the opposite side of the mouth of the creek which had in our last journey prevented our progress, we proceeded from there up to Richmond Hill, by the river side; mounted it; slept at its foot; and on the following day penetrated some miles westward or inland of it, until we were stopped by a mountainous country, which our scarcity of provisions, joined to the terror of a river at our back, whose sudden rising is almost beyond computation, hindered us from exploring. To the elevation which bounded our research, we gave the name of Knight Hill, in honour of the trusty serjeant, who had been the faithful indefatigable companion of all our travels.

This excursion completely settled the long contested point about the Hawkesbury and Nepean: - we found them to be one river. Without knowing it, Mr. Dawes and myself had

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166 Isaac Knight, serjeant in Captain Campbell’s company.
167 The large amounts of vegetation deposited in the trees to great heights had caused concern to a number of the early visitors (though not apparently to Phillip who was more focused on the availability of farming ground). Tench was afraid of being stranded without adequate supplies by a flash flood.
168 This was possibly Bowen Mountain or Scott Trig. station on Kurrajong Heights. Given that what is now Grose Wold was then probably Richmond Hill, it is difficult to say where they reached.
passed Richmond Hill almost a year before (in August, 1790), and from there walked on the bank of the river, to the spot where my discovery of the Nepean happened, in June, 1789. Our ignorance arose from having never before seen the hill; and from the erroneous position assigned to it by those who had been in the boats up the river.

Except the behaviour of some natives whom we met on the river, which it would be ingratitude to pass in silence, nothing particularly worthy of notice, occurred on this expedition.

When we had reached within two miles of Richmond Hill, we heard a native call: we directly answered him, and conversed across the river for some time. At length he launched his canoe, and crossed to us without distrust or hesitation. We had never seen him before; but he appeared to know our friend Gombeeree, of whom he often spoke: he said his name was Dee-dò-rara. He presented us with two spears and a throwing-stick, and in return we gave him some bread and beef. Finding that our route lay up the river, he offered to accompany us; and getting into his canoe, paddled up abreast of us. When we arrived at Richmond Hill it became necessary to cross the river; but the question was, how this should be effected? Deedora immediately offered his canoe: we accepted of it, and Mr. Dawes and the soldier putting their clothes into it, pushed it before them, and by alternately wading and swimming, soon passed. On the opposite shore sat several natives, to whom Deedora called, by which precaution, the arrival of the strangers produced no alarm; on the contrary, they received them with every mark of benevolence. Deedora, in the meanwhile, sat talking with the serjeant and me. Soon after, another native, named Mo-rùn-ga, brought back the canoe; and now came our turn to cross. The serjeant (from a foolish trick which had been played upon him when he was a boy) was excessively timorous of water, and could not swim. Morunga offered to conduct him, and they got into the canoe together; but his fears returning, he jumped out and refused to proceed. I endeavoured to animate him; and Morunga ridiculed his apprehensions, making signs of the ease and dispatch with which he would land him: but he resolved to paddle over by himself, which, by dint of good management, and keeping his position very steadily, he performed. It was now become necessary to bring over the canoe a third time for my accommodation, which was instantly done, and I entered it with Deedora. But, like the serjeant, I was so disordered at seeing the water within a hair's breadth of the level of our skiff, (which brought to my remembrance a former disaster I had experienced on this river) that I jumped out, about knee-deep, and determined to swim over, which I effected. My clothes, half our knapsacks, and three of our guns, yet remained to be transported across. These I recommended to the care of our grim ferrymen, who instantaneously loaded their boat with them, and delivered them on the opposite bank, without damage or diminution.

During this long trial of their patience, and courtesy, in the latter part of which I was entirely in their power, from their having possession of our arms, they had manifested no ungenerous sign of taking advantage of the helplessness and dependance of our situation;

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169 See the entry for August 1790.
170 Of which Tench makes no other reference.
171 Charon.
no rude curiosity to pry into the packages with which they were intrusted; or no sordid desire to possess the contents of them; although among them were articles exposed to view, of which it afterwards appeared they knew the use, and longed for the benefit. Let the banks of those rivers, "known to song"., let him whose travels have lain among polished nations, produce me a brighter example of disinterested urbanity, than was shewn by these denizens of a barbarous clime, to a set of destitute wanderers, on the side of the Hawkesbury.

On the top of Richmond Hill we shot a hawk, which fell in a tree. Deedora offered to climb for it, and we lent him a hatchet, the effect of which delighted him so much, that he begged for it. As it was required to chop wood for our evening fire, it could not be conveniently spared; but we promised him, that if he would visit us on the following morning, it should be given to him. Not a murmur was heard; no suspicion of our insincerity; no mention of benefits conferred; no reproach of ingratitude: his good humour and cheerfulness, were not clouded for a moment. Punctual to our appointment, he came to us at day-light next morning, and the hatchet was given to him, the only token of gratitude and respect in our power to bestow. - Neither of these men had lost his front tooth. [173]

The Great Chain of Being in New South Wales
A copy of William Smellie’s 1791 book, The Philosophy of Natural History, found its way to Richard Atkins in 1791. It probably came on the Atlantic via Bengal. Whether Richard Atkins owned it or borrowed it from an unknown owner is unclear. However, that he copied parts of Chapter XXII, Society of Animals into his journal suggests the latter. The extract that he copied from the chapter related to Man rather than animal society. In it the author explores differences between the mind and bodies of civilised Europeans and savages and ruminates upon the role of education, in particular a classical eighteenth century education in the creation of a polished mind. Smellie’s work is reflective of Lord Monboddo’s (James Burnett), opinion in Of the Origin and Progress of Language (Edinburgh: J. Balfour, 1774), 1:191, 195. that “savages are very indolent, at least with respect to any exercise of the mind, and are hardly excited to action by any curiosity, or desire of learning”. It was such writing that shaped the opinion of Aboriginal people by authorities such as Atkins and Collins.

‘Of all animals capable of culture, man is the most ductile. By instruction, imitation, and habit, his mind may be moulded into any form. It may be exalted by science and art to a degree of knowledge, if which the vulgar and uninformed have not the most distant conception. The reverse is melancholy. When the human mind is left to its own operations, and deprived of almost every opportunity of social information, it sinks so low, that it is nearly rivaled by the most sagacious brutes. The natural superiority of man over the other animals, as formerly remarked is a necessary result of the great number of instincts with which is mind is endowed. These instincts are gradually unfolded, and produce, after a mature age, reason, abstraction, invention, science. To confirm this

172 See http://journals.mup.man.ac.uk/cgi-bin/pdfdisp//MUPpdf/LITH/V11I2/110002.pdf for Gavin Edwards comments on the significance of the word urbanity in this sentence.

173 Pages 234-237, Captain Watkin Tench, Sydney’s First Four Years, Library of Australian History, 1979
truth, it would be fruitless to have recourse to metaphysical arguments, which generally mislead and bewilder human reason. A diligent attention to the actual operations of Nature is sufficient to convince any mind that is not warped and deceived by popular prejudice, the fetters of authorities, as they are called, whether ancient or modern, or by the vanity of supporting preconceived opinions and favourite theories. Let any man reflect on the progress of children from birth to manhood. At first, their instincts are limited to obscure sensations, and to the performance of a few corporeal actions, to which they are prompted, or rather compelled, by certain stimulating impulses unnecessary to be mentioned. In a few months, their sensations are perceived to be more distinct, their bodily actions are better directed, new instincts are unfolded, and they assume a greater appearance of rationality and of mental capacity. When still farther advanced, and after they have acquired some use of language, and some knowledge of natural objects, they begin to reason; but their reasonings are feeble, and often preposterous. In this manner they uniformly proceed in improvement till they are actuated by the last instinct, at or near the age of puberty. After this period, they reason with some degree of perpicuity and justness. But, though their whole instincts are now unfolded and in action, every power of their minds requires, previous to its utmost exertions, to be agitated and polished by an examination of a thousand natural and artificial objects, by the experience and observations of those with whom they associate, by public or private instruction, by studying the writings of their predecessors and contemporaries, and by their own reflections, till they arrive at the age of thirty-five. Previous to that period, much learning may have been acquired, much genius may have been exerted; but, before that time of life, judgment, abstraction, and the reasoning faculty, are not fully matured. This progress is the genuine operation of Nature, and the gradual source of human sagacity and mental powers. The same progress is to be observed in the powers of the body. It arrives, indeed, sooner at perfection than the mind. But, if the progress of the mind greatly preceded that of the body, what a miserable and awkward [sic] figure would human beings, at an early period of their existence, exhibit? Active and vigorous minds, stimulated to command what the organs of their bodies were unable to obey, would produce peevishness, anger, regret, and every distressing passion.

The bodies of men, though not so ductile as their minds, are capable, when properly managed by early culture, of wonderful exertions. Men, accustomed to live in polished societies, have little or no idea of the activity, the courage, the patience and the persevering industry of savages, when simply occupied in hunting wild animals for food for themselves and their families. The hunger, the fatigue, the hardships, which they not only endure, but despise with fortitude, would amaze and terrify the imagination of any civilized European.  

Magistrate Atkins and Romantic Poetry
As well as the above material, Richard Atkins recorded a number of poems and songs in his Journal, which show an observant mind grasping to understand the people around him – within the constraints of a cultural context that elevated European civilisation to a polished supremacy. One poem and one song are of interest because of their First People

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subject matter. Both belong to what Stephen Muecke\textsuperscript{175} calls a “romantic discourse”, i.e., a subset of language which deals with the tragedy of the passing of a whole people. In 1793 soon after the \textit{Daedalus} came to Sydney he recorded \textit{The Laplander}. \textit{The Laplander} was written by Charlotte Turner Smith and published in \textit{Elegaic Sonnets and Other Poems}, 1784. In 1794 shortly after the arrival of the \textit{Resolution} and the \textit{Salamander} he recorded \textit{The Last of the Cherokees}, a popular song in the late Eighteenth Century, of uncertain authorship.

\textit{The Laplander.}
\begin{quote}
The shivering native, who, by Tenglio's side
Beholds with fond regret the parting light
Sink far away, beneath the darkening tide,
And leave him to long months a dreary night,
Yet knows that springing from the eastern wave
The Sun's glad beams shall re-illumine his way
And from the Snows, secur'd within his cave,
He waits impatient hope – returning day.
Not so the sufferer feels, who o'er the waste
Of Joyless life, is destin'd to deplore
Fond love forgotten, tender friendship past,
Which once extinguish'd can revive no more.
O'er the blank void he looks with hopeless pain,
For him those beams of heaven shall never shine again!\textsuperscript{176}
\end{quote}

\textit{The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians.}
\begin{quote}
The Sun sets in night, and the Stars shun the day
But glory remains when their lights fade away.
Begin ye tormentors; your threats are in vain
For the Son of Alknomock will never complain.

Remember the arrows he shot from his bow;
Remember your chiefs, by his hatchet laid low
Why so slow? - Do you wait till I shrink from the pain?
No - The Son of Alknomock will never complain.

Remember the woods where in ambush we lay
And the Scals which we bore from your nation away.
Now the flame rises fast. - you exult in my pain
But the Son of Alknomock will never complain.

Now I go to the land where my father is gone
His ghost shall rejoice in the fame of his Son,
Death comes like a friend: he relieves me from pain
And thy Son O Alknomock, has scorn'd to complain.\textsuperscript{177}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{176} \url{www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/atkins_1793.htm}
Magistrate Atkins’ expedition to the Hawkesbury in November 1792

On the 14th of November, Richard Atkins, a magistrate, undertook an expedition from Parramatta to the northwest. On the night of the 14th they stayed with a settler, probably around Prospect and on the following day they probably reached Yarramundi Lagoon\(^{178}\) where they camped. On the 16th they headed westward and reached the Nepean River before returning to their camp. On the 17th they headed northwards and probably came to Pugh’s Lagoon and from there reached the river. They returned to Parramatta on the following day. Apart from paths and traps Atkins account is noteworthy because he makes no mention of a Aboriginal presence. He saw no Aboriginal people; he saw no camps, smoke or footprints. It was as though he was walking in a desert. Of course, this was not the case. It may be that not being accompanied by native guides that he was simply avoided. The frequency that guns were fired would assure that. Consideration should also be given to the affects of small pox on the Aboriginal population. There simply may not have been many people left.

November 1792

14 This day about 4 o’clock in the Evening set off on an expedition to the Westward with Mr Irwin as an assistant Surgeon and 4 men armed, lay that night at a Settlers and the next morning at 5 o’clock took our departure in the direction of W N W, 46 minutes after 5 altered our courses to N.W. 25 minutes after 6 made a Pond which we followed for a few minutes then crossed it upon a Tree that lay across it. saw two ducks 1 of which we killed, took a bit of Bread and a glass of weak Grog and continued our course N W. The land in a general way very bad, with a great quantity of Iron Stone, but the risings and fallings of the country delightful. Saw some Kangaroos and two Emues and some time after 1 Emue and 14 young ones but we were so fatigued that it impossible to pursue them. we had walked full 9 hours part on a dry white sand and the Sun shinging in a full blaze, at last at a distance we perceived a large pond, which we immediately made for and on its bank we sett the Kettle boiling and made some excellent Soup of 1 Duck 1 Pidgeon 1 Crow and 3 Magpies and some salt pork. It was a dissapointment to us our not making the River as we had greatly exceeded the imputed distance but we missed it by going too much to the N.ward. about 4 o’clock in the Evening it had the appearance of rain and as we were rather in a Swamp we thought it prudent to shift our quarters about ½ a mile to the S.ward more upon the Hill, however it did not rain so that we slept very comfortably under a temporary Hutt made of the boughs of trees, we found rather cold and a blanket was very serviceable to us, we made a fire at the entrance which in some degree kept the Musquetoes from us, though not effectually. The land we had come over this day was for the most part totally unfit for cultivation, the trees as well as the shrubs stunted, but some of them very beautiful in full blossom. On Friday morning about 5 o’clock after having taken some Chocolate we sett of the Southward in order to get over the Swamp which is a continuation of the Ponds in a few minutes we crossed it and going due West which brought us to the Nepean river which is about 100 feet wide, we follow’d

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178 There is strong evidence to connect Yarramundi Falls and Lagoon with Yellomundee who met Governor Phillip further downstream in 1791.
its banks to the Southward and it last joined what I suppose to be the main river the land all along the banks is to appearance very good and fit for cultivation. The trees, ferns, nettles &c growing very luxuriantly, so much so that at times we had great difficulty to get through it, every step we took it sunk in with us owing as I imagine to the great quantity of Rat holes. From the report of those who had before been with the Governor nothing worthy of observation could be expected by following this course we therefore proceeded Eastward for some time afterwards to the N.ward and got same to our last nights habitation, we dined on Ducks of which as many may be kill’d on the Ponds as may be wanted. In the Cool of the Eve we ranged about the hills but saw nothing particular. I am inclined to think that the Emues come often down to the Ponds to drink as we found a dead one which had probably got too far in the mud and was drowned. The weather was excessively hott. At 5 o’clock on Saturday morning we set off again almost due North following the course of the Ponds for about 2½ miles when it suddenly turned off to the Westward and formed a most beautiful sheet of water that might cover about 10 acres in which are great quantities of large fish, but as we did not catch any could not tell of what kind, the pond then lost itself in very high rushes but certainly is supplied with water from the river during the floods, we met with a native path which we followed for some time and came to some holes dug in the ground for the purpose of catching Ducks. at about ¼ of a mile from the Pond we came to the river which we followed for about 3 miles North. it is not more than 100 feet across and in many places fordable, but I am inclined to think that the land on the other side is only an Island and that the main channel of the River is to the W.ward. Here the Banks of the river are low and from the appearance of the land and the weeds &c which we see at the tops of the Trees which are sometimes at least 20 feet high the floods must come down in immense torrents. We examined the different stones and pebbles both from the Bed of the river and on its banks with Aquafortis but found none that it would act on, many had the appearance of the lime-stone.179 We shott two birds never seen before, both of them fly-Catchers as it appeared by the contents of their Craws. We likewise saw numbers of white Cocatores but did not shoot any, we likewise saw upon the sand the tread of some large animal, two prints before and one behind, It could not be an Emue as the steps were not above 9 inches from each other, and it is known that the Emues are at least 3 times that distance. Indeed, the natural productions of this country are very little known. The soil we passed through had all the appearance of fertility and would take but little trouble in clearing, as the timber is not very thick, nor are the trees large. The Hill above the pond is delightfully situated, but I am not clear that the water is good, it has a yellowish cast owing I suppose to the trees that may have fallen into it, some of the men felt the effects of it. Saw a number of Kangaroos, but they were so wild as to make it impossible to get at them, Last night we thought we heard the report of a Gun, and this morning distinctly heard 2 more from the N.ward which we suppose was from Broken Bay. The weather excessively Hott, we returned to our old habitation, slept well and the next morning Sunday at 4 o’clock after having set our Hutts in a Blaze we set off on our return home we steerd S E, next with nothing remarkable on the rout, shot a number of the Bronze winged pidgeon and after a journey of about 9 hours got safe to the Prospect where we

179 Aquafortis is a nitric acid based solvent. From its use I assume they were seeking useful minerals such as gold, silver or copper.
dined and in the Evening got safe to Parramatta not so much fatigued as I imagined I should considering I have not been accustomed to walk for some time past.\textsuperscript{180}

The concluding comments on Aboriginal people in Captain Watkin Tench’s *Sydney’s First Four Years* in 1793:

On his return to England Tench finalised the publication of his book.

In Chapter XVII he brought together his observations of Aboriginal people and displayed a critical awareness of major philosophers such as Hobbes and Rousseau. The following paragraph, based on the violence of Aboriginal men towards their women is a rejection of closet philosophers who “exalt a state of nature above a state of civilisation”. It shows that Tench is firmly of the view the development of civilisation is critical for fitting man “for his inalienable station in the universe”.

‘Lady Mary Wortley Montague,\textsuperscript{181} in her sprightly letters from Turkey, longs for some of the advocates for passive obedience and unconditional submission then existing in England to be present at the sights exhibited in a despotic government. A thousand times, in like manner, have I wished that those European philosophers whose closet speculations exalt a state of nature above a state of civilization, could survey the phantom which their heated imaginations have raised. Possibly they might then learn that a state of nature is, of all others, least adapted to promote the happiness of a being capable of sublime research and unending ratiocination. That a savage roaming for prey amidst his native deserts is a creature deformed by all those passions which afflict and degrade our nature, unsoftened by the influence of religion, philosophy and legal restriction: and that the more men unite their talents, the more closely the bands of society are drawn and civilization advanced, inasmuch is human felicity augmented, and man fitted for his unalienable station in the universe.’\textsuperscript{182}

When I first read his concluding remarks on the Aboriginal people of the Sydney Plain, written in England, I thought distance had blurred Tench’s vision. However, on rereading that last sentence I saw recognition of a common humanity with Aboriginal people that distinguished him from his contemporaries and an understated awareness and concern for what the impact of British colonialism on First People would be.

His imagery was Deist in nature, drawing on Pythagoras as well as Books II, XI and XII of *Paradise Lost*, dealing with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise and the revelations of the coming of Christ. Essentially his conclusion was optimistic (from his viewpoint) predicting a new future for First People after the destruction of their traditional society.

\textsuperscript{180} http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/atkins_1792.htm
\textsuperscript{181} Wife to the British ambassador to Constantinople, 1716-18.
http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3534/3534.txt
The use of the word “reason” I believe comes from Thomas Aquinas’s study of Aristotle and the concepts of natural law, eternal law and divine law. My understanding of Aristotle’s natural law is that it was something akin to Common law, i.e., it was fairly universal whereas law and custom were peculiar to specific places. Aquinas taught that that reason guides human participation in natural law. While the word revelation is now commonly used in the context of God’s revelation in the Bible, Thomas Aquinas used the term in the sense of observing God’s created order, and I think this is the way Tench used the word.

To the modern reader his use of the word “desert” is strange, but in eighteenth century Europe it also referred to uncultivated woods.

‘To conclude the history of a people for whom I cannot but feel some share of affection: let those who have been born in more favoured lands, and who have profited by more enlightened systems, compassionate, but not despise, their destitute and obscure situation. Children of the same omniscient paternal care, let them recollect, that by the fortuitous advantage of birth alone, they possess superiority: that untaught, unaccommodated man, is the same in Pall Mall, as in the wilderness of New South Wales: and ultimately let them hope and trust, that the progress of reason, and the splendor of revelation, will in their proper and allotted season, be permitted to illumine, and transfuse into these desert regions knowledge, virtue and happiness.”

Conclusion

The common bond of humanity shared by Deedora and Tench was but a fleeting moment. Even Tench entertained no idea of an independent Aboriginal identity. His optimistic hope of a Deist revelation was swept aside in a conservative reaction to Robespierre’s cult of the Supreme Being. Likewise Paul’s message of all nations being of one blood probably did not occur to Richard Johnson when he counselled William Dawes to obey Governor Phillip’s order to take the heads of Aboriginal warriors.

The process of denying Aboriginal people their humanity; demonising, dooming and blaming them for their own plight was carried out by White people whose sense of self righteousness only increased with the theft of First People Land, language and lives.

Farewells

Second Lieutenant Newton Fowell died of a tropical disease on a return trip from Batavia to NSW in August 1790.

William Dawes left NSW in 1791 to become Governor of Sierra Leone in 1792.

Watkin Tench found the world changed again on his return from New South Wales in 1792. The French Revolution had broken out in 1789 while he was in NSW and in 1792 England and France were at war again. In November 1794 Tench was captured in a sea

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183 P293-294, Tench, Captain Watkin, Sydney’s First Four Years, Library of Australian History, 1979
fight off the French coast. He was released in 1795 as part of a prisoner exchange and produced another book as an eyewitness to the French Revolution.

Governor Arthur Phillip left the colony in December 1792 in ill health.

Bennelong and Yemmerrawanie went with Phillip to England in 1792. Yemmerrawanie died there and Bennelong returned to Sydney in 1795. He died at Kissing Point in 1813, from the effects of alcohol.

In 1794 Maximilien Robespierre, was executed in a reaction to excesses of his rule, one of which was the Cult of the Supreme Being which was based on Deism. As a result Deism was essentially a spent force in shaping European thoughts on the origin and nature of humanity.

Lieutenant Abbot remained in the colony. He was military commander of the Hawkesbury district in 1795.

Ensign Prentice also stayed in the colony, becoming a landowner.

Bereewan, Boladaree, Colbee, Gombeeree, Deedora, and Morunga disappeared from the pages of history.

The last record of Yellomundee is probably 1818. Many Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury trace their ancestry back to Yellomundee.
Appendix

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Legend

① Phillip’s two unsuccessful expeditions into Broken Bay in March 1788 and his third successful expedition up the Hawkesbury in June 1789.

② Phillip’s inland expedition of April 1788 in search of what was to become the Hawkesbury River.

③ The Carmarthen Hills, named by Phillip in April 1788.

④ The Lansdowne Hills, named by Phillip in April 1788.

⑤ Richmond Hill, named by Phillip in April 1788, visited by Phillip in June 1789 and also the site of Tench’s meeting with Deedora in May 1791.

⑥ Phillip’s Bell Vue Hill of April 1788. Tench started from here in June 1789 in search of the Nepean River. Phillip’s Bell Vue Hill was called Murrong by Bennelong. It became Tench’s Prospect Hill and was eventually shortened to Prospect Hill.

⑦ The Nepean River.

⑧ The approximate location of Tench’s unsuccessful punitive expeditions in December 1790.

⑨ Mobb’s Hill, visited by Phillip in his April 1791 expedition to the Hawkesbury.

⑩ Bardo Narang where Governor Phillip met Gombeeree and Yellomundee in April 1791.
1794 to 1795

1794 – 1795: OVERVIEW

While Phillip did not proceed with settlement in 1791 because of his concerns that the farmers should be *proper people*; the Hawkesbury would eventually provide farmland for the infant colony.

Settlement of the Hawkesbury commenced officially in 1794 within the context of the growth in power of the NSW Corps. Conflict between the settlers and Aboriginal people began almost immediately. It was exacerbated in 1795 by a drought, food shortages in the colony and an influx of new settlers, mostly officers and men of the NSW Corps. In 1795 the NSW Corps carried out at least two punitive expeditions against Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury.

As the orders authorising the second punitive expedition were not cancelled until 1800 the NSW Corps was probably very busy on the Hawkesbury frontier.

A Note on the Sources and Their Authors

In describing the encounters on the Hawkesbury in 1794-95 there was no one on the frontier with the sensitivity or urbanity of Watkin Tench. Individual despatches, court records, private letters and books based on journals are incomplete and often conflicting. Collectively they make more sense when viewed in the contexts of Eighteenth Century patronage and the rule of the NSW Corps, separated from proper supervision, by time, distance and self-interest. Public documents were often written with a view of influence seeking and presenting the writer in the best light while hiding the business deals of the officers of the NSW Corps. Silence, omissions, denials, distortions and outright lies were, as now, standard bureaucratic literary tools. Unpleasantness was often covered quickly in case of possible repercussions such as a career put on hold or an invitation to a duel. Private journals and letters, which have been saved over the centuries and placed in the public domain, throw light on events that officially did not exist and give insights into the character and motivations of the participants.

Understanding the interaction of the settlers and Aboriginal people in 1794 and 1795 is difficult. The public records present a picture of Aboriginal people gathering around the farms, plundering the crops for food and the settlers firing on them and collecting children for hostages and forced labour. Violence escalated with the taking of blankets and stores from huts followed by the spearing of settlers and reprisals by settlers. Eventually the NSW Corps carried out a number of punitive expeditions to protect the settlers and drive Aboriginal people away. This required the establishment of a permanent garrison to secure the frontier.

The written records are highly subjective and simplistic. The officers were portrayed as the hope and future of the colony. The ex-convict settlers were damned as riotous wastrels. John Wilson, perhaps the most individualistic of the convicts, was dismissed as “a wild idle young man, who, his term of transportation being expired, preferred living among the natives in the vicinity of the river, to earning wages of honest industry by working for the settlers”. Aboriginal people were presented as reacting to settlement in a pre-Darwinian romantic discourse of doomed savagery. No Aboriginal
person was identified by name or voice in the records 1794-95. The collective identity of Aboriginal people was clouded by the insistence of settlers imposing their own sense of social structure upon Aboriginal people. To David Collins there were coastal Aboriginal people and “natives from the woods”.

Despite these handicaps, the accounts left by David Collins and others point to diverse and complex reactions of the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury to the invasion of their land. The Aboriginal reaction was shaped by several events. Small pox expanded out of Sydney Harbour fracturing Aboriginal social structures across the Sydney Plain. Bardo Narang, South Creek, Freeman’s Reach and the adjoining Lowlands, were the heartland of Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury and settlement there shattered their economy. Thirdly Aboriginal people may well have seen the settlers as unwelcome relatives rather than invaders. Aboriginal people observed the newcomers closely and used a variety of strategies to deal with them. From the attempt to direct the settlers southwards it is obvious that Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury were talking to other Aboriginal people who had more contact with the settlers. Some Aboriginal people no doubt avoided the settlers. Some Aboriginal people watched the settlers. Some Aboriginal people ventured onto the farms for a variety of reasons with mixed results. Some warriors engaged in fierce conflicts with particular settlers. Some Aboriginal people strategically targeted isolated settlers in an attempt to curtail the expansion of settlement.

In 1794 and 1795 encounters between Aboriginal people and settlers on the Hawkesbury were documented both publicly and privately. These sources are:

- The Historical Records of NSW and the Historical Records of Australia. These works contain the despatches of the British authorities to NSW and the despatches to England of the acting Governors of NSW, Grose and Paterson, and a variety of private letters. As well, the exchanges between Lieutenant-Governor King and Acting Governor Grose over the management of affairs on Norfolk Island, coupled with Portland’s censure of Grose provides valuable insights into the privileged position Grose had placed the NSW Corps and the character of Lieutenant Abbott who was to command the expedition to the Hawkesbury. Fortunately, King was a prolific letter writer and his correspondence to Nepean and Dundas contains details of Abbott’s conduct that did not enter the public record at the time. Intriguingly, a later copy of King’s private letter to Under-Secretary Nepean published by the National Library of Australia on the Internet contains a damaging comment on Abbott that was excluded from the copy published in the Historical Records of Australia. Not all historical records appear in these works. One letter cited in these works comes from the King Letters, held in the Mitchell Library.

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1 Colebee and Boladaree told John Hunter that “that this part of the country was inhabited by the Bidjigals, but that most of the tribe were dead of the small-pox”. Chapter XXI, John Hunter, An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, London, 1793. [http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/15662/pg15662.txt](http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/15662/pg15662.txt)
2 Pitt Town.
3 Also known as Wianamatta.
4 The left bank of the river across from the Lowlands, was apparently so called because it was targeted by the officers of the NSW Corps for their own use.
5 The right bank of the Hawkesbury River, bordering Freeman’s Reach and Argyle Reach.
David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*. David Collins, was Judge-Advocate and private secretary to Phillip, Grose, Paterson and Hunter. He retained this role until he finally left accompanied by his mistress and their children on 29 September 1796 to reunite with his wife after a decade’s absence. He published the first volume of his work in 1798 to further his career, which had languished after the death of his father and his chief patron. Collins’ work is invaluable, despite his circumspection. Collins was more open than Grose or Paterson regarding the conflicts with Aboriginal people. However, when it involved his fellow officers Collins was quite selective and roundabout in what he included and excluded. He did not identify Macarthur as the officer responsible for the cursory examination of Forrester in 1794. His comments on the conflict between King and Grose were muted and his concerns about the activities of Abbot and MacKellar on the Hawkesbury were only voiced privately. Unfortunately his damning of the Hawkesbury settlers was done with a broad brush and no doubt done to highlights the virtues of the officers of the NSW Corps.

As well, there are a number of less well-known documents that complement the above sources.

- The *Bench of Magistrates Minutes of Proceedings* provides us with the minutes of the “examination” of the settlers involved in the killing of an Aboriginal boy in 1794. While Collins refers to the killing in his book and is far more judgemental than the enquiry, he makes only passing reference to the “examination” which was probably carried out by John Macarthur. As well, they contain the affair of Boston’s Pig which provides insights into the roles and relationship of officers and men in the NSW Corps.

- While the *Journal of Richard Atkins* makes limited reference to events on the Hawkesbury is invaluable when read in conjunction with Collins. Atkins’ disgust with the NSW Corps experiment with slavery allows the reader to draw out the full implication of Collins’ circumspection on this and other matters.

- Three private letters describing the punitive expedition of June 1795, each contradicting Paterson’s despatches and Collins’s later account. They were all written in the week before Captain Raven took the *Britannia* out of Sydney.

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6 Collins followed his father into the marines. After participating in the Battle of Bunkers Hill in 1757 his father’s patronage resulted in a promotion to adjutant and deputy paymaster, thereby beginning his career as an administrator. Staying too long on the job could be as perilous in the Eighteenth Century as it was to become in the managerial culture of the twenty-first century. Collins published his book on his return to England. This was largely an attempt to gain notice and patronage following the death of his father, his chief patron while he was in NSW, and the languishing of his career after his return. He later returned to Van Diemen’s Land as Lieutenant Governor.


8 While Captain Raven is mentioned a number of times by David Collins, the only account of the arrival of Captain Raven on the 4th March 1795 with a cargo purchased at the Cape of Good Hope for the officers of the NSW Corps is found in *The Journal of Daniel Paine 1794-1797*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1983. His description of the venality of the NSW Corps officers has no match in Collins’s work, confirming that Collins was circumspect when dealing with his social equals. As Collins was probably one of “the Principal Officers of the Colony” that welcomed Captain Raven.
Harbour on the 18th June 1795 and accompanied Paterson’s despatches. The letters are:

- A private letter of David Collins written on 11th June 1795.
- A private letter by the Reverend Thomas Fyshe Palmer, a “gentleman convict”, written on 13th June 1795.
- A private letter written by William Paterson to Sir Joseph Banks on 14th June 1795.


and may have invested in the speculative journey, this probably explains why Collins chose not to describe such a joyous event in his account. That Paine states the Britannia arrived on the 10th of May only illustrates the difficulties of dealing with primary sources.

‘MAY 1795
May 10
Arrived the Britannia Capt’. Raven from Madras with some Provisions for the Colony but the greater part of her Cargo belonging to the Gentlemen Monopolisers she having been taken up for about half her Burthen on Account of Government by the former temporary Governor whereby the Officers were accommodated with proportionable ventures on very advantageous terms by Capt’. Raven & C’ on board the said Ship but on which some doubts were entertained respecting the General Interest of the Colony being benefited of Individuals interested there was none.

So great was the anxiety with which the Britannia and Capt’. Raven had been expected and the many Doubts and fears under which some People laboured for their Safety so high that my Concern mingled with Curiosity had been excited for a Sight of this Ship and her Great Commander (truly so for he was almost as big as three common sized Men).

Great and tumultuous was the joy and Ludicrously extravagant was the Exhibition of it on the Arrival and Landing of this Great Man. He was met and attended by the Principal Officers of the Colony, the Military Band playing and a Chaise belonging to Colonel Paterson the Military Commandant was brought by the Soldiers to the landing place in which his Ponderous Body was placed and dragged by a Circuitous Rout to the Barracks amidst the noisy Huzza’s of the Soldiers the Town in an uproar and the Music at one T time even struck up the Military Air He Comes He Comes the Hero comes.

Having with some difficulty alighted at one of the Officer’s Houses orders were then given that the Soldiers should drink Capt’. R” Health in some of his Bengal rum and towards the close of the Day its Effects were visible in a number of his Welcomers.

Such were the Honours paid to this Great Man much greater than those paid to Governor Hunter on his Arrival although his Character and Virtues were well known in the Colony.’

Rosenberg, 2009 has demonstrated the importance of the Land Grant Records in untangling what was happening on the Hawkesbury.\footnote{I have revised this part of Pondering the Abyss in light of Jan Barkley-Jack’s work. In particular I am indebted for her work on Joseph Burdett whose death was only recorded in the Land Grant Records and for her identification of Shadrach and Akers as the target for the September 1794 attack. Her work on the manner in which the NSW Corps used dummy land grants to serving soldiers as a means to enrich officers is revealing.}

The NSW Corps, Norfolk Island and Boston’s Sow

In June 1790 the first detachment of NSW Corps arrived to replace the Marines. They were followed in February 1792 by the second detachment with their commanding officer, Major Francis Grose,\footnote{Major Grose had seen service in the American War of Independence and his wounds received there would eventually force his return from NSW. On his return to England he filled various staff roles and had been promoted to Lieutenant General on his retirement in 1809.} who replaced Robert Ross as Lieutenant Governor of the colony. Grose almost immediately raised with Phillip the issue of land grants to officers. Grose had been on half-pay for six years before accepting the command of the NSW Corps and like many other officers would have lived in straitened conditions when not on active service. In July 1792, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas\footnote{Henry Dundas was the then Secretary of State for the Home Department. In 1806 he was impeached for misappropriation of public funds while treasurer of the Admiralty a charge of which he was cleared.} advised Phillip, “In answer to the request made by several of the military and civil officers to have grants of land made them, which they may dispose of at their departure, I do not foresee that any inconvenience can arise from your complying with their requisitions.”\footnote{Page 365, Series I, Volume 1, HRA, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.}

In December 1792 Phillip left and Major Grose, while retaining his role as military chief, took on an acting role as Governor. Major Grose changed the direction of the colony. He increased private enterprise and placed the NSW Corps in a position of power and influence. Events on Norfolk Island showed that the privileges he gave the military broke with the Common Law concept of equality of all before the courts. Officers received numerous land grants and assigned convicts. The Military began to receive a different ration. Grose did away with civil magistrates replacing them with military officers. In January 1793 Parramatta effectively came under the direct rule of Lieutenant John Macarthur when Grose made him inspector of public works and placed him in charge of superintendents, overseers and convicts. In 1795 when the government store was built at what is now Windsor it was under Macarthur’s rule.

Captain William Paterson\footnote{As a youthful African explorer he was under the patronage of Lady Strathmore. In NSW Paterson was a protégé of Banks. He sent various natural collections from Norfolk Island and Sydney to Banks. He sent plants to the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, which had been sponsored by Banks. On his return to England he was promoted and became a fellow of the Royal Society.} succeeded Major Grose as Acting Governor on 17 December 1794. As Acting Governor he did nothing to curtail the growing power of the officers of the NSW Corps. While Grose and Paterson were keen in their despatches to highlight their good deeds and stressed their adherence to the government’s orders regarding the treatment of Aboriginal people; despatches from London, court records, private letters and the journals of David Collins, provide a more balanced interpretation.\footnote{I have drawn upon HRA and John Currey, David Collins A Colonial Life, The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Press, 2000, for these events.}
Between 1793 and 1796 on Norfolk Island and at Sydney there occurred a well-documented series of events involving officers and soldiers of the NSW Corps who were to have significant roles in attacks upon Aboriginal people in the Hawkesbury. These events provide insights into the character and motivation of the participants and exemplify the arrogance that permeated the NSW Corps from the commander down to junior officers and private soldiers.

On Norfolk Island the hostility of a detachment of the NSW Corps commanded by Lieutenant Abbott towards the settlers and Lieutenant-Governor King culminated in a mutiny of the detachment. Acting-Governor Grose responded by censuring Lieutenant-Governor King. Fortunately for the historical record Lieutenant-Governor King was a prolific letter writer. Apart from his despatches to Lieutenant-Governor Grose recorded in the *Historical Records of Australia*, he wrote to Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary and Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary of State in the Home Office. The mixture of public and private record provides an explanation of the mutiny and allows insights into the operations of the NSW Corps and relationships between individuals within the Corps.

Problems started on Norfolk Island when Captain Patterson’s company was relieved in March 1793 leaving behind a detachment commanded by Lieutenant Abbott. The other officers in the detachment were another lieutenant, described by King as an alcoholic, and an ensign. Lieutenant-Governor King was advised that a Captain was not available to command the detachment but one would be sent when available. King’s concern was valid. Should he die on duty at such an isolated outpost it was imperative he be succeeded by an officer of maturity and experience.

For these junior officers exerting control and discipline over difficult soldiers while maintaining a proper distance was to prove an insurmountable challenge. In a private

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15 Edward Abbott was born in 1766 in Montreal, Canada. The Australian Dictionary of Biography records him as joining the army at 13, i.e., in 1779 and being commissioned as First Lieutenant in the 34th Regiment in March 1785. As the 34th Regiment was withdrawn into Canada after the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 it is likely that he joined that regiment as an ensign in 1779. It is of interest that an officer of the 34th commanded a company of sharpshooters that became known as “rangers” during the Revolutionary War. When the regiment returned to England in 1786 it brought with it a wealth of knowledge and experience of frontier warfare, fighting alongside settlers and Native Americans against the rebels and their Native American allies. He joined the NSW Corps, also known as The Botany Bay Rangers in 1789 and, with his wife, arrived in Sydney in June 1790 along with John Macarthur. He took part in one of Tench’s punitive expeditions to Botany Bay. He served at Norfolk Island in 1791-94, and then took command at the Hawkesbury. He was promoted captain in 1795 and was invalided to England the following year. He returned in 1799 as an engineer and artillery officer. In 1802 he was again at Norfolk Island, but returned next year to command a detachment at Parramatta and was appointed a magistrate. Governor Philip Gidley King gave him 1300 acres for his services in quelling the Irish convicts’ revolt. Next in seniority to Johnston, Abbott approved Governor Bligh’s arrest but took no active part in deposing the governor. In May 1808, before news of the mutiny had reached England, he was promoted major; he returned to England with the corps in 1810 and resigned from the army after Johnston's court martial. He went to Van Diemen's Land in 1814.

*http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010002b.htm?hilite=Edward%3BAbbott*

16 Philip Gidley King came to NSW in 1788 on the Sirius with Phillip. He settled Norfolk Island in 1788 and apart from a brief return to England, 1790-91, remained there till 1796. He was appointed Governor of NSW in 1800. Unsurprisingly his tenure was plagued by disputes and difficulties with the NSW Corps.

*17 A captain was not sent.*
letter of the 10th of March 179418 to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, King described the following privileges that the NSW Corps were allowed or took upon themselves.

- Female convicts who accompanied the soldiers were allowed to stay with them.
- A distinction was made between the civil/convict ration and military rations until full rations were restored.
- Several overseers who had cleared land for themselves were dispossessed in favour of the NSW Corps.
- The NSW Corps received a preferential distribution of alcohol.
- Soldiers were intimate with convicts, gambling and “connecting” with their wives.

From March to November 1793, Norfolk Island remained isolated until the Britannia, under Captain Raven, arrived, enroute to Bengal. One of the passengers on board was Captain Nicholas Nepean of the NSW Corps who was going home on convalescent leave. On his own initiative, King detained the Britannia for ten days, leaving the Island under the temporary command of Captain Nepean while he took two Maoris home to New Zealand. The Maoris had been acquired by Captain Vancouver and sent to Norfolk Island on the assumption that they would be able to provide insights into flax-weaving. Unfortunately these Maoris did not have this skill and pined for home. While King’s gesture may well have been entirely humanitarian, New Zealand historians have suggested that his visit may have been an opportunistic placement of himself for a future governorship.19 We know about King’s visit to New Zealand from a private letter of the nineteenth of November 179320 to Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary of State and Captain Nepean’s older brother.

Lieutenant Abbott, as second in command, objected to Captain Nepean being given temporary command of Norfolk Island by King. Abbott felt that it should have been him. Officially, King made this decision because he believed that a senior officer should hold the position and that there was a need to maintain a sufficient number of officers to form a court-martial if necessary.

However, in his private letter to Nepean, King gave three additional reasons for appointing Nepean’s younger brother over Abbott. The first two reasons appear in both the HRNSW version and the NLA version of the letter. The third reason appears only in the NLA version. According to King:

- in June 1793 Abbott had engaged some soldiers to pick a quarrel with a settler and beat him, which led to a complaint coming to the Lieutenant-Governor.
- Abbott’s second in command was a drunkard and not fit to succeed Abbott should he suddenly die.

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19 Concluding his letter of 19/11/1793 to Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary of State King wrote: “If N.Z. should be seriously thought on, would it not be advisable for some person to examine the country before any people are sent there? I should have no objection to performing that service, which might be completed in two months on sailing from hence.

By your brother I have sent you a box of N.Z’d curiosities, which you will dispose of as you may think proper. I am, &c,

PHILIP GIDLEY KING”

Lieutenant Abbott neglected to pass on a complaint made by a junior officer regarding the unfair distribution of rations in an outlying settlement to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Following are the two extracts describing the confrontation and Lieutenant Abbott’s near mutinous behaviour. That Ensign Piper later came to Lieutenant-Governor King to deny that Lieutenant Abbott spoke on his behalf supports King’s concerns.

**Lieutenant Governor King on Lieutenant Abbott**

`CAPTAIN ABBOTT.
In my public letter to Mr. Dundas respecting my going to New Zealand I have suppressed a circumstance respecting my leaving the command of the island to your brother during my ten days' absence. For my reason I must refer you to the above letter. When I had resolved on going, I issued the General Order which is an enclosure in No. 2. Mr. Abbot, who is the senior of the three subalterns, came to me, and in the most contemptuous, and I may almost say mutinous, manner (in the presence of the Deputy Surveyor), refused obeying the order in any one respect. I endeav’ed to point out what I thought the consequences of such behaviour might be, but that only seemed to make him more irritable and obstinate in continuing his avowed intention of disobeying the order in toto, which he doubted if Capt. N. would obey or not. On my sending for your brother, on putting the question to him and stating Mr. Abbot's conduct, he answered that he considered himself as an officer liable to be called into service in these colonies on any emergency, and that he considered it his duty, as a capt. belonging to the N.S.W. Corps and in full pay, to obey any legal order which he might receive from a superior for the good of the King's service. After Mr. Abbot had for some time endeavoured to persuade Capt. N. that he was totally incompetent to take the command, and that I had grievously oppressed him (Lt. Abbot) in thinking of such a thing, I cut the matter short by telling Lt. A. that as Capt. Nepean thought it his duty to obey my orders he might do as he chose, on which he left me, saying he should consider more about it. It was now seven o'clock in the evening, and I intended to embark early next morning. The next morning, at seven o'clock, Lieut. Abbot came to me and said that he should not retard the service by continuing a disobedience to the order, but that he should represent the oppression he laboured under. At nine o'clock, my commission, with my order to Capt. N., was read, and I embarked, and neither at my embarking or landing did any one of those officers attend me. After my return Lieut. Abbot sent Ensign Piper to me to ask whether I meant to write home respecting what had taken place previous to my embarking, because if I did he would make a representation to ye Sec’y at War. I declined giving that officer any information on that head. Soon after I received a letter from Ensign Piper denying that he had ever given Lient. Abbot the least reason to make use of his name (in refusing to obey the order), as Lieut. Abbot had not even spoke to him on the business previous to his (Lt. A.) coming to me and making use of both the officers' names. The other sub'n was so much intoxicated with liquor that he was incapable of giving any opinion. Mr. Abbot thought proper to wait upon me, and before the D'y Surveyor he acknowledged that neither of the officers gave him permission to make use of their names, and that he had never consulted them previous to his making me that declaration, but that they since were and continued of his opinion. As this is the substance of this business, I must leave you to make your comments on it. Independent of the necessity I found myself under to leave a suff’l number of officers to form court-martials, I had another reason which, in my opinion, militated against my leaving Lieut. Abbot in command here. Six months ago that officer engaged some soldiers to pick a quarrel with a settler in order to beat him, which the settler having notice of had collected other settlers to repel force by force, but, fortunately for the peace and tranquility of this island, the soldiers did not carry their plan into execution. This came before me as a complaint. This was one reason which I had not to give the command to Lt. A. Another reason was that the officer next to him is a beastly drunkard, and by no means fit to succeed Lt. Abbot in case of death, had I been

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21 Not available.
22 Charles Grimes.
inclined to leave the government with ye latter. I find some kind of representation is sent by Lt. A. to the Secretary at War, I do not wish to injure Mr. A., although I have great reason and provocation. I have therefore suppressed making any mention of this transaction in my publick letters, leaving it to you to make what use of this you may think proper.\textsuperscript{23}

**Extract of a private letter by Phillip Gidley King to Under Secretary Nepean, 19/11/1793**

To my publick Letter respecting my trip to N.Zealand... I hope my proceedings in that business will be approved of & I am confident much good & publick utility would result to Her Colonies Great Britain & Her Colonies if a Settlement was made at the Bay of Islands or the River Thames however I have given you my sentiments on this in my preceding Letters, to which I must refer you, with this addition that what I have since in the very partial opinion which my going there since I went there I am more confirmed in my ideas of its apparent utility. In my publick Letter to Mr Dundass I have supported a circumstance respecting my leaving the Command of the Id during my absence with your Brother When I resolved upon going: I issued the General order a Copy of which is in my Enclosures to Mr Dundass, Mr Abbot waited on came to me in the most improper Manner & before the DY Surveyor he positively & unequivocally in his own name & that of ye other Subs/ refused obeying the order, thereby denying [indecipherable] my authority to make such an in one respect, I endeavoured to point out what I thought the Consequences of such behaviour might be but that only served to make him more irritable & obstinate in continuing his avowed disobedience intention of totally disobeying the order, which he doubted whether Capt Nepean would accept would obey or not. On my sending for Capt Nepean on my putting ye Question to him said he considered himself as an Officer liable to be called into Service in these Colonies on any Emergency & that he considered it his duty to obey any legal order which he might receive from a Superior Officer for the good of the Kings Service — Mr A did not now think proper to continue his declaration of disobeying the order but said that he should consider further about it & left me & intended to Embark early the next Morng it was now 6 oclock in the Evening & he did not think proper to obey the order order by until 7 Oclock the next Morn when he told me that he should not retard the service by continuing this Disobedience, but that he should represent the Oppression he laboured under, as this is the substance of this business I must leave you to make your Comments on it. A current account of that proceed Officers Conduct I shall by the first opportunity lay before Major Grose, & if it appears to Major Grose that I made any improper use of My Authority I shall then lay before him the following reasons (which/ independant of the necessity I found my self under to leave a Sufit Number of Officers to form a Court Marshal,) in my opinion militated against my leaving Lt Abbot commanding officer in charge of ye Govt during My Absence, That Officer had in some manner? made himself since had some 6 Months ago, engaged some private Soldiers to pick a Quarrell with a Settler in order to beat him, which the Settler having notice of had collected other Settlers to repel force by force, but fortunately for the peace & Tranquility of this Id the Soldiers did not execute this put it in Execution this came before me as a complaint That officer has also been guilty of a Neglect of Duty in not laying before me, a Complaint made to him by the Jr. Officer in Command at Phillip burgh respecting alleged unfair proceedings in the issuing of provisions, the Next Sub1- Officer in Command to Lieutt Abbot is a perfect drunkard & by no means fit to succeed to the Charge of the Id in case of accidents happening to Lt Abbot, had I been inclined to leave him in the Govt with him.\textsuperscript{24}

The mutiny on the King’s Birthday, 18\textsuperscript{th} January, 1794, was the culmination of escalating tension between the soldiers of the NSW Corps and the settlers and convicts. This description of events is based upon a compilation of King’s despatch of 30/01/94 to Grose giving an account of the events leading the sending a number of soldiers back to Sydney and King’s letter to Dundas of 10\textsuperscript{th} March 1794.

In the last week of 1793 conflict and tension between the soldiers, convicts and settlers escalated. On 25\textsuperscript{th} December 1793 four soldiers, including Baker, Cardell\textsuperscript{25}

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\textsuperscript{24} http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/Ebind/safe1_16/a1318/a1318200.html

\textsuperscript{25} Cardell appears to have been a ringleader in the mutiny. Evidence from other soldiers points to Cardell having either experience or knowledge of a mutiny in the “East Indias”. Cardell appears to
and Downey, attacked a number of settlers including Smith and Dring. Smith and Dring asked the soldiers be forgiven and King granted the request. On the following day W. Dring a free settler and the island’s coxswain, was fined for assaulting Charles Windsor, a soldier. Dring had objected to Charles Windsor “connecting” with Dring’s wife. On the same day, Scott, a sailor-settler, was also fined for assaulting a soldier.

Also on the 26th of December 1793 a court martial took place in which Baker was charged with some convicts of conspiring to steal a boat and escape. The convicts were flogged and Baker imprisoned to be sent to Sydney. As well, two other soldiers were imprisoned for stealing from the King’s Store while on guard duty.

A Court martial of Cardell and Downing took place on the 27th of December 1793. On the 28th of December 1793 Cardell vowed to punish Dring for which he was court-martialled again on the 29th of December 1793 and flogged.

A play was planned for the night of 18th January, the King’s birthday. During the day a soldier, Jones, had beaten a marine settler, John McCarthy. The settlers were alarmed. A dispute over seats between Serjeant Whittle and the constable, Thomas Crowder, took place prior to and after the play. King personally suppressed the dispute after the play and ordered the arrest of Bannister, a soldier. John Flemming, a soldier, told King that Charles Cooper, a convict, had struck Bannister, which led to Cooper’s detention as well.

King then went home thinking that the situation was under control. Lieutenant Abbott did not tell King until the morning of the 19th that the soldiers had been in a state of mutiny on the previous night. According to Abbott the soldiers resented Bannister being imprisoned after being struck by a convict and wanted him freed and refused his orders to disperse. Abbott told King that he finally got the men to go to their barracks after he told them he would see the Lieutenant-Governor in the morning.

The volatility of the situation was confirmed on the evening of 20th of January 1794 when Thomas Spencer, a settler, reported to King that the drummer, Colston/Coulson, had warned him that a number of soldiers were going to get him and a convict, Alexander Dollis, reported that the soldiers had taken an oath to kill Dring.

George Coulson, drummer, gave evidence to Lieutenant Bethwick on 21st January, which confirmed Dollis’s report of a murderous conspiracy and showed how dangerous the men were. His evidence also contradicted Abbott’s account of the parade ground mutiny. According to Coulson, when the detachment returned to their barracks they said “that they had got Lieut’l Abbott’s word that Bannister should be released in the morning, and that they would wait until Lieutenant Abbott return’d from the Governor’s, and if they found that he was not released they would release him”. Whatever the truth of the matter, Abbott had been in a precarious position on the parade ground as, according to Coulson, the serjeants had stayed in the barracks.

On the morning of 21st Abbott confirmed Colston’s account to King. As McCarthy was determined to follow up the assault upon him on the 18th, King was concerned the
soldiers would mutiny if Private Jones were confined. He determined on disarming the soldiers. In the afternoon of 21\textsuperscript{st} Abbott, Bethwick and Piper agreed to the disarming. King directed that a party of soldiers be sent to Phillip Island for feathers and guards be sent to Queensborough. On 22\textsuperscript{nd} the soldiers’ arms were seized. A settler militia was formed and provided with arms. Twenty mutineers were subsequently arrested and nine were imprisoned.

Fortuitously the Francis arrived on the morning of the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of January, 1794 with despatches from Grose. Bad weather delayed the return of the Francis until the second of February, 1794. Among those who returned were Lieutenant Bethwick, Serjeant Ikin and the mutineers.

Lieutenant-Governor Grose responded quickly. On the 15\textsuperscript{th} of February 1794 he convened a NSW Corps Court of Enquiry,\textsuperscript{27} which included Captain Paterson, Captain Foveaux, Captain Johnston, Lieutenant Macarthur, Lieutenant Townson, Lieutenant Prentice, Lieutenant Rowley, Ensign McKellar, Ensign Lucas, and Quarter-master Laycock. Evidence was heard from Lieutenant Bethwick and Serjeant Ikin. Not surprisingly this enquiry conducted by the NSW Corps into the behaviour of its own found “that the soldiers were forced into the disorders they committed on the 18\textsuperscript{th} January by the licentious behaviour of the convicts”.\textsuperscript{28}

On the 25\textsuperscript{th} of February, 1794 Lieutenant-Governor Grose wrote to Lieutenant-Governor King, telling him how “astonished and mortified” he was at King’s “ill-judged and unwarrantable proceedings”. He ordered that the militia be disarmed and that their weapons be put on the schooner Francis for distribution among the Hawkesbury settlers.\textsuperscript{29} As well, he ordered the return of Charles Grimes’ to carry out surveying duties on the Hawkesbury. He sent Lieutenant Towson to take command of the detachment with additional orders which are worth quoting in full because they show how the NSW Corps was operating outside the conventions of English Common Law by elevating the rights of soldiers over others.

**Lieutenant – Governor Grose to Lieutenant – Governor King**

‘[Enclosure No. 3.]

Sir,

Sydney, 25th February, 1794.

In consequence of the disturbance which has happened at Norfolk Island you* will cause the following Orders, which I have judged it necessary to give, to be made public, vizt.:—

Any convict, whether the term of his transportation is expired or not, who shall be accused of striking a soldier is immediately to be given up to the commanding officer of the detachment, who is himself to investigate the matter; and if it appears to him that the soldier has been struck, he will immediately order the offender to be punished with one hundred lashes by the drummers of his detachment. No provocation that a soldier can give is ever to be admitted as an excuse for the convicts striking the soldier.

If any convict complains of having been ill-treated by a soldier, the offender is to be brought to a court-martial, and any abuse on the part of a soldier to the convicts is never to be passed over unnoticed.

\textsuperscript{27} Page 127-8, Volume 2, HRNSW, Sydney, Government Printer, 1893.

\textsuperscript{28} Page 129, Volume 2, HRNSW, Sydney, Government Printer, 1893.

\textsuperscript{29} Page 125-126, Volume II, HRNSW, Sydney, Government Printer, 1893.
As it appears necessary for the safety of the inhabitants to employ a number of convicts in the character of constables, people of this description are to understand that they are not on any pretence whatever to stop or seize the soldier, although he should be detected in an unlawful act. On these occasions they must endeavour to make themselves acquainted with his person, and make immediate application to an officer or non-commissioned officer, who will on such information send a party of soldiers to apprehend the delinquent.

Any convict who shall give abusive language to a soldier is to be immediately seized and confined in the guard-house, and if on enquiry it appears to the commanding officer of the detachment, who is himself always to examine whatever disputes arise amongst the soldiers, that there is cause of complaint on the part of the soldier, he will state the circumstance to the Lieut.-Governor, who will order such corporal punishment to the convict as he thinks proper.

Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers are of their own authority to confine any convicts who misbehave, and any resistance on the part of the convict will be severely punished. It is however, expected that no convict is confined without sufficient reason, and that neither officer or soldier on any account attempt to beat the convicts.

Any soldier misbehaving is to be brought to a court-martial, which, on application from the Lieut.-Governor to the commanding officer of the detachment, will always be assembled; but should his crime be of such enormity as to render it expedient to bring him to trial either by a general court-martial or a criminal court, he will of course be forwarded to Sydney by the first opportunity, being in the interim assigned to the care of the commanding officer of the detachment, who will confine him either in the black-hole or guard-house, as he shall consider most expedient, suffering him also to take such exercise under the care of a sentinel as he may at any time think necessary for the preservation of his health.

The officers being fully equal to correct any crimes committed by the soldiers, there exists no necessity for taking a soldier before a Justice of the Peace. In case, therefore, of complaint, the commanding officer of the detachment is to be referred to, who will never suffer the soldier to be given to the custody of a convict constable.

* The document was addressed to Lieutenant-Governor King.  

FRANS. GROSE.

The Orders did not meet with the approval of the Home Office. In his despatch of 10th June 1795 to Governor Hunter, the Duke of Portland included the following opinions on Lieutenant-Governor King’s expedition to New Zealand and Lieutenant-Governor Grose’s orders to Lieutenant-Governor King following the NSW Corps mutiny. Portland’s objection to King leaving Norfolk Island without communicating with Grose is quite valid. However, given that there was no communication between Sydney and Norfolk Island between March 1793 and February 1794, Portland’s objection only highlights the difficulties that time and distance posed for colonial officials.

Portland accurately identified the problems on Norfolk Island as stemming from the failure of the officer in command preventing the soldiers from being “improperly permitted to mix and interfere with the other inhabitants”. 31 His main point was that in disputes before the Law there was no “preference or distinction from being of a different class or distinction”. In a classic example of bureaucratic understatement Portland ventures the opinion that Grose’s General Order “must have been hastily conceived on the pressure of the moment”.

31 At the time Portland wrote this despatch, Lieutenant Abbott was very busy on the Hawkesbury frontier.
Lord Portland to Lieutenant – Governor Grose

I have maturely considered the statement made by Lieutenant-Governor King of the transactions in Norfolk Island, referred to in Lieut.-Governor Grose’s letter of the 30th August, and I am far from imputing to Lieut.-Governor King any degree of blame which calls for serious reprehension. What I most object to is, his quitting his government and departing with the New Zealanders in the Britannia, without previous communication with Lieut.-Governor Grose.

With respect to the mutinous detachment that was sent from the island, I am truly sorry to observe that their conduct was such as to merit much severer treatment than it met with. The source of their disorderly conduct and of their disobedience clearly arose from their having been improperly permitted to mix and interfere with the other inhabitants, but particularly with the convicts, from whom, as their situation and their duties are perfectly separate and distinct, so should their conversation and connections. The best proof I can receive that both the one and the other are properly governed, will be that matters of dispute seldom arise between them, and for this plain reason, because they should neither of them ever be in the way of it. But whenever such disputes do arise, strict and impartial justice must decide between the parties, for whoever misconducts himself must be considered as losing all title to preference or distinction from being of a different class or description.

I have thought it necessary to express my sentiments more fully on this subject, because I am inclined to think that the General Orders of Lieut.-Govr. Grose, dated 25th February, 1794, transmitted to Lieut.-Governor King, must have been hastily conceived on the pressure of the moment, and without due attention to the principle I have above mentioned, and which in the distribution of justice should never be lost sight of.

I am of opinion it would be better, whenever such disputes arise, which I trust will be very rarely, that the complaint in the first instance should always be guided by and follow the nature and description of the person.

Thus, if a convict, or any civil person, is complained of, the complaint should be to the Governor, or the nearest magistrate; if a military person, to the Commander-in-Chief, or nearest officer, as the case may require.

Portland

When Governor Hunter replaced Paterson in September 1795 he soon found himself in the midst of a court case involving members of the NSW Corps and a settler that had similarities with events on Norfolk Island and involved personalities first met on Norfolk Island. In December 1795 a court was convened to hear a complaint by a settler, John Boston, against Quartermaster Laycock, Ensign McKellar and Privates Faithfull and Eaddy/Addy of the NSW Corps. In October 1795, Private Faithfull shot dead Boston’s sow in accordance with an order warning that wandering pigs without nose rings would be shot. The shooting took place in Captain Foveaux’s paddock which was probably on the east side of the cove as the dispute took place near the homes of Palmer and Skirving, two of the Scottish Martyrs.

Boston alleged that when he protested at the shooting, Quartermaster Laycock and Ensign McKellar urged Privates Faithfull and Eaddy/Addy to assault Boston. Serjeants Jamison, Hudson, Ikin and Whittle were in the area. Serjeants Jamison and Ikin claimed that Boston struck the first blow and that Faithfull was defending himself.

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33 What Hunter made of the preserved head of an Aboriginal warrior left for him by Grose is unrecorded.
34 He was also the senior serjeant in the NSW Corps.
35 Private Eaddy/Addy would become a Hawkesbury settler as would Private Faithfull, some of whose descendants were eventually driven out of their Victoria run by Aboriginal people that they were in conflict with.
when he struck Boston with a loaded musket. Jamison denied hearing Laycock call upon Faithfull to thrash Boston. The case was complicated by Boston’s claim that Laycock had demanded a sum of money from him when he first arrived, a debt which he denied.

The court found for Boston against Laycock and Faithfull, but not McKellar or Eaddy. Boston was threatened with violence on leaving the court and had to return there to seek protection. Private Faithfull appealed against the decision and lodged a memorial on the matter. Governor Hunter was of the opinion that as an illiterate, Faithfull did not understand what he was doing.

Faithfull’s memorial was important because in the concluding part he placed himself outside Common Law by positioning himself not just as a soldier, but also as a peace officer. Given that he signed the document with his mark it is likely that the document was written for him by one of his superior officers.

**Private Faithfull’s Memorial**

‘Your Memorialist humbly conceives, that in shooting the Pig of the Prosecutor he was acting in immediate obedience of the Orders of the Government. – that when executing this, or any other Order of the Commander in Chief, his situation is similar to that of a Peace Officer in England, when obeying the orders of a Magistrate. - It has been admitted by the Prosecutor that he called your Memorialist a “d – rascal” and uttered other violent words in great passion, merely because his Pig was destroyed. – and without other provocation.

Your Memorialist therefore humbly contends, that a Peace Officer in England would without hesitation, if called a d – Rascal for executing his Orders, have levelled the insulting Offender at his feet.– that the Peace Officer in so doing would not only, be justified in the Eye of the Law but would have it at his option still more severely to punish the Culprit both by fine and imprisonment.

Your Memorialist therefore most humbly trusts that as his duty was literally the same as that of the Peace Officer, he will be considered as entitled to an equal degree of support and protection; - that the Convict, all men of such turbulent and unquiet dispositions as the Prosecutor, will not be encouraged to repeat their insults by a Confirmation of a Sentence, which certainly casts the Soldier out of the Protection of those very Laws he is ordered to execute, and of which, in this Country, he is in a great measure the Guardian.

With the most perfect confidence in the exemplary and known justice of your Excellency, I appeal for a re-version of the Sentence of the Civil Court of Judicature – whatever may be your decision, it will carry with it too much respectability to admit of a doubt of its propriety; and your Memorialist trusts if he shall be found to be ignorant of the Law – that he will at least prove, he knows the first duty of a Soldier, you silently and respectfully to obey.

*his

WILLIAM X. FAITHFULL

mark.’

Governor Hunter was sufficiently disturbed by the case to write to Lord Portland about it. In his letter he correctly identified the threat posed to the civil government by the NSW Corps.

**Governor Hunter to Lord Portland**

‘I cannot allow myself to close the letter on the subject, my Lord, without taking that opportunity of observing that I strongly suspect there are some person or persons in this colony (whose situations are
probably respectable) extremely inimical to the necessary influence and authority of the civil power, 
and to that respect which is due from the public to the civil magistrates.’

During a break in proceedings on the seventh and eighth of December 1795, Edward Abbott approached the court to recover a debt of £37 sterling from George Legg, a Norfolk Islander settler who had returned to Sydney. Interestingly Abbott had also bought a 60-acre grant on Norfolk Island from Legg.

In exploring the mutiny on Norfolk Island and the assault on John Boston it is nearly impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that the NSW Corps was gang-like in its operations. From the commander down to the privates the pretence that they were both soldiers and peace-keepers was a rationalisation to justify their exploitation of the settlers and convicts. Major Grose had ultimate responsibility for extending the role of the NSW Corps beyond their authorised duties. In April 1794 a conflict took place on the cornfields at Toongabbie between Aboriginal men and watchmen. As a result one Aboriginal man “was shot and one cut down with a sword, the head of one is brought in and the L. Gov’. has preserved it, as a present for G’. Hunter.” Rather than extending scientific knowledge, Grose’s actions were probably designed to challenge the Governor and assert the role of the NSW Corps.

On the evidence presented Lieutenant Abbott was volatile and self-serving. According to King he incited his soldiers to attack a settler, he failed to pass on a junior officer’s concerns to the Lieutenant-Governor, and he spoke to his commander as though he represented the other officers when objecting to Captain Nepean’s temporary appointment. His money lending and property deals were outside the role of an officer and supportive of King’s portrayal. Portland’s comments of 10th June 1795 regarding the detachment’s lack of strong leadership point directly towards Abbott.

Quartermaster Laycock, Serjeant Ikin and Private Faithfull showed themselves to be only too willing to defend the honour of the NSW Corps. Private Cardell was plain dangerous.

It would be a mistake to cast a cold eye on the NSW Corps without closely examining some of the other personalities on the stage. Lieutenant-Governor King’s actions in going to New Zealand may have been quite opportunistic. The unexpected appearance of Captain Nepean, younger brother of Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary of State, may have prompted King to position himself for a potential governorship by taking the two Maoris back – who incidentally, may have been dropped off at the wrong spot. King’s condemnation of the soldiers of the NSW Corps for “connecting” with the convict women is somewhat hypocritical given that he had two sons on the island by Ann

Inett, a convict woman. While Governor of NSW, King distinguished himself by the size of the land grants he gave to his own family - larger than any of the other governors. Captain Nepean had a reputation for being fiery and Surgeon Harris accused him of profiteering. Lieutenant-Governor Grose may well have breathed a sigh of relief when he authorised Nepean’s return home because of ill health.

Spanish eyes

12th March – 11th April, 1793

Robert J. King’s, *The Secret History of the Convict Colony*, Allen and Unwin, 1990, contains, I believe, the first translation into English of the original observations of Alejandro Malaspina, the commander of a Spanish expedition that visited Sydney between 12th March and 11th April, 1793; and his naturalist, a Frenchman, Louis Née. Apart from their scientific curiosity, the Spanish were casting a cold eye over what they perceived to be a threat to their Pacific empire. The expedition was, however, welcomed and the officers travelled as far as Toongabbie.

Malaspina’s and Née’s commentaries are an important and critical external view of the colony. Their observations were free of the constraints that limited the English reporting of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers. Malaspina’s observation that Aboriginal people, “keep generally good harmony with the Europeans: punishment has made them cautious in this regard; there are very few tribes which do not maintain a strict subordination to the English, and the inequality in arms has extinguished or removed the discontented” strongly indicates the impact of British military might and suggests that not all Aboriginal killings made their way into official records. As well, his observation that the “mere sight of a musket, the appearance of the uniform of a soldier, would scatter an army of natives” further confirms my assertion that the Aboriginal fear of firearms was far more disproportionate than the effectiveness of the weapon warranted.

Malaspina came into frequent, disapproving, contact with Aboriginal people. He was well aware of “measures taken by the English for their civilisation”. He may well have dined with the Macarthurs’ and Johnson’s where he saw “gathered and cared for with the greatest kindness, several Boys and Girls”. As well, he ate meals, to his apparent disapproval, where naked Aboriginal men and women, were “regaled with one or other dainty from the same Table”. The apparent primitiveness of Aboriginal life led Malaspina to describe Aboriginal people as “Negritos”, i.e., related to isolated ethnic groups from South East Asia. He placed Aboriginal people lower than Kaffirs, Hottentots and “the wretches of Tierra del Fuego”. His observations clearly show the negative impact Cook and Banks had on European thought about Aboriginal people. Malaspina’s Christian sensibilities were deeply disturbed by Aboriginal indifference to gifts, their lack of shame at their nakedness and their continued rejection of clothing. His observation that Aboriginal people were “the only nation” not carry guilt at their nakedness carried the implication that Aboriginal people may have had a Pre-Adamite origin. Such a train of thought would help explain Malaspina’s opinion “that it would be better for the English to remove them from these parts”.

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42 Ibid., page 148.
However, it was the impact of disease that led Malaspina to the conclusion “that what will be easier and sooner will be the destruction rather than the civilisation of these unhappy people”. Malaspina’s and Née’s observations on disease and sexual relations between Aboriginal people and settlers reinforced David Collin’s observations.

A full understanding of these contemporary records can only be gained within a modern scientific framework. Judy Campbell, has written an important work, Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880, Melbourne University Press, 2002, which draws on a wide range of historical sources and modern science. There were ancient diseases present in Australia before settlement. The most common were trachoma, non-venereal treponemal infections and hepatitis B. These diseases developed slowly, usually affected the elderly and usually did not directly cause death. Unlike venereal syphilis which is sexually transmitted, the non-venereal treponemal infections are caused by bacteria. In the tropics they take the form of yaws, further south they take the form of non-venereal endemic syphilis. Endemic syphilis spreads easily among children who play and sleep together. Skin lesions are less obvious in endemic syphilis than they are in yaws. In later stages deformations in bones can take place causing a characteristic bow in the lower legs. Endemic syphilis has proved to be protective against venereal syphilis. Hepatitis B is a virus which was transmitted between mothers and children in their early years. It could lead to liver disease.

Smallpox, tuberculosis and measles were unknown in Aboriginal Australia before Captain Cook arrived in 1770. Campbell argues that smallpox in 1789 was not brought to NSW by the ships of the First Fleet or La Perouse, but that it came from Macassan fishermen and swept down from the north. However, this argument has been effectively destroyed by Craig Mears in a 2008 article in the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society. Three important points in Mears argument are

- that there was little chance of smallpox surviving the crossing of Australian deserts;
- smallpox would have easily survived the journey by the First Fleet to Australia; and
- that it spread from Sydney harbour and north into the Hawkesbury, not the other way around.

Another epidemic was noted in South-East Australia in 1828-1832. Regimental surgeons, Inlay and Mair, of the 39th Foot, saw smallpox among Aboriginal people

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43 Trachoma is an infection that affects the eyelids and can cause blindness.
44 There are those who remain unconvinced of Campbell’s case that smallpox did not come with the First Fleet. While respecting Campbell’s arguments, I think it fair to note that some controversy still remains. Peter Stride in an article, The 1727 St Kilda epidemic: smallpox or chickenpox?, http://www.lumison.co.uk/~rcpe/journal/issue/journal_39_3/stride.pdf, raises two possible alternatives. Firstly that “The smallpox virus is viable outside a host and has been isolated from scabs sitting on a shelf for 13 years”. Secondly he argues that it was not until 1767 that William Heberden, distinguished between chicken pox and smallpox. Given the quality of medical training in the eighteenth century it was possible that the 1789 observers mistook chicken pox for smallpox. As children were particularly vulnerable to smallpox, Collins’ was puzzled that: “Notwithstanding the town of Sydney was at this time filled with children, many of whom visited the natives that were ill of this disorder, not one of them caught it”. Page 496, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume I, A.H. &A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.
in Bathurst in 1831 and later in the same year on the east coast.\textsuperscript{45} It was reported in the Sydney Gazette as being at Bathurst. It did not appear to be in the Hawkesbury in 1831, however, chicken pox was.\textsuperscript{46}

Differences in venereal diseases were little understood in late eighteenth century Europe. They were known collectively as \textit{lues venereal}. Early observers of the presence of the disease, such as Collins and Malaspina have to be read with caution when describing these diseases, particularly when it appears that endemic syphilis which was present in Aboriginal communities presented symptoms similar to syphilis. Whether Collins and Malaspina saw venereal syphilis, endemic syphilis, or both, is unclear. Malaspina’s observation that Aboriginal people had “\textit{thighs and calves short, slender and bowed}”, suggests that he was seeing the effects of endemic syphilis.\textsuperscript{47}

Campbell estimates that ten percent of Europe’s population had syphilis at this time. Probably more had gonorrhoea. Gonorrhoea, which unlike syphilis is not lethal, was more common, probably because it has a longer infectious period than syphilis. Left untreated it results in sterility among females, which would explain later comments about falling Aboriginal birth rates.\textsuperscript{48} Hospital records in 1820’s suggest that gonorrhoea was more present among patients than syphilis.\textsuperscript{49}

Influenza, measles, whooping cough and scarlet fever were unknown among Aboriginal children. There was an influenza outbreak that spread to Aboriginal people in 1820. There may have been a measles outbreak in newly settled districts in the 1830’s. Measles spread rapidly after the gold rushes and the population grew.\textsuperscript{50} Colds and influenza (catarrh) led to Tuberculosis (consumption),\textsuperscript{51} another disease unknown to Aboriginal people that appeared in Sydney in the 1790’s.\textsuperscript{52}

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\textsuperscript{46} Page 54, ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{47} ‘The venereal disease also had got among them; but I fear our people have to answer for that; for though I believe none of our women had connection with them, yet there is no doubt but that several of the black women had not scrupled to connect themselves with the white men. Of the certainty of this an extraordinary instance occurred. A native woman had a child by one of our people. On its coming into the world she perceived a difference in its colour; for which not knowing how to account, she endeavoured to supply by art what she found deficient in nature, and actually held the poor babe, repeatedly, over the smoke of her fire, and rubbed its little body with ashes and dirt, to restore it to the hue with which her other children had been born. Her husband appeared as fond of it as if it had borne the undoubted sign of being his own, at least so far as complexion could ascertain to whom it belonged. Whether the mother had made use of any address on the occasion, I never learned. Thus far is certain, however, that they gave it a name, Goo-bah-rong; a circumstance that seems rather to imply a pre-knowledge of its dreadful effects.’
David Collins, \\
\textsuperscript{48} Page 17, Judy Campbell, \textit{Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880}, Melbourne University Press, 2002. \\
\textsuperscript{49} Page 18, ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{50} Page 24, ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{51} ‘Cole-be’s wife, ... Ba-rang-a-roo ... died of a consumption’, David Collins, Book 1. \\
\textsuperscript{52} By 1850 it was estimated that half the British population had consumption, or TB. Page 16, Judy Campbell, \textit{Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880}, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
\end{flushleft}
The observations of Malaspina and Née about the sexual forwardness of Aboriginal women receive brief but supportive comment from Collins, “there is no doubt but that several of the black women had not scrupled to connect themselves with the white men”. Their comments are important because they provide another view of that offered by Tench when Gombeeree and Yellomundee kept their women on the other side of the river when greeting Phillip. It is possible that Aboriginal women took a far more proactive role in adjusting to the strangers than British observers would suggest.

The Inhabitants of all these parts are without doubt very small in number, and more inclined to Fishing than the Chase, as being a less painful and less uncertain means of subsistence than that drawn from the latter. The unequivocal proofs of this are, the difficulty encountered by the new colonists in trapping Kangaroos, and in hunting them, in spite of the excellent Dogs with which they pursue them, and the marks in the trunks of the trees, referred to by Sir Joseph Banks, and seen by us almost daily, which show how much cost in time and fatigue it takes at other times to procure for themselves the miserable meat of a single bird, not seldom quicker than the Pursuers themselves, by which they are made a mock of. This scarcity of Food should then have influence, and actually does have influence, not only in the small proportions of their body structure, and particularly in their inferior size, but also in the absolute lack of strength which the English acknowledge after a thousand trials of every kind of Labour including even the safest.

These qualities, united to the total lack of ideas, of activeness, of shelter, of desires, and of Luxury, suffice of themselves to make not reckless the proposition that it would be better for the English to remove them from these parts, than make them useful for future mutual prosperity; but besides this are added two other circumstances, which do not appear in any way insignificant. The first is their treachery in taking unawares and killing immediately whoever carelessly goes inland without Arms: also from the habit, which we have already referred to, of burning the countryside; a habit which caused equal concern to Captain Cook at the Endeavour River and to the recent arrivals at Sydney Cove: and the second is the great mortality lately caused them by a violent epidemic of smallpox.

Wary to avoid the accusation of this being the first fruit of their coming to these distant regions, the English allege in their favour that the epidemic manifested itself at almost the same time as their arrival, stating on the other hand legally that in all of the First Fleet there had not been anyone who carried it; that they found it distinguished among the Natives with its own name; and that finally either this sickness was known before the coming of the Europeans, or that it its introduction must have been brought by the French ships of the Count of La Perouse. It would be an idle rashness to wish now to entertain ourselves by examining this question: for our purpose it suffices to demonstrate that what will be easier and sooner will be the destruction rather than the civilisation of these unhappy people.

We should not hide, however, the fact that the measures taken by the English for their civilisation have been quite humane and prudent. We have seen gathered and cared for with the greatest kindness, several Boys and Girls. Others, both men and women, although entirely naked and disgustingly dirty, have been admitted to the same Room where we were eating, and have been regaled with one or other dainty from the same
Table. At times we have heard entire Families salute us with several shouts in English; at times in the principal Streets of the Colony itself they have danced and sung almost the whole night around a campfire, without anyone molesting them. But whether or not they are able to combine with the sociable Instinct of Man other such strange contradictions, it is certain that, similar to the Hottentots, the young adults at times suddenly quit the house where they are being fed, and the clothing which covers them, in order to return to their own to continue their primitive wandering life, divested it would appear of all sociable attraction.\textsuperscript{53}

The Negritos of New Holland described by Captain Cook are the most miserable and least advanced nation which exists on earth. ...\textsuperscript{53}

This wandering Nation, without agriculture and industry, and without any product which would attest their rationality, frugal by necessity and timid by character, received the first Europeans without surprise albeit with some admiration, but neither the strangeness of colour, nor clothes, nor arms, nor whatever means devised by Captain Cook to arouse their cupidity, nor the efforts of European Artfulness, excited their imagination or covetous, and at the end of many days he saw with surprise that they abandoned the same articles which they had been made gift of: doubtful of their rationality and at the same time confusing them with the Orangutans of Africa,\textsuperscript{54} he redoubled his efforts to gain a meeting, with little result. Having a lively character, a language exceedingly soft, and enough sharpness, they do not make any exertion of their talent and at the same time are the only nation which does not manifest in either of the sexes seen any Shyness, nor of having acquired viciousness in exchange for their original grace.\textsuperscript{55} Completely naked, without a single thread on their Bodies, neither has the continued contact with Europeans succeeded in increasing their dislike as far as horror of this custom. Men, Women, Youths, children, all present themselves in the streets, or by themselves or in groups, in the same fashion in which they were born, and if sometimes they are seen evincing some repugnance to wearing clothes, they nevertheless love clothing when it is cold, but stupidly throw it away or put it aside when it hinders them.

The figure in both sexes is quite refined; the men are small, of a burnt black colour, the skin roughened by the weather, a little hairy, the Head thickly covered with curly hair, but not lank, beard curly and badly parted, eyes black, round and penetrating, features coarse, nostrils quite wide, the mouth large and thickly whiskered, a weak musculature with little strength, a large belly, thighs and calves short, slender and bowed, the arms and shoulders adorned with seams made in the skin arranged in disorder.

The women, without a better body than the men, enjoy it would appear a more robust constitution: the faces finer, breasts perfectly formed, almost rounded, elastic and separated, the belly equally rounded, thighs and calves generally more robust and

\textsuperscript{53} Page 105-6, Robert J. King, \textit{The Secret History of the Convict Colony}, Allen and Unwin, 1990.

\textsuperscript{54} Orangutans come from Borneo, though Blumenbach and Linnaeus may have confused their identity with primates from Africa.

\textsuperscript{55} The implication of this sentence is that Aboriginal people were not descendants of Adam and Eve. It echoed Banks’ observations. Malaspina expressed horror at Aboriginal people being naked and without shame. Their reluctance to adopt clothing pointed to them having a separate creation, Adam’s descendants all wore clothes because of their shame.
better proportioned than the men’s, hips much narrower and regular than those of
our European women, their skin in contrast tanned in all parts, and in addition those
who have given birth do not remained wrinkled and ravaged like our women; the
pubis extremely deep and with a thick growth of hair, and that figure they owe
perhaps to a practice, used only by licentiousness among other nations, of leaving to
the females the superior position in copulation. From girlhood they cut off one of the
little fingers and their fecundity appears to be much in advance of the other sex. In
them one sees how much the beautiful formation of unaided nature exceeds that of art.
A well-formed European woman put to examination without any greater adornment
than the islander would be made to see what disorders a dress laced up viciously from
infancy is capable of causing in our scheme of things.

Their rites are composed of various superstitions, upon which we are not informed. It
appears that they are allowed only one wife and several concubines, requiring them
of respect for the others. Each family, comprising one man, his wives and his
children, form a separate tribe. We do not know how far the faculties of the chief
extend, nor at what stage of life the sons proceed to form a new family. Jealousy does
not appear to be a passion known in these regions: the females prostitute themselves
easily (perhaps this is a vice acquired from Europeans). They are allowed to go
freely wherever they wish, and they themselves make all the efforts to offer
themselves; for my part I have seen them in this case only twice, on both there were
no men of their kind there, and the offer of all of them fell always on the youngest; I
do not know whether in order to not to allow this liberty to their husbands. But it
would require a total depravity of sensibilities to suffer the smell, the slovenliness and
the roughness of their gross caresses; few women in the universe could present
themselves in conditions which would cause an effect so contrary to their desires.
However, it happens that such is the desire for novelty and the depravity of tastes in a
free country where prostitution is so common, and where nothing is as easy as the
means of satisfying every kind of voluptuous passion, that the English lower orders do
not disdain them, and each night a large number of them are gathered in the quarters
of the troops.

Parental love does not extend its force as far among other savages; the gifts given to
a father for his little sons never reach their destination; and several infants have been
seen feeding at the breasts of many mothers. Several pretend that among them they
have ideas of revelation, of the flood and transmigration: what is certain is that they
are extraordinarily distressed when they recall to themselves their dead.

In no part of my voyages have I seen our nature more degraded, or individuals more
ugly or savage than in New Holland. They appear to occupy the last grade of man
before passing on to the ape family by the most perfect of these, which is the
Orangutan. There are in truth between them and the apes essential differences in
exterior form, and greater still in anatomy, but neither the Kaffirs, nor the Hottentots,

56 The class of public Prostitutes, which comprehends all the women of the Colony (if one excepts some
few who are the lawful Wives of the officials) Page 143, Robert J. King, The Secret History of the Convict
57 Given this evidence, and the evidence of the behaviour of the soldiers on Norfolk Island, one can
only wonder at what took place in the barracks at Windsor.
nor the wretches of Tierra del Fuego approach as much to the Orangutan as do the natives of New Holland'.

‘Although they (Aboriginal women) are in general horrible, there are nevertheless some of a middling attractiveness. As none has the least idea of modesty, and all have a blind passion for strangers, they offer themselves without reserve to the pleasure of whoever solicits them; even those already civilised and partly clothed disrobe without blushing. This apparently arises from the extreme licentiousness with which they live together with boys, and from being violated before they are eight years old, and even more from the brutal treatment they receive from the native men. For, more ferocious than the brutes, they solicit them by pursuing them with punches and blows, and without attending to their cries, they weary them until they surrender and submit to their lust, as we saw several times. What contrast the brutalised customs of these savages, and their smelly and deformed bodies, made with the elegance and beauty of the islanders of Vavaa’u, with the affability, kindness and affection with which they welcomed the navigators!

these creatures, despicable in their figure and customs to the view of a European who has not been brutalised, are made more so by the filthiness which afflicts them, because the venereal disease has made cruel inroads there.

A commentary on the Recording of the Events of 1794
When and where, and who by the initial settlement was made is unknown. Sometime after the end of the winter frost of 1793, an unknown person or persons began the settlement with the successful planting and harvesting of that great coloniser, the potato. In April 1794 twenty two settlers were officially placed in two groups on the right bank of the river joining an undetermined number who had already made their own way there or been placed there. It is logical to assume that the new arrivals were granted land on either side of the first settlers.

The decision to settle around Bardo Narang was quite strategic. Bardo Narang, or Pitt Town as it is now called, would have provided an easily accessible source of fresh water. It was where Governor Phillip camped and had a friendly meeting with Gomberee and Yellomundee. Being on the right bank of the river, an overland retreat along previously traversed ground to the coast was possible if attacks made the position unsustainable. Cattai Creek, Killarney Chain of Ponds and South Creek provided access to the hinterland and were natural lines of defence.

Given that the settlement was initially only accessible by sea and river, it is quite puzzling that a military garrison was not provided till February 1795. David Collins’ account of the settlement signals that there were not many guns with the first settlers. It is unclear whether authorities were reluctant to arm civilians or that their thinking was still shaped by Bank’s dictum that the hinterland was largely an uninhabited desert. Grose’s order of February 1794 to disarm the Norfolk Island militia so their

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60 Tonga.
62 There are Hawkesbury families who identify their ancestors among those first arrivals.
63 Going downstream.
muskets could be sent to arm the Hawkesbury settlers is important because it anticipates the official settlement of April 1794.

How large the Aboriginal population was is unknown. We can only speculate on the impact of small pox on the Aboriginal population in the hinterland. When Tench walked from Prospect Hill to the Nepean River in 1789 he saw no Aboriginal person. Either Tench was avoided or the area had been depopulated by small pox. As Tench made no mention of seeing bodies the latter is unlikely. In his travels along the Hawkesbury/Nepean River Tench made contact with a limited number of Aboriginal people. In 1792 Atkins visited the Hawkesbury and saw no Aboriginal people. In August 1795 Matthew Everingham, accompanied by two First Fleeters, William Ramsey and John Reid, penetrated deep within the Blue Mountains in a near successful attempt to cross them. Lack of supplies forced their return. In using Everingham’s description of the view from either Mt Irvine or Mt Tomah I have inserted full stops and capitals for new sentences:

Matthew Everingham’s view: August 1795

‘We were on Top of the Mountain and could look down on all the country round with a heartfelt pleasure. The prospect was really delightful. For many miles we could behold all the Country round except to the Northward where lay more mountains for us to encounter. The day was very clear and at an amazing distance we could observe the sea rolling against the shore.

The Hawkesbury river and all its different windings thro’ the low country. The different Settlements we could discover by their various smoak ascending, as far as ever our eyes could discern (to the southward a fine level Champagne field Country where the Cows strayed) some thousands of natives little fires.

Every family of the Aborigines of this country has its own fire nor will those of another be suffered to Stay by it, only while delivering a message or on some particular occasion."

Everingham’s description of the “thousands of natives little fires” points to a significant population. However, Daniel Paine’s observation in 1796 that “…the known Native population round about our settlements from the best information I could obtain did not exceed five hundred persons” leaves the issue confused.

The location selected for settlement was already cultivated by Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury and provided them with a rich and varied source of food. Bardo Narang and the nearby creeks were harvested for waterbirds and their eggs, freshwater fish, eels and mussels. Yams were farmed on the banks of the river. Fire fashioned the valleys for the cultivation and hunting of kangaroos. Individual trees were shaped to facilitate the hunting of possums. While the size of the Aboriginal population is unclear, it is reasonable to assume that the steady increase in settler numbers rapidly overtook the capacity of Hawkesbury Aboriginal people to absorb them and they began to resist the settler incursion.

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64 Open country
April 1794
In relegating the Aboriginal taking of settler corn to “depredations” Collins robbed Aboriginal people of sovereignty and criminalised their actions. However, by using the phrase “committing depredations” Collins added the concept of sin to the offence. 66

April 1794: Collins
Another division of settlers was this month added to the list of those already established. Williams and Rase, having got rid of the money which they had respectively received for their farms, were permitted, with some others, to open ground on the banks of the Hawkesbury, at the distance of about twenty-four miles from Parramatta. They chose for themselves allotments of ground conveniently situated for fresh water, and not much burdened with timber, beginning with much spirit, and forming to themselves very sanguine hopes of success. At the end of the month they had been so active as to have cleared several acres, and were in some forwardness with a few huts. The natives had not given them any interruption.

... it was noticed, that as the corn ripened, they constantly drew together round the settlers farms and round the public grounds, for the purpose of committing depredations. 67

From the settlement on the banks of that river the best reports continued to be received from time to time: every where the settlers found a rich black mould of several feet depth, and one man had in three months planted and dug a crop of potatoes. 68 The natives, however, had given them such interruption, as induced a necessity for firing upon them, by which, it was said, one man was killed. 69

In the same month as settlement officially begun on the Hawkesbury, Richard Atkins recorded in his journal a clash that took place at Toongabbie.

‘An unfortunate recontre took place between the Natives and the Constables who guard the corn at Toongabbie! They had in the morning drove off about 12 of them out of the corn, laden with bags of corn. In the Evening they returned to the number of 20 and again began filling their bags, upon the Constables endeavouring to drive them away, they turned on them, threw some spears but fortunately without hurting any of our men, they then closed in upon them in consequence one was shot and one cut down with a sword, the head of one is brought in and the L’. Gov’. has preserved it, as a present for D’. Hunter. 70

Paterson’s decision to send the skull to Doctor Hunter reflects more than just Paterson’s scientific interests. Doctor John Hunter was a noted anatomist and fellow of the Royal Society, who began life as a cabinet maker and later followed his brother William into medicine. Doctor Hunter’s 1775 MD thesis, De hominum varietatibus, was a response to Kames’ Sketches of the History of Man, 1774, which proposed “local creations” in the Americas and Terra Australis. Hunter was just one of a number of authorities who saw Kames as a proponent of polygenesis which threatened to undermine scriptural authority and the moral authority that it imparted to British society. Paterson’s decision to send the skull to Doctor Hunter was an affirmation of church and state. Paterson was no doubt unaware that Doctor Hunter had died in 1793. I do not know what became of the skull.

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66 ‘He that commit sin is of the Devil …’ 1 John, 3:8. I am indebted to Toni Hurley of the History Teachers Association for pointing out the religious significance of “committing”.


68 This reference is probably to someone who started farming in the Spring of 1793.


70 www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/atkins_1794.htm
While the violent clashes between Aboriginal people and settlers attract most attention there were also other forms of interaction. In May of 1794 some Aboriginal people adopted a *not in my backyard* attitude to the settlers and suggested that there were other rivers to the south that they should go to. The incident is tantalising in that Wurrigan, who had been born on the Hawkesbury and frequented the colony since 1791 may have been a main player in this attempt to deflect settlement away from the Hawkesbury.

**May 1794**

**May 1794: Collins**

*Some natives, who had observed the increasing number of the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and had learned that we were solicitous to discover other fresh-water rivers, for the purpose of forming settlements, assured us, that at no very great distance from Botany Bay, there was a river of fresh water which ran into the sea. As very little of the coast to the southward was known, it was determined to send a small party in that direction, with provisions for a few days, it not being improbable that, in exploring the country, a river might be found which had hitherto escaped the observation of ships running along the coast.*

Two people of sufficient judgement and discretion for the purpose being found among the military, they set off from the south shore of Botany Bay on the 14th, well armed, and furnished with provisions for a week. They were accompanied by a young man, a native, as a guide, who professed a knowledge of the country, and named the place where the fresh water would be found to run. Great expectations were formed of this excursion, from the confidence with which the native repeatedly asserted the existence of a fresh-water river; on the 20th, however, the party returned, with an account, that the native had soon walked beyond his own knowledge of the country, and trusted them to bring him safe back; that having penetrated about twenty miles to the southward of Botany Bay, they came to a large inlet of the sea, which formed a small harbour; the head of this they rounded, without discovering any river of fresh water near it. The country they described as high and rocky in the neighbourhood of the harbour, which, on afterwards looking into the chart, was supposed to be somewhere about Red Point. The native returned with the soldiers as cheerfully and as well pleased as if he had led them to the banks of the first river in the world.  

**August 1794**

What effect the opening of the road from Rose Hill to the Hawkesbury in August 1794 had on the escalation of violence in the following months is unclear. It is reasonable to assume that it reassured one group and alarmed the other. It should be seen as a factor in the escalation of violence.

**Lieut.-Governor Grose to the Right Hon Henry Dundas**

31st August 1794

*The settlers placed on the banks of the Hawkesbury, being seventy in number, are doing exceedingly well. The ground they have already in cultivation has all the bearing better wheat than has yet been grown in the colony.*

I have caused a very good road to be made from Sydney to the banks of the Hawkesbury, by which we discover the distance from this place by land is much less than was expected. An officer who is by no means considered as being particularly active undertook for a trifling wager to walk there from Sydney in nine hours, and with great ease to himself performed a journey in eight hours and two minutes which formerly required an exertion of some days to accomplish.  

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In his account of the violent confrontations on the Hawkesbury from September 1794 to February 1795 David Collins is at his circumspect best in presenting the events as being isolated and unrelated. He had several reasons for this. He wanted to avoid openly criticizing Captain Macarthur who was the superintendent of the Parramatta district at the time and had some involvement in the events. He did not want the authorities at home forming an opinion that affairs in the colony were being mismanaged. As well, by attributing the activities of a small number of settlers to the whole, Collins was able to maintain his fiction about the immorality of the Hawkesbury settlers in general.

In September 1794 David Collins recorded an attack in which a Hawkesbury settler and his servant were wounded. 73 It was followed in the same month by another attack in which a settler’s hut was plundered and approximately six to eight Aboriginal people were killed in a reprisal raid. Collins attributed the attacks and the subsequent reprisal to the taking and keeping of Aboriginal children.74 Jan Barkley-Jack in her work *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed* has linked these apparently disparate elements together. While the events as described by Collins are probably correct, Collins, for his own reasons, did not make clear until his entry for February 1795, that the Aboriginal attack on Shadrack and Akers, the settler and his servant, were in any way linked to the death of a Aboriginal boy. Whether it was a case of mistaken identity and the real targets were Forrester, Doyle and Nixon is a moot point.75 David Collins created the impression that the events relating to the torture and murder of a Aboriginal boy took place in October 1794. A close reading of the text reveals that the murder took place in August, possibly September, but definitely not October. The most likely sequence of events is that settlers on the Argyle Reach took and kept at least one Aboriginal boy who they tortured and murdered in August 1794. Aboriginal warriors attacked and wounded Shadrack and Akers in September 1794, possibly in a

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73 Collins asserted that the “natives from the woods”, i.e., the Bideegal people, carried out the attack. Page 339. Pages 341 and 596, *David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974.

Settler awareness of differences between different Koori groups was limited by Bank’s assurance that all Koori people lived on the coast and ate fish. The settlers only became aware of linguistic differences between Koori people during Governor Phillip’s expedition from Rose Hill to the Hawkesbury on 11-12th April 1791. On the night of the 11th April, Tench recorded a nocturnal meeting with Bereean, a man from the Hawkesbury River. The meeting with Bereean probably took place on a creek around Rouse Hill as they reached the river after a two hour walk on the 12th. Page 226-228, Watkin Tench, *Sydney’s First Four Years*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1979.

A perception developed among the settlers that there were coastal Aboriginal people who ate fish and people from the woods whose diet was unknown, but possibly included cannibalism. The “natives from the woods”, i.e., the Bideegal people, were believed to be particularly aggressive and the dominant Koori group. Whatever label one chooses to use there can be no doubt that the attacks were carried out by Koori people of the Hawkesbury defending their own. David Collins account creates the impression that there were no Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury. This may have well been a deliberate fabrication on Collins’ part, which was repeated in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 17th December 1910, “The early settlers needed plenty of strength and much courage. Between them and Parramatta dwelt an aggressive tribe of blacks, who contracted a habit of making periodical raids on the homesteads.”

74 The records provide us with range of excuses for the taking and keeping of Koori children. Some it was claimed were taken because they were orphaned, others became the subject of experiments in social engineering, some were kept as hostages. All had in common that they were enslaved. 75 This information came from John Wilson, an ex convict who “herded” with Aboriginal people and who was about to set out on a trip to Port Stephens with Grimes the surveyor.
case of mistaken identity. A second attack on a settler’s hut in the same month led to a reprisal raid in which six to eight Aboriginal people were killed and the Aboriginal people were driven away from the area. This interpretation is made possible by the journal of Richard Atkins who was a magistrate at the time. In his journal for 25th September 1794, Atkins wrote, “The settlers at the Hawkesbury have killed 6 of the Natives, since w^th time they have not seen them. How far this is justifiable I cannot say. Atkins’ note of the 21st that unless we have rain soon the wheat will fail us” provides another reason for conflict. Drought appears to have exacerbated relations between Hawkesbury River Aboriginal people and the settlers.

Collins’ account of the killing of the boy is divided into four parts in his book. Firstly he relayed verbal accounts of the torture and murder of a Aboriginal boy. Then he summarised an “examination” in which the chief witness claimed the boy had been shot to prevent him escaping to tell nearby threatening natives that there was only one gun on the farms. Collins then expressed his concern that “it was a tale invented to cover the true circumstance”. His suspicion of the truthfulness of the witnesses, and of the rigour of the examination, is contained in the sentence “No person appearing to contradict this account, it was admitted as a truth”. The fourth part of his account expresses a concern at the lawlessness of the settlers, which is an echo of Phillip’s earlier concern, and the need for “authority”. This is the closest he came to criticising the officer responsible for the examination, most likely Macarthur.

Fortunately the details of the “examination” are contained in the Bench of Magistrates records of proceedings. They provide further insight into events on the Hawkesbury and how they have been recorded. It is only through these records that we learn the likely location of the murder and the names of some of the participants. The murder took place near or on the farms of Forrester and Doyle. These farms were on the edge of settlement, upstream from Windsor on the right bank of Argyle Reach. The names of Forrester and Doyle reoccur in the trial of five settlers for the murder of two Aboriginal boys in the same location in 1799. The examination was perfunctory and as it took place at Parramatta it was almost certainly carried out by Lieutenant Macarthur.

September 1794

September 1794: Collins

“In fact, we still knew very little of the manners and customs of these people, not withstanding the advantage we possessed in the constant residence of many of them among us, and the desire that they showed of cultivating our friendship. At the Hawkesbury they were not so friendly: a settler there and his servant were nearly murdered in their hut by some natives from the woods, who stole upon them with such secrecy, as to wound and overpower them before they could procure assistance. The servant was so much hurt by them with spears and clubs, as to be in danger of losing his life. A few days after this circumstance, a body of natives having attacked the settlers, and carried off their clothes, provisions and whatever else they could lay their hands on, the sufferers collected what arms they could, and following them, seven or eight of the plunderers were killed on the spot.

76 Journal of Richard Atkins during his residence in NSW, 1791-1810. The manuscript is held by the National Library of Australia. A microfilm, Fm3/585, of very poor quality, is available at the Mitchell Library. It is also available on the Internet.

77 Again I am indebted to J.E. Nagle’s, Collins, the Courts and the Colonies, Law and Society in Colonial New South Wales 1788-1796, UNSW Press, 1996 which first drew my attention to the account.
This mode of treating them had become absolutely necessary, from the frequency and evil effects of their visits; but whatever the settlers at the river suffered was entirely brought on them by their own misconduct: there was not a doubt but many natives had been wantonly fired upon; and when their children, after the flight of the parents, have fallen into the settlers hands, they have been detained at their huts, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the parents for their return.  

October 1794

October 1794: Collins

'From the Hawkesbury were received accounts which corroborated the opinion that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives. It was now said that some of them had seized a native boy, and, after tying him hand and foot, had dragged him several times through a fire, or over a place covered with hot ashes, until his back was dreadfully scorched, and in that state threw him into the river, where they shot at and killed him. Such a report could not be heard without being followed by the closest examination, when it appeared that a boy had actually been shot when in the water, from a conviction of his having been detached as a spy upon the settlers from a large body of natives, and that he was returning to them with an account of their weakness, there being only one musket to be found among several farms. No person appearing to contradict this account, it was admitted as a truth; but many still considered it as a tale invented to cover the true circumstance, that a boy had been cruelly and wantonly murdered by them.

The presence of some person with authority was becoming absolutely necessary among those settlers, who, finding themselves freed from bondage, instantly conceived that they were above all restrictions; and, being without internal regulations, irregularities of the worst kind might be expected to happen.  

October 1794: Bench of Magistrates

"[375] Examination of the persons supposed to have murdered a Native Boy at the Hawkesbury, and the Evidence against them.

'Alexander Wilson' says that Robert Forrester informed him that he had shot a native Boy, and that he was induced to it from motives of humanity. The Boy having been previously thrown into the River by the neighbouring settlers, with his hands so tied, that it was impossible he could swim to the opposite side.

Robert Forrester says that a large party of natives having appeared at the back of his Farm he alarmed his neighbours and went out to observe them. That in the road to the natives they met a Native Boy who they supposed was coming in for the purpose of discovering what arms they had. That they made him a prisoner; tied his hands behind his back [376] and delivered him to Michael Doyle to take to his [?].

That he was soon after alarmed by a cry from Doyles that the boy was escaped and had jumped into the River. That he and Twyfield immediately ran to the river and saw the boy swimming. That he then was prevailed on to shoot the boy by the importunities and testacies of all around. That the boy should get back to the natives and induce them to an attack by discovering there was no more than one musket in the whole neighbourhood. That the boy was not ill treated with his knowledge in any other manner than he was declared, and that the declaration of Wilson as far as it varies from this is false.

Roger Twyfield corroborates the foregoing. 

Parramatta and ...

17 Oct1794

80 Alexander Wilson and Joseph Wilson were settlers. John Wilson was the runaway.
81 Roger Twyfield was a First Fleet Convict.
82 http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/Murder%20of%20Native%20Boy.%201794.htm
October 1794: Collins – The Surprize

In the evening of the same day the Surprize transport arrived from England, whence she sailed on the 2nd of last May, having on board sixty female and twenty-three male convicts, some stores and provisions, and three settlers for this colony.

Among the prisoners were, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, four gentlemen lately convicted in Scotland of the crime of sedition, considered as a public offence, and transported for the same to this country.

We found also on board the Surprize a Mr. James Thompson, late surgeon of the Atlantic transport, but who now came in quality of assistant-surgeon to the settlement; and William Baker, formerly here a sergeant in the marine detachment, but now appointed a superintendent of convicts.

A guard of an ensign and twenty-one privates of the New South Wales corps were on board the transport. Six of these people were deserters from other regiments brought from the Savoy; one of them, Joseph Draper, we understood had been tried for mutiny (of an aggravated kind) at Quebec.

This mode of recruiting the regiment must have proved as disgusting to the officers as it was detrimental to the interests of the settlement. If the corps was raised for the purpose of protecting the civil establishment, and of bringing a counterpoise to the vices and crimes which might naturally be expected to exist among the convicts, it ought to have been carefully formed from the best characters; instead of which we now found a mutineer (a wretch who could deliberate with others, and consent himself to be the chosen instrument of the destruction of his sovereign's son) sent among us, to remain for life, perhaps, as a check upon sedition, now added to the catalogue of our other imported vices.

November 1794

In 1794 2250 acres were granted to 75 grantees. By the end of the year the settlers had crossed the river, a move that reflected the pressure of settlement on limited arable land. For Matthew Locke it was to be a successful step. Locke’s successful relationship with Aboriginal people points to the complex relations between the two groups.

Source: Bench of Magistrates, Minutes of Proceedings Feb 1788 – Jan 1792, State Records N.S.W., SZ765.

83 The Surprize brought four of the five “Scottish martyrs”. They were “gentlemen convicts”, transported for sedition. Providing they did not engage in political activity their movements were not constrained. They became friends with Collins.

84 William Baker had been a sergeant in Tench’s company of marines and took up a position as storekeeper on the Hawkesbury.

85 The Savoy was a prison in England where military prisoners were kept. A. G. L. Shaw estimated ten percent of the NSW Corps were drawn from the Savoy.

86 Page 330, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974
November 1794: Matthew Locke

Matthew Lock(e) was granted land on the left bank below the Green Hills\(^{87}\) in November 1794. The Locke family were undisturbed by Aboriginal forays. Or, if here as elsewhere there were levies on the corn, they were tolerated by Matthew, for he was a kindly man and understood the black people’s need.\(^{88}\)

In January 1795, Collins briefly noted, “At the Hawkesbury a man had been wounded by some of the Wood tribe”. The identity of the man and the reason for Collins’ brevity may be related to the mystery surrounding the death of Joseph Burdett. Joseph Burdett was almost certainly the first settler on the Hawkesbury to be killed by Aboriginal warriors. The only mention of his death is in the land grants where he is recorded as “being killed by the natives”.\(^{89}\) Jan Barkley-Jack points to the reallocation of Burdett’s land grant in late 1794 as evidence of his death in 1794 rather than 1795. Whether or not the wounded man of January 1795 was Burdett or not, the implication is that Collins did not directly address Burdett’s death as part of his masking of the sudden escalation of violence that stemmed from the actions of the settlers on Argyle Reach and his disapproval of Macarthur’s perfunctory handling of the examination in October 1794.

A Commentary on the Recording of the Events in 1795

While the conflict between Aboriginal people and some of the Argyle Reach settlers was individual and personal, the cost had been high. The killing of Burdett may not have been just a case of individual retribution, it may also have been a strategic move aimed at hindering further expansion. Burdett’s land grant was on the junction of South and Eastern Creeks. It was remote and isolated. As well, escape was easy and it avoided harm to those Aboriginal people on or near the farms. In the following twelve months similar attacks would be carried out on the farms of Rowe, Webb, Wilson, and on the Sackville Reach farms. All these farms were isolated and on the edge of settlement.

A number of factors contributed to the increase of violence. There was a food shortage in the colony. Officers of the NSW Corps visited the Hawkesbury early in the New Year ushering in an increase in settlement which impacted enormously upon the Aboriginal population.

Some Aboriginal people were killed or driven from their lands. Some would have attempted to withdraw from contact, but this would have been difficult as the lowlands were cleared and colonised. Others, deprived of their yam beds responded by forging closer links with the settlers. Others responded by taking corn from the settlers, plundering huts and occasionally killing settlers. It is likely that many Aboriginal people moved between the polarities of appeasement and resistance, depending upon necessity and the reaction of the settlers.

\(^{87}\) At Wilberforce.

\(^{88}\) I have not been able to locate the primary source of this secondary material. I have decided to include it until I obtain clarification. Page 157, B. Hardy, *Early Hawkesbury Settlers*, Kenthurst, Kangaroo Press, 1985.

The role of the government in the expansion of settlement.

January 1795: Collins

“The principal labour performed in January was preparing the ground for wheat. The Indian corn looked everywhere remarkably well; it was now ripening, and the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury supposed that at least thirty thousand bushels of that grain would be raised among them.”

In order to maximise and secure the harvest Captain Macarthur took responsibility for a military guard of ten soldiers led by Serjeant Goodall and the erection of a storehouse, which, when completed would be under the supervision of William Baker, a former marine.

January 1795: Collins

“On the day following, the colonial schooner sailed for the river, having on board a mill, provisions, etc. for the settlers there. A military guard was also ordered, the commanding officer of which was to introduce some regulations among the settlers, and to prevent, by the effect of his presence and authority, the commission of those enormities which disgraced that settlement. For the reception of such quantity of the Indian corn and wheat grown there this season as might be purchased by government, a store-house was to be erected under the inspection of the commissary: and Baker, the superintendent who arrived in the Surprize, was sent out to take the charge of it when finished. The master of the schooner was ordered, after discharging his cargo, to receive on board Mr. Charles Grimes, the deputy surveyor-general, and proceed with him to port Stephens, for the purpose of examining that harbour.”

Collins and Goodall differed over the role of the soldiers. Collins, not unsurprisingly, wrote in his account that the soldiers’ role was to supervise the settlers. At the 1799 murder trial Serjeant Goodall when asked “- Was you not sent to the Hawkesbury for the express purpose of defending the Settlers from the attacks of the Natives in consequence of the representation from the Settlers that they were in Danger of being murdered by the Natives, replied, - I was.” It is likely that the orders the soldiers were given had three components: supervising the settlers; protecting the settlers; and killing Aboriginal people. The available evidence suggests that the soldiers were diligent in “killing the natives”.

Serjeant Goodall;

‘Q. - Did you not serve in the Detachment at the Hawkesbury as a Serjeant?  
A. - Yes I did upwards of two years I was discharged two years ago last April since which I have lived as a free settler.

Q. - Do you recollect during your service at the Hawkesbury the Natives committing any Murders Robberies or other Outrages?  
A. - I do some I particularly well remember.

Q. - What steps were taken to Punish such Natives?  
A. - Parties of Soldiers were frequently sent out to kill the Natives but being the Senior Serjeant at the Hawkesbury I had the care of the Stores and did not go out with any Detachments.

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91 Grimes was accompanied by John Wilson.
Q. - From whom did you receive your Orders from time to time at the Hawkesbury?
A. - I received my Orders in writing from Captain John McArthur at Parramatta and those orders were issued in consequence of a Number of Murders about that Time Committed by the Natives.

Q. - Do you not know that the like Orders have been often repeated by the Officers Commanding Detachments at the Hawkesbury?
A. - Yes - I do.

Q. - Was you not sent to the Hawkesbury for the express purpose of defending the Settlers from the attacks of the Natives in consequence of the representation from the Settlers that they were in Danger of being murdered by the Natives.
A. - I was. ⁹³

February 1795: the military settler
The visit of the officers pointed to a new phase in the development of the Hawkesbury, that is, the advent of the military settler. Governor Phillip made a total of 72 land grants during his tenure. Grose and Paterson made a total of 524 grants in theirs, many to serving personnel, both officers and privates.⁹⁴ There were four hundred settlers stretched along thirty miles of river. The increase in land grants to the officers and privates of the NSW Corps phased in a new era of land deals and gentlemen farmers.⁹⁵ This rapid population growth escalated violence during the year.

February 1795: Collins
Early in February, the storehouse at the Hawkesbury being completed, the provisions which had been sent round in the schooner were landed and put under the care of Baker. Some officers who had made an excursion to that settlement, with a view of selecting eligible spots for farms, on their return spoke highly of the corn which they saw growing there, and of the picturesque appearance of many of the settlers’ farms. The settlers told them, that in general their grounds which had been wheat had produced from thirty to thirty-six bushels an acre; that they found one bushel (or one some spots five pecks) of seed sufficient to sow an acre; and that, if sown as early as the month of April or May, they imagined the ground would produce a second crop, and the season be not too far advanced to ripen it. Their kitchen gardens were plentifully stocked with vegetables.⁹⁶

Environmental impacts on settlement.
Rapid changes impacted upon both Aboriginal people and settlers. The first settlements were perched on the river banks and prone to flooding.

January 1795: Collins
In consequence of the heavy rains, the river at the Hawkesbury rose many feet higher than it had been known to rise in other rains, by which several settlers were sufferers. The flood was not serious and affected only those low-lying farms near South Creek (Hunter to Banks, 12 Oct. 1795, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, pp. 2-3). ⁹⁷

⁹⁴ One of these grants, for 400 acres, was made to Lieutenant Abbott and 12 others on 22/08/1795. See also Page 134, Lynne McLoughlin, Landed Peasantry or Landed Gentry: A Geography of Land Grants, in A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie, ed. Graeme Aplin, NSW University Press, 1968.
The impact of the closer settlement was attested by the captain of the colonial schooner who complained in February and May of the dangers posed to navigation by the extensive felling of trees to clear land for farming. The May entry is also important in highlighting the importance of the Hawkesbury as a food source for the colony and the impact of drought. Significantly the next paragraph began “At that settlement an open war seemed about this time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers”.

**February 1795**

‘The master of the schooner complained that the navigation of the river was likely to be hurt. The settlers having fallen many trees into the water, he was apprehensive they would drift ashore on some of the points of the river where, in process of time, sand, etc. might lodge against them, and form dangerous obstructions in the way of craft which might be hereafter used on the river.’

**May 1795**

On the 21st (May) the colonial schooner returned from the Hawkesbury, bringing upwards of eleven hundred bushels of remarkably fine Indian corn from the store there. The master again reported his apprehensions that the navigation of the river would be obstructed by the settlers, who continued the practice of falling and rolling trees into the stream. He found five feet less water at the store-wharf than when he was there in February last, owing to the dry weather which had for some time past prevailed.

Despite the distress caused by his self-induced stomach-disorders and his related religious ramblings, Richard Atkins’ Journal displayed a keen eye for the weather and climate of his new home. No doubt the variability of the Australian climate took him by surprise, but he made important observations about the affect of clearing the land on increasing the incidence of frost. His records must be taken into consideration

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100 The colonial schooner brought the first harvests to Sydney in May and June 1795.


102 ‘Monday 20th’ (January 1800) I walked down through the town and I was showed that most accomplished pickpocket, Barrington and he and Thomas Atkins Esq. walking arm and arm together. I saluted them, as I wished to have some little chat with them and I believe they were the same with me. Mr Atkins invited me into his house and Barrington came with us. The rum bottle came to table, and tumblers and spring water. We had many little jokes about Ireland and passed away time, but several times I wished to withdraw, but to no purpose. Mr Atkins said he never let any bottle off his table till it was emptied. He was not Judge Advocate at this time, only when Judge Dore was not able, which was very often, for spirits was plenty in the colony, he was very often sick and not able to come to court. Mr Barrington asked me so many questions about Ireland. At last I told him I knew Ireland as well as he did England, although I never went so fast through it. We finished the half gallon bottle and you may guess we were as full of chatter as a hen magpie in May. I bid them goodbye and returned home.

Mrs Holt wondered at me when I told her the company and what we drank. She said that, with the hot climate and the spirits, she was afraid it would injure my health. I told her that I was informed that the hotter the climate the more spirits could be drank, and so I found it after by experience.’ Pages 51–52, Joseph Holt, *A Rum Story, The Adventures of Joseph Holt, Thirteen Years in New South Wales, 1800-1812*, Edited Peter O’Shaughnessy, Kangaroo Press, 1988.
when examining the impact of environmental change on the capacity of Aboriginal people to survive on what used to be their land.  

February 1795: Atkins

‘1 Feb’. Excessive Hott. Wind West. 2 D°. D°. 3 Thick fog in the morning. Excessive Hott. From this day to the 11 Nothing material, in general fine weather which has been of infinite service to the Corn. 12 Excessive cold with Showers from the S W. Every year before this we had hot weather but the Seasons have changed perhaps in consequence of the country opening so fast.

July 1795: Atkins

16 Hard frost, Ice and Inch thick W. S W. 17 Hard Frost, the temperature of the Air is certainly changed since the country has been opened. The Frost has been considerably more severe than before. 18. Hard Frost. Wind West. 19 Heavy Fog.

Slavery: a failed experiment.

The beginning of 1795 saw an increase in agricultural activity in the colony. Two accounts point to the settlers experimenting with slavery as a means of increasing production. The first is a direct observation by Richard Atkins that in February 1795 the officers had “formed the Idea that the Natives can be made Slaves of”. It is not surprising that attention has not been previously drawn to this important point. Until recently Richard Atkins’ Journal was only available to the general public on a badly warped micro film in the Mitchell Library. It is now available on the Internet. Atkins’ comment is supported by David Collins’ observation, in the same month of February, that Aboriginal boys on the farms were “capable of being made extremely useful”. Collins comment is another example of the coded way in which he wrote.

February 1795: Atkins

Richard Atkins’ Journal entries for February 1795 show him to be a keen observer of the world around him. His comments on the weather show that land clearing was having micro-climatic effects. As a magistrate and human being he was angered by the excesses of the NSW Corps.

12th February, 1795: Atkins

‘It appears the determined resolution of the military to support the Despotism of the L’ Gov’. It is now carried on in a higher degree than in his time. If a complaint is made that another owes him 20 shillings the Com’t. Officer without hearing what the person complain’d of has to say sends a Constable and orders him to pay it. - They seem to adopt the Idea that the Natives can be made Slaves of, than which nothing can be more false, they are free as air and Gov’t. Phillips’s conduct was highly approved of for reprobing that Idea. M’. C. buissiness on that head is a disgrace to those concerned.

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103 Mrs. Felton Mathew, on the 14th of June 1833, noted that “The climate by all accounts is wonderfully altered”. Hamilton Hume’s mother, who had been thirty eight years in the colony, told her “that the heat was much greater, and the cold never so severe in former times”. On the 25th of July 1833 Sarah Mathew noted that the frost had burnt her geraniums “to shew the extent cold, so much increased since the first settling of the Colony, when frost was unknown and the climate believed to be almost a tropical one. All the old inhabitants say it is greatly changed and the frost increasing yearly.” Pages 118-119 and 128, Olive Harvard, Mrs. Felton Mathew’s Journal, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 24.

104 The Journal of Richard Atkins during his residence in NSW, 1791-1810.

105 That Atkins wrote the word “buissiness” twice indicates that this endeavour was more than a few settlers locking up Koori boys and using them as forced labour.

February 1795: Collins
'Several native boys, from eight to fourteen years of age, were at this time living among the settlers in the different districts. They were found capable of being made extremely useful; they went cheerfully into the fields to labour, and the elder ones with ease hoed in a few hours a greater quantity of ground than that generally assigned to a convict for a day's work. Some of these were allowed a ration of provisions from the public stores.'

I can identify only two people that Atkins could have referred to as “Mr C.”. One was David Collins. Atkins may have been upset at Collins’ inaction on the matter, but slavery was outside Collins’ character. However, it must be noted that Collins purchased Wellow Farm on Freemans Reach around this time. The other was Lieutenant William Cummings. Cummings was an Irishman with prior military service who came to the colony in September 1791 as an ensign in the NSW Corps. He appears to have been unsuited for military duties and somewhat erratic in financial matters.

Cummings attracted raised eyebrows by receiving Grose’s first land grant - before official permission to do so had been received. The grant of 25 acres at Parramatta was followed by another of 100 acres also in Parramatta in April 1794 and he received a third grant of 75 acres at Prospect in November 1799. Records show that this last grant, while registered on 12th November, 1799 was made by Paterson so Cummings may have been farming Prospect Hill as early as 1794. He was arrested in late 1794 for what was described by Acting-Governor King on 28th September 1800 as alleged misconduct. He was released from arrest in February 1795 and attempted to resign sometime in 1795; making three different attempts to do so before he was allowed to sell his commission in 1800. The only information that I have found relevant to his arrest is a letter that King wrote on 9th November 1799, “Lieut. Cummings was put under an arrest sometime in 1794 from which arrest he was liberated soon after, but from that period until the sailing of the Barwell from Port Jackson in September 1799 and probably till this moment he has never been allowed to do any duty in the Corps waiting as I understand the acceptance of his Resignation on which appears from Colonel Grose’s letter not to be the case but to be allowed to go out on half pay. I have only to add that previous to Lieut Colonel Paterson’s departure from England he expressed his concern to me that Mr Cummings business remained unsettled as he not only stood the first for a company as oldest Lieut but that the other Officers had to do his duty.” He appears to have had some financial difficulties in mid 1795. John Cobley in his Sydney Cove, 1793-95, Angus and Robertson, 1983, noted that in July 1795 Cummings lost a case involving ownership of a goat (page 268) and that Sarah Fielder swore an affidavit that Cummings was indebted to her for £20 (page 270). He bought and sold a number of farms. He sold his Prospect farm to William Lawson and it became Greystanes. Joseph Holt saw Cummings in 1808 on a farm he had bought on the Hawkesbury. He appears to have fallen into financial hardship in later years. According to Joseph Holt, “Cummings

107 I cannot find any other reason for his arrest. Page 665, HRA, Series 1, Vol II.
108 P.G. King, Governor King’s Letter Book, 1797-1806, A2015, Mitchell Library. This letter does not appear in either HRNSW or HRA.
was in want of his breakfast before I left the colony”, which was in 1812. Around this time Cumming’s father had power of attorney over his affairs.

In March 1795 Cummings undertook at least one and possibly two expeditions in search of the missing cattle. It appears from David Collins that this was in his capacity as an officer of the NSW Corps, despite his apparent suspension from duties and attempts to resign. In his search for the missing cattle he displayed some fluency in Aboriginal languages. He did not find the cattle but he brought back the skull bones of what Paterson thought was Buffon’s manatee – a creature somewhat like a dugong that was found in the Americas and Africa.

We also know about Cummings through the memoirs of Joseph Holt. The following description would have occurred in 1800.

“When first I went to the country, I was invited to dine with Lieutenant Cummings, of the Botany Bay corps, and Mr Cummings was very much acquainted with the natives, as he was a man went out to hunt the kangaroos and other sport. He was a Irishman, and, the day I dines with him, there was about fifty natives round his house, and their nature is to ask, when they see a stranger, who he is and they say: 'Name you are miel' - that is to say 'a stranger'. Mr Cummings said I was his brother, which reached the ear of almost every native in the colony. After that I went by the name of Mr Cummings’ brother.”

Whether Cummings as the only land-holding officer whose surname began with “C” was experimenting in slavery is not particularly important. Atkins’ accusation and Collins’ coy description of the forced labour of Aboriginal boys provides evidence that some settlers were taking Aboriginal children as hostages and slaves, thus exacerbating the conflict. The failure of William Dampier’s experiment in slavery was repeated a century later. The failure of the experiment in slavery should be seen as a victory for Aboriginal non-co-operation. One of the boys on Cummings farm was almost certainly Charley who appeared later on the Hawkesbury.

1795: Conflict on the Hawkesbury
Drought, food shortages and a rising settler population were three significant factors in shaping the conflict on the Hawkesbury in 1795. Apart from 1816, there is no other year in which so many primary sources can be placed side by side to throw light on the complex and changing dynamics of relations between settlers and Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury.

January 1795: Collins
‘We heard and saw much of the natives about this time. At the Hawkesbury a man had been wounded by some of the Wood tribe.”

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John Wilson was a time expired convict who chose to live between two worlds rather than become a settler. His choices introduced a new element to the complex mosaic of interaction between settlers and Aboriginal people, i.e., a white person who chose to live an Aboriginal life. That he was given an Aboriginal name indicates that he was given a place in Aboriginal society. In February 1795 he accompanied Charles Grimes the surveyor on his expedition to Port Stephens. Given that Charles Grimes had since 1794 been at the Hawkesbury and on his farm at Toongabbie, it is logical to assume that John Wilson had lived with Aboriginal people. Before leaving on the trip to Port Stephens, John Wilson acted as an Aboriginal emissary to tell the authorities that Forrester, Doyle and Nixon were the targets of Aboriginal anger for the killing of an Aboriginal boy in August or September 1794. According to Wilson the attack on George Shadrack and John Akers, who lived nearby, was a case of mistaken identity.

In describing Wilson’s reasons for living with Aboriginal people as “gratifying an idle wandering disposition was the sole object with Wilson in herding with these people”. By the curious use of the word “herding”, Collins demonstrated his inability to come to terms with the relationship of Aboriginal people to their land and reflects some of the fanciful thinking current at the time. As well, the incident is important because it highlights the authorities’ fear of runaway convicts being armed. Soon this fear would escalate into a fear of armed runaway convicts throwing in their lot with Aboriginal people and leading attacks on settlers. This fear would in turn generate the nightmare of armed Aboriginal warriors terrorising the colony, a fear - and a rationalisation for extermination - that reached far into the next century.

February 1795: Collins

‘No doubt remained of the ill and impolitic conduct of some of the settlers toward the natives. In revenge for some cruelties which they had experienced, they threatened to put to death three of the settlers, Michael Doyle, Robert Forrester, and Nixon; and had actually attacked and cruelly wounded two other settlers, George Shadrach and John Akers, whose farms and persons they mistook for those of Doyle and Forrester.

These particulars were procured through the means of one Wilson, a wild idle young man, who, his term of transportation being expired preferred living among the natives in the vicinity of the river, to earning wages of honest industry by working for the settlers. He had formed an intermediate language between his own and theirs, with which he made shift to comprehend something of what they wished him to communicate; for they did not conceal the sense they entertained of the injuries which had been done them. The tribe with whom Wilson associated had given him a name, Bun-bo-e’, but none of them had taken his in exchange. As the gratifying an idle wandering disposition was the sole object with Wilson in herding with these people, no good consequence was likely to ensue from it; and it was by no means improbable, that at some future time, if disgusted with the white people, he would join the blacks,

Jan Barkley-Jack argues convincingly that the man was Joseph Burdett and that he died of his wounds, probably in late 1794. Page 289, Jan Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, Rosenberg, 2009. 113 Collins use of this word makes sense when it is realized that the taking of Aboriginal children was slavery.
and assist them in committing depredations, or make use of their assistance to punish or revenge his own injuries.\textsuperscript{114}

There were at this time several convicts in the woods subsisting by theft: and it being said that three had been met with arms, it became necessary to secure them as soon as possible. Watchmen and other people immediately went out, and in the afternoon of the 14th a wretched fellow of the name of Suffini was killed by one of them. This circumstance drove the rest to a greater distance from Sydney, and they were reported, some days afterwards, to have been met on their route to the river. Suffini would not have been shot at, had he not refused to surrender when called to by the watchman while in the act of plundering a garden.\textsuperscript{115}

March 1795
On his return from Port Stephens John Wilson made his way back to the river where he was joined by Knight.\textsuperscript{116}

Thomas Webb, downstream of the main settlement on the left bank of Canning Reach was in an isolated and dangerous position. He was plundered once, which was probably a warning to get out and fatally wounded in the second attack.\textsuperscript{117} In the same month and probably in the same location a spear was thrown at a group of soldiers going upstream in a small boat. Collins, as on previous occasions, attributed both these incidents upon the actions of the settlers. Given Serjeant Goodall’s evidence at the 1799 murder trial there is no reason to think that the attack on the soldiers was anything but deliberate. And while Webb’s actions may have led to his death, Collin’s comments were disingenuous. On 18\textsuperscript{th} September 1794, Thomas Webb had written to Lieutenant-Governor Grose complaining at the lack of support that he was receiving, as a free settler on the Liberty Plains. Grose took umbrage and Webb found himself before a criminal court of NSW Corps officers headed by Grose. Collins, as Grose’s secretary, was part of the court. Webb was found guilty of criminal libel on very dubious grounds. Given that everyone on the bench was dependent upon Grose the result was predictable. The fines and sureties were enough to drive him off his farm. Not surprisingly, none of this was recorded by Collins.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{114} John Wilson was a former sailor who had been sentenced to seven years transportation at Wigan in October 1785 and arrived on the Alexander in 1788. He spent much of his time with Aboriginal people, but also assisted the settlers by taking part in the exploration of New South Wales. He accompanied Charles Grimes to Port Stephens in February 1795 and saved him from being speared. In 1798 he acted as a guide on two expeditions to the south-western districts, journeys important in both geographical and natural history annals. He went back to Aboriginal people in 1799 and was killed in 1800 by a warrior over a woman. Page 341, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974.

\textsuperscript{115} Pages 341 and 596, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974.


\textsuperscript{117} He died in June 1795.

\textsuperscript{118} Richard Atkins wrote on page 54 of his journal, “A man of the name of Webb, was fined at a criminal court fifty pounds for writing what was thought an improper letter. The Court was not competent to take cognizance of it. It is in the jurisdiction of a civil court.”
March 1795: Collins

‘On the 28th March, 1795, Thomas Webb, a settler, who had removed from his farm at Liberty Plains to another on the banks of the Hawkesbury, was dangerously wounded there, while working on his grounds by some of the wood natives, who had previously plundered his hut. About the same time a party of these people threw a spear at some soldiers who were going up the river in a small boat. All these unpleasant circumstances were to be attributed to the ill treatment the natives had received from the settlers.’

June 1795

By June 1795 there were upwards of 400 men, women and children along nearly thirty miles of both sides of the river and five hundred acres of wheat were under cultivation “yielding crops of wheat almost unprecedented in other parts of the world amounting to between forty and fifty bushels per acre”.

On the seventh of June “a party of the military consisting of 2 C. Officers, 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 3 Drums and 60 privates set off for the Hawkesbury for the purpose of driving the Natives away”.

When Captain Raven took the Britannia out of Port Jackson on 18th June 1795 he had on board not just the Acting Governor’s despatches covering the expedition, but a number of private letters related to the punitive expedition on the Hawkesbury that were inconsistent with the official despatch.

Captain William Patterson was the caretaker governor 1794-95 and reported to the Home Secretary, Henry Dundas, who was in charge of NSW. In his despatch Paterson identified the growing number of settlers as a reason for the tension with the local Aboriginal people. He argued that military intervention was required as it was impossible to arm all the settlers and as they were scattered along the river they were largely indefensible against bands of warriors. Accordingly, he sent a detachment out under Lieutenant Abbott to drive the natives away from the settlement and to protect the settlers. Lieutenant Abbott was a logical choice. His youth was spent in North America. His first regiment was the 34th, which had extensive experience in frontier warfare. He had served on Watkin Tench’s punitive expedition and he had commanded a detachment on Norfolk Island. Paterson recounted that on the night after their arrival they surprised a party of Aboriginal people and killed seven or eight. As well, captives were sent back to Sydney. Paterson regretted the killings but they said they were unavoidable, as the colony depended for its survival upon the Hawkesbury harvests.

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119 March, 1795.
120 As mentioned earlier, Thomas Webb’s farm on the left bank of the river on the Canning Reach would have been an isolated location in 1795. He should not be confused with James Webb, an earlier Hawkesbury settler who had a grant upstream on the right bank. Webb’s Creek was named after James.
121 These would have been some of the ten soldiers led by Serjeant Goodall. They were most probably quartered next to the store house at Thompson Square.
122 Page 346, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974
June 1795: Lieutenant – Governor Paterson to Dundas

15 June 1795: The number of settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, with their families, amounts to upwards of four hundred persons, and their grounds extend near thirty miles along the banks of both sides of the river. They have for some time past been annoyed by the natives, who have assembled in large parties for the purpose of plundering them of their corn: and from the impossibility of furnishing each settler with firearms for his defence, several accidents have happened. Within a few weeks five people have been killed and several wounded. It therefore became absolutely necessary to take some measures which might secure to the settlers the peaceable possession of their estates, and without which, from the alarms these murders have created, I very much fear they would have abandoned the settlement entirely, and given up the most fertile spot which has yet been discovered in the colony. I therefore sent a detachment of two subalterns and sixty privates of the NSW Corps to the river, as well to drive the natives to a distance, as for the protection of the settlers. With this view a subaltern’s party is to remain there after the service they are now gone upon is performed.

I have just received a report from the commanding officer of the detachment informing me that the night after his arrival at the river the party had fired upon and pursued a large body of natives who had concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods during the day, and at night came to a settler's farm to plunder it; that he supposes seven or eight natives were killed, and that he was taking every measure he thought likely to deter them from appearing there again.

I have now in my possession one man and four women (natives) who were taken a short time since at the Hawkesbury from amongst a large party who were plundering the settlers. I mean to keep them until they can be made to understand that it is not in their interest to do us injuries, and that we are readier to be friends than enemies; but that we cannot suffer our people to be inhumanely butchered, and their labour rendered useless by their depredations, with impunity.

It gives me concern to have been forced to destroy any of these people, particularly as I have no doubt of their being cruelly treated by some of the first settlers who went out there; however, had I not taken this step, every prospect of advantage which the colony may expect to derive from a settlement formed on the banks of so fine a river as the Hawkesbury would be at an end.

‘... have the honour to enclose a return of ground sown this year with wheat on public and private account. If the season is favourable, and no accident happens to the corn when ripening, which from the present temper of the natives is rather to be dreaded, we are not likely to feel any want in that article; and there is at this time, with the

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125 Burdett had been killed in 1794. Webb, Wilson and Thorpe were killed in May and June 1795. Rowe and his infant, while killed in June, died after the punitive expedition.

126 The Historical Records of Australia, page 509, show that there were a total of ninety-four soldiers of the NSW Corps under the command of Lieutenant Abbott at the Hawkesbury on the 14th of June 1795. This was the largest detachment outside Sydney.

grain just arrived from Bombay, a sufficient quantity of Indian corn received into store, and remaining to gather, to serve us until the ensuing wheat harvest."\textsuperscript{128}

Paterson’s private letter to his patron, Sir Joseph Banks, written at the same time as the official despatch and carried on the same ship, contained significant differences to his official despatch. I have transcribed the letter in full as it illustrates the thinking and actions of an important figure in Australian history. I have inserted punctuation marks and interpreted two unclear words as being \textit{sustance} and \textit{rendered}. The subject of the letter is the provision of supplies for the colony. The letter begins with Paterson’s anxiety for the arrival of Governor Hunter. The letter then deals with the adequacy of grain supplies but switches to the threat Aboriginal people pose to the livestock. The next part details the arrival of livestock from India and the Cape of Good Hope, but expresses his concern at the shortage of salted provisions. The threat posed by Aboriginal people to valuable Hawkesbury farmland and his recourse to sending out a party of the NSW Corps to protect the settlers and to capture some of the natives follows. Next is his suggestion that the government send salted provisions to Bombay so that East India Company ships could bring those and livestock to the colony. He returned to his concern for the arrival of the Governor, citing it as a reason for not being able to add to Sir Joseph’s collection.

The structure of the letter is interesting because of the way in which it posits the Aboriginal threat to the colony’s food supplies around his actions. In his official despatch Paterson makes no reference to the threat posed by natives to the colony’s livestock, rather he refers to the threat to the crops. In fact, the cowherd had flourished after its escape to the Cowpastures. In his letter to Banks he made no mention of his orders to drive the natives away from the farms. Nor did he mention the killing of Aboriginal people or the taking of prisoners. This reader is left with the impression that Paterson did not want to tarnish his reputation with Banks and that he may well have exaggerated the threat posed by Aboriginal people in order to justify his actions.

Paterson’s suggestion regarding the sending of salted stores and livestock on Company ships from Bombay was clever. Paterson was a valued member of Bank’s global network of investigators and collectors. He was well aware that Banks was an advisor to the East India Company. Paterson supplied specimens to the Calcutta Botanical Garden, which had been established with Banks encouragement. His suggestion that Company ships carry both salted stores and livestock from Bombay was calculated to give leverage to Banks and Dundas in their campaign to increase the effectiveness of the Company. Paterson was well aware that enterprising businessmen such as Captain Raven of the \textit{Britannia} were in breach of the East India Company’s monopoly of trade in the area. Financially, Paterson had nothing to lose by such a suggestion. He was almost unique in not participating in the trading ventures of his fellow officers.

\textbf{June 1795: Lieutenant – Governor Paterson to Banks}

\textit{‘Port Jackson 14\textsuperscript{th}, June 1795}

\textit{Dear Sir}

In my last letter dated March which went by the Experiment via India I mentioned my situation here & my anxiety for Gov’ Hunter’s arrival. The state of our store at present makes me still more uneasy tho’ we are in no danger of starving from the quantity of grain that is now in the colony, but the description of people we have to deal with it is much to be feared depredations will be committed on our livestock.

A ship which was expected from Bombay with cattle arrived here on the 1st Inst. with one hundred and thirty three cows, Bulls, Draught Oxen & four asses also a quantity of Rice and Dholl, this with the cargo of horses brought from the Cape of Good Hope by the Britannia and the sheep and goats we now have with a little more of sustance from Government this Colony in three years would certainly be independent of animal food, provided our stores for that time could be supplied with salt provisions.

I enclose you a Return of Ground in Cultivation and the livestock we now have but am sorry to say there is some trouble in protecting that promising settlement on the banks of the Hawkesbury. The natives have killed several of the settlers and committed great depredations on their crops. I have been under the necessity of sending a detachment of two officers and sixty privates to protect them for the present and if possible to take some of natives prisoners, what affect this will have I cannot as yet judge. If they continue as they have begun it is much to be fear’d that the settlement will be deserted by the Europeans and consequently destroy the colony as they have now upwards of 500 acres of wheat in the ground.

May I beg leave to offer you my ideas with respect to supplying the Colony with salted Provisions. Should you think the idea a good one you will do me honour in communicating it to His Majesty’s Secretary of State.

It appears from the Cargo of Cattle now received by the Endeavour that Bombay is the best place and as grain is not wanted here – if Government could send the salted meat by the Company’s ships to that Port, we would then be certain of both supplies until the Colony was render’d independent. I have to apologise for offering my opinion on this subject, but as it proceeds merely from a desire of serving the Colony I hope that will plead an excuse.

Until the arrival of the Governor I shall not be able to add much to your collection.

My compliments to all friends

I am

Dear Sir

Your Most Obed’ &
Very faithfull Serv’.

W.Paterson

David Collins wrote two accounts of the punitive expedition. As Deputy-Judge-Advocate of the colony he would have been privy to Abbott’s report on his actions on the Hawkesbury. It is quite likely that he had dinner with the governor and the officer

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129 A pea like seed used in India in curries.
who brought the report and captives in. On the 11th of June he wrote to his friend, assistant surgeon Edward Laing, who had returned to England with Grose

**June 1795: Collins to Laing**

‘We have little or no news. The natives at the Hawkesbury are murdering the settlers. Abbott and MacKellar with Co soldiers are in turn murdering the natives (but it cannot be avoided) ...’

On his return to England he published *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* as a means of reviving his career prospects. While more forthright than Paterson, he did not call Abbott a murderer in the public record as he did in his private letter.

**June 1795: Collins**

‘At that settlement an open war seemed about this time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers; and word was received over-land, that two people were killed by them; one a settler of the name of Wilson, and the other a freeman, one William Thorp, who had been left behind from the Britannia, and had hired himself to this Wilson as a labourer. The natives appeared in large bodies, men, women, and children, provided with blankets and nets to carry off the corn, of which they appeared as fond as the natives who lived among us, and seemed determined to take it whenever and wherever they could meet with opportunities. In their attacks they conducted themselves with much art; but where that failed they had recourse to force, and on the least appearance of resistance made use of their spears or clubs. To check at once, if possible, these dangerous depredators, Captain Paterson directed a party of the corps to be sent from Parramatta, with instructions to destroy as many as they could meet with of the wood tribe (Be`-dia-gal); and, in the hope of striking terror, to erect gibbets in different places, whereon the bodies of all they might kill were to be hung. It was reported, that several of these people were killed in consequence of this order; but none of their bodies being found, (perhaps if any were killed they were carried off by their companions,) the number could not be ascertained. Some prisoners however were taken, and sent to Sydney; one man, (apparently a cripple) five women, and some children. One of the women, with a child at her breast, had been shot through the shoulder, and the same shot had wounded the babe. They were immediately placed in a hut near our hospital, and every care taken of them that humanity suggested. The man was said, instead of being a cripple, to have been very active about the farms, and instrumental in some of the murders which had been committed. In a short time he found means to escape, and by swimming reached the north shore in safety; whence, no doubt, he got back to his friends. Captain Paterson hoped, by detaining the prisoners and treating them well, that some good effect might result; but finding, after some time, that coercion, not attention, was more likely to

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132 It is more likely that this was Joseph Wilson rather than Alexander Wilson. Both men were granted 30 acres each on 19th November, 1794. Joseph Wilson’s farm was across the river from Thomas Webb’s on Canning Reach. Joseph Wilson’s grant was cancelled and the land reallocated. See Jan Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlements Revealed*, Rosenberg, 2009.
answer his ends, he sent the women back. While they were with us, the wounded child died, and one of the women was delivered of a boy, which died immediately. On our withdrawing the party, the natives attacked a farm nearly opposite Richmond Hill, belonging to one William Rowe, and put him and a very fine child to death. The wife, after receiving several wounds, crawled down the bank, and concealed herself among some reeds half immersed in the river, where she remained a considerable time without assistance: being at length found, this poor creature, after having seen her husband and her child slaughtered before her eyes, was brought into the hospital at Parramatta, where she recovered, though slowly, of her wounds. In consequence of this horrid circumstance, another party of corps was sent out; and while they were there the natives kept at a distance. This duty now became permanent; and the soldiers were distributed among the settlers for their protection; a protection, however, that many of them did not merit."  

The third account comes from the Reverend Thomas Fyshe Palmer who had been a Unitarian minister in Dundee, Scotland before being sent to NSW in 1794 for criticising the corruption of parliamentary elections. His letter invariably raises questions about the source and reliability of his information. Palmer was one of the five Scottish Martyrs, sent to NSW for sedition. These political prisoners were given a house on the east side of Sydney Cove, near Collins’s house, and were relatively free provided they made no political comment. Palmer quickly found a place in the colony brewing beer. Collins was often in the company of the Scottish martyrs, men he viewed as social equals, despite their not having orthodox political opinions.

We also know about the links between David Collins and the Scottish martyrs through Daniel Paine, the colony’s ship builder. Paine was an outspoken radical and a friend of the Scottish martyrs. Paine and Collins were well acquainted with each other through a court case involving Paine’s servant. It would appear that Collins’ drinking partner, Thomas Muir, shared quarters with the Rev. Fyshe Palmer.

Daniel Paine on David Collins

‘On this day the governor sent for me with whom I had a long conversation on the subject of contempt of court and my late conduct together with a new charge (brought about by my worthy friend the Judge-Advocate137) of being inimical to His Majesties Government on account of my occasionally visiting as a neighbour Messrs. Margarot or Palmer (Although the Judge-Advocate himself had been continually in the habit of

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133 William Rowe had arrived with the First Fleet on the Scarborough, having been sentenced at Launceston to seven years transportation in March 1785 (Mutch Index)
135 Daniel Paine was friends with the Scottish Martyrs and shared their political viewpoints; however, he was less reticent than they, which brought him into conflict with Collins.
136 Collins charged Paine with contempt of court for Paine’s defence of his servant Lloyd who was charged with murder. While not relevant it is interesting to note that “There was a black man, a native sleeping on the hearth ..., that had been up with Mr Paine’s people cutting timber”. Page 24, The Journal of Daniel Paine 1794-1797, Ed. Knight and Frost, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1983. This has relevance to the timber cutters on the Hawkesbury who appeared to gone about their isolated work without trouble from Aboriginal people.
137 David Collins.
visiting and being visited by Mr. Muir and their friendship cemented by the circling glass even to a state of inebriation)\textsuperscript{138}

It was the physical and social proximity of Palmer to David Collins that gives Palmer’s letter its authenticity. That Collins and Palmer both wrote about the same matter within a few days of each other leaves little doubt of their communication. Whether Collins discussed the punitive expedition directly with Palmer, or Muir related the events to Palmer; there can be little doubt that sometime in the middle of June 1795, David Collins, with his tongue loosened by liquor was the source of Palmer’s letter.

June 1795: Rev. Fyshe Palmer to Doctor John Disney.

\textit{A LETTER FROM THE REVEREND FYSHE PALMER TO DOCTOR JOHN DISNEY, N.S.WALES, JUNE 13, 1795. MY DEAR SIR,}

... The situation the colony is in at present is dreadful. It is put on half allowance, and even at this rate there is not enough in the stores to last three weeks. They have begun to kill the livestock. The cows are condemned, but all the stock in the colony will not last a month. The only respite is about three months provisions of Indian corn, a food inadequate to labour. ...

Mr. Muir, myself Mr. and Mrs. Boston and Ellis live together, and are all well. It gave me great pleasure on landing to see the harmony between the natives and whites. This was owing to the indefatigable pains of Governor Phillips, to cultivate a good understanding with them. When himself was speared he would suffer no vengeance to be taken, and on no account an injury to be done them by a white man. The natives of the Hawkesbury (the richest land possibly in the world, producing 30 and 40 bushels of wheat per acre)\textsuperscript{139} lived on the wild yams on the banks. Cultivation has rooted out these, and poverty compelled them to steal Indian corn to support nature. The unfeeling settlers resented this by unparalleled severities. The blacks in return speared two or three whites, but tired out, they came unarmed, and sued for peace. This, government thought proper to deny them, and last week sent sixty soldiers to kill and destroy all they could meet with, and drive them utterly from the Hawkesbury. They seized a native boy who had lived with a settler, and made him discover where his parents and relations concealed themselves. They came upon them unarmed, and unexpected, killed five and wounded many more. The dead they hang on gibbets, in terrorem. The war may be universal on the part of the blacks, whose improvement and civilization will be a long time deferred. The people killed were unfortunately the most friendly of the blacks, and one of them more than once saved the life of a white man. Governor Hunter, whose arrival is so anxiously expected, will come out with just and liberal ideas, I trust, of policy, and correct the many abuses and oppressions we groan under, as well as those of the poor natives. It seems a strange time to drive these poor wretches into famine, the almost certain consequences of driving them from their situation, when we are so near It ourselves. ...


\textsuperscript{139} That is, the farmers produced the wheat, not the Aboriginal people.
Despite the gaps and contradictions it is possible to construct a picture of the events of June. Drought probably forced Aboriginal people onto the farms in search of food. It is also likely that the NSW Corps expanded settlement at this time upon Freemans Reach in an attempt to increase food production. At the same time Collins describes the situation around May/June as being one of open war with the spearing of Wilson and Thorp. Paterson refers to the killing of five unnamed settlers and was fearful of the settlers abandoning their farms. Palmer describes the killing of several whites. Whether or not Palmer was correct that after the spearing of two or three whites, Aboriginal people being “tired out they came unarmed and sued for peace”, in early June, Paterson ordered two subalterns and sixty soldiers to the Hawkesbury to “drive the natives to a distance” and to protect the settlers. Collins provides no detail as to the killings, but Paterson and Palmer differ significantly in their account of how contact was made with Aboriginal people. In his despatch Paterson reported that the presence of Aboriginal people was known whereas Palmer wrote that an Aboriginal boy on the farms was tortured into disclosing the whereabouts of his family.

The captured Aboriginal people included a man, four or five women, one of whom was in the last stages of pregnancy, another nursing a baby and a number of children. Collins was of the opinion that the man who had been captured was well known about the farms and had been party to the deaths of several settlers. Palmer was of the opinion that the people killed were “the most friendly of the blacks, and one of them more than once saved the life of a white man”. Given that Palmer wrote about the prisoners on the 11th one can only conclude that Paterson’s letter to Sir Joseph Banks on 14th June 1795 anticipating the capture of Aboriginal people was a fabrication.

Where the encounter took place is not clear. Despite some secondary references to a Battle of Richmond Hill I can find no evidence that Abbott fought a battle in that area. Tactically, such an operation so soon after their arrival involving a march across Rickaby’s Creek and the Chain of Ponds was improbable. It was equally unlikely that Aboriginal people would abandon the advantages of a difficult Hawkesbury River crossing and the high ground of Richmond Hill to meet the soldiers on an open field. That the initial encounter took place so soon after the troop’s arrival suggests close proximity to the main settlement. The capture of women and children would have been far more likely in an attack on a camp than out in the field. I do not find Paterson’s despatch to be convincing regarding a band of warriors lurking all day in the bush in order to attack a farm that night. It is far more likely that Lieutenant Abbott took his orders literally and began to clear the Aboriginal camps close to the farms. It is possible that settlers played some part in the operation. Both Collins and Palmer refer to gibbets being erected to hang dead bodies upon. Paterson made no mention of gibbets.

On the withdrawal of the troops, the farm of William Rowe across the river from Richmond Hill was attacked. Rowe and his infant child were killed and his wounded...
wife escaped only by hiding in the river.\textsuperscript{142} It is unknown whether Rowe was involved in Abbott’s punitive expedition. It is my contention that death of Rowe and his child were in revenge for the actions of the soldiers, and that like Burdett they were targeted because of their isolation and as part of a strategy to contain the growth of the settlement. As a result Paterson sent the troops back; “\textit{a protection, however, that many of them did not merit}” according to Collins.

There is one other piece of evidence that is not referred to in the correspondence. In 1795 a total of 2375 acres was granted to 87 individuals, mainly serving officers and men, effectively doubling the grants of 1794. The majority of these grants were recorded in the three months of July to September 1795. In those three months, sixty-three officers and men received land grants on the Hawkesbury. It is logical to assume that the two subalterns and sixty privates of the punitive expedition were the recipients of these grants. On the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of August 1795 Lieutenant Abbott and 12 soldiers were granted 400 acres on Freemans Reach, not far from Doyle, Shadrack, and Forrester by Paterson. As well, it should be noted that the recording of the land grants was notoriously slow. The grants of the first twenty-two settlers were not recorded till November 1794. Thomas Webb had been dead for twelve months before his grant was recorded in September 1796. It is not unreasonable to assume that the two officers and sixty soldiers went to the Hawkesbury as landowners and had a vested interest in clearing the land of Aboriginal people. Consideration should also be given to the possibility that the land grants were made to stiffen the resolve of soldiers whose quality was questionable. Paterson almost certainly did not draw attention to this act because it exceeded Dundas’s instructions regarding land grants to serving military and naval personnel, particularly privates. What Paterson did was without precedent in the British Empire.\textsuperscript{143}

\textbf{August 1795}

Charles Grimes and John Wilson returned from s in March. In late August four convicts who had run away in 1790 were brought back from Port Stephens where they had been accepted into Aboriginal society. Both these returns gave David Collins pause for reflection. His musings provide the modern reader with an opportunity to examine the relationships and interaction of Aborigine and European.

The big question is why didn’t Aboriginal people drive the Europeans into the sea? To address this question one must explore Aboriginal culture and history. While Aboriginal society was tribal in nature, The Dreaming provided and still provides a universal framework to talk about it in general terms. The Dreaming is the spiritual framework of Aboriginal existence. It is a non-linear continuum of past, present and future, within which the spiritual and physical worlds live side by side. It is a highly conservative and complex network of rights, relationships and responsibilities with a focus on cycles of renewal. There is no Fall from Grace in The Dreaming; no expulsion from the Garden of Eden. The arrival of the First Fleet in 1788 was probably the first major disruption for coastal Aboriginal people since the last ice age ended about ten thousand years ago with a rise in sea-level of 100 metres. The

\textsuperscript{142} Jan Barkley-Jack in her authoritative work, \textit{Hawkesbury Settlements Revealed}, Rosenberg, 2009, makes a strong case for there being a group of settlers around North Richmond in 1794.

\textsuperscript{143} Jan Barkley-Jack in Part One of \textit{Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed} argues that many of the land grants to privates were dummies and quickly sold on to officers as a means of circumnavigating the restrictions on officers having multiple holdings.
reactions of the Port Stephens Aboriginal people to the arrival of four runaway convicts were probably similar to the reaction of Aboriginal people around Sydney to the arrival of the First Fleet, i.e., the new arrivals were framed within the context of The Dreaming. The runaway convicts were accepted by the Port Stephens Aboriginal people as reincarnations of ancestors and when the convicts told them that they were human and that there were many others like them; the convicts were told that the large numbers of people in other places were simply the spirits of dead Aboriginal people that had gone to those places. Thus, the new arrivals were viewed as being Aboriginal people that had probably gone astray in the cycle of reincarnation. This interpretation explains why Aboriginal women in their canoes ignored the ships, why the men attempted to drive away the ships of the First Fleet when they sailed into the harbour and why they then grudgingly accepted them when a gap-toothed man asked

144 *The Providence met with very bad weather on her passage from the Brazil coast, and was driven past this harbour as far to the northward as Port Stephens, in which she anchored. There, to the great surprise of Captain Broughton, he found and received on board four white people, (if four miserable, naked, dirty, and smoke-dried men could be called white,) runaways from this settlement. By referring to the transactions of the month of September 1790, it will be found that five convicts, John Tarwood, George Lee, George Connoway, John Watson, and Joseph Sutton, escaped from the settlement at Parramatta, and, providing themselves with a wretched weak boat, which they stole from the people at the South Head, disappeared, and were supposed to have met a death which, one might have imagined, they went without the Heads to seek. Four of these people (Joseph Sutton having died) were now met with in this harbour by the officers of the Providence, and brought back to the colony. They told a melancholy tale of their sufferings in the boat; and for many days after their arrival passed their time in detailing to the crowds both of black and white people which attended them their adventures in Port Stephens, the first harbour they made. Having lived like the savages among whom they dwelt, their change of food soon disagreed with them, and they were all taken ill, appearing to be principally affected with abdominal swellings. They spoke in high terms of the pacific disposition and gentle manners of the natives. They were at some distance inland when Mr. Grimes was in Port Stephens; but heard soon after of the schooner's visit, and well knew, and often afterwards saw, the man who had been fired at, but not killed at that time as was supposed, by Wilson. Each of them had had names given him, and given with several ceremonies. Wives also were allotted them, and one or two had children. They were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were in general supplied by the natives with fish or other food, being considered by them (for so their situation only could be construed) as unfortunate strangers thrown upon their shore from the mouth of the yawning deep, and entitled to their protection. They told us a ridiculous story, that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were undoubtedly the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared firmly to believe that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway, and took him to the spot where his body had been burnt. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated to other regions.*


Lieutenant William Breton in 1833 paraphrased Collins. “It is remarkable that these people believed the whites were some of their ancestors who had fallen in battle, and returned from the sea to revisit them; in consequence of this they held them in high respect. One native was convinced that he had identified his father in the person of one of the runaways, and conducted the man to the spot where the body of his parent had been burnt. When informed that great numbers of people existed in other parts of the world, they said they must be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated to other climes.”

Page 206, Lieutenant William Breton, *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Dieman’s Land During the years 1830, 1831 1832, and 1833*. Richard Bentley, 1833.

http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IDtCAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&q=inauthor:%22Willia m+Henry+Breton%22&source=bl&ots=4uyQRAWgJ&sig=AdtQYCK1zMK-cy3XRVq7YQnlUj8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Nt4yULiIMcuqQfx-4HwDg&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false

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for water. This argument is also supported by the use of the word “Bru-ang” or “Boo-rō-wong” which literally means island, to describe the ships of the First Fleet.\(^{145}\) I believe it would be a mistake to think that the Aboriginal people saw the arrival of the First Fleet as an apocalyptic harbinger of doom, rather it was a visitation of unwelcome relatives who somehow or other had to be fitted in. This concept finds a modern counterpoint in the assigning of Aboriginal names to anthropologists working in remote communities. It is supported by the invitation of settlers to witness ceremonies. Tench, Collins, Walker and Threlkeld have left accounts of ceremonies and rituals they were invited to watch. These invitations were intended to teach the Law to the newcomers. The gathering of Aboriginal families around the farms of settlers along the banks of the Hawkesbury River has been traditionally interpreted as a sign of Aboriginal dependence on settlers. However, it may also be true that some Aboriginal families “adopted” some settler families as part of a process of accommodation.

The first killings of white people were probably a response to the breaking of traditional law, irrespective of whether the transgressor was a white invader or a confused reincarnation. There is a telling exchange between Patyegarang and Dawes recorded in late 1791 that reveals much of Aboriginal anger and fear.

‘I then told her that a whiteman had been wounded some days ago in coming from Kadi to Wāránŋ and asked her why the blackmen\(^{146}\) did it.

**Ans**. Gūlara (Because they are) angry.

**D.** Minyin gūlara eőra Why are the b. m. angry?

**P.** Inyám gal-wi w. m. Because the white men are settled here.

**P.** Tyérun kamangāl The kamarigals are afraid.

**D.** Minyin tyérun k_gāl? Why are the k. afraid?

**P.** Gunin Because of the guns.\(^{147}\)

William Dawes recorded “Dje-ra-bar” or “Je-rab-ber”\(^{148}\) as being the Aboriginal name given to the musket. That “Dje-ra-bar” was also what Aboriginal people frequently called the Europeans reinforces the idea that Aboriginal people treated the Beriwāl with caution. Watkin Tench made a similar observation about the Hawkesbury languages. “a gun, for instance, they call Gooroobeera, that is –a stick of fire. – Sometimes also, by a licence of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name.”\(^{149}\) There are other references that reinforce the Aboriginal fear of guns. On 7th March 1791, Elizabeth Macarthur wrote to her friend, Bridget Kingdon, “they are still under such terror of our fire Arms, that a single armed Man would drive an hundred Natives with their spears and we take care not to venture Walking to any distance unarmed”.\(^{150}\) There are two later references that reinforce the Aboriginal fear of guns. In 1817 Lancelot Threlkeld wrote of a man in Hobart who “boasted of shooting Blacks like birds off the branches of trees on which they had climbed for

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145 Book C, Page 18, William Dawes Notebooks. [www.williamdawes.org](http://www.williamdawes.org)

146 This may be the earliest recorded use of this term in the colony.

147 Book B, Page 34, William Dawes Notebooks. [www.williamdawes.org](http://www.williamdawes.org)

148 Book C, Page 16, William Dawes Notebooks. [www.williamdawes.org](http://www.williamdawes.org)


and similarly James Ryan recounted the shooting of a Aboriginal woman, “who climbed up a short bushy tree with her child in her net on her back”. This incident took place on the Hawkesbury, probably in 1816. It is my contention that Aboriginal fear of firearms was generated not just by the noise of a discharging firearms and the impact of large bore bullets on human flesh, but also by the magical qualities of smoke. Smoking is an important Aboriginal cleansing ceremony. It is arguable that Aboriginal people may have perceived firearms as being a magical weapon capable of not just killing the person but also preventing their reincarnation. These incidents illustrate not only the Aboriginal fear of firearms, but the ways in which that fear could lead to horrendous casualties amongst Aboriginal people. The impact of disease probably completely shattered the ability of Aboriginal society to deliver a co-ordinated resistance to the invaders.

However, there was no doubt that linguistically-gifted and curious people such as Wurrgan/Wur-gan and John Wilson found it possible to wander between two worlds. Collins’ account of Wilson’s and Knight’s attempt to take two young girls may indicate that the group of which he was a member was a loose grouping of young men without any women of their own – possibly further evidence of the fragmentation of Aboriginal society.

‘Wilson (Bun-bo-e), returned to the Hawkesbury, immediately after his return from Port Stephens with the deputy-surveyor, went off to the natives at the river. Another vagabond, who like himself had been a convict, one Knight, thinking there must be some sweets in the life which Wilson led, determined to share them with him, and went off to the woods. About the middle of this month they both came into the town, accompanied by some of their companions. On the day following it appeared that their visit was for the purpose of forcing a wife from among the women of this district; for in the midst of a considerable uproar, which was heard near the bridge, Wilson and Knight were discovered, each dragging a girl by the arm (whose age could not have been beyond nine or ten years) assisted by their new associates. The two white men being soon secured, and the children taken care of, the mob dispersed. Wilson and Knight were taken to the cells and punished, and it was intended to employ them both in hard labour; but they found means to escape, and soon mixed again with companions whom they preferred to our overseers.”

In late August The Providence reached Sydney carrying four convicts who had been picked up in Port Stephens where the ship had been driven by storms. The men had escaped in 1790. “They spoke in high terms of the pacific disposition and gentle manners of the natives. They were at some distance inland when Mr. Grimes was in Port Stephens; but heard soon after of the schooner’s visit, and well knew, and often afterwards saw, the man who had been fired at, but not killed at that time as was supposed by Wilson. Each of them had had names given him, and given with several

151 Page 19, Gunson, Neil, Editor, Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L. E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974
152 P4-6, James T Ryan, Reminiscences of Australia, 1894, Reprinted 1982
153 William Dawes wrote “About the middle of September 1791 I was telling Patyegarang that Wurrgan was a great thief and towards the close of the conversation”, Book B, page 24. I assume that Wurrgan, Wur-gan and Major Worgan were the same man.
ceremonies. Wives also were allotted them, and one or two had children. They were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were in general supplied by the natives with fish or other food, being considered by them (for so their situation only could be so construed) as unfortunate strangers thrown upon their shore from the mouth of the yawning deep, and entitled to their protection. They told us a ridiculous story, that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were undoubtedly the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared to firmly believe that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connaway, and took him to the spot where his body had been burnt. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which after death, had migrated into other regions.

It appeared from these four men, that the language to the northward differed wholly from any that we knew. Among the natives who lived with us, there were none who understood all that they said, and of those who occasionally came in, one only could converse with them. He was a very fine lad, of the name of Wur-gan. His mother had been born and bred beyond the mountains, but one luckless day, paying a visit to some of her tribe to the banks of De-rab-bun (for so the Hawkesbury was named) she was forcibly prevented returning, and being obliged to submit to the embraces of an amorous and powerful Be-dia-gal, the fruit of her visit was this boy. Speaking herself more dialects than one, she taught her son all she knew, and he, being of quick parts, and a roving disposition, caught all the different dialects from Botany Bay to Port Stephens.

In July 1796 Collins became aware that a white woman may have been living with the Port Stephens Aboriginal people. This story came to him from the crew of a fishing boat who had been cast ashore there and guided back to Broken Bay. However, Collins displayed no enthusiasm to mount a rescue mission. The truth may have been too unpalatable, “there was indeed a woman, one Ann Smith who ran away a few Days after our sitting down in this place, and whose fate was not exactly ascertained (sic); if she could have survived the hardships and wretchedness of such a life a must have been hers during so many years residence among the natives of New Holland, how much information must it have been in her power to afford! But humanity shuddered at the idea of purchasing it at so dear a price.”

September 1795: Elizabeth Macarthur
Elizabeth Macarthur wrote two letters to England in August 1794 and September 1795. The following extract comes from the letter of September 1795. In the letter she describes a journey on horseback to the Hawkesbury in which she probably accompanied her husband John Macarthur on an official visit. The extract is important as it gives a strong visual overview of the area and the fear the settlers had of Aboriginal people. It is unclear when the visit took place so her reference to Aboriginal people killing “many white people on the banks of the river” is

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clowned by vagueness and her reference to the lack of shipping is wrong, as the colonial schooner started taking the settlers’ grain to Sydney in May 1795, several months before she wrote the letter.

‘There is a very good carriage-road now made from hence to Sydney, which by land is distant about fourteen miles; and another from this to the river Hawkesbury, which is about twenty miles from here in a direct line across the country. Parramatta is a central position between both. I have once visited the Hawkesbury, and made the journey on horseback. The road is through an uninterrupted wood, with the exception of the village of Toongabie, a farm of Government, and one or two others, which we distinguish by the name of Greenlands, on account of the fine grass and there being few trees compared with the other parts of the country, which is occasionally brushy and more or less covered with underwood. The greater part of the country is like an English park, and the trees give to it the appearance of a wilderness, or shrubbery commonly attached to the habitations of people of fortune, filled with a variety of native plants, placed in a wild, irregular manner. I was at the Hawkesbury three days. It is a noble fresh-water river, taking its rise in a precipitous ridge of mountains that it has hitherto been impossible to pass. Many attempts have been made, although in vain. I spent an entire day on this river going in a boat to a beautiful spot - named by the late Governor, Richmond Hill - high and overlooking a great extent of country. On one side are those stupendous barriers to which I have alluded, rising as it were immediately above your head; below, the river itself, still and unruffled. Out of sight is heard a waterfall, whose distant murmurs add awfulness to the scene. I could have spent more time here, but we were not without apprehensions of being; interrupted by the natives, as about that time they were very troublesome, and had killed many white people on the banks of the river. The soil in the valley of this river is most productive, and greatly superior to any that has been tilled in this country, which has induced numbers to settle there; but having no vessels, there is at present much difficulty in transporting the produce to Sydney.’

December 1795
A group of soldiers took up land on the left bank of the river where the Sackville ferry is now located. The name Addy’s Creek was the only relic of their presence for a number of years as they were driven out in 1796. It may be that they were deliberately located there as a strategic presence on the lower river. The Aboriginal reaction was immediate and signalled that the June offensive had not stifled Aboriginal resistance. The killing and wounding of Aboriginal men, women and children indicates that the target was not an armed band of warriors but a family unit. Given Aboriginal fear of muskets, it is highly likely that they would have dispersed if

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157 Elizabeth Farm at Rose Hill.
158 These were probably Aboriginal ceremonial grounds or areas cleared specifically for the hunting of small animals through burning on hot days. In Northern NSW they are known as grasses. It is possible that one of these grounds may have been what the early settlers called the race ground at McGraths Hill.
159 Elizabeth Macarthur, 1st September 1795”
160 Even the name Addy’s Creek is gone, replaced by Currency Creek.
an armed party had come up with them. It is more likely that the target was a closely packed camp taken by surprise.

December 1795: Collins
‘A report from the river was current about this time, that the natives had assembled in a large body, and attacked a few settlers who had chosen farms low down the river, and without the reach of protection from the other settlers, stripping them of every article they could find in their huts. An armed party was directly sent out, who, coming up with them, killed four men and one woman, badly wounded a child, and took four men prisoners. It might have been supposed that these punishments, following the enormities so immediately, would have taught the natives to keep at a greater distance; but nothing seemed to deter them from prosecuting the revenge they had vowed against the settlers for the injuries they had received at their hands.’

Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 22nd March 1922
There is one piece of evidence written long after the above events that throws an interesting perspective on them. The following extract was part of a series on the Ebenezer Pioneers written by George Reeve. Reeve claimed that the pages of the Sydney Gazette showed that the settlers largely dealt with Aboriginal people without any help from the military. This claim is not supported by an examination of the Sydney Gazette. As George Reeve maintained a voluminous correspondence with Hawkesbury families it is possible that his source was the descendants of those pioneers. If this is correct then there were far more killings than those reported in the Sydney Gazette.

‘the blacks were very troublesome, and the early Governors, notably Hunter and King, were obliged to take severe measures to prevent them from interfering with the settlers in the Hawkesbury district. That was the reason (allegedly given in the first, place) for establishing the lazy, semi-indolent quasi military caste under Edward Abbott and Archie Bell and their successors at Windsor. It would appear that in most instances, from recorded statements of facts to be seen in files of the ‘Sydney Gazette’ of the time, that the hardy, noble fortuitous settlers had to use effective measures themselves in pursuit of the marauderers for their own protection, without help at any time being given them from the garrison at Windsor.’

1796 to 1802

1796-1802: Overview
In the period 1796-1802 Aboriginal traditional life and resistance were shattered by disease, loss of land and killings. Confusion over the true identity of the invaders probably held the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury back from unrestrained war. In this period it is likely that most Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury had some contact with the Europeans. Some Aboriginal warriors both fought them and mingled with them. Some Aboriginal people gathered around the farms of sympathetic settlers. Some Aboriginal women and some male settlers formed sexual relations. Some settlers ventured into unknown territory with Aboriginal guides. In March 1799 Aboriginal people warned settlers of an imminent flood. It was possibly the last such warning.

The activities of the NSW Corps were a source of constant anger for Aboriginal people. During this period the NSW Corps made a number of unrecorded attacks in which Aboriginal people were killed.¹ The destruction of the farms around Addy’s Creek appears to have been a co-ordinated Aboriginal campaign to drive the military settlers out. The isolation of these farms was probably an important factor in this pyrrhic Aboriginal victory. Yet it must be pointed out that the sawyers,² working in dangerously isolated conditions on nearby Cambridge Reach were not driven out, suggesting that the Aboriginal campaign was limited and targeted.

There were waves of sporadic conflict in the period 1796-1800 which points to the conflicts being personal in nature and confirming the argument that Aboriginal people saw the Europeans as reincarnated folk gone astray rather than complete strangers bent on taking the land. Fire was used to destroy huts and crops but its feared potential was never realized. Its first recorded use was in winter, its impact was limited and its use was not widespread, again suggesting that its use was targeted.

It is difficult to comment on the attacks on grain boats as there is little information as to where the attacks took place. Certainly the boats presented an attractive target, particularly when anchored at night. Whether they were opportunistic attacks on isolated targets or a strategic attempt to cut enemy supply lines is unclear.

Attempts were made to seize firearms which signaled a growing awareness that these weapons were not magical and their wielders mere mortals.

The killing of an Aboriginal woman and child by Private Cooper around August 1799 led to a series of killings, further confirming the view that the Aboriginal response to aggression was targeted. The documentation of these events provides the most valuable insights into events on this frontier.

¹ The archival records of the NSW Corps are scant. There does not appear to be an order book, day book or any form of diary. It may be that any such documentation, if it was kept, has been destroyed or is perhaps in England.
² Daniel Paine, the colony’s shipwright had an Aboriginal helper who slept in his house.
It is also in this period that the statistical record becomes unreliable. Official records are incomplete and oral recollections varied. Single male convicts were at particular risk of an unrecorded paddock burial. Many convict runaways disappeared into the bush. Some found refuge with Aboriginal people and some found lonely deaths. The numbers are unknown. The numbers of Aboriginal deaths are also unknown. Most reports of Aboriginal deaths come from settlers. It is highly likely that many were deliberately not reported.

1796: Overview
The year saw an apparent decrease in hostilities. Certainly there was ongoing conflict downstream and the killings of three settlers early in the year may have been related to that conflict. Governor Hunter’s orders against fraternisation may well have been a strategic response to that conflict, but they also may have been prompted by the real estate ambitions of the NSW Corps. Mrs Marsden’s acquisition of a small Aboriginal boy was one of the earliest interventions designed to bring Aboriginal people from benighted savagery into the light of civilisation. Her failure was not a deterrence.

January 1796
While it is not exactly clear where or how the killing of John Lacy on the river took place, the reference to “the natives at the river” place it within this area of study. The attack may have been made from land or by canoe. The boats plying the river at this time appeared to have crews of between two to five men.

‘Bennillong’s influence over his countrymen not extending to the natives at the river, we this month again heard of their violence. They attacked a man who had been allowed to ply with a passage-boat between the port of Sydney and the river, and wounded him, (it was feared mortally), as he was going with his companion to the settlement; and they were beginning again to annoy the settlers there.’

13th February 1796
Two days after Patrick Hyndes was transported to the colony his two brothers were speared to death on their farm which was near Bushell’s Lagoon and modern Argyle Reach Road. Neither Collins nor Hunter made any specific reference to these killings. In 1810 Patrick Hyndes wrote a memorial to Governor Macquarie requesting a flood free land grant. He wrote, “arrived in this colloney in the ship Marquis Cornwallis the 11 Feb. 1796 two days after his arrival his two brothers were speared to death by the cruel and most savage Natives at their farm in the Hawkesbury, after their death his Excellency governor Hunter was pleased to (hand) petitioners brothers farm over to him where

petitioner remained clearing and improving by honest mans and hard labour ... Petitioners farm situate very low in a swampy place ... with three or four lagoons.”

In February 1796 Governor Hunter ordered the settlers not to fraternize with Aboriginal people and to take steps to provide mutual defence.

22nd February, 1796.

'The frequent attacks and depredations to which the settlers situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury and other places are liable from the natives renders it indispensably necessary for the general security of the farmers and their families, as well as for the preservation of their crops, that they should upon all occasions of alarm mutually afford their assistance to each other by assembling without a moments delay whenever any numerous body of the natives are known to be lurking about the farms. By such an active attention to their own safety and interest there can be no doubts but that the visits of those people would be less frequent than of late they have been, and many lives would thereby be preserved.

It is therefore hereby expected and ordered by the Governor that all the people residing in the different districts of the settlement, whether the alarm be on their own farms or any other person’s, do upon such occasions shew the most scrupulous attention to this direction, in order that those frequent murders and robberies may be prevented. If it shall hereafter be known that any settler or other person do withdraw or keep back their assistance from those who may be threatened or in danger of being attacked, they will be proceeded against as persons disobeying the rules and orders of the settlement; and the settlers are hereby strictly enjoined to report all such persons as may offend herein. It is proper here also to signify that it is his Excellency's positive injunction to the settlers and others who have firearms that they do not wantonly fire at or take the lives of any of the natives, as such an act would be considered a deliberate murder, and subject the offender to such punishment as (if proved) the law might direct to be inflicted.

It has been intimated to the Governor that there have been frequently seen amongst the natives two white men, who, it is known, have absconded from their duty, and who, it is believed, direct and assist in those acts of hostility by which so many have suffered. It is therefore recommended to all persons in the settlement who have known and have heard of the white men above mentioned, and particularly to the settlers who are so much annoyed by them, that they do use every means in their power to secure them, that they may be so disposed of as to prevent their being hereafter troublesome or dangerous.

The Governor takes this opportunity of strictly forbidding the settlers from giving any encouragement to the natives to lurk about their farms. There can be no doubt but that

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6 Wilson and Knight
had they never met with the shelter which some have afforded them they would not at this time have been so very troublesome and dangerous.\(^7\)

Hunter’s orders should be placed in the context of a rapidly increasing NSW Corps presence on the Hawkesbury as military settlers and the Aboriginal campaign against them on Addy’s Creek, which may have involved the killings of Lacy and the Hyndes. While Governor Hunter’s orders for the settlers to provide mutual assistance in the case of Aboriginal attack were logical, particularly if one accepts Collins’ constant refrain of the indolence and improvidence of the Hawkesbury settlers, the settlers had as early as 1794 demonstrated a deadly effectiveness in their capacity for mutual support. Driving Aboriginal people away from the settlement would improve the value of the officer’s real estate. Collins’ genuine or manufactured preoccupation with runaway convicts initiating Aboriginal attacks on settlers reflects his denigration of Aboriginal people. However, consideration must be given to the likelihood that some settlers and some Aboriginal people had built up a peaceful relationship. The real purpose of these orders may have been to drive a wedge between these people.

Collins’ used the word “terror” here and previously in 1795 when describing Abbott’s punitive expedition serves to remind us that terror in the eighteenth century was the preserve of the state.

\textbf{February 1796}

The frequent attacks and depredations to which the settlers situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and other places, were exposed from the natives, called upon them, for the protection of their families, and the preservation of their crops, mutually to afford each other their assistance upon every occasion of alarm, by assembling without delay whenever any numerous bodies of natives were reported to be lurking about their grounds; but they seldom or never showed the smallest disposition to assist each other. Indolent and improvident even for their own safety and interest, they in general neglected the means by which either could be secured. This disposition being soon manifested to the governor, he thought it necessary to issue a public order, stating his expectations and directions, that all the people residing in the different districts of the settlements, whether the alarm was on their own farms, or on the farm of any other person, should upon such occasions immediately render to each other such assistance as each man if attacked would himself wish to receive; and he assured them, that if it should be hereafter proved, that any settlers or other persons withdrew or kept back their assistance from those who might be threatened, or who might be in danger of being attacked, they would be proceeded against as persons disobeying the rules and orders of the settlement. Such as had fire-arms were also positively enjoined not wantonly to fire at, or take the lives of any of the natives, as such an act would be considered a deliberate murder, and subject the offender to such punishment as (if proved) the law might direct to be inflicted. It had been intimated to the governor, that two white men (Wilson and Knight) had been frequently seen with the natives in their excursions, and were supposed to direct and assist those acts of hostility by which the settlers had lately suffered. He therefore recommended to every one who knew or had heard of these people, and

particularly to the settlers who were so much annoyed by them, to use every means in their power to secure them, that they might be so disposed of as to prevent their being dangerous or troublesome in future. The settlers were at the same time strictly prohibited from giving any encouragement to the natives to lurk about their farms; as there could not be a doubt, that if they had never met with the shelter which some had afforded them, they would not at this time have furnished so much cause to complaint.

Those natives who lived with the settlers had tasted the sweets of a different mode of living, and, willing that their friends and companions should partake, either stole from those with whom they were living, or communicated from time to time such favourable opportunities as offered of stealing from other settlers what they themselves were pleased with.

At this time several persons who had served their term of transportation were applying for permission to provide for themselves. Of this description were Wilson and Knight; but they preferred a vagrant life with the natives; and the consideration that is taken they would be dealt with in a manner that would prevent their getting among them again, now led them on to every kind of mischief. They demonstrated to the natives of how little use a musket was when once discharged, and this effectually removed that terror of our firearms with which it had been our constant endeavour to inspire them.  

March 1796

Fighting continued into March and a new enemy appeared in the form of weeds. The Hawkesbury’s bounty was beginning to show signs of wear and tear, just as the soils around Prospect Hill had been exhausted.

‘It was seen with concern that the crops of this season proved in general bad, the wheat being almost every where mixed with a weed named by the farmers Drake. Every care was taken to prevent this circumstance from happening in the ensuing season, by cleaning with the greatest nicety not only such wheat as was intended for seed, but such as was received into the public store from settlers. It was occasioned by the ground being overwrought, from a greediness to make it produce golden harvests every season, without allowing it time to recruit itself from crop to crop, or being able to afford it manure. Had this not happened, the crops would most likely have been immense.

At the Hawkesbury, where alone any promise of agricultural advantages was to be found, the settlers were immersed in intoxication. Riot and madness marked their conduct; and this was to be attributed to the spirits that, in defiance of every precaution, found their way thither.

Reports were again received this month of fresh outrages committed by the natives at the river. The schooner which had been sent round with provisions saw some of these people off a high point of land named Portland Head, who menaced them with their spears, and carried in their appearance every mark of hostility. The Governor being at this time on

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an excursion to that settlement (by water), one of his party landed on the shore opposite Portland Head, and saw at a short distance a large body of natives, who he understood had assembled for the purpose of burning the corpse of man who had been killed in some contest among themselves. 

May 1796

Exactly how Eliza Marsden acquired “a little Native Boy” is unclear. Her letter of May 1796 does not provide any explanation as to how or where he came from. The Marsdens arrived in March 1794 and were at Parramatta from May 1794. An article in the Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 2nd December, 1804 implies that the boy may have been the survivor of a deadly encounter at Prospect. David Collins records one such encounter in April 1794. Eliza Marsden’s attitudes regarding the “little Native Boy”, possibly called Samuel Christian, are instructive and her experiment may well have been the model for Governor Macquarie’s school. However radical her experiment in racial and social engineering may have been in an Eighteenth Century context; it raises that Post Modern conundrum of moral relativism. Her colonial mindset did not extend to the rights of the child. From both an Aboriginal and twenty-first century perspective it was child abuse and slavery.

‘Parramatta, 
New South Wales, 
1 May 1796.

Dear Madam
Your kind favor dated March 10th 1795 we received Nov. 6th 95 but find myself at loss in what manner to express myself. Your good wishes and kind remembrance merit my warmest gratitude and that is the only tribute I can pay your goodness. I long for an opportunity of conversing with you face to face. This would enable me to open my mind more fully than I can now do with paper and ink but whether I shall ever be indulged with that privilege or no is still in the dark womb of Providence. We seem in our present situation to be almost totally cut off from all connexion with the world especially the virtuous part of it. Old England is no more than like a pleasing dream. When I think of it it appears to have no existence but in my own imagination. I feel as if I had once conversed with friends, united in love by the same spirit – some faint remembrance of those pleasures still remain and I cannot but flatter myself with some distant hope that it will be again with me as in months past. Had we only a few pious friends to pass away an hour with it would render this colony more tolerable.

The want of a place for public worship is still to be regretted. We have not one at Parramatta nor any likely to be. So little attention being paid to the ministers makes Religion appear contemptible. Sometimes Mr. Marsden preaches in a Convict hut, sometimes in a place appropriated for Corn and at times does not know where he is to perform it, which often makes him quite uneasy and puts him out of temper both with the place and people.

With respect to myself I enjoy both my health and spirits pretty well equally as well as when in England. I thank you for kind attention to my daughter; the book you sent her I hope she will live to benefit by. She now can talk pretty well and is an entertaining companion to a fond mother whose feelings you will readily excuse. I have also a little Native Boy who takes up part of my attention. He is about six years old, and now begins to read English and wait at table and I hope at some future period he may be an useful member of society. He has no inclination to go among the natives and has quite forgot their manners.

Present my best respects to Mrs. Stokes Miss Stokes and Master Edward and tell him we often talk of him when we are eating melons, the seeds of which he was so kind to give me.

With wishing you every blessing in this life

I remain

Dear Madam

Yours &e &e

Eliza Marsden.

Mr. M. gives you a line but as the two ships sail together we divide the letters."^10

Mrs. Marsden was somewhat optimistic about her achievements. Her husband later noted: “More than twenty years ago, a native lived with me at Paramatta, (sic) and for a while I thought I could make something of him; but at length he got tired, and no inducement could prevail upon him to continue in my house; he took to the bush again, where he has continued ever since.”^11

The Marsdens were not deterred by this failure. The next little “boy was taken from its mother's breast” and died around 1810.^12

June 1796
In the midst of complaints about the sloth of the convicts Collins noted a settler was “killed by natives”. I have been unable to determine the identity of the settler.

‘At the settlement of the Hawkesbury one man had been drowned, and another killed by the natives.’^13

July 1796

That Governor Hunter’s orders regarding fraternisation were not being rigidly enforced, was demonstrated by Aboriginal people passing onto authorities the whereabouts of John Fenlow, a wanted escapee. It also demonstrated that Aboriginal people understood the hierarchies of colonial society and used them to their advantage.

John Fenlow, a settler on the Hawkesbury, shot and killed his servant, David Lane on the 4th of July 1796. He was arrested and taken into custody. However he escaped “and was not retaken until the latter end of the month, when some natives discovered him lurking near his own grounds at the river, and, giving information, he was easily apprehended and secured.”

In September 1796 there were two land grants totaling 200 acres. In December 1796 there were nine grants totaling 270 acres. In all of 1796 there was a total of 470 acres granted to 11 grantees.

1796: Conclusion

Thus 1796 passed with far less conflict recorded than in previous years. However, this is not to say that conflict had not taken place. Aboriginal people had limited expansion downstream, throughout 1796, forcing the evacuation of the farms on the Sackville Reach. At least four settlers had died. At least three of them were in relatively isolated locations. One was speared on the river at an unknown location and two near Bushell’s Lagoon. In each case, escape on the left bank was easy. Nothing is known about the fourth killing except that it was of a settler. The logic is that it was again a killing in an isolated location. Conflict appeared to have eased in the second half of the year. How many expeditions were mounted is unclear. No Aboriginal deaths were recorded for 1796, which in itself is a suspicious figure.

1797: Overview

In terms of the historical record, 1797 was a quiet year. Downstream settlement continued to be limited. Fire as a weapon was introduced and attacks on river boats continued. Collins continued to lament the failure of Aboriginal people to respond to attempts to civilise them and to blame runaways for instigating Aboriginal attacks on settlers. Drought continued throughout the year.

A number of secondary sources identify Governor Hunter observing the spearing of a platypus at Yarramundi lagoon in 1797. David Collins recorded Governor Hunter’s on the spot drawing of it. I have not yet identified the original source, however, it is likely that it happened in January as he was at Richmond Hill then. There are references to it in Collins and two letters in Sir Joseph Banks’ correspondence.

January 1797

The governor, always anxious to promote the good of the settlement by every means in his power, having determined to visit at this season that part of it which was situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury, set off at the latter end of the last month, with a party of officers, by land to Broken Bay, where they got on board the Colonial schooner, and continued in her for two days, sailing up that pleasant river; but, finding her progress too slow, they quitted her for some boats which had accompanied them; and, by the first of this month, had reached as high up as some farms which had lately been evacuated in consequence of the depredations that the owners of them had been exposed to from numerous parties of natives. The ground hereabout was carefully examined, to see if it would admit such a number of settlers as might be sufficient for the purpose of mutual protection; but it was found inadequate to that end, the limits of it on the banks of the river, where the soil was excellent, being much too narrow.¹⁶

On the first of the month the governor had reached the principal settlement, having occasionally landed to examine into the state of the different farms, as well as to settle disputes relative to property, and differences between the settlers and their hired servants.

Having had previous notice, a general muster of these people now took place; which being compared with one taken some time since, many impositions were detected and rectified. After the muster, they were reminded that several of them were considerably indebted to government for the seed from which their present abundant crops had been produced, and directed forthwith to return into the store a quantity equal to that which they had borrowed for the purpose. This it was absolutely necessary to point out and insist upon, as there were but few among them who would have been found with principle enough to have returned it of themselves.

While they were here, the governor and his party went up the river, and ascended Richmond-hill, on the summit of which a large smoke was made at noon, at which time a similar smoke was made on Prospect-hill, that was very distinctly seen, and its bearings taken, to ascertain the relative situation of the two hills. This bearing, which was S 35 degrees 00' E by compass, gave, with the latitude observed on each, the distance between the two hills about eighteen miles in a direct line.¹⁷

¹⁶ Addy’s Creek, now Currency Creek.
¹⁷ I think this is a reading of 125 degrees, which is south of east and comparable to Tench’s 1789 bearing of “west and by north” from Prospect Hill.
By this bearing, should there be occasion hereafter, a road through the woods, from the head of the Hawkesbury, might be cut in the shortest and most direct way to Parramatta.

At the head of this river, and upon the banks of that named the Nepean, there was known to be a tract of excellent land, as rich as any on the banks of the Hawkesbury which was then under cultivation, and where, at some future period, a settlement might be advantageously established.

David Collins description of the burning of a settler’s hut and crops following the plundering of his hut is consistent with previous Aboriginal attempts to drive the settlers out by depriving them of their food and shelter. The wording strongly suggests that the settler was present during the attack. Again it must be noted that this was a limited form of warfare as no attempt was made to kill the settler.

**April 1797**

“The natives at the Hawkesbury were at this time very troublesome, burning a dwelling house and a stack of wheat belonging to a settler there after having plundered him of all his other possessions.”

Reciprocity underpins Aboriginal culture. Unable and/or unwilling to drive out the Beriwal, whose identity still remained unclear, the Aboriginal people probably focused their anger and fear on those that most offended traditional law and tolerated and helped those who helped them. David Collins’ failure in May 1797 to grasp the reasons for Aboriginal people’s rejection of the benefits of European civilisation was a logical consequence of his blinkered Enlightenment mindset. In the real world savages did not fall down in awe and wonder before “polished nations”. Collins’ opinion that their behaviour was prompted by run-away convicts is a constant theme in his work. Portraying First Peoples as infantile puppets manipulated by renegade whites was a common refrain in racist discourses. Disempowering First People of their autonomy was a powerful tool in excluding them from ownership of land, culture and identity. Creating an Other made your own actions more palatable and justifiable. This legacy continues to haunt all Australians.

**May 1797**

“When spoken to or censured for robbing the maize grounds, these people, to be revenged, were accustomed to assemble in large bodies, burn the houses of the settlers if they stood in lonely situations, and frequently attempted to take their lives; yet they were seldom refused a little corn when they would ask for

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it. It was imagined that they were stimulated to this destructive conduct by some run-away convicts.²⁰

‘It was distressing to observe, that every endeavour to civilise these people proved fruitless. Although they lived among the inhabitants of the different settlements, were kindly treated, fed and often clothed, yet they were never found to possess the smallest degree of gratitude for such favours. Even Bennillong was as destitute of this quality as the most ignorant of his countrymen. It is an extraordinary fact, that even their children, who had been bred among the white people, and who, from being accustomed to follow their manner of living, might have been supposed to ill relish the life of their parents, when grown up, have quitted their comfortable abodes, females as well as males, and taken to the same savage mode of living, where the supply of food was often precarious, their comforts not to be called such, and their lives perpetually in danger.²¹

May and June 1797
In May 1797, 36 grantees received a total of 1245 acres. In the following month of June 17 grants totalling 55 acres were made.

10th June 1797
Governor Hunter’s despatch to the Duke of Portland signalled the beginning of a drought that appeared to have lasted till 1799. While the impact of this drought on relations between Aboriginal people and settlers is unclear, there is evidence that Aboriginal people came into closer contact with settlers during later droughts.

‘We have this last summer experience’d the weather so excessively sultry and dry that from the very parch’d state of the earth every strong wind has occasioned conflagrations of astonishing extent, from some of which much public and much private property has been destroy’d. Some of the settlers have been ruin’d by losing the whole produce of their harvest after it had been stack’d and secur’d; others have lost not only their crops, but their houses, barns, and a part of their livestock, by the sudden manner in which the fire reach’d and spread over their grounds. Trains of gunpowder cou’d scarcely have been more rapid in communicating destruction, such was the dry’d and very combustible state of every kind of vegetation, whether grass or tree.²²

October 1797
In October 1797 two men were acquitted for the killing of an Aboriginal person. While the murder took place elsewhere, the trial was relevant to the Hawkesbury. The acquittal demonstrated the difficulties of imposing the British legal system in the colony. Issues of equality before the law and the provision of evidence under oath in English were major

issues. As will be seen, the Governor’s protestations of making an example of anyone found guilty of wantonly killing an Aboriginal were hollow platitudes designed to appease authorities in England and safeguard careers.

October, 1797

‘Two men were tried for having killed a native youth, well known in the settlement: but it appearing to the court that he had been accidentally shot, they were acquitted. The natives certainly behaved ill, and often provoked the death which they met with; but there were was not any necessity for wantonly destroying them, a circumstance which it was feared had but too often occurred. On the acquittal of these prisoners, they were assured by the governor, that he was determined to make an example of the first person who should be convicted of having wantonly taken the life of a native. 23

The attacks on the river in October 1797 were indicative of developments in Aboriginal tactics. Again surprise was used to get close to the enemy. The attempt to seize the muskets signaled a new appreciation of the weapons by Aboriginal people. Whether Wilson and Knight or other runaways had anything to do with the planning of the attack is problematic. The fact that Collins attributed the attack to their influence may well have been part of his general condemnation of them and an unwillingness or inability to acknowledge that Aboriginal people had the capacity to plan such an attack.

‘On the 31st, an open boat arrived from the Hawkesbury, with a cargo of Indian corn, having been boarded in her passage down by a party of natives in canoes. Assuming an appearance of friendship, they were suffered to come into the boat, when, watching an opportunity, they threw off the mask, and made an attempt to seize the small arms. This occasioned a struggle, in which the boat’s crew prevailed, but not before some of these unexpected pirates had paid for their rashness with their lives. 24

It was now discovered, that a boat belonging to a settler, which had been for some time missing, and was supposed to have been driven out to sea and lost with her crew and cargo of Indian corn, had actually been taken by the natives in the river, after murdering the men who were in her. The boat, on searching, was afterwards found in the possession of some of these people.

This was so novel a circumstance that it could scarcely be credited; but it was no less true; and there was but little doubt, that the white people who were living amongst them had been the unseen instigators of this mischief.

24 James Webb in 1796 built two sloops, one for a neighbor Owen Cavanagh and the other for himself. One was lost at sea and the other was attacked in 1798. It is likely that this reference is to one of those boats. The source for this information is an index card from the Jeannie Scott collection in Hawkesbury Library. The references are The King Papers and P23 Swancott H.R.S.
The wheat everywhere wore the most promising appearance, and the weather had been very favourable for bringing it to maturity. 25

1797: Conclusion
In 1797, 1840 acres were granted to 54 people.

1797 followed closely the pattern of 1796. There were few recorded incidents of conflict involving deaths. However, the records clearly show that there were changes in Aboriginal tactics. The use of fire to burn huts and crops was employed as another stratagem to drive settlers out. That its use was not more widespread perhaps signalled that particular settlers were targeted. Perhaps the impact of invasion through disease, loss of land and killings was so catastrophic that the survival of Aboriginal women and children was dependent on a relationship of mutual support with some settlers, and these settlers were consequently not harmed. Certainly Tench’s observation that Aboriginal people did not practice irregular warfare was wrong. The use of fire and attempts to seize firearms suggests that Aboriginal people no longer thought of the Beriwāl as half-baked reincarnations.

Records show grain boats having crews of two to five men. So, at least two and possibly five settlers died in the capture of one grain boat. Probably several Aboriginal people died in the attack on the other boat. While it is possible that other settlers may have died, it is logical to suspect that the NSW Corps were still active in killing Aboriginal people and not reporting the act. The land around Sackville Reach remained firmly in Aboriginal hands.

1798: Overview
Even though 1798 was an apparently quiet year on the Hawkesbury, the historical records provide a wealth of insight into the activities of some Aboriginal men. It is likely that the wounding of David Brown on his farm at Wilberforce and the killing of the man on the race ground took place in February 1798. There were no recorded Aboriginal deaths in 1798.

In January 1798, 6 grantees received a total of 141½ acres. In the following month, February, 175 acres were granted to 7 grantees.

February 1798
A series of co-ordinated attacks on Prospect Hill farms took place in February 1798. By using a combination of sources it is possible to argue that five white men, rather than three as reported by Collins, were killed in these attacks and that the wounding of David Browne on his Wilberforce farm and the killing of a man on the race ground were a flow on from the participation of Aboriginal men from the Hawkesbury in the attacks at Prospect Hill. The sources used to substantiate this theory are:

• Cobley, John, *Sydney Cove, 1795-1800*, Volume V, Angus and Robertson, 1986
• *Historical Records of Australia*, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914
• *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Sydney, Government Printer, 1896

David Collins provided a typically understated overview of the attacks on the Prospect farms and the subsequent military response. Five white men, not three were killed in these attacks. The military response, sent out well after the warriors had dispersed would have not found those responsible for the attacks. The orders to “attack them wherever they should be met with” would have resulted in attacks on camps as they were the easiest targets.

‘With the ripening of the maize fields, the depredations of the natives returned. On the 19th the Governor received a dispatch from Parramatta, containing an account that a man had been murdered by them near Toongabie, and three others severely wounded; and a few Days after two others were killed in the same manner. It became, from these circumstances, absolutely necessary to send out numerous well-armed parties, and attack them wherever they should be met with; for lenity or forbearance had only been followed by repeated acts of cruelty.  

John Tarlington’s evidence at a 1799 murder trial, recorded in the *Historical Records of Australia and New South Wales*, provided valuable insights into the attack on his farm. Tarlington’s evidence is noteworthy for several reasons. His was the first detailed account of an attack on a farm that gave information on Aboriginal tactics. His descriptions of Aboriginal people, despite the use of Anglicised names, were the first since 1792 to identify individual Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury by name. His evidence, and the evidence of others, showed that in 1798 and 1799 the attackers roamed from the Blue Mountains to Prospect Hill; a fluidity of movement at odds with contemporary understandings of Aboriginal boundaries. The individuals named by Tarlington were familiar figures around the farms and were well regarded by some settlers. They were certainly well known to Tarlington, which makes the attack intriguing for its apparent lack of reason. That there was no official record in despatches of the attack in which three white men were killed is equally intriguing. The evidence of Hobby, Archer and Rickaby has been included in the description of the Aboriginal warriors involved.

The attack on Tarlington’s farm on Prospect Hill took place on a Sunday, a few days before the man on the Race Ground was killed. John Tarlington was approached by two

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27 The race ground is first mentioned in 1795. It is an object of mystery both in terms of function and location. Given the small number of horses in the Hawkesbury at this time, it is difficult to imagine that anyone had the means, time or inclination to build a race track. The rich history of horse racing in the
Hawkesbury has only complicated the issue as there were a number of race courses in different locations at different times. The Historical Records of Australia place the race ground two miles north of Riverstone. I believe that this was another race ground. It is my contention that the race ground was an Aboriginal ceremonial ground located on the high ground somewhere between Mulgrave Station and the Windsor Road. A similar feature is recorded by Meredith Hungerford near Mountain Lagoon: “According to local legend passed down from Bilpin settlers of the 1890s the flat area just west of the junction with the Mountain Lagoon spur was called ‘The Old Clear’ because it was a corroboree ground.” Page 4, Meredith Hungerford, Bilpin the Apple Country, Meredith Hungerford, 1995. Joseph Lycett’s 1818 painting of a corroboree at Newcastle clearly shows that the corroboree took place in a large cleared area.

If my contention that the race ground was an Aboriginal ceremonial ground or a hunting ground on what is now called McGraths Hill is correct then it throws a new perspective on two killings on the race ground. Major White may have killed the settler on the race ground because he was trespassing on sacred ground and the native killed by Braithwaite’s servant may not have just been protesting at the killing of the kangaroo, but also at where the shooting took place.

David Collins’ account of a particularly unusual and fierce storm that swept across the Hawkesbury in December 1795 provides enough information to locate the race ground in the direction of McGraths Hill. “Ruse’s Creek” is now South Creek. The “four farms” were probably those of Samuel Wilcox, John Brindley, George Meilhan and Thomas Moxham. The centre of the storm passed over the old Toll House near the bridge over South Creek. The description of the storm’s ferocity refers to the flattening of crops, a man taking shelter in a hollow tree, trees being shredded and the shrubs on that part of the race course that was crossed by the storm being beaten down. “At the Hawkesbury, in the beginning of the month, an extraordinary meteorological phenomenon occurred. Four farms on the creek named Ruse’s Creek were totally cut up by a fall, not of hail or of snow, but of large flakes of ice. It was stated by the officer who had the command of the military there, Lieutenant Abbott, that the shower passed in a direction NW taking such farms as fell within its course. The effect was extraordinary; the wheat then standing was beaten down, the ears cut off, and the grain perfectly threshed out. Of the Indian corn the large thick stalks were broken, and the cobs found lying at the roots. A man who was too far distant from a house to enter it in time was glad to take shelter in the hollow of a tree. The sides of the trees which were opposed to its fury appeared as if large shot had been discharged against them, and the ground was covered with small twigs from the branches. On that part of the race-ground which it crossed, the stronger shrubs were all found cut to pieces, while the weaker, by yielding to the storm, were only beaten down.” Page 373, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Vol. 1, 1974

In the sentence “On that part of the race-ground which it crossed, the stronger shrubs were all found cut to pieces, while the weaker, by yielding to the storm, were only beaten down” there is an indication that the race ground was a large cleared area. Collins uses the word ground elsewhere in his works to mean land that had been cleared. He refers to maize grounds, cultivated ground, i.e., land that had been cleared. In the 1799 trial Thomas Sambourne said that he spoke to Major Worgan out upon the ground. In one of her letters describing a trip to the Hawkesbury in 1794 or 1795, which would have certainly passed McGraths Hill, Elizabeth Macarthur wrote about “Greenlands” i.e. areas of open land. David Collins (Page 467, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Vol. 1, 1974) wrote about the ceremonial grounds in Farm Cove being cleared of grass, stumps, etc. before an initiation took place there in 1795, indicating that the ground was fairly clear and tidied up when used.

Given the difficulties that those early settlers had in clearing their land on the river and creek banks it is inconceivable that they would have cleared a “race ground” particularly so far from their settlement. In 1800, according to the Jeannie Scott Index, there were only two horses in the Hawkesbury, one belonging to Andrew Thompson and the other to Thomas Rickaby. It is, however, conceivable that the settlers appropriated a ceremonial ground for their own use.

The Historical Records of NSW, Vol. 6, page 64, show the race ground on a map of the 1806 floods. The map places the “race ground” above the 1806 flood. The map contains unexplained orange lines which almost certainly delineate the boundary between the Green Hills Common and the South Creek farms. The
male Natives, Little Charley and MacNamarra. Little Charley was also known as Charley and Charles. Almost certainly Little Charley spent some of his early life on one of Cummings’ farms. He may well have been there as early as 1795. It may be that he was another survivor of an encounter at Prospect. This would explain his ability to speak with the settlers and why he was the first to arrive on Tarlington’s farm. I can find no information about the Aboriginal man called MacNamara.28

Charley and MacNamarra were followed soon after by four others, Major White and Little George walked together. It is likely that they had a family connection. The brothers Terribandy and Little Jemmy, walked behind them. These six went into the house. Little George was 11-12 in 1798 and Little Jemmy was about 15-16 in 1798. Major White, Little George and Little Jemmy had been frequently seen together by Jonas Archer at his farm on Argyle Reach. Little George had stolen corn from his barn. According to Rickaby Little George had been shot and wounded when detected stealing corn, but had since lived in friendly intercourse with the settlers.

They were followed onto the farm by twelve to fifteen others and eventually thirty others came out of the trees.

Tarlington came out of his house as Nicholas Redman29 and Thomas Malong/Malloy/Malone30 came onto the farm. Soon after, Joseph Collins,31 Tarlington’s servant, was mortally wounded by Terribandy; Tarlington was wounded in three places by Little George and Little Jemmy. Redman and Malloy were killed. Both Little George

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28 Given that Major White and Little George were probably related and that Terribandy and Little Jemmy, were brothers, it is logical to assume that Charley and MacNamarra were related. As there are no references to MacNamara on the Hawkesbury it is reasonable to suggest that Charley was another survivor of one of conflicts at Prospect.

29 The T. D. Mutch Index of Birth, Deaths and Marriages, 1787-1814 records Nicholas Redman as being buried on 18th February 1798 in St Johns Cemetery at Parramatta. As well, it states that he was speared by natives. However, Joseph Holt, who arrived in the colony in 1800 records that he “saw one of the natives cure one Redman that was speared by a native, and Doctor Mason gave him up and a native cured him and had to cut out the spear and very handy. When he had him well, he called for five pound and told him: ‘You would give ten pounds to a white. Why not give five pounds to black Caragee? I will go to the Governor and make you pay me.’ He went and got a suit of clothes and a bottle of rum for his pay.”

Pages 68-72, Joseph Holt, A Rum Story, The Adventures of Joseph Holt, Thirteen Years in New South Wales, 1800-1812, Edited Peter O’Shaughnessy, Kangaroo Press, 1988. A Caragee was a clever man, an elder. There was a John Redmond who was granted 60 acres in the district of Toongabbie on 28th May 1793 and Edmund Redmond later bought Killarney House.

30 I can find no references to a Malong, Malone or Malloy dying in 1798, in neither the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, nor the Mutch Index. It is quite possible that whoever he was, he was buried in a paddock on Prospect Hill immediately after being killed. His death illustrates the difficulties of accurately collating the numbers of those killed.

31 According to the Mutch Index, Joseph Collins was buried in St Johns Cemetery on 10th March 1798. 

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and Little Jemmy were involved in the deaths of Nicholas Redman, and Thomas Malong/Malone/Mallloy. Tarlington’s wife was beaten by Charley and his farm plundered.

A few days after the attack on Tarlington’s farm in February Terribandy killed a man on the race ground. According to Lieutenant Hobby, some settlers thought Charley was involved in this killing. Little Jemmy was according to Rickaby, concerned in the killing too but had since lived in friendly intercourse with the settlers.

‘John Tarlington being duly sworn Deposeth that a few days before the man on the Race Ground was killed (but he cannot specify the exact time) the witness who resides near Toon Gabbee about two hours walk from the resort of the Natives about the Hawkesbury and Creek, on a Sunday morning two male Natives came to his House - that one of them was called little Charley and the other MacNamarra - that the witness welcomed them into his House and shook hands with said Natives that a free man his Servant did the same - that the said Natives left their Spears outside the House and asked for Bread which the Witness gave them - they then asked for meat that the Witness said "bye and by" as it was then dressing - that having suspicion of more Natives coming, the Witness went out to look and saw four more coming towards the House walking two and two abreast - one the Witness knew to be called Major White and one of the others little George - that was the youngest of the two Natives said to be killed by the Prisoners - the other two he also knew to be called Terribandy and Jemmy the latter the elder of the two Natives killed as aforesaid - that the witness also welcomed the four Natives into his House at which time the meat and cabbage was taking up - which the Natives had shared amongst them and had more than they could eat as they left part of what Witness had given them - that little Charley getting up for some water slipped out at the Door - that the witness followed to see what he was about when he saw about Twelve or Fifteen approaching towards his House - that the Witness welcomed them into his house also and they left their spears at the Door the same as the others had done - that his wife and his free man servant gave amongst them the remainder of the Victuals that had been left - that three of the former mentioned Natives namely George Jemmy and Charley asked the witness for melons - that he took them to the melon bed leaving the other Natives in the House with his wife and freeman and that whilst said three Natives were Eating Melons on the Bed in the garden where they grew the native Jemmy went some little distance from the Melon ground and shouting out something in the Native Dialect which the Witness did not understand about twenty or Thirty Natives thereupon immediately came out of the Bush and saluted the witness friendly - that the Natives in the House hearing the Voices from without came out to join them and the Witness's servant followed them out when the Natives dispersed themselves about the grounds some taking corn and other Melons - that the witness hearing a voice saw a white man who came up to him and they saluted each other - that the Strange White Man asked the Witness if his name was John Tarlington to which he replied "Yes, and your name is Nicholas Redman if I am not mistaken." "I suppose" continued the witness "you want to See Thomas Malong" -that he replied "Yes" - then said the witness " he will be here presently" that soon after said Malong came up to the witness before he went to his acquaintance saying to the Witness "John what brought all these Natives here" that the Natives then asking for some more Bread and none being in the House the witness's wife went out to get some accompanied
by Charley the Native that in a few minutes after leaving the House the Native Terri-bandied threw a spear at the Witness's free man Joseph Collins, which wounded him so desperately that he died in a few days that they then attacked the witness and wounded him in three places with spears and moreover beat him with waddles that he was fortunate enough to Escape with his Life by concealing himself in a Loft that the youngest of the Natives called little George (said to be put to death by the Prisoner) thrust a spear wantonly through his arm and the Wound he received in his side was given him by little Jemmy the other Native (also said to be put to death by the Prisoners) - that Nicholas Redman was next barbarously murdered and mangled and Malloy was also severely wounded in endeavouring to Escape—that the said Natives then plundered the House and Premises of his Stock and every kind of Property he had - that when the witness thought they were gone he came forth from his concealment and went in quest of his wife whom he found had been severely beaten by Charley.

**Questions by the Court**

Q.- Were the Natives whom the Prisoners are charged with killing concerned in the murder of Redman?
A.- Yes—they were

Q.- How long is it since these murders happened?
A.- About Eighteen Months ago

Q.- How old did you suppose the Native "little George" might then be?
A.- About Eleven or Twelve years of Age, but I cannot speak to any one Certainty, they are so deceiving in their age - Jemmy appeared to be about Fifteen or Sixteen years of age.

Q.- Have you heard of any other Injuries committed by said Charley upon the White People since?
A.- I heard of Goodall being wounded by said Charley.

Q.- How did you hear said Charley had wounded Goodall?
A.- By Report.  

David Brown, a special constable who accompanied Rickerby to Powell’s farm, testified that the natives were very dangerous and he knew of many robberies and murders. He described how he had been speared in the throat while bringing water to his stock and that while pursuing the attacker he had been threatened by three others forcing his return home. Brown described this attack as taking place about two years before the trial on the day prior to being informed that a settler being killed. If the killed settler and the man killed on the race-ground were the same person it is possible to date the attack on Brown to mid February 1798. Jan Barkley-Jack on page 108 of Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed locates Brown’s farm on the left bank of York Reach, near present Wilberforce. His grant was dated 1798. In 1798, Brown would have been dangerously isolated, indicating that the attack on him may have been prompted by his location rather than any actions on his

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part. However, as a constable he had probably been on punitive expeditions. It is possible to theorise that after the attack on Tarlington’s farm the Aboriginal warriors headed northwest towards the Green Hills, killed the man on the race-ground, near the present Mulgrave station, turned north to cross the river and attacked Brown before disappearing into the bush.

‘David Brown being sworn deposed that he had seen the bodies of the deceased Natives that they appeared to him to have been murdered and he was ordered to take care of them until they were buried. That the Witness lives at the Hawkesbury, and saith the Natives are a very dangerous set of people and not to be trusted for after a man has given them all he has, they would not scruple to kill him - That about two years ago he was bringing water for his stock when one of the Natives threw a spear at him which struck him in the throat, and that in pursuing said Native three others came up which rendered it prudent and necessary for the witness to retire into his house - that he was informed the next day that a Settler had been killed - that the witness knows of many robberies and murders perpetrated by the Natives.'

April 1798
In April 1798, 5 grantees received a total of 130 acres.

April 1798
The reporting by Aboriginal people of the fate of the two runaways who took the mares from Parramatta signaled an Aboriginal awareness of the settler hierarchies and a degree of communication between the two.

‘It was reported by a native woman from the Hawkesbury, that she had seen the two mares which were stolen some time since from Parramatta, and that they were in the neighbourhood of that river. She also mentioned, that one of the men who went off with them had been killed by the natives, and that the other had perished with hunger.'

The bones of the horses were found by two men exploring a day’s journey to the northwest of Richmond Hill, which again points to the confidence of some settlers in venturing into the bush.

The number of convict runaways who disappeared into the bush to die or find a new life makes it impossible to quantify the number of Europeans killed by Aboriginal people. Irish convicts who came in the The Queen in 1791 seem to have been besotted with dreams of making their way to China. John Wilson in January 1798 reported seeing the

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skeletons of fifty Europeans who had perished in the woods. Some would have starved. Some would have been speared. Others would have been taken in by Aboriginal people.

David Collins’ scant praise of the relative worth of Irish convicts and the “naked savages of the mountains” must be placed within the context of Enlightenment thought on the development of mankind. Most thinkers still subscribed to monogenesis. Many thinkers argued that the progression from hunting to pastoralism to agriculture to mercantilism was like the progression of a child to adulthood. The discovery of people outside Biblical history in the Americas, South Seas and Australia in varying degrees of progress complicated this simple explanation. Some thinkers from Vitruvius to Montesquieu argued that differences in climate were enough to explain differences in appearance and character. Buffon qualified this by theorizing that as people moved away from the centre they improved or degenerated. Kames was sympathetic to the concept of stages of maturity, but qualified it when considering First People by suggesting that the fall of the Tower of Babel brought about “local creations”. To complicate these explanations there was uncertainty as to whether or not these perceived changes were to mankind’s benefit.

Collins’ skirted dangerously close to polygenesis in the following extracts. That he did not fully articulate this position probably reflects his awareness that polygenesis was heretical and threatened Biblical and moral authority. His use of the phrase, “polished civilised kingdom” shows clearly his position in this controversy. “Could it be imagined, that at this day, there was existing in a polished civilised kingdom a race of beings (for they do not deserve the appellation of men) so extremely ignorant, and so little humanised as these were, compared with whom the naked savages of the mountains were an enlightened people?”

David Collins condemned Aboriginal people as being the exception to the rule that every country had some trace of religion. He argued that while Aboriginal people distinguished between good and bad, they had no capacity for reason and were unable to link the distinction between right and wrong with any hope of a life after death. This distinction was critical in Collins’ belief that Aboriginal people were at the level of “brute creation”. It is also a critical element in racist discourse. At the practical level, the absence of an

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In contemplating Collins’ polished hypocrisy, consideration should be given the lengths the colonial legal system (which Collins was responsible for) went to obtain a guilty verdict against Thomas Bannister for the murder of John Coulson in December 1797. Having failed to prove any evidence of his guilt Bannister was made to handle and bury Coulson’s body in the belief that the body would bleed if touched by the murderer. Banister gladly buried the body as a last friendly gesture. The body did not bleed and Bannister was found not guilty. P51-51, Collins, David, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume II, London 1802, A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1975. Similarly Newton Fowell in a letter to his father written on the 19th of February 1789 described the execution of a “Black man” for “runing a Muck”, killing his wife, three children and a man. The man was “broke on the Wheel”. His flesh was torn off, his limbs were broken and his head chopped off. It is unclear whether the “Black man” was an Aboriginal man or a convict. Pages 105-106, Nance Irvine (ed.), The Sirius Letters, The Fairfax Library, Sydney, 1988.
organized religion denied the settlers the opportunity to impose control through Christianity because it was impossible to overthrow the priests and their idols.

‘It has been asserted by an eminent divine [Blair’s Sermons, vol i Sermon I,] 38 that no country has yet been discovered where some trace of religion was not to be found. From every observation and inquiry I could make among these people, from the first to the last of my acquaintance with them, I can safely pronounce them an exception to this opinion. I am certain that they do not worship either sun, moon, or star; that, however necessary fire may be to them, it is not an object of adoration; neither have they respect for any particular beast, bird, or fish. I never could discover any object, either substantial or imaginary, that impelled them to the commission of good actions, or deterred them from the perpetration of what we deem crimes.

There indeed existed among them some idea of a future state, but not connected in any wise with religion; for it had no influence whatever on their lives and actions. On their being often questioned as to what became of them after their decease, some answered that they went either on or beyond the great water; but by far the greater number signified, that they went to the clouds. Conversing with Bennillong after his return from England, where he had obtained much knowledge of our customs and manners, I wished to learn what were his ideas of the place from which his countrymen came, and led him to the subject by observing, that all the white men here came from England. I then asked him where the black men (or Eora) came from? He hesitated; did they come from any island? His answer was, that he knew of none: they came from the clouds (alluding perhaps to the aborigines of the country); and when they died, they returned to the clouds (Boo-row-e). He wished to make me understand that they ascended in the shape of little children, first hovering in the tops and in the branches of trees; and mentioned something about their eating, in that state, their favourite food, little fishes. 39

If this idea of the immortality of the soul should excite a smile, is it more extraordinary than the belief which obtains among some of us, that at the last day the various disjointed bones of men shall find out each its proper owner, and be re-united? The savage here treads close upon the footsteps of the Christian.

The natives who inhabit the harbour to the northward, called by us Port Stephens, believed that five white men who were cast away among them (as has been before shown) had formerly been their countrymen, and took one of them to the grave where, he told him, the body he at that time occupied had been interred. If this account, given us by men who may well be supposed to deal in the marvellous, can be depended upon, how much more ignorant are the natives of Port Stephens, who live only thirty leagues to the northward of us, than the natives of and about Port Jackson!

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38 Hugh Blair was another member of the Scottish Enlightenment. His sermons were apparently not controversial and aimed towards the upper class. As yet I have not been able to access the relevant sermon.
39 This concept of spirits moving is consistent with my contention that Aboriginal people thought that the settlers were spirits on the move. The huge hauls of fish made in Sydney Harbour by the settlers and in Botany Bay by La Perouse support this view.
The young people who resided in our houses were very desirous of going to church on Sundays, but knew not for what purpose we attended. I have often seen them take a book, and with much success imitate the clergyman in his manner (for better and readier mimics can no where be found), laughing and enjoying the applause which they received.

That they have ideas of a distinction between - good - and - bad - is evident from their having terms in their language significant of these qualities. Thus, the sting-ray was (wee-re) bad; it was a fish of which they never ate. The patta-go-rang or kangaroo was (bood-yer-re) good, and they ate it whenever they were fortunate enough to kill one of these animals.

To exalt these people at all above the brute creation, it is necessary to show that they had the gift of reason, and that they knew the distinction between - right – and - wrong -, as well as between what food was good and what was bad. Of these latter qualities their senses informed them; but the knowledge of right and wrong could only proceed from reason. It is true, they had no distinction in terms for these qualities--wee-re and bood-yer-re alike implying what was good and bad, and right and wrong. Instances however were not wanting of their using them to describe the sensations of the mind as well as of the senses; thus their enemies were wee-re: their friends bood-yer-re. On our speaking of cannibalism, they expressed great horror at the mention, and said it was wee-re. On seeing any of our people punished or reproved for ill-treating them, they expressed their approbation, and said it was bood-yer-re, it was right. Midnight murders, though frequently practised among them whenever passion or revenge were uppermost, they reprobated; but applauded acts of kindness and generosity, for of both these they were capable. A man who would not stand to have a spear thrown at him, but ran away, was a coward, jee-run, and wee-re. But their knowledge of the difference between right and wrong certainly never extended beyond their existence in this world; not leading them to believe that the practice of either had any relation to their future state; this was manifest from their idea of quitting this world, or rather of entering the next, in the form of little children, under which form they would re-appear in this.

A few pages later on Collins reflected some topical Great Chain of Being thinking.

‘there was one man who, but for the gift of speech, might very well have passed for an orangoutang. He was remarkably hairy; his arms appeared of an uncommon length; in his gait he was not perfectly upright; and in his whole manner seemed to have more of

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40 Throughout the record of contact between Aboriginal people and settlers the issue of cannibalism has been a constant and irrational thread as pointed out by an Koori man to Lancelot Threlkeld, “SPEAKING ONCE TO A BLACK on the alleged stupidity of their race, and pointing out certain courses which they pursued as evidence thereof, he very indignantly retorted that “black fellows when hungry in the bush do not cast lots for one of themselves to be killed and eaten by the rest of his companions, as white fellows do when hungry in boats at sea.”” Gunson, Neil, Editor. Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L. E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974.

the brute and less of the human species about him than any of his countrymen. Those who have been in that country will, from this outline of him, recollect old We-rahng.\textsuperscript{42}

**May 1798**

In May 1798, 2 grantees received a total of 95 acres.

**June 1798**

Given that Aboriginal men from the Hawkesbury participated in the attack on the Prospect Hill farms in February 1798, it is logical to assume that they participated in the attacks on the northern farms.

‘Toward the latter end of this month, the settlers at the northern farms\textsuperscript{43} were much annoyed by the natives, who came down in a body, and burnt several of their houses. This was the more unfortunate, as those farms appeared to have had some industry bestowed upon them.\textsuperscript{44}

**December 1798**

The hot dry weather conditions in December 1798 would have been ideal for Aboriginal people to drive the settlers out by burning their crops and houses. That they didn’t supports my contention that the settlers were not seen as invaders but as unwelcome relatives.

‘The wheat harvest being over, and the country, as happened generally at this season of the year, every where on fire, those who were engaged in farming were reminded of the necessity of their exerting themselves by every practicable means to secure their crops, when stacked, against accident by fire. As yet, none had been heard of. In the early part of the month Fahrenheit’s thermometer at the Hawkesbury stood at 107 degrees in the shade’.\textsuperscript{45}

The following exchange which took place in December 1798 between Atkins and the commanding officer at the Hawkesbury, probably Lieutenant MacKellar\textsuperscript{46} shows that the military continued to see themselves as being independent of the civil authorities.

‘A very serious matter took place between me and the Com\textsuperscript{8} Officer of the Troops at the Hawkesbury. I sent for two men and a Woman from the Hawkesbury to appear before me as a Magistrate. The Com\textsuperscript{8} Officer informed me that the Woman was a soldier’s Wife and that he saw no reason why she should be made a prisoner and that he had detained her. I acquainted the Governor with it, who was exceedingly angry about it and wrote to him


\textsuperscript{43} Possibly around Castle Hill.


\textsuperscript{46} For his biography, see [http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020148b.htm?hilite=MacKellar](http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020148b.htm?hilite=MacKellar)
that the next time he interfered he would order him to be prosecuted for it. Thus at last the Civic power appears to have shaken off military Fetters. 47

1798: Conclusion

In 1798 a total of 571½ acres were granted to 25 individuals.

The historical records of 1798 demonstrate quite clearly that it is impossible to accurately calculate how many white people died at the hands of Aboriginal people. An unknown man was killed on the race ground in February 1798, David Brown was wounded in the same month on his farm at Wilberforce and a runaway convict was killed a day’s journey away from Richmond Hill in March or April. An unknown number of convicts disappeared into the bush. At least fifty of them died in the bush around Sydney. At Prospect Hill, the death of Joseph Collins was not noted by David Collins. His death is only known from the evidence of John Tarlington and burial records. Apart from John Tarlington’s evidence, there is no record of the death of a man whose name may have been Malong, Malloy or Malone.

Aboriginal warriors from the Hawkesbury participated in the attack on Tarlington’s farm in February 1798 in which three white men were killed and Tarlington and his wife were wounded. It is likely that they participated in another two killings on Prospect Hill during the same month. It is quite likely that they participated in the attack on the northern farms in June 1798. Yet it appears, apart from the killing of the man on the race ground, the wounding of David Brown and the killing of the runaway convict, that no attacks were made by Aboriginal warriors on settlers after April. No Aboriginal deaths were recorded on the Hawkesbury in 1798. It is possible that for most of 1798 there was no conflict around the Green Hills settlement.

The recording of events in 1798 clearly illustrates the difficulties that confront historians. Not all settler deaths at the hands of Aboriginal people were recorded and it is highly likely that there were killings of Aboriginal people that went unrecorded. David Collins’ Account must be read by the modern reader in the context of contemporary scientific and philosophical thought. His contempt for the convict settlers, runaway convicts and savages was a foil for his pride in the achievements of the “polished civilized kingdom”. Unfortunately the divisions and misconceptions that he peddled continue to haunt race relations in Australia. However, it cannot be taken from Collins that he worked hard to follow Phillip’s instructions regarding Aboriginal people that he worked collaboratively with Phillip and Dawes on compiling Aboriginal vocabularies and that he took a lively interest in Aboriginal affairs. No matter how jaundiced his view, the historical record would be the poorer without his efforts.

1799: Overview

The year 1799 saw two trials for the killing of Aboriginal people. Both had inconclusive results. One, because of the inability of the court to receive Aboriginal evidence and the other because of the court’s unwillingness to punish those convicted. The remonstrations

of the Governor “to put that article of his Majesty's instructions in force, which, in placing these people under the protection of the British Government, enjoined the punishing any injury done to their persons or property, according to the degree and nature of the offence” proved in the second trial to be hollow.

**January 1799**

“The criminal court of judicature was assembled at the close of the month; ... and a third sentenced to receive a severe corporal punishment, for having shot a native (man) at Botany Bay. Could the evidence of some of these people have been taken, it was supposed that he would have been capitally convicted, in which case he would certainly have suffered, the governor being determined to put that article of his Majesty's instructions in force, which, in placing these people under the protection of the British Government, enjoined the punishing any injury done to their persons or property, according to the degree and nature of the offence. 48

**January 1799**

In January 1799 there was one grant of 125 acres on the Hawkesbury.

**March 1799**

In March 1799 Aboriginal people warned the settlers of an approaching. The resultant flood which swept through the Hawkesbury was probably the result of drought-breaking torrential rain over the southern side of the Nepean/Hawkesbury catchment. Phillip and his officers had seen the detritus of a similar flood on their first exploration of the Hawkesbury. That the settlers were warned points quite clearly to the close relationship of at least some Aboriginal people and some of the settlers. It also lends weight to the contention that Aboriginal people did not fully comprehend the true identity of the invaders. It also points to an extensive communication network between Aboriginal people and refutes the settler perception that Aboriginal people were ignorant of their broader world.

**March 1799**

‘The dry weather which had so long prevailed, to the great detriment of the cultivated and pasture grounds, was succeeded by rain for two or three days, which greatly refreshed the gardens that were nearly wholly burnt up, and every where revived the perishing vegetation. At the Hawkesbury, however, an accident occurred, which, although not so ruinous to the colony at large as the drought, proved most destructive to the settlers in that district. This river, suddenly, and in the course of a very few hours, swelled to the height of fifty feet above its common level, and with such rapidity and power as to carry every thing before it. 49 The government store-house, which had been erected at the first settling of this part of the country, was not out of the reach of this inundation, and was swept away, with all the provisions that it contained. Many of the inhabitants were taken off from the ridges of their houses, by a few boats which they fortunately had among them, just in time to save their lives; for most of the dwellings

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49 A peak height of 16.76 metres was recorded.
were inundated, and the whole country appeared like an extensive lake. Many hogs, other live stock, poultry, with much of the produce of the last unfortunate harvest, and the domestic effects of the people, were hurried away by the torrent. Fortunately only one life was lost.

This was a most serious calamity; and, no cause having appeared to indicate an approaching overflow of the river, the settlers were not prepared for such a disaster. It was said, that the natives foresaw it, and advised the inhabitants; but this wanted confirmation. If true, the trait was a favourable one.\(^50\)

April 1799

In April 1799, there were two grants totaling 200 acres.

July to September: Events Leading to the Murders of Little Jemmy and Little George

Most of the witnesses in the October trial for the murder of two natives placed events in terms of weeks or months before the trial. Only two witnesses, Constable Rickaby and Corporal Farrell supplied dates in their evidence. As a result I have had to use inherent historical probability when compiling a sequence of events for those months.

July/August 1799

In late July or early August 1799, Lieutenant McKellar handed over command of the Hawkesbury to Lieutenant Hobby.\(^51\)

August 1799

In August 1799, 7 grantees received a total of 270 acres at the Hawkesbury.

Last days of August 1799

When Lieutenant Hobby stated that he was informed “that it was the intention of the natives to come down in numbers from the Blue Mountains to the Hawkesbury and to murder some of the white people and particularly some of the soldiers” he was vague about when he was informed saying that it was “About two months since, or thereabouts”. Given subsequent events I believe that Hobby was informed in late, rather than mid, August. He said he heard from Mr. Braithwaite that a soldier called Cooper\(^52\) was responsible for killing a native woman and child. A day or two later Smallsalts reported to Lieutenant Hobby that he had been attacked on the road between Parramatta and Sydney and had he not been armed he would have been killed.

About three weeks before the killing of Little Jemmy and Little George, on the 18\(^{th}\) September, Hodgkinson, a settler on the Argyle Reach of the Hawkesbury River, who

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\(^{51}\) Both McKellar and Hobby received landgrants at the Hawkesbury.

\(^{52}\) The NSW Corps Paylist and Muster Roll of 25th June 1798 to 24\(^{th}\) December 1799 records a Private Joseph Cooper. M'.Arthur Papers, Muster Rolls, CY 962, Mitchell Library.
appeared to get on well with Aboriginal people, went on an expedition to hunt pheasants or lyrebirds. He engaged Wimbow, a gamekeeper\(^{53}\) who lived with an Aboriginal woman to go with him. He also engaged Little George, Little Jemmy and possibly Charley, to accompany him. The three lads absconded at the time of going, probably because of the presence of Wimbow. As the female Wimbow was living with was Little Jemmy’s niece, it is likely that the three lads left to tell Terribandy, the father of the girl, and Little Jemmy’s brother that Wimbow was also going. With the benefit of hindsight the decision of Hodgkinson and Wimbow to set off without guides, was overconfident and foolhardy. However, the killing of Hodgkinson and Wimbow some distance from the settlement suggests a degree of trust on the part of Hodgkinson. The trial does not indicate exactly where the killings took place. The Sydney Gazette of the 15\(^{th}\) July 1804 stated that they were killed “on the second ridge of the mountains”\(^{54}\). However, there is enough evidence from later sources to indicate more specifically that the killings took place at Yellow Rock, a location visible from Richmond high up on the southern side of the Grose valley. A century later, S. Boughton in his *Reminiscences of Richmond*, wrote about George James, a constable, who could “point out the precise spot up the Grose River” where they were killed. In the same article Boughton recounted hearing Hodgkinson’s son, “John\(^{55}\) say he was only a boy when the sad event occurred, and have seen him point to the Yellow Rock in the Grose Mountains and heard him say, “That is where my father met his death.” This rock is a conspicuous landmark, and is plainly visible from Richmond.”\(^{56}\)

Exactly when they were killed is also unclear, however, the evidence of Lieutenant Hobby and Edward Powell, as reported by Thomas Rickaby points to sometime in late August.

The Judge-Advocate, Richard Dore, was unwell during much of August and it was not until the 29\(^{th}\) that a Criminal Court met. The first case involved a charge of assault by Mark Flood on Thomas Plomer at the Hawkesbury.\(^{57}\) There is a strong probability that this was the case for which Lieutenant Hobby “had been subpoenaed down to Sydney”. While in Sydney he reported the attack on Smallsalts to the Governor. On the next day, Andrew Thompson, a constable from the Hawkesbury, came down to tell him that Serjeant Goodall had been speared on his property\(^{58}\) on the road between Parramatta and the Hawkesbury. He was wounded three times with spears and beaten with waddies.

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\(^{53}\) That is, a hunter. McIntyre, who was killed by Pemulwuy was also a gamekeeper.

\(^{54}\) In April 1788 Governor Phillip “called the northernmost ridge the Carmarthen Hills ... and the southernmost ridge the Lansdowne Hills”. The first and second ridges were divided by the Grose River.

\(^{55}\) His son John was known as Hoskinson.

\(^{56}\) Page 291, S. Boughton (Cooramill), *Reminiscences of Richmond*, The Hawkesbury Herald. The Reminiscences originally appeared in the Hawkesbury Herald in 1903. These extracts come from a collection of photocopies held in Windsor Library. It is not possible to identify which issue the extracts come from. S.Boughton lived from 1840 to 1910.


\(^{58}\) Serjeant Goodall’s grant was near the junction of Seven Hills road and the Old Windsor Road near the Bella Vista estate and on the northern side of Old Windsor Road.
Major White and Charley were among the dozen attackers. Serjeant Goodall was not expected to live. 59

The Governor and Lieutenant Hobby agreed that “something must be done”. Lieutenant Hobby told Governor that he would send out a party to kill five or six natives “wherever they were to be found”. The Governor gave his permission for Lieutenant Hobby to act discretionally and Lieutenant Hobby returned to the Hawkesbury. Whether Lieutenant Hobby sent a party out on his return is unknown.

Around the end of August and the beginning of September, William Bladely 60 was out duck shooting 61 when he met three natives, Major White, Young Jemmy who was killed by the prisoners, and a third unknown. Bladely asked Major White why the natives were angry with the white men. Major White replied they were angry with the white men, particularly the soldiers. Major White threatened him. Major Worgan came up with Charley and twelve others and Bladely asked him why the natives were angry. Worgan replied that they were not angry with him, that he was a good fellow, but the soldiers were very bad. The two groups then joined together. Charley came up to him and asked if he was going home. He said he wasn’t. When he got home his wife told him his home had been plundered by the same seventeen warriors.

7th September 1799 and the following days

Corporal Farrell told Lieutenant Hobby 62 the natives who had wounded Goodall were on the South Creek farm of John Burnes/Burns. This farm was upstream of the Bladely farm and on the same bank. Corporal Farrell, a private and Joseph Phelps, a settler brought in Charley and Cappy/Coppy. Cappy/Coppy escaped but was wounded in the process. Charley was sent down to the Governor under guard where Governor Hunter found himself caught in a most telling moral dilemma. He was unable to order the execution of Charley not because of any legal irregularities but because Charley was an Ignorant Creature. It was because of his lowly place in Creation that any form of legal process was impossible. Governor Hunter adopted a Pontius Pilate stratagem by telling Corporal Farrell and Private Henry Lambe, “that the commanding officer at the Hawkesbury should have punished him upon the spot where he was taken”. When questioned by the court Lieutenant Hobby said that while Charley admitted being present, an Aboriginal known as Major White had speared Goodall. Hobby said that the settlers were upset at the release of Charley, that he was “a great savage and had been concerned in murdering a person upon the race ground and supposed to have been concerned in other murders”.

59 I can find no reference to his death at this time. I found in the Land Grants Records a reference to William Goodhall selling his Toongabbie District grant to Richard Fitzgerald in 1802. A William Goodall who had been a NSW Corps soldier died in 1828.

60 Bladely was also recorded as Blady and Blady. William Bladely married Ann Green/Cowley who had been Assistant Surgeon Dennis Considen’s partner in the colony. On his return to England Ann was given a fifty acre grant on South Creek, immediately to the south of the present overpass on the left hand or western bank. It is still farmed.

61 Probably on South Creek.

62 Private Farrell stated that this was 7th September 1799.
On the Governor’s orders, Mark Flood, a successful farmer, took Charley to Cummings’ farm. Given that Tarlington and Cummings were neighbours on Prospect Hill, it was unlikely that Charley would stay around.

**Early September 1799**

The fate of Hodgkinson and Wimbow remained unknown for about a fortnight. Mrs. Hodgkinson gave birth to a child during this time. About a fortnight before it was known that Hodgkinson and Wimbow had been killed, and probably soon after they were killed, a group of Aboriginal people came to the house of William Fuller, a free man who lived by his labour. A gin, or wife, of little Jemmy had Fuller’s blanket wrapped round her. Fuller had lent Wimbow a blanket, some time before Wimbow and Hodgkinson went into the Woods.

Lieutenant Hobby sent out a party to recover the bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbow. Based on Fuller’s evidence this was at least a fortnight after Fuller reported seeing Little Jemmy’s gin with Wimbow’s blanket. The party was led by a serjeant and accompanied by several settlers, including Archer, Freebody, Fuller and Metcalfe. Later Metcalfe used his anger at the state of their bodies to justify the killing of the Aboriginal lads who returned Hodgkinson’s musket. How the party found the bodies is not made clear. The party had orders to shoot natives on sight. While confident that the order to shoot on sight was specific to that expedition alone, Lieutenant Hobby thought it possible that the orders may have been misunderstood. Certainly the settlers thought they had orders to kill natives on and after the expedition. This confusion was further compounded by Lieutenant MacKellar’s evidence.

Jonas Archer went out with the party to recover the bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbow. He saw the naked bodies covered with wood. Both were speared and mangled. Their clothes, provisions, arms and blankets were gone. He understood that the orders to shoot on sight were in force after the expedition and would have had no compunction in so doing.

**Mid September 1799**

About six weeks prior to the trial, around the middle of September, Yellowgowy came to Jonas Archer’s house. Archer asked Yellowgowy who had killed Thomas Hodgkinson and Wimbow. Yellowgowy told him that Major White and another whose name Archer could not recollect met Hodgkinson and Wimbow in the woods and asked them if they had found any pheasants. Hodgkinson replied that they had not. Major White said they would get some the next day and they camped, making two separate fires. Yellowgowy said Major White and the other native killed them that night. They had run their spears through their bodies. When questioned about the motives for the killing; Archer replied that it may have been for their supplies or because Wimbow had the daughter of Major

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63 ‘A man of the name of Flood (who had been left by Mr. Hogan, when here in the ship Marquis Cornwallis in 1796, in the care of some ground which that gentleman had purchased)’ page 158, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol 2, 1974

64 As distinct from others by implication.

65 What we now call lyrebirds.
White’s companion living with him. Archer said that she was not forcibly detained and that she may have left him if she chose. Archer said that he knew of two recent incidents where white men had taken native women against the wishes of their men but the women were with the white men by choice. Archer said that Hodgkinson was on friendly terms with the deceased natives and he saw him harbour and feed them. Archer said that he knew Major White and had seen the two boys who were killed with him. He believed that one of the two killed belonged to the same tribe. The two boys had frequently been on his farm. The one who escaped had stolen fowls from his barn. The eldest of the boys killed told him that his brother had killed a man on the race ground. The younger of those killed had stolen corn from his barn. He had engaged Major White to go into the woods with him at the time Hodgkinson and Wimbow were killed.

The day after Yellowgowy’s visit, Archer told Little Jemmy that Major White had Hodgkinson’s gun and to bring it in. He then told the widow Hodgkinson to expect the gun in a few days.

**18th September 1799**

On the evening of 18th September 1799 James Metcalfe was working on Robert Forrester’s farm. He was approached, according to the defence, by several Aboriginal men. How many is unclear and debatable. Almost certainly there were the three lads and Major Worgan. They each carried a spear, woomera and waddy. One of them carried Hodgkinson’s musket. According to Metcalfe the natives were menacing and levelled their spears at him. Metcalfe said that he asked them about the deaths of Hodgkinson and Wimbow and that they replied “in a broken tongue” that they had slept with them the night before the murder. The natives then wished to know if the white men were angry. Metcalfe being in fear of his life said they were not. The natives then gave Hodgkinson’s musket to Metcalfe. Metcalfe invited the three lads into Robert Forrester’s home. The elder of them, according to the evidence picked up Metcalfe’s coat and put it on. Later when the lads were seized the coat apparently concealed a tomahawk. Isabella Ramsay, the partner of Robert Forrester was alone in the house having supper with her children. Metcalfe said that he then questioned the lads again about the murders and they replied “not angry with any more white men, but very bad soldier, very bad them”. Metcalfe then left with the musket, leaving his master’s partner and children alone with three apparently murderous savages! Metcalfe headed towards the widow Hodgkinson’s farm with the musket. Thomas Sambourne testified that he was working on Edward Powell’s farm when James Metcalfe came up to him with a musket and told him that he had been alarmed by the approach of the three natives who gave him the musket and that he had taken them to Forrester’s home.

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66 Which raises the question, where did the other lad come from? If it was Charley it is possible that he was picked up on one of the corn fields after his parents were killed. This could have been at Prospect or on the Hawkesbury.

67 Archer apparently did not ask for the return of Wimbow’s musket and it apparently was not returned, the reason for this is unclear.

68 Robert Forrester appears to have been elsewhere. I can find no reference to his location on the 18th of September. Robert Forrester was examined by Lieutenant Macarthur for the killing of an Koori boy in 1794.

69 The court found that Thomas Lambourne had prevaricated in his evidence.
Metcalfe gave the musket to widow Hodgkinson and described the three lads to her. She identified them as being those that were to have gone to the mountains with her husband, but who had absconded at the time of going and were not seen again until that night. Metcalfe then moved onto other farms telling them that the natives were in great numbers at the backs of the farms and that “he had every reason to believe that they came with no good intent”.

The exact movements of the various settlers and convicts in and out of Forrester’s house from then on are quite confusing. John Pearson who worked on Robert Forrester’s farm said that he went to the house and asked the three boys who had killed Hodgkinson and was told that Terribandy,70 Major White and others were responsible. According to Pearson, Freebody and Powell then came in. Powell may have come in later according to Ramsay. Powell said that he had reported to Lieutenant Hobby on his return from Parramatta and had a meal at the barracks before going home. Powell said that when he came into the house Ramsay was alone with Aboriginal people. According to Pearson; Timms, Butler, Metcalfe and Sambourne came in later. Thomas Sambourne described going to the Forrester home where the three boys told him that another Aborigine, Major Worgan71 was “out upon the ground” and that he went down to him and stayed with him until nine or ten before returning to the house.

The prisoners claimed in their defence that the three lads were questioned about the killing of Hodgkinson and Wimbow. The prisoners alleged that the three boys admitted sleeping with Hodgkinson and Wimbow the night before they were killed. They said they had been killed for the victuals they had with them. On the second night while asleep their muskets were secured and they were clubbed to death.

Isabell Ramsay said they had been robbed previously by the natives and she was very afraid for the lives of herself and her children. Isabell Ramsay said that she had some recollection of the questions but because she was so frightened she could not recollect whether the lads camped with Hodgkinson and Wimbow the night before or the night they was killed. This issue of settler fear of Aboriginal people is one that is not adequately represented in the historical record. It must be remembered that many of the convict settlers were illiterate and had no opportunity to record their experiences. As well, the authorities were keen to encourage settlement and would have been reluctant to publicise the fears of settlers, particularly the women. However, there is a nearly contemporaneous observation of the South Africa Boers that illuminates these fears.72

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70 Apparently the brother of the eldest Koori killed.
71 Most of Aboriginal people mentioned in the trial had anglicized names. “Major” appears to be a European corruption of “Mid-ger”, the Koori form of “Mister”. See Page 180, Collins, David, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume II, London 1802, A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1975. Major Worgan acquired his name because of the similarity of his name Wurrjan, to that of Surgeon Worgan.
72 It is important to note two important differences between the Hawkesbury and South Africa. In South Africa the Boors were cattle farmers and moved if danger threatened. The commando was a mounted body and horses were not available on the Hawkesbury at this time.
‘Often, a family able to defy fifty Caffres, will go off upon finding the foot-prints of three or four about the house. These few are forthwith concluded to be emissaries from a large body of hidden assailants. Two or three Hottentots running from the premises, - a rumour of cattle stealing, or of other violences, - or a few vagabonds, having been seen here and there, - will be enough to cause equal alarm: ... Conscience stings them for the many crimes they have committed at home, and every domestic scene unceasingly reminds them of some evil deed done there, and the fear of vengeance allows them no rest. They know, or they imagine, that the surviving relatives of their victims, nay whole tribes of their adversaries, are aware of their offences, and on the watch to avenge them. Night bring with it the dread of attack instead of its wonted repose, ... the fear of revenge for their crimes brings them naturally into this train of thought – ‘If all whose vengeance we have to apprehend, could but be destroyed, then we could live in safety.’ They dwell so much on this reflection, that it really becomes their fixed plan, unscrupulously to escape from danger by this means. Secondly, although the motive be concealed, still it is openly professed as the belief of the whole class, that ‘the utter extermination of these villains,’ (meaning all heathens not in their service) ‘is the sole means of peace to the good burghers on their farms.’ ... The means are commandos.’

Ramsay recollected Jonas Archer and others saying that the eldest of the boys killed had been concerned in the killing of the man upon the race ground. Apparently Ramsay and the children were left alone with the three lads before Freebody, Metcalfe and Powell returned. Powell apparently accused the natives of having killed Hodgkinson and Wimbow and wanted to kill them. Butler came in with a cutlass wanting to hang the blackfellows. Metcalf claimed he did not want to kill them but said “take them outside and find out who had killed Hodgkinson and Wimbow.” Powell said that he understood it was the Governor’s and the Commanding Officer’s orders that the natives should be killed when met. By this time, according to Isabella Ramsay there were a great number of people assembled at her house. Thomas Sambourne said there were about nine or ten. Powell directed Butler to go to his house and get some rope and the hands of the natives were tied behind them. Pearson said that he saw the three boys with their hands tied behind their backs and ropes around their necks. One of the boys he said had a tomahawk concealed under his coat. Timms, Butler, Metcalf, Freebody, Powell and Thompson then, according to Pearson, took the three boys outside. About fifteen minutes after they were taken from her house, Ramsay said she heard two muskets being fired. David White, who was in his own house, testified that he heard some natives cry out, followed by a shot and a second shot some forty seconds later. He headed towards the sounds and on the way called into widow Hodgkinson. She was not at home. He waited and she returned with Simon Freebody and Mr. Timms. David White testified that Simon Freebody told him that Butler was holding a native by a rope around his neck and Powell

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74 It appears strange that they would go off and leave her alone with the boys. From Powell’s evidence it appears that Isabell Ramsay was alone with the boys until he came into the house. There is a possibility that Robert Forrester was present in the house but this is unlikely as Mary Archer would almost certainly have identified him.

75 This may be the first written use of the term.

76 Powell denied any involvement saying that he had gone to bed earlier.
fired at him but he escaped. Freebody declared he killed Little George by thrusting a cutlass into him and Metcalf shot Little Jemmy who was held by Timms.

Isabella Ramsay said that soon after hearing the shots Timms came back to the house and asked for a spade. Ramsay, the children and Pearson went to bed.

19th September 1799

Mary Archer went to Thomas Rickaby, the Chief constable at the Hawkesbury and informed him that on the previous night two natives had been killed. She told him that John Pearson had told her that the constable, Edward Powell, Simon Freebody, James Metcalfe, William Timms, William Butler, Thomas Sambourne and Bishop Thompson were all together when the natives were killed, but that Pearson, Sambourne and Thompson had nothing to do with the murder.

With two more constables, David Browne and John Soare, Thomas Rickaby went to Powell’s farm. In the house he saw Metcalfe, Thompson, Timms and Sambourne, all of whom denied any knowledge of the murders. Sambourne said that the dead lads were as decently buried as any of the white people who had been killed by the natives. Outside the house he saw Powell, a constable, who denied any knowledge of the murders. After a search he found the graves and dug up the bodies. He then summoned Lieutenant Hobby, the commanding officer at the Hawkesbury and Mr. Braithwaite. Their examination of the bodies showed that the hands of both the boys had been tied behind them. The younger, Little George, had been pierced in the left breast and his right hip had been slashed. The injuries appeared to have been caused by a cutlass. The older, Little Jemmy, had been shot through the right breast and his head was nearly severed from his body. This injury also appears to have been caused by a cutlass.

On further interrogation Powell said that it was his understanding that natives were to be killed on the Governor’s orders. Lieutenant Hobby denied that he had given any such orders and did not believe the Governor had given any such orders. When questioned about the brutality of the killings Powell then said that it was not so inhuman compared to that of Hodgkinson and Wimbow. Powell then claimed that Sarah Hodgkinson had asked that the boys be killed. This claim was confirmed by Sarah Hodgkinson.

When questioned by the court Rickaby provided some background information on the Aboriginal boys. He had heard that the youngest boy had been shot and wounded while stealing corn and the eldest was involved in killing a man upon the race ground. However both boys had since got on well with the settlers and been received into settler houses. He knew of parties being sent out after outrages had been committed and that those parties

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77 Rickaby’s Creek is named after him. His name is spelt as both Rickaby and Rickerby in contemporary documents. My inconsistency tends to reflect the document I am working on.

78 Powell’s position as a constable reflected his status as a free settler. Powell had been a sailor on the Second Fleet and returned as a settler in 1793.

79 Robert Braithwaite had a naval background. Given the hostility of Richard Dore, the Deputy Judge-Advocate towards Governor Hunter and the polarity of the naval and military officers on the jury; it is entirely possible that the matter only came to trial because of Braithwaite shared a naval background with Governor Hunter.
had “often killed some of the natives they were sent in pursuit of”. Charles had been captured and released reputedly for spearing Goodall.

**September 1799**

’Two boys murdered at Richmond in revenge for killing of Hodgkinson and Wimbow.  

**October 1799**

In October 1799 13 grantees received a total of 996 acres.

**14th October 1799: A Commentary on the Trial**

The trial commenced on 14th October 1799. The court was of interest because of its composition. Like his predecessor, David Collins, the Judge-Advocate, Richard Dore lacked legal training and found law a challenge. As a land holder on the Hawkesbury he had a vested interest in the trial. The other officials were also of interest. Captain Henry Waterhouse, Lieutenant John Shortland and Lieutenant Matthew Flinders, were naval officers. Captain John McArthur, Lieutenant Neil McKellar, and Lieutenant Thomas Davies were NSW Corps officers. The naval officers were probably more experienced and professional than their NSW Corps counterparts and probably let this show in their questions. The NSW Corps officers were on the ground and had a vested interest in protecting Lieutenant Hobby who displayed an almost cavalier attitude to his duties. Lieutenant McKellar as the owner of Argyle Farm was a neighbor of the accused men. While the officers all agreed the accused were guilty of killing the two natives, the officers were evenly divided between the two services when it came to punishment. An earlier trial in 1799, R. v. Nicholls, 12-16 March 1799 also under Richard Dore also illustrated the challenges posed to justice at this time. Isaac Nicholls, the chief overseer of convict labour gangs fell foul of the officers of the New South Wales Corps for doing his job properly and allocating labour equitably. He found himself in court on trumped up charges and was sentenced to transportation to Norfolk Island for fourteen years. The trial of Nicholls well illustrated the control of the Corps over the court by the presence of their officers on it, and Gore’s hostility towards Governor Hunter.  

The accused were Edward Powell, Simon Freebody, James Metcalfe, William Timms and William Butler, settlers and assigned convicts on the Argyle Reach of the Hawkesbury River. They were charged with the murder of two young unidentified Aboriginal men. Through the evidence of witnesses it is possible to identify the two who were killed by the English names given to them by settlers. They were Little Jemmy and Little George. The identity of the lad who escaped remains unclear. It may have been and probably was

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80 The trial was the first time since Watkins Tench the name of Aboriginal people was recorded. Note the anglicized names.
82 Only Captain Waterhouse used the word “murder”.
Charley. Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury had not been identified by name in written records since 1792.

The evidence was frustratingly limited, contradictory and often self-serving. An almost schizophrenic record of relations between settlers and Aboriginal people emerges as a result. While some settlers engaged confidently with Aboriginal people as equals, others showed fear, anger and brutishness. As there were no Aboriginal witnesses it is difficult to identify reasons for particular actions.

The court explored the background to the killings with a range of witnesses.

During the two months of his command at the Hawkesbury Lieutenant Hobby said that two white people, Hogkinson and Wimbow, had been killed by the natives and one, Goodall, wounded and left for dead. In the same period there had been repeated thefts. In the same period two natives had been killed. It is logical to assume that he was referring to Little Jemmy and Little George. The implication being that the mother and child killed by Cooper had been killed previously to his taking command.

Mr. Braithwaite had been a Hawkesbury resident for about twelve months. In that time four men had been killed by the natives, Goodall had been desperately wounded. In the same period he knew of about five natives having been killed including one by a servant of his after being attacked for killing a kangaroo.

Braithwaite was of the opinion that the people on the front farms were secure, while those on the back farms and more remote places were exposed to great danger. As well travelers on the roads had been attacked, even when armed.

The Trial
There are two slightly different versions of Governor Hunter’s dispatch of 2nd January 1800 in HRA and HRNSW. I have included the HRNSW version as the most informative to introduce and conclude the trial and the HRA for the body of the trial. I have also included some of Rickaby’s evidence from http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/R%20v%20Powell,%201799.htm that was excluded from both HRNSW and HRA.

‘Governor Hunter to the Duke of Portland.
Sydney, NSW South Wales,
2nd January, 1800.

My Lord Duke,

Two native boys have lately been most barbarously murdered by several of the settlers at the Hawkesbury River, not withstanding Orders have upon this subject been repeatedly

84 The only General order earlier than 1800, bearing upon the treatment of the natives, which has survived is that of 22nd February, 1796 (HRNSW vol, iii, p. 25), in which Hunter directed the settlers at the Hawkesbury to assemble for mutual protection immediately any large numbers of natives were seen lurking
given pointing out in what instances only they were warranted in punishing with such severity. The above two youths had been in the habit of being much with the settlers, but from the manner in which this shocking murder was perpetrated I judged it highly necessary to have the murderers taken immediately into custody, and a court was instantly ordered for their trial. The court having unanimously found the prisoners guilty of killing two natives, were divided with respect to the nature of the sentence, as your Grace will discover by the trial, which is herewith sent at the instance of the majority of the court. The manner in which this decision appears to have been come to, I conceive, my Lord, not to have been correct. I am of opinion that a reference to His Majesty's Minister should have been recommended by the court to the Governor and not from the court directly and independently of the Commander-in-Chief, because the power either to approve and confirm or to moderate the severity of any criminal sentence is delegated by His Majesty to him.\(^85\)

Those men found guilty of murder are now at large and living upon their farms, as much at their ease as ever. I conceive, from the nature of the Governor's authority, I might have rejected the bail and kept the prisoners under confinement until the effect of the special reference was known; but I have been unwilling to shew to the colony that any difference is likely to take place between the judicial and executive authorities, particularly when in the smallest degree inconsistent with lenity. If I am mistaken in my ideas upon the above trial, I hope and request to be instructed.

You will discover, my Lord, what a host of evidence is brought forward from that quarter to prove what numbers of white people have been killed by the natives;\(^86\) but could we have brought with equal ease such proofs from the natives as they are capable of affording of the wanton and barbarous manner in which many of them have been destroyed, and to have confronted them with those of the white inhabitants, we should have found an astonishing difference in the numbers. Every information within my power respecting the light in which the natives of this country were to be held as a people now under the protection of His Majesty's article in His Majesty's instructions to the Governor, which is strong and is as follows:- "You are to endeavour by every possible means to open as intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoying all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them and if any of our subjects should want only destroy them, or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment, according to the degree of the offence."\(^87\)

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\(^85\) See Hunter’s commission (vol ii, p. 112), wherein he is empowered to grant reprieves in extraordinary cases and refer them to the home authorities.

\(^86\) The assistant surgeon stated to the court that during his residence of four years and a half at the out settlement, twenty six men had been killed thirteen wounded by natives on the banks of the Hawkesbury. He was not asked to state how many natives had been killed by the whites.

\(^87\) Vol ii, p. 230.
The intentions of His Majesty from this part of the Governor's Instructions are clear and evident. The above cruel act is the second which I have brought before a Court of Criminal Judicature in order to prevent as far as in my power, this horrid practice of wantonly destroying the natives. Much of that hostile disposition which has occasionally appeared in those people has been but too often provoked by the treatment which many of them have received from the white inhabitants, and which have scarcely been heard of by those who have the power of bestowing punishment.

The mischief's which those people can with ease to themselves do to us renders it highly essential to our comfort and security that we should live on amicable terms with them. Fire in the hands of a body of irritated and hostile natives may with little trouble to them ruin our prospects of an abundant harvest, to that is the very season in which they might spread desolation over our cultivated lands, and reduce us to extreme distress; and they are not ignorant of having that power in their hands, for after the destruction of the above two boys they threatened to burn our crops as soon as it could be effected. I cautioned the settlers in consequence that they might be upon their guard. They did not, however, attempt it.

Their violence against the military proceeded from a soldier having in a most shameful and wanton manner killed a native woman and child, a circumstance which had not come to my knowledge until long after the fact and been committed.

I have, &c.,
JNO. HUNTER.

“(Enclosure No. 1)

TRIAL FOR MURDER OF TWO NATIVES


The prisoners, five in number, were brought up before the Criminal Court, comprised the Judge-Advocate, Capt. Waterhouse, Lieutenant Shortland, Lieutenant Flinders, Captain Macarthur, Lieutenant McKellar, and Lieutenant Davies. The crime with which they were charged was the murder of two native boys on the 18th September, 1799. From the evidence given at the trial (which lasted four days) it appears that the prisoners and other settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury - determined to be revenged on the natives for several then recent murders and robberies - seized three native boys who had ventured amongst the farms on the river bank, and who foolishly brought with them the musket, of a settler, who had been treacherously murdered in his sleep by a party of natives with whom he had been camping in quest of game. There was nothing to show that the native boys had been concerned in the outrage beyond their possession of the musket, although it was alleged by some of the prisoners that they had admitted having camped with the settler on the night before he was murdered. The boys, however, were seized, the youngest of them being only about 13 years of age, their hands were lashed behind their backs, and the after nightfall they were led out. one of them managed to effect his escape, but the two youngest were butchered - one of them hacked to death with a cutlass, the other shot. The complete evidence is too bulky and contains too many repetitions to warrant its inclusion in these pages; but the depositions of the officer commanding at the Hawkesbury threw some light upon the relations which existed between the natives and the settlers, and as they can reasonably be relied upon, they are printed in extenso on the next page. (Only Lieutenant Hobby’s evidence was included. I have subsumed it with the HRA account.)


Richard Dore.
Thomas Rickerby being duly sworn duly, deposeth that on the nineteenth day of September last Mary Archer came to this witness and inquired if he had heard of two Natives having been killed - that he answered "he had not." That Mary Archer then observed to him that two Natives had been killed the night before: that the witness then asked her if she knew who killed them, that she answered "Yes" - that John Pearson had told her Edward Powell the Constable, Simon Freebody, James Metcalfe, William Timms, William Butler, Thomas Sambourne and Bishop Thompson were all together when the Said Natives were killed, but that Pearson, Sambourne and Thompson had nothing to do with the Murder - That in consequence of this information the witness being Chief Constable at the Hawkesbury went up to Powell’s with two more constables namely David Browne and John Soare that Powell was from home - that there were in Powell’s house Metcalfe, Thompson and he believes Timms and Sambourne - that on enquiring of them if they knew anything about the two Native Boys being murdered, they, one and all made an answer that they knew nothing about it - but Sambourne said they were as decently buried as any of the White People that had been killed by the Natives - that the witness asked Sambourne if he would show him where they were buried - that Sambourne told him "No" - that on leaving Powell’s house he met with Powell of whom he made the like inquiry about the murder and by whom he was answered that he knew nothing about it - that he had killed none of the Natives, nor did he know who had - that Powell refused to inform the witness where the bodies were buried, but on a search he at length discovered and dug them up, having got assistance for that purpose - that he left the bodies on the ground whilst he went up to Lieutenant Hobby, the commanding officer at the Hawkesbury - that Lieutenant Hobby, accompanied by Mr. Braithwaite and the witness to the spot where the bodies lay, and on examining the bodies, it appeared that the hands of both the deceased boys were tied behind them, and that there was a wound through the body of the least of the boys, as if given by a Cutlass, and another wound on or about the hip as if given also by a Cutlass, the other boy appeared to have been shot through the body by a ball from a musket and one side of his head and down his face appeared to have been much cut by a Cutlass - that Powell the Constable being sent for he was examined and in the first instance denied knowing anything of the matter but on being further interrogated said Powell declared he understood it to be the Governors orders to kill the Natives where they found them - that Lieutenant Hobby said he had given no such orders nor did he believe the Governor had given any to that effect - that Powell then said it was done at the request of Sarah Hodgkinson the widow of one

Mary Kearns, sentenced to seven years in Dublin for stealing a cloak, Sugarcane 1793, co-habited with Jonas Archer. They had a forty acre grant on the Argyle Reach. Their hut was swept away by the March 1799 flood and their son died in 1800. However, they recovered and by 1802 had an assigned servant, William Charker. Because of debts Jonas left the colony in 1803 transferring his land to Mary. She married William Charker in a Catholic ceremony in 1804, but they separated in 1807. Mary was an early depositor at the Bank of New South Wales. Mary died in 1826 and is buried in St Johns Cemetery, Parramatta with her son (Section 2, N 11). http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/AUS-PT-JACKSON-CONVICTS/2002-09/1031040419 and http://www.easystreetretreat.com.au/australianroyalty/individual.php?pid=I71365&ged=purnellmccord.ged
Hodgkinson who had been killed by the Natives about three weeks before that time - that the witness thereupon went to the widow Hodgkinson and asked if it had been at her request - that she answered "It was" - that the bodies were then buried and five persons taken into custody for the Murder that Powell (one of the Prisoners) asked the witness how many he had apprehended and on the witness telling him he replied there were eight of them and they would all fare alike.

**Questions proposed by the court to this witness.**

**Q.** You are Chief Constable at the Hawkesbury?
**A.** Yes.

**Q.** Have you known the natives to have been troublesome in committing depredations and murders about the Hawkesbury?
**A.** I have heard of such things having been done.

**Q.** Have you not known that after such outrages parties have been sent in pursuit of them?
**A.** Yes.

**Q.** Have not the parties so sent out often killed some of the Natives they were ordered in pursuit of?
**A.** I have understood so.

**Q.** Have you never known the Natives to have been seized after having committed Robberies or murders and sent to Head Quarters?
**A.** Yes I remember one Charles who was so secured.

**Q.** Do you know what was done with that Native?
**A.** Set at Liberty - I understand so.

**Q.** Do you know for what offence that Native was committed?
**A.** Yes, I heard for spearing one Goodall.

**Q.** Do you know from your own knowledge or only from common report that Charles was the Native that speared Goodall?
**A.** From common report.

**Q.** Did you not likewise hear from report that it was not him?
**A.** Yes, I heard it was not him, but that he was in company with those who did it.

**Q.** Did you ever hear of the two deceased Natives having been troublesome, committing in parties Depredation's or Murders?
**A.** I have heard that the youngest boy was detected in stealing corn, and was shot at and wounded - and I have heard that the eldest was concerned in killing a man upon the Race
ground but I believe the said two Natives have since lived in habits of Friendly Intercourse with the Settlers.

Q. - Do you know that after the Natives have committed depredation’s and even Murders, that they have been received into the houses of the Settlers?
A. - Yes, they have.

Isabella Ramsay being duly sworn deotheth that about the time the above Natives were killed she believes it might be the evening of the same day, the said three natives came in to her house at the Hawkesbury with the musket of Thomas Hodgkinson who had been lately killed by the Natives in the Woods, and delivered up the said musket - that Freebody and another person then came into the witnesse's house and questioned the Natives as to the manner in which Hodgkinson had been killed - that they explained in the best manner they could - that it was for the sake of the Victuals he had with him and that three of them were concerned in killing him - that the night preceding the murder three other natives slept with him - that they passed the part of the next day together and towards the evening made a fire and ate - After which said Hodgkinson and Wimbo laid themselves under the covering of Blankets that the said three other natives afterwards secured their two muskets and put said Hodgkinson and Wimbo to death with their waddies - That Freebody and his companion having left the house, the former shortly returned accompanied by Powell - that soon after the biggest of the Natives got up for a drink of water to whom Powell said "You shall have no water here. You have killed a good fellow and you shall not live long" - that John Pearson, a neighbour then came in, when he said Native got up a second time for a drink of water - that Freebody gave him some water, and Powell said they should be killed for they had killed a worthy good fellow, and it would be a pity to see them go away alive - that Butler soon after came into this witnesse's house with a bright cutlass and asked if the Natives were there, saying, "What Sentence shall we pass upon these black Fellows - I will pass sentence myself - they shall be hanged" - that Metcalfe came into the witnesse's house with several others, who said, "We will not kill them, we will carry them out as the means of finding the Natives who killed Hodgkinson" - that Powell then asked the witness if she had any ropes, and being answered that she had not, he said it was a pity they should escape, as he understood it was the Governor's and Commanding Officers Orders that the Natives should be killed wherever they could be met - that said Powell then directed Butler to go to his house and bring some rope - that Butler accordingly went and returned with one Rope saying he could find no more there - that Powell himself went and brought in two other ropes, and the hands of all the three Natives were tied behind them, and all the people who had by this time assembled at her house in great numbers took out the said Natives, and in about a quarter of an hour after they had left the house the witness heard the report of two muskets being fired.

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92 Note 167, page 405.
The Race ground.
The race ground was situated about two miles nearly north of the modern town of Riverstone. Prior to October, 1810, horse racing, was restricted to private matches between horses, ponies, and trotters. Page 735, HRA, Series 1, Vol. II. I do not agree with this. I think it refers to another race ground near or on the Box Hill estate. I believe the Race ground was much nearer modern Mulgrave station.
Questions by the Prisoners to this Witness

Relate to the Court in what manner the Natives were Armed when they came to your house.

Ans. - They had each a Spear and a Warmaraa and a Waddy and Hodgkinson's Firelock, that one of them had got a coat of Metcalfe's on which being pulled off a Tomahawk was there concealed under his arm.

Q. by Metcalfe - Did I not tell you when I brought the Natives in with Hodgkinson's piece that the said three Natives had acknowledged sleeping with Hodgkinson in the woods the night before he was killed?

Ans. - I recollect something of your saying that they had slept with him, either the night he was killed or the night before, but was so much frightened that I cannot recollect.

Q. - Did not Jonas Archer inform you that the eldest of the deceased Natives was concerned in the Murder of the man on the race ground?

A. - Yes - I have heard him and several others say the same.

Q. by Powell - When I came in and found you alone with the Natives in your house, did you not tell me you was glad to see me for you was in fear of your Life?

A. Yes - I was glad to see you come in with the other man for I was in fear for myself and Children.

Q. - Why did you stand so much in fear of the Natives - have you ever sustained any loss or injury by them?

A. - We have been robbed by the Natives, but from their general inhuman behaviour I was the more afraid of them and from hearing of the many depredation's they committed.

David Brown being sworn deposeth that he had seen the bodies of the deceased Natives that they appeared to him to have been murdered and he was ordered to take care of them until they were buried. That the Witness lives at the Hawkesbury, and saith the Natives are a very dangerous set of people and not to be trusted for after a man has given them all he has, they would not scruple to kill him - That about two years ago he was bringing water for his stock when one of the Natives threw a spear at him which struck him in the throat, and that in pursuing said Native three others came up which rendered it prudent and necessary for the witness to retire into his house - that he was informed the next day that a Settler had been killed - that the witness knows of many robberies and murders perpetrated by the Natives.93

Thomas Sambourne being sworn deposeth that about three weeks since he was at work on Edward Powell's farm when James Metcalfe one of the prisoners came to him with a Firelock on his shoulder and told him he had been alarmed by three Natives on Forrester's Farm where he was working, which Natives had a musket with them - who delivered the Musket to said Metcalfe who carried the same home - That the witness then went to Forrester's house, the Dwelling before described of Isabella Ramsay, where the

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93 This was probably in February 1798.
witness found three Natives of whom he asked if there were not more of them, who answered "there was" another called Major Worgan out upon the ground - that the witness went down to him and stopped with him about and hour - that the witness returned to Forrester’s house about nine or ten in the Evening when the people were coming out of the said house with said three Natives - that hearing a caution of "Take care or you'll be shot" - the witness left them and standing behind a tree for his own security he heard the report of two Muskets being fired, that he went up to the place from whence said Report came and saw two Natives lying dead being two of the three he had before seen in the house as above said that the people talked about burying them but that he then departed and went about his business.

(This witness having grossly prevaricated in his Evidence and have departed from the substance of his Testimony on Examination before the Committing Magistrate whereby he connived at being admitted Evidence for the Crown with a view to shelter himself from the imputed guilt of this transaction, and having therefore failed in verifying or establishing the former part of Examination, The Court do order the said Thomas Sambourne to be taken into custody and stand committed for the next Criminal Court to answer such charges as shall then be preferred against him.)

John Pearson being duly sworn Deposeth that last Wednesday month he called in at the house of Isabella Ramsay where he found three Natives of whom he made enquiry who it was that had killed Hodgkinson - that the said Natives informed the witness that Terribandy, Major White, and others whose names he did not recollect (Terribandy is the reputed brother of the eldest Native that was killed) and that one of the said Natives on being asked by the witness what they did there, said they had brought in the gun of the deceased Hodgkinson and had given it up to Metcalfe - That Freebody and Powell then came in when she expressed herself glad to see them as she was very much frightened at the Natives being there - that the woman and her children were at supper at this time, when Timms, Butler and Metcalfe with Thompson and he believes Sambourne came into the house - That in the hearing of the witness Butler (who he thinks had a cutlass in his hand) called out "Where are these Natives - leave them to me - I'll soon settle them" - That Butler then asked for Rope, but none being in the house Powell said if you will go over the way you will find two Ropes upon Dogs - that Butler then went out and returned with two ropes - that the witness then went away to cut some wood and on his return to the house saw the three Natives with their hands tied behind them and some rope around their necks - that the said Natives were then taken out by several persons - namely, Timms, Butler, Metcalfe, Freebody, Powell and Thompson - that the witness remained in the house where he was accustomed to sleep and to keep the woman Company - that about a quarter of an hour afterwards he heard the report of two guns fired - soon afterwards a person whom he believes to be Timms returned to the house and made enquiry for a spade with which he went away - that the witness retired to Rest immediately afterwards as also did the Woman and he heard no more of them. The Witness further deposeth that one of the said Natives in putting off a coat dropped a Tomahawk which had been secreted in the sleeve thereof up his Arm.”

(Court adjourned to next day)
Evidence of Lieutenant Thomas Hobby being duly sworn deponeth that he was Commanding Officer at the Hawkesbury when Thomas Rickerby, chief constable there applied to him respecting a murder committed on two natives, and requested the witness to accompany him to view the bodies; that he accordingly went, and on their way to the place the witness met Mr. Robert Braithwaite, whom he asked to accompany him also; that they proceeded together, and on the spot they viewed the bodies of two male natives, on the younger of which they discovered one wound near the left breast, and another in or about the back which appeared to the witness to have been made with a cutlass; on the other native near the jaw, the head was nearly severed from the body; that the hands of both said natives were tied behind on the back of them; that the witness sent for Powell, one of the prisoners, and examined him respecting the murder; that Powell for some time denied any knowledge thereof, but at length acknowledged he was present, but did not kill the said natives; that Metcalfe was also questioned by the witness, who answered him to the like effect as Powell had done that on returning home the witness met Freebody, another of the prisoners, whom he also examined, but doth not recollect particularly what he said; that Powell told the witness he had understood the Commanding officer had given orders, and that the Governor had also given orders, that all the natives should be killed; that the witness then replied he had never given such orders, nor did he believe that the Governor had; the witness further saith that Powell said it was done at the instigation of the widow Hodgkinson.

Questions by the prisoner Powell. - What orders did you give to a party of soldiers who went out to bury the body of Thomas Hodgkinson that had been killed by the natives?
A. My orders to the soldiers were to go out with the men who were sent to bury the bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbo (who were murdered by the natives about two months since), and "that if they fell in with any natives on the road, either going or returning, to fire in upon them."

By the Court. - What were your reasons for giving such orders, and by what authority did you do so?
A. About two months since, or thereabouts, I was informed by different people that it was the intentions of the natives to come down in numbers from the Blue Mountains to the Hawkesbury and to murder some of the white people, and particularly some soldiers, and a day or two after receiving this information, one Small-Salts came to me and related that he had been attacked the preceding day by the natives on the road between Parramatta and the Hawkesbury, and that if he had not been armed with a loaded musket and a brace of pistols he should have been murdered, as the natives threw one or two spears at him; I then came down to Sydney and waited on the Governor in order to make His Excellency acquainted with these circumstances; the day following Andrew Thompson, a constable from the Hawkesbury, came down to Sydney and informed me that Serjeant Goodall, a marine settler on the road between Parramatta and the Hawkesbury, whilst at work on his own grounds, had been attacked by several natives, and so dreadfully wounded that his life was despaired of; I then waited upon the Governor again and communicated this last information; His Excellency appeared to be much displeased with the conduct of the natives; as I had been subpoenaed down to Sydney on a trial, I observed to the Governor...
that the sooner I returned to the Hawkesbury the better; the Governor was of the same opinion; I then asked His Excellency what was best to be done if the natives persevered in committing such enormities; the Governor replied that something must be done, on which I signified to the Governor my intention, if the natives should still continue such violent outrages, to send out a party of the military to kill five or six of them wherever they were to be found; His Excellency directed me to act discretionally against the natives, leaving it entirely to me; the next morning I left Sydney and returned to the Hawkesbury, where I arrived the second day, about ten o'clock in the evening; on the day of my arrival there, Corporal Farrell called upon me with the information that he knew where to take the natives that had wounded Serjeant Goodall (who was then reported to be dead); I then ordered Corporal Farrell to take a soldier and go in pursuit of the natives immediately -- but that the natives were not to be fired upon unless they made resistance, in which case they were to bring them in dead or alive, or words to that effect; the next morning Corporal Farrell returned, bringing with him a native named "Charley", which native I sent down under guard to the Governor; on the return of the said guard, Corporal Farrell and a private soldier named Henry Lambe came to me and reported that said native was, according to orders, taken before the Governor, who expressed himself - in the hearing of the guard of soldiers - that he could not take upon himself to punish the native in cool blood, but that the Commanding Officer at the Hawkesbury should have punished him on the spot where he was taken; the native was thereupon discharged.

Q. - Do you know that the native you sent down to Sydney was concerned in the wounding of Goodall?
A. - I was informed by Corporal Farrell that the said native was concerned. I then went to the native; he denied wounding Goodall, but said he was present, and offered to take me, or any other person that I would send, to the native that did wound him; that he was known by the appellation of Major White; this I declined, from conjecturing that this offer was merely made to afford him an opportunity to escape.

Q. - Did the settlers make any representation to you on the discharge of said Charley, the native?
A. - Yes; many of them said they were not safe in their houses; neither did they consider their crops secure on their grounds; and further, that the said Charley (the native) was a great savage, and had been concerned in murdering a person on the race-ground, and was supposed to have been concerned in other murders.

Q. - When you sent a party of soldiers out in pursuit of the natives, were they accompanied by settlers or any other description of persons?
A. - Yes; they were, I believe, by several.

Q.- Did you, when you gave orders to the party to go out and shoot any of the natives they should meet, consider those orders to extend to the settlers, or others that accompanied the party?
A. - Yes, I did, upon that excursion only.
Q. - Are you positive that your orders were so explicit as that the whole party understood they were only to attack the natives whilst upon that excursion?
A. - Such were the orders I delivered to the Sergeant, but it is possible they might be misunderstood.

Q. - Do you know that any of the prisoners at the bar were present with the above party?
A. - I do not positively know, but I have reason to suppose they were, from a remark made to me by Metcalfe, "that had I seen the bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbo that I should have thought nothing of the natives being put to death."

Q. - You mention a resolution of the natives to come down in numbers and kill several white people, particularly soldiers; - have you any knowledge why they formed such resolution?
A. - Yes; I have heard it was in consequence of a native woman and child being put to death by a soldier called Cooper.

Q. - Did you hear by report, or do you know, that said Cooper was the person that put the said native woman and child to death!
A. - I heard it from report by Mr. Braithwaite.

Q. - Did you know that any violence has ever been offered to the natives, or injury done to them by the white men, without violence previously committed by the natives upon the white people?
A. - No; I do not know of any violence committed on the natives at the Hawkesbury or elsewhere without provocation being given.

Q. - Since you have resided at the Hawkesbury, pray how many white people have been killed by the natives?
A. - Two killed, one wounded so as to be left for dead, one attacked, and repeated thefts.

Q. - How many natives have been killed by the white people?
A. - Two since my command at the Hawkesbury, which I have held two months.

Robert Braithwaite Gentleman being duly sworn Depoeth that on or about the 20th September last he accompanied Lieut. Hobby and Thomas Rickerby the Chief Constable to view the Bodies of two male Natives who had been put to death that the Hands of both said Natives were tied behind them that the wounds of the younger Native were about the right loin and the left Breast and they appeared to the witness to have been given by a Cutlass - on the other native a large wound appeared about the Chin and there was also the appearance of a musket Ball wound about his right breast that being informed Powell (one of the Prisoners) was concerned in killing said Natives he examined him that Powell denied any knowledge of the Fact, but on being further pressed by the witness to declare who had killed the Boy, Powell replied it was so Dark he could not see the Person - being asked the like Question as to the Death of the other Native Powell replied to the Same effect as to the former Question - that on witness observing it was a very cruel way of killing them even had they been detected on Committing any Act of Depredation Powell
replied had the witness seen the Bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbo how they had been murdered by the Natives - that he would not have thought it inhuman and Powell further informed the Witness that the said Natives were killed at the desire of the widow of Hodgkinson.

Questions by the Court. - How long have you resided at the Hawkesbury?
A. - About twelve months.

Q. - Since your residence there how many White People have been killed by the Natives?
A. - I recollect four men to have been killed and Goodall to have been very Desperately Wounded by them and that a servant of mine was attacked by several Natives one of whom he had shot in his own Defence after having been robbed of a Kangaroo he had killed.94

Q. - Pray how many Natives have been killed by the White People since you have Lived at the Hawkesbury?
A. - About Five including the one killed by my servant.

Q. - What is the state of Security or Danger of the Settlers at the Hawkesbury with respect to the Natives?
A. - I conceive the property of the Settlers on the Front Farms to be perfectly secure in popular situations - those of the back Farms and above the Creek in remote situations are exposed to great Danger from the Natives - I think the Persons of the People insecure both on the Farms and when they may be travelling on the roads - I have known several single Persons to have been attacked on the roads by the Natives altho' such Persons were armed.

David White being duly sworn Deposeth that on the Evening the two Natives were said to be killed he heard some Natives crying out and heard the report of a Musket and in about two thirds of a minute afterwards he heard a second report of a Musket fired that in consequence thereof he went down to the spot from whence the reports came and calling in at the House of the Widow Hodgkinson who was not at home at the time he waited until the said woman came in accompanied by Simon Freebody and William Timms - when the two latter informed the Witness that two Natives were killed - and Simon Freebody told the Witness that Powell had fired at a Native whom Butler was holding by a Rope round his neck but let him escape and that another Native said Freebody declared himself had killed by thrusting a Cutlass into him that a third Native who was held by Timms, Metcalfe shot through the body.

Question put by the Prisoner Powell. - Was the witness at Home when he heard the Natives cry out?
A. - Yes I was.

(Adjournment till 17th October)

94 The irony of the kangaroo being Aboriginal property in the first place seemed to have escaped Braithwaite.
Jonas Archer being duly sworn Deposeth that about Six Weeks ago a Native called Yellowgowie came to this Witness's house and the witness asked him who of the Natives had killed Thomas Hodgkinson and Wimbow that the said Native answered it was a Native called Major White that had killed them - the said Native also mentioned the name of some other Natives which the Witness did not remember - that in describing the manner in which the said murder was perpetrated he said that said Major White and another Native flung their Dowells (a sort of spear) into Hodgkinson and Wimbo the next day the elder of the two deceased Natives (as in former evidence named) came to the Witness and told the said Native that said Major White had got the gun belonging to the Deceased Hodgkinson and desired him to go and get it - that the witness went to the Widow of said Hodgkinson and told her she would get the gun in a few days and the said Native Boy accordingly as the Witness hath been informed brought in the said gun.

Questions by the Court. - Did you understand from the Native Yellowgowie that the Native Major White attended the deceased Hodgkinson and Wimbo as Friends in the Woods?
A. - Yes - Yellowgowie said that White met the deceased Hodgkinson and Wimbo in the woods, and asked them if they had got any Pheasants - being answered "No" they made a Fire and the Natives made another being Evening about sundown which the Natives invited them to do observing they would get Pheasants the next Day - that in the Night the said Natives put them to death as before stated.

Q. - What was the reason do you suppose that the said Native put them to Death?
A. - Possibly for the sake of their Provisions or because Wimbo had the Daughter of the Comrade of said White living with him.

Q. - Do you mean to say that the said Native's daughter was forcibly detained by Wimbo?
A. - No I know she might have left him had she chose to do so.95

Q. - Did you go out with the Party who went to bury the Bodies of the Deceased Hodgkinson and Wimbo and in what state did you find them?
A. - Yes - I did go out and saw said Bodies naked - There was wood over them - both were speared in the Bodies and Mangled, their Cloaths Provisions Arms and Blankets were taken from them.

Q. - Did you personally know this Native called Major White?
A. - Yes, I knew him well and he was under an Engagement to accompany me in the Woods at the time he killed Hodgkinson and Wimbo.

Q. - Do you know of what Tribe the two Natives who were killed belonged?
A. - I have often seen them with Major White and I believe one of them belonged to his Tribe - indeed they have often been together on my Farm.

95 By focusing on whether or not the woman had been forcibly detained the question missed the crucial issue of the extent to which the settlers understood the reciprocal obligations of such an arrangement.
Q. - Was the deceased Hodgkinson on friendly terms with the Natives?
A. - Yes - I think he was I have always seen him treat them kindly harbouring and feeding them in his House.

Q. - Do you know what orders the Soldiers had and what did you feel yourself authorised to do when out on the Excursion to bury the Deceased?
A. - I know not what Orders the Soldiers had in particular but understood it was to kill any Natives the Party could meet with and that was my Intention.

Q. - Did you understand the Orders to kill the Natives were to be in force after the above Excursion?
A. - Yes I did - nor should I have thought myself doing wrong by killing any of the Natives afterwards.

Q. - What do you know of the Characters of the two Natives that were killed and of the one that ran away?
A. - The one who ran away stole fowls of me and one of the Deceased stole corn from my Barn and the other informed me that his Brother had murdered a man upon the Race-ground.

Q. - Do you know how many White men had been killed by the Natives during the time you have lived at the Hawkesbury?
A. - I have lived five or six years at the Hawkesbury and to the best of my Recollection Twelve White Persons have been put to Death by the Natives.

Q. - How many Natives do you recollect being killed by the white Persons?
A. - About Twenty to the best of my Recollection.

Q. - Are not the Settlers or their Men in the habit of taking the women from the Natives and that the Native men are prevented taking them away through fear of Fire-arms?
A. - In two instances I remember lately - but cannot say whether the Women were detained by force - but they were taken against the inclination of their Native Men and I know that said two Women were common to the White Men from choice.

Here the evidence closed on the part of the Crown.

The Prisoners produced a Defence in Writing of which the following is a Copy vizt.

PRISONERS' DEFENCE

Honble. Gentlemen,
We the Prisoners at the Bar beg that the Honble. Court will permit our Defence to be read Stating every particular worthy of remark as also the Treachery of the Natives and subsisting animosities of the Different Evidences for the Crown.

That on Wednesday the 18th September last past about sunset several Natives came to the Farm of Robert Foster (where was at work James Metcalfe) with a musket belonging to
Thos. Hodgkinson who was most Cruelly barbarously and Inhumanely Murdered by the supposed Natives at the Blue Mountains. James Metcalfe one of the Prisoners at the Bar not knowing their Intent enquired of them concerning the murdered men (namely Thos. Hodgkinson and John Wimbo) the Natives gave him to understand in a broken tongue that they (the Natives) slept with them the night before the Barbarous Act was committed the Natives then wished to know if the white Men were angry - James Metcalfe answered them in the negative for being surrounded on all sides with a number of them an Evil-minded Blood-thirsty Set of People he dare not at that time express himself as he would wish they being armed with weapons and some of them with their Spears poised - the said James Metcalfe invited them into the house and three Natives singled out from the rest followed him to the House of the said Robert Foster - but one (the Elder) on the way took up a Coatee which was laying on the ground belonging to the said Metcalfe put it on and followed to the House as before stated - Metcalfe then questioned them again concerning the murder of Hodgkinson and Wimbo on the Mountains - their answer was "not angry with any more white men but very bad soldier very bad them" - James Metcalfe left them and proceeded to the house of the Widow belonging to the Deceased Hodgkinson and informed her of what the Natives said as also producing and delivering the gun belonging to the Deceased which the said James Metcalfe had taken from the Natives - the Widow Hodgkinson then enquired of him who they were and Metcalfe described them to her in the best manner he could on which the Widow Hodgkinson replied they are the same Natives that called at her house and who were to have gone with Hodgkinson to the mountains, but at the time proposed of going the natives absconded and never were heard of until James Metcalfe first perceived them on the Farm before stated - only thus much was positively declared by William Fuller - that on his coming from the Bush about a fortnight before the murder of Hodgkinson and Wimbo was known he said William Fuller saw a blanket which he had lent to John Wimbow on one of the Natives Gins or Women belonging to the same Party as are now killed - James Metcalfe then left the House of the Widow Hodgkinson and informed several Neighbours what had happened concerning the natives and that he (Metcalfe) had every reason to believe that they were come with no good intent for they were in great numbers at the back of the Farms - On which many of the neighbours followed and proceeded to the House of Robt. Foster where the Natives as before were and asked them many questions and shuddered to hear the Fate related of the Horrid Depredations which had been committed on the Bodies of our fellow Countrymen on the Mountains - the Barbarous and Inhuman Treatment they had met with and as far as could be understood the Natives who had committed the Horrid Deed were then present or at least at the back of the Farm - James Metcalfe during the discourse sat down to Supper in the Interim many Neighbours came to a Determination to tye the present Natives hands and make them point out which of the Natives it was that murdered Hodgkinson and Wimbo and on going out of the House as aforesaid the Evening very dark and not being able to see anything before us the Natives rushed from us and one of the Three made his Escape and James Metcalfe went to pursuit of him and the rest of the Neighbours (unknown whom) followed the others and as we supposed killed them on the return of James Metcalfe to the house of Foster as aforesaid he found Isabella Ramsay alone she was happy at the return of Metcalfe fearing the Natives should make their return he heard nothing more of it till next morning when he
saw the Bodies dug up after being buried, and was immediately taken into Custody by Thomas Rickerby.

Edward Powell Deposes that on Wednesday the 18th Sept last on his return from Parramatta to the Hawkesbury passing the commanding Officers Door he (Powell) was asked by the Commanding Officer concerning the Prisoner which he had been with to Parramatta and some other private Business - the said Powell was greatly fatigued and went into the kitchen of the Commanding Officer and remained there until dark - on his return home there were a great number of people in his house who gave him information of three Natives being at Fosters house who had been concerned in the murder of the unfortunate Hodgkinson and Wimbow besides many more at the back of the Farm - Edward Powell was advised to go to Fosters House 96 - and on his Entrance saw three of the Natives and Isabella Ramsay no other Person Present she said that she was happy he was come as she was so Terrified that she could scarcely contain herself, the Natives seemed much alarmed and was for quitting the house he bade them not to be afraid - Powell then asked them concerning the murder of Hodgkinson and Wimbo and on hearing the name of Hodgkinson they endeavoured to run away out of the house and their countenances quite changed Powell then seized the biggest of the three and in taking him by the Arm a Tomahawk dropt from the sleeve of his Coatee; in the Interim a great number of People came in and agreed to tye their Hands and make them shew where the rest of the Natives were who assisted in the Murder. Powell then said to the Neighbours present, I have no Piece and am greatly fatigued I'll go home to bed Bishop Thompson has my Piece and he is gone down to the ground Powell then left them and on his way home he heard a great noise of the Natives Hallowing to the Natives at the back of the Farms to retreat Powell then heard words very loudly spoken saying "they are running away we shall loose them Fire Fire" on which a report was heard of some Discharge of Musketry Powell then went to Bed and in a short time afterwards the wife of Powell came to him and told him she had heard some People say as they were passing by that some of the Natives were killed the next morning he was ordered into Custody with some others being nearest at hand.

WILLIAM TIMMS, SIMON FREEBODY, AND WILLIAM BUTLER Positively declare that they heard of the Natives being at the House of Robert Foster and they went as did many others to see them being (as was said) the Natives which murdered Hodgkinson and Wimbo they left them after some little time and proceeded to their different Homes: the next day William Timms went to see where the Natives were Buried as did many others. Timms said Ah my poor Master Hodgkinson was not buried like this he was Cut into Pieces with a Tomahawk and a Death Spear run through his yard and came thro' the back part of his neck on these words the said Timms was taken into custody and the others likewise on similar words were taken up also.

The aforesaid Facts caused the present situation of the Prisoners at the Bar - and Gentlemen we (the Prisoners) humbly beg Pardon for giving so much trouble to the Honble, Members and detaining the Court, and detaining the Court still longer beg that they may here state a few remarks on the Evidence adduced against them.

96 Forrester’s house.
First, in that of John Pearson who swears to being in the House of Isabella Ramsay with her at the time the Natives were taken out by the Neighbours - and remained there the whole of the Evening - Isabella Ramsay declares upon Oath that she was by herself until James Metcalfe returned from pursuing the Native that first ran away and made his escape and that the said John Pearson was not there - the third Evidence is that of David White who came forward through pure hatred and malice against the prisoner Edward Powell who has at diverse times been necessitated to go and call him the said White into his custody (Powell being a Constable at the Hawkesbury) and many times searched the House for Stolen Property which was supposed he had and even thought he had committed many robberies on his neighbours - again the said David White maketh Oath that he never received any injury from any of the Natives when it is well known and a "Proof can be established that he David White has been frequently robbed by them as also many of his Neighbours and it would be superfluous here to state the many Depredations which they Daily commit as it would be detaining the Honble. Court and be intruding upon your goodness - Its well known by many of the Gentlemen present that they are a Treacherous Evil minded Bloodthirsty set or Description of Men, that they will be Familiar and be with People for a considerable time, until perhaps they have received 9/10th of a Loaf of Bread and then for the last Tenth they will murder two or three who before were their friends to get it, many Instances of a similar kind are known. Again it was generally understood it was a standing Order or at least it was so issued from the Commanding Officer to kill any of the Natives found in their way particularly after the Barbarous Cruel and Inhuman murder of the unfortunate Hodgkinson and Wimbo a murder the most horrid to have beheld any Gentlemen to have seen the mangled Bodies of the Deceased would have shuddered and even bore an antipathy against the cruel Natives in general, and that it behoves every man to be on his guard against them and their Intentions, never to give them any Encouragement for its through Indulgencies they have received makes them so knowing.

Gentlemen we humbly beg that you will be pleased to take what we have here stated into your humane consideration and be well assured of our Innocence in being accessary's of killing them but that we leave to your better consideration and trust only to as Honble. and Impartial Jury for a Verdict which we trust will be in behalf of the unfortunate Prisoners. Honble. Gentlemen with every respect we Subscribe.

Your most Devoted
most Obedt and very Humble Servts
etc. etc.

THE PRISONERS AT THE BAR

On the Part of the Prisoners:-
William Fuller being duly Sworn Deponeth that he resides at Richmond - that he is a free man and lives by his Labor - that some time before Wimbo went into the Woods the witness lent him a blanket and one of the Blacks little Jemmy that were killed, with several other native men and women, the Gin or Wife of the said Jemmy came to the Witness's House and had wrapped round her a blanket which the witness well knew to be the same Blanket he had lent to Wimbo and the witness was desirous to take away the
said Blanket but was refused that the woman and the other Natives all ran away from the House and the Blanket still remains among the Natives.

Questions by the Court

Q. - Did you see this Blanket in the Possession of the Natives before the two Natives were killed?
A. - Yes I did but cannot speak as to the time it was about a fortnight before the said Hodgkinson and Wimbo were known to have been killed.

Q. - Was you with the Party of Soldiers and others who went in pursuit of the Natives and to Bury the Bodies of Hodgkinson and Wimbo?
A. - Yes - I was.

Q. - Were any of the Prisoners of that Party?
A. - Yes - two, Metcalfe and Freebody.

Q. - How far did you consider yourself at liberty to act against the Natives if you had met with any?
A. - To shoot them if I could.

Q. - Suppose any Natives should have come into your Farm after the above Expedition would you have shot them?
A. - If I had seen any I suspected to have been concerned in the murder of said Hodgkinson and Wimbo I certainly should.

William Goodall being duly sworn Deposeth that about six weeks since he was working on his grounds when a party of Natives about Twelve in Number came up and without the least Provocation alarmed him by a desperate Attack with their Spears and also Brutally Beat him with their Waddies after wounding him in the breast and in two places in the Back with their Spears and had not the Witness ran away from them they would have killed him on the spot; that among the said number of Natives he knows one who is called Charley - that on the witness making his Escape with a Spear sticking in his back the said Natives pursued him even to the Door of his House - that said Charley was afterwards apprehended at the Hawkesbury as one of the Persons who had thus wantonly attacked the Witness and was escorted to Sydney by a Party of Soldiers as a Prisoner to His Excellency the Governor and when His Excellency had examined said Charley (as this witness was informed by the Corporal of the Guard) he was liberated without any further Punishment.

Questions by the Court

Q. - Before the Prisoners at the Bar were brought to Trial did you think yourself at liberty to retaliate on the Natives for the injury you had received?
A. - Yes, I did.

Q. - What is your opinion now since the Prisoners have been put on their trial?
A. - I wish to be informed after this attack on my life how I am in future to act?
Q. - Did you not serve in the Detachment at the Hawkesbury as a Serjeant?
A. - Yes I did upwards of two years I was discharged two years ago last April since which I have lived as a free settler.

Q. - Do you recollect during your service at the Hawkesbury the Natives committing any Murders Robberies or other Outrages?
A. - I do some I particularly well remember.

Q. - What steps were taken to Punish such Natives?
A. - Parties of Soldiers were frequently sent out to kill the Natives but being the Senior Serjeant at the Hawkesbury I had the care of the Stores and did not go out with any Detachments.

Q. - From whom did you receive your Orders from time to time at the Hawkesbury?
A. - I received my Orders in writing from Captain John McArthur at Parramatta and those orders were issued in consequence of a Number of Murders about that Time Committed by the Natives.

Q. - Do you not know that the like Orders have been often repeated by the Officers Commanding Detachments at the Hawkesbury?
A. - Yes - I do.

Q. - Was you not sent to the Hawkesbury for the express purpose of defending the Settlers from the attacks of the Natives in consequence of the representation from the Settlers that they were in Danger of being murdered by the Natives.
A. - I was.

Q. - Have you any knowledge why the Natives attacked you in particular?
A. - None.

**Peter Farrell** Corporal in the New South Wales Corps being duly sworn deposeth that on the seventh of last month about nine at night the witness was in the Barracks at the Hawkesbury when Joseph Phelps a Settler came in and reported there was a Party of Natives near his Farm who were known to have been present at the spearing of Goodall and that Phelps informed the witness that he came for the purpose of signifying it to the Commanding Officer and being under some alarm he requested a Party might be sent out to drive them away the Witness then waited on Lieutenant Hobby the Commanding Officer who told him to take a Soldier and Phelps with him - that Phelps who as armed with a Firelock went with them to the house of John Burne where the witness and his party apprehended two Natives the one called Young Charley and the other Coppy; from the character the Witness had heard of the former he first secured him and afterwards the other and brought them both away - that on their return to the Barracks the elder Native (Coppy) effected his escape - that the Witness thereupon fired at (and has since been informed) wounded him - that Charley was brought into the Barracks and the next Day the Witness was ordered to hold himself in readiness to Escort such Charley with a party
to Sydney by his Commanding Officer - that he proceeded to Sydney accordingly and brought his Prisoner to the Governor together with a letter from Lieutenant Hobby to His Excellency which he also delivered - that His Excellency made enquiry of the Witness who he had got there - that the Witness answered it was a Native who was known to have been at the spearing of Goodall and committing several barbarous Depredations - that the Governor said "Well what am I to do with him why did not your Commanding Officer at Hawkesbury do something with him" - that the Witness answered he supposed it was from a wish to make a more Public Example of this Native - that His Excellency remarked it was not in his power to give Orders for the hanging or shooting of such Ignorant Creatures who could not be made sensible of what they might be guilty of, therefore could not be treated according to our Laws that the Witness then requested to know what was to be done in the present case when the Governor told the Witness that immediate Retaliation should be made on the spot or words to that effect as it was the only mode His Excellency said he could - upon that some bystander observed that was impossible as the Natives always took advantage of the time and place - "Then" replied His Excellency "so soon as they can be caught" - that the Governor then admonished said Charley as to his future conduct and ordered him to be discharged - and as the Witness hath been informed ordered said Charley to be taken up to Mr. Cummings at Parramatta with whom he had lived - that the Witness returned to the Hawkesbury and made report verbally to his Commanding Officer of what had been done, which he publicly repeated amongst the Settlers - the Witness further saith that the Governor ordered said Native Charley under the care of Mark Flood to be taken up to Mr. Cummings with whom he had long lived as a servant to be further admonished.

At half past Three o'clock the Court adjourned until Ten tomorrow Morning.

Friday the Eighteenth Day of October One thousand Seven hundred and ninety nine at Ten o'clock the Court met pursuant to adjournment.

John Tarlington being duly sworn Deposeth that a few days before the man on the Race Ground was killed (but he cannot specify the exact time) the witness who resides near Toon Gabbee about two hours walk from the resort of the Natives about the Hawkesbury and Creek, on a Sunday morning two male Natives came to his House - that one of them was called little Charley and the other Macnamarra - that the witness welcomed them into his House and shook hands with said Natives that a free man his Servant did the same - that the said Natives left their Spears outside the House and asked for Bread which the Witness gave them - they then asked for meat that the Witness said "bye and by" as it was then dressing - that having suspicion of more Natives coming, the Witness went out to look and saw four more coming towards the House walking two and two abreast - one the Witness knew to be called Major White and one of the others little George - that was the youngest of the two Natives said to be killed by the Prisoners - the other two he also knew to be called Terribandy and Jemmy the latter the elder of the two Natives killed as aforesaid - that the witness also welcomed the four Natives into his House at which time the meat and cabbage was taking up - which the Natives had shared amongst them and had more than they could eat as they left part of what Witness had

97 A successful farmer.
given them - that little Charley getting up for some water slipped out at the Door - that the witness followed to see what he was about when he saw about Twelve or Fifteen approaching towards his House - that the Witness welcomed them into his house also and they left their spears at the Door the same as the others had done - that his wife and his free man servant gave amongst them the remainder of the Victuals that had been left - that three of the former mentioned Natives namely George Jemmy and Charley asked the witness for melons - that he took them to the melon bed leaving the other Natives in the House with his wife and freeman and that whilst said three Natives were Eating Melons on the Bed in the garden where they grew the native Jemmy went some little distance from the Melon ground and shouting out something in the Native Dialect which the Witness did not understand about twenty or Thirty Natives thereupon immediately came out of the Bush and saluted the witness friendly - that the Natives in the House hearing the Voices from without came out to join them and the Witness's servant followed them out when the Natives dispersed themselves about the grounds some taking corn and other Melons - that the witness hearing a voice saw a white man who came up to him and they saluted each other - that the Strange White Man asked the Witness if his name was John Tarlington to which he replied "Yes, and your name is Nicholas Redman if I am not mistaken." "I suppose" continued the witness "you want to See Thomas Malong" -that he replied "Yes" - then said the witness "he will be here presently that soon after said Malong came up to the witness before he went to his acquaintance saying to the Witness "John what brought all these Natives here" that the Natives then asking for some more Bread and none being in the House the witness's wife went out to get some accompanied by Charley the Native that in a few minutes after leaving the House the Native Terribandy threw a spear at the Witness's free man Joseph Collins, which wounded him so desperately that he died in a few days that they then attacked the witness and wounded him in three places with spears and moreover beat him with waddles that he was fortunate enough to Escape with his Life by concealing himself in a Loft that the youngest of the Natives called little George (said to be put to death by the Prisoner) thrust a spear wantonly through his arm and the Wound he received in his side was given him by little Jemmy the other Native (also said to be put to death by the Prisoners) - that Nicholas Redman was next barbarously murdered and mangled and Malloy was also severely wounded in endeavouring to Escape that the said Natives then plundered the House and Premises of his Stock and every kind of Property he had - that when the witness thought they were gone he came forth from his concealment and went in quest of his wife whom he found had been severely beaten by Charley.

**Questions by the Court**

Q.- Were the Natives whom the Prisoners are charged with killing concerned in the murder of Redman?
A.- Yes-they were

Q.- How long is it since these murders happened?
A.- About Eighteen Months ago

Q.- How old did you suppose the Native "little George" might then be?
A. About Eleven or Twelve years of Age, but I cannot speak to any one Certainty, they are so deceiving in their age - Jemmy appeared to be about Fifteen or Sixteen years of age.

Q. Have you heard of any other Injuries committed by said Charley upon the White People since?
A. I heard of Goodall being wounded by said Charley.

Q. How did you hear said Charley had wounded Goodall?
A. By Report

**Henry Baldwyn** being duly sworn.

**Question by the Prisoners.**

Q. Relate what injuries you have received from the Natives said to have been killed by the Prisoners.
A. I detected them with others stealing my corn and I have frequently been robbed by other Natives.

**William Blady** being duly sworn deposeth that about six weeks ago he was out Duck Shooting and met a Native called Major White and one called young Jemmy (the latter said to have been killed by the Prisoners) and another Native whose name is to the Witness unknown came up to the Witness armed with spears that White enquired if the Witness had got any Ducks—the witness answered he had not and asked said White why the Natives were angry with White men and particularly with the soldiers that White then shewed an Intention to throw a spear at the Witness by poising it towards him that the Witness thereupon stept back and guarded himself against a Tree—when he discovered another body of Natives making up to him the first of whom he well knew to be called Major Worgan and of him he asked why the Natives were angry with the Witness that such Worgan replied they were not angry with him for he was a very good fellow but the Soldiers were very bad the former party now joined the latter and they all went off at a little Distance from the Witness apparently to consult together after which the Native Charley returned to the Witness and asked him if he was going home that through fear he answered "No" the said Natives then all departed together and the Witness soon after went home where he was informed by his wife that the same Natives (Seventeen in Number) many of whom she knew and described to her Husband had robbed and plundered the House of the Witness and taken away with them everything they thought proper.

**Question by the Court**

Q. Do you know the reason why the Natives are so angry with the white men and soldiers?
A. No except by report I have heard of a native woman and child being killed by a Soldier but do not know the reason why they were so killed.
Here the Prisoner desired to propose a question to Lieutenant McKellar one of the Members of the Court, which being granted -

Q.- Pray Sir, when you commanded at the Hawkesbury what Orders did you issue against the Natives for committing Depredations on the Settlers?
A.- To destroy them whenever they were met with after having been guilty of outrages, except such Native children as were domesticated amongst the settlers.

Q.- Was that order ever countermanded since?
A.- Not during my command at the Hawkesbury nor since to the best of my knowledge.

**Question by the court at the instance of Capt. John McArthur.** -
By what authority did you give these Orders?
A.- By verbal Orders which I received from the Governor - I do not recollect receiving any in writing to that effect.

**Question at the Instance of Lieut. Shortland.** - When you were relieved at the Hawkesbury did you leave those Orders with the officer that succeeded to the Command?
A.- I informed him generally how I conducted the Command.

**Question at the instance of Lieut. Flinders.** - From you never contradicting the Orders to destroy the Natives in form did you consider the Orders for destroying them continued in force?
A.- Certainly otherwise I should have communicated them but it was understood the Natives were not to be injured except in retaliation for any outrage recently committed.

**John Francis Molloy** being duly sworn deponeth that in consequence of no regular Surgeon acting at the Hawkesbury he was appointed in the capacity - that in the course of his practice for four years and a half Twenty Six White People have been killed by the Natives and 13 Wounded on the Banks of the Hawkesbury - and saith that several of them were killed and wounded in defending their property against the depredations of the Natives. 98

Here the Prisoners addressed the Court and observed that they had no other evidence to call but such as had already been produced relating to the general offensive conduct of the Natives they therefore forebore troubling the Court with any further Examination of Witnesses altho' they had several at hand ready to come forward.

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98 John Francis Molloy was primarily a convict settler. Surgeon Balmain wrote to Governor Hunter on 1st August, 1798 that “an unskilled convict performs the medical duty at the Hawkesbury”. Page 451, *HRNSW*, Vol. III, Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1895. However, Molloy’s estimate of the numbers killed and wounded should not be disregarded as unsubstantiated exaggeration. I can account for sixteen to nineteen killed and two wounded for the period mid 1795 to October 1799. Only some of those figures come from David Collins, *HRA* and *HRNSW*, the remainder come incidentally - suggesting that not all deaths made their way into official records.
The Court cleared and on being re-opened the Prisoners were put to the Bar and informed that the Court find them generally GUILTY of KILLING two Natives But reserve this Case under all its peculiar circumstances by special Verdict until the sense of His Majesty's Ministers at home is known on the subject. The Prisoners therefore will be severally enlarged on producing two responsible sureties to be bound in One Hundred Pounds Each - and each of the Prisoners individually in Two Hundred Pounds for their personal appearance to abide by such decision as His Majesty's Ministers may think fit to make on the case so specially reserved for that purpose as aforesaid - the Court highly disapproving of the Conduct of the Prisoner Powell as a constable ordered him to be Suspended.

The individual sense of the Members of the Court on this case was thus expressed: -

CAPTAIN WATERHOUSE Finds the Prisoners severally Guilty of murdering two Natives without Provocation on the Part of the Natives. Captain Waterhouse further adds that by his opinion he means not to affect the lives of the Prisoners because it is the first Instance of such an Offence being brought before a Criminal Court and therefore the Prisoners were not aware of the consequences of the Law as applied to this Particular Case.

LIEUT. SHORTLAND Finds the Prisoners Guilty of Killing two Natives in a deliberate manner without any provocation from the deceased Natives at the Moment.

LIEUT. FLINDERS Finds the Prisoners severally Guilty of wilfully and inhumanly Killing two Natives unresisting and in no Act of Hostility or depredation.

CAPT. McARTHUR )
LIEUT. McKellar ) Find the Prisoners severally guilty
LIEUT. DAVIS ) of Killing two Natives
THE JUDGE ADVOCATE )

Opinion as to the Sentence

The Judge Advocate ........................................ The case specially reserved
Capt. Waterhouse ........................................... For Corporal punishment
Lieut. Shortland ............................................. For the same
Capt. McArthur ............................................. The case specially reserved
Lieut. Flinders ............................................... For Corporal Punishment
Lieut. McKellar ............................................. The case specially reserved
Lieut. Davis .................................................... The same

The Court found all the prisoners guilty; but under the extraordinary circumstances of the case, they were ordered to be released upon their finding sureties for their appearance when called upon, and the case was specially reserved for the decision of His

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Majesty's Ministers. On the 30th January, 1802, Lord Hobart authorised their pardon.
See King's Proclamation of 30th June, 1802.  

November 1799
In November 1799 six grants totaling 725 acres were made.

November 1799
I have included the extract below as it illustrates the ongoing problems associated with farming on the Hawkesbury. It was the cumulative nature of these problems that contributed to the expansion of the frontier beyond the Hawkesbury.

"The wheat crops, at this time nearly ready for the reaper, wore the most promising appearance, the stalks every where, particularly at the Hawkesbury, bending beneath the weight of the richest ears of corn ever beheld in this or indeed any other country. But, like other countries, a crop was never to be reckoned in this, until it was gathered into the barn. About the middle of the month there fell a very heavy storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, attended also with a shower of hail from the SE that beat all the fruit off the trees, and destroyed the gardens in and about the town of Sydney, though it was not felt more than two miles from that place. A heavy gale of wind and rain took place at the Hawkesbury the day preceding the storm at Sydney, which laid much of the wheat, and beat down one end of the public store. This destructive weather, having subsided for a day, recommenced on the 20th, and continued without intermission until the 25th, when it again cleared up; and continued without intermission until the 25th, when it again cleared up; and, to increase the vexation, myriads of caterpillars were found destroying the young maize."  

December 1799
In December 1799 six grantees received 315 acres.

1799: Conclusion
In 1799 there were thirty five grantees receiving 2631 acres.

If it was not for the trial of five settlers for the murder of two Aboriginal lads, 1799 would have been another quiet year, the highlight of which would have been the warning given by Aboriginal people to the settlers of an impending flood in March 1799.

If it was not for the records of the trial our understanding of the complex relations between the military, settlers and Aboriginal people would be very weak indeed. While the court failed to deliver justice to the Aboriginal victims this should not be seen as reflecting the difficulty of admitting Aboriginal evidence in court. The failure of the court

100 Page 7, HRNSW Vol. 4, Sydney, Government Printer, 1896
lay in the decision of the Judge Advocate and the officers of the NSW Corps to bypass the Governor and reserve the case for consideration by his Majesty’s ministers and the failure of Governor Hunter to assert his authority on the matter. Effectively this decision freed the prisoners. It should be noted that the naval officers only recommended corporal punishment for the killers.

**1800: Overview**

Apart from a reference to Aboriginal threats to burn farms and crops if those accused of murdering Little George and Little Jemmy were not punished, there are no records of interaction between Aboriginal people and settlers on the Hawkesbury. The two extracts that follow flow on from the trial.

**January 1800**

"The natives having murdered two men who possessed farms at the Hawkesbury, some of the settlers in that district determined to revenge their death. There were at this time three native boys living with one Powell, a settler, and two others, his neighbours. These unoffending lads they selected as the objects of revenge. Having informed them, that they thought they could find the guns belonging to the white men, they were dispatched for that purpose, and in a short time brought them in. Powell and his associates now began their work of vengeance. They drove the boys into a barn, where, after tying their hands behind their backs, these cowardly miscreants repeatedly stabbed them, until two of them fell and died beneath their hands. The third, making his escape, jumped into the river, and although in swimming he could only make use of his feet, yet under this disadvantage, and with the savage murderers of his companions firing at him repeatedly, he actually reached the opposite bank alive, and soon joined his own people.

The prisoners, in their defence, brought forward a crowd of witnesses to prove that a number of white people had at various times been killed by the natives; but, could these people have been sufficiently understood, proofs would not have been wanting on their side, of the wanton and barbarous manner in which many of them had been destroyed.

Entertaining doubts as to the light in which the natives were to be held, the court applied to the governor for such information as he could furnish upon this subject; and he accordingly sent them the orders which from time to time had been given respecting these people, and a copy of an article in his Majesty's instructions to the governor, which in strong and express terms places them under the protection of the British government, and directs, that if any of its subjects should wantonly destroy them, or give them unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, they were to be brought to punishment according to the degree and nature of their offence.

In this instance, however, the court were divided in their sentiments respecting the nature of the offence, and submitted the whole business, with their doubts, to his Majesty's minister. As they could not see their way distinctly, they certainly were right to apply for assistance; but, as it was impossible to explain to the natives, or cause them to comprehend the nature of these doubts, it was to be expected that they would ill brook the return of the prisoners to their farms and occupations, without having received some
punishment: a circumstance wholly inconsistent with their own ideas and customs; and, indeed, they loudly threatened to burn the crops as soon as it could be effected. Fire, in the hands of a body of irritated and hostile natives, might, with but little trouble to them, ruin the prospect of an abundant harvest; and it appeared by this threat, that they were not ignorant of having this power in their hands; it was, therefore, in particular, that they should live with them upon amicable terms.\textsuperscript{102}

In January 1800, 90 acres were granted to 3 grantees. In March 1800, 12 grants totalling 580 acres were made. In April 1800, 2 grants were made with a total of 65 acres. In June 1800, 310 acres were granted to 4 applicants. In 1800, 1,045 acres were granted to 21 individuals.

\textbf{1800: Conclusion}

Despite their apparent sympathy Collins’ and Hunter’s outpourings should be seen as little more than hand wringing and blame shifting.

\textbf{1801: Overview}

John MacArthur Junior’s \emph{A few Memoranda respecting the aboriginal (sic) natives} is included here despite its chronological and authorial inconsistencies. Its importance lies in its portrayal of the interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers on the farms. Its style of writing strongly suggests that there was a copy of \emph{Robinson Crusoe} on the bookshelf at Elizabeth Farm.

Whether warriors from the Hawkesbury were involved in Pemulwuy’s resistance is not clear. From the Governor’s comments in 1802 it almost certain that Pemulwuy was not active in the Hawkesbury.

\textbf{Circa 1801}

John Macarthur, junior, born 1794, supposedly wrote \emph{A few Memoranda respecting the aboriginal (sic) natives} sometime between 1817 and his death in 1831. The document presents several puzzles. The first is that the recollections could not possibly be those of John alone as he left the colony in 1801 aged seven, never to return. This suggests that John’s observations were informed by his father or his brother James, both of whom visited John in England as well as writing to him. The grammatical oddities of the document, which I have preserved, strongly suggest that the document was dictated by John (or someone else) and transcribed by another. The whole document (only part of it is included here) is important because it is written in what Stephen Muecke, \emph{Textual Spaces}, The University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 1992, described as a romantic discourse, i.e., the savage doomed to extinction by the inexorable march of civilisation. The whole document is included in a later part of \textit{Pondering the Abyss}.

\textsuperscript{102} Page 201, David Collins, \emph{An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales}, Vol 2, A.H. &A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.
The “*house at Parramatta*” was Elizabeth Farm, built in 1793. Elizabeth MacArthur, John’s mother, lived there till her death in 1850. The events described by John happened around this building prior to his departure in 1801. The document is unique in its description of the relationship between John Macarthur and Tedbury, or Tjedboro, son of Pemulwuy. The importance of the document lies in the relationship between two strong willed individuals. It shows clearly that for whatever reasons Aboriginal people chose to live with white people at this time dependency was not necessarily the main reason. John Macarthur’s wish to “reclaim” Tedbury was, however, entirely consistent with contemporary Enlightenment thinking and placed him in the same company as Mrs. Marsden.

John’s memory is at fault in his claim that Pemulwuy was shot before John was born. John was born in 1794 and Pemulwuy was killed in 1802. The document gives the sense that Tedbury was taken in by John Macarthur after the death of Pemulwuy, this also is incorrect as John MacArthur senior, had left for England in November 1801 and did not return till June 1805, taking his son John with him. It is more likely that from 1793 Tedbury, the boy, lived on and off with the Macarthur family at Elizabeth Farm. The *Sydney Gazette* on 4th August 1805 described him as “Young Tedbury”, so it is possible that Tedbury was about eight to ten when he went to the Macarthur family.

The second part of the recollections deal with Harry and Bill, two young Aboriginal people who also lived with the Macarthurs. As in the case of Tedbury their story highlights the importance of personal bonds between settlers and Aboriginal people. The story of Harry and Bill is also important with the reference to “the South Creek natives”. Whether these people were a separate entity to the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury is unclear. Gogie reappears in 1805. The Harry of this story may have been a guide in Captain Schaw’s 1816 expedition.

‘As far back as I can recollect the Aboriginal natives used to come about our house at Parramatta, generally a few families only, but occasionally in large parties.

*I will distinguish two, Tjedboro and Harry, at that time both fine young men. The former was the son of Pimelway, notorious in the earliest years of the colony for his wild, untameable spirit and his hostility to Europeans; he was shot I believe in a skirmish before I was born. Tjedboro was a mere boy at this time. My father as I have heard him say, took him in hand to reclaim him. He was accordingly brought in and treated with kindness, and for a time he was quite happy and docile. After a lapse of a few weeks, my father being out walking with the boy, and wishing to go in one direction while the boy wished to go in another. And finding persuasion of no avail. He used the tone of command. The young savage immediately took to the woods and was not seen by our family for many months. He then resumed his old habits, coming and going as he liked but always kindly treated, and without attempts to restrain him. He always called my father “master” but I do not think he would ever employ himself about any useful occupation. He used to say he should “like to be as white man” that is civilized that he

103 All four of Macarthur’s children were born before Pemulwuy’s death.

104 There was also a Harry in the Marsden household.
might be a gentleman; but then the idea of being controlled he could not endure. No being could be more devotedly attached to another than this poor savage was to us. He has often chidden and restrained me in some of my boyish pranks.

Harry was of a much more gentle disposition and my earliest recollection of him is connected with the following story. – Harry and Bill were two youths of the same age, related to each other and inseparable companions. Unfortunately they both became attached to the same girl and Harry being the favoured lover, Bill in an evil hour, speared Harry treacherously whilst asleep. From this wound Harry, with difficulty recovered. And the tribe in general were highly incensed against Bill, who according to their customs, would have to , (sic) that is would have to stand while a certain number of spears were thrown at him by all who chose to do so. He accordingly for some months eluded their search, by taking refuge amongst the South Creek natives. It happened that a favourite cow of ours (cows in those days were things of great price) had been for some time missing – and Bill found her in the neighbourhood of the South Creek. Bill knew that she had been anxiously sought after and thinking to elude the observation of Harrys (sic) friends, came in secretly during the night to communicate with my mother (my father was at this time absent in England) the welcome intelligence that the missing animal was safe. His affectionate nature cost him his life. He was found by the tribe, who detecting his place of refuge, compelled him to meet them in fight, at an appointed spot. He chose some bare, cleaned land a few hundred yards from our house. I very well remember seeing the encounter. He had many opponents and was at length mortally wounded by a spear thrown by Gogie, a native belonging to the Cowpasture tribe. Harry I believe, threw spears more for forms sake, for he ever afterwards used to deplore Bill’s death. Bill was removed into one of our outhouses and carefully attended until his death, which occurred a few days afterwards, and a number of his friends, particularly women, remained with him. We used to visit him every day, and on the last he said “Goodbye Missis, I shall never see you again”. He had requested to be placed in a particular spot, within view of the front of our house, and with his face turned towards it. For a great length of time Harry shunned the neighbourhood and I believe to the hour of his death, never ventured near Bills (sic) grave. 105

1st May 1801

‘From the wanton manner in which a large body of natives, resident about Parramatta, George’s River, and Prospect Hill, have attacked and killed some of Government sheep, and their violent threat of murdering all the white men they meet, which they put into execution by murdering Daniel Conroy, stock-keeper, in a most savage and inhumane manner, and severely wounding Smith, settler, and as it is impossible to foresee to what extent their present hostile menaces may be carried, both with respect to the defenceless settlers and the stock, the Governor has directed that this as well as all other bodies of natives in the above district to be driven back from the settlers' habitations by firing at them. But this order does not extend to the natives in other districts; nor is any native to

be molested in any part of the harbour, at Sydney, or on the road leading to Parramatta’.106

November 1801

It is unclear whether or not the Governor was referring to the Hawkesbury when describing these depredations. It is noteworthy that responsibility for these activities was attributed to runaway convicts rather than Aboriginal people. Certainly Marsden’s planned expedition related to these troubles.

14th November 1801

‘Since grain has been so very scarce among the settlers107 the natives have been exceedingly troublesome and annoying to them, which has made it necessary to allow them to repel their predatory attacks. It is much to be apprehended that they are incited to several acts they have committed by some worthless vagabonds who have associated with them for the express purpose of plundering the settlers. However, I hope when grain is more plentiful this inconvenience will cease.’108

November 1801

While George Caley’s letter to his patron, Sir Joseph Banks of 24th April 1803, mainly addressed difficulties that he faced in doing his work it is relevant to this work in the light that it threw on the power of the magistrates. One particular problem that Caley mentioned was to do with Samuel Marsden who, as a magistrate, attempted to coerce Caley’s assigned servant into acting as a guide on a punitive expedition involving soldiers and settlers. The assigned servant was imprisoned by Marsden when he refused to go. Marsden accused Caley and his man of being “connected with the natives”. The fact that Marsden imprisoned Caley’s servant strongly suggests that the attack went ahead without the guide. The account highlights the impropriety caused when the magistrates, all of whom were men of property, acted out of self interest. Given that Marsden was a breeder of sheep and goats with land at the Hawkesbury, his focus on “the lives of the

107 8th May 1801: “There not being any more than sixteen weeks’ salt provisions in the stores, and owing to the failure of part of the wheat last year, and the inundations at the Hawkesbury having destroyed a great quantity of that grain as well as maize, and there being reason to apprehend a scarcity of grain at the end of the year, in order to guard against which, and against accidents happening to supplies of salt provisions coming hither, the following reduction of the weekly ration of salt meat, and alteration in that of grain, will take place till further orders, viz.:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>5lb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pork</td>
<td>2lb. 10 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>6lb. 3 oz. or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>13.1/2 lb., or 18.1/2 in cob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>6 oz.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women and children in proportion.”


stockmen and stock” and his assertion that “there never would be any good done, until there was a clear riddance of the natives” strongly suggests that in ordering the punitive expedition Marsden may have been looking after his own property. Marsden’s scorn for Sir Joseph Banks probably explains why Banks snubbed him on one of Marsden’s visits to England.

“The first happened in Nov. 1801, The man that was with me at that time was well known by the natives, and they were very partial to him. The Rev Samuel Marsden fixed upon him one evening for him to conduct a large party of soldiers and others for to apprehend the natives by force in the night. The man came and informed me of it. I well knew what would be the case by such proceedings. I went and told Mr Marsden of it. He answered me what was my life, or his own, or any other man’s to the colony at large. I said I considered my life as valued to me as any other person did theirs, and that what he had just said was a bolder word than I could say. He then said he both must and would have him, and what was Sir Joseph Bank’s plants and bother to the welfare of the colony. I then immediately withdrew. – Early the next morning the man sent the word that he was in prison. I went and asked him what he had been doing, he said he had done nothing amiss, and that he did not know what he was confined for. I then waited upon Mr Marsden to know the cause, who said it was, because he refused to go. I told him I had reasons to believe otherwise. He then told me that he had opinion, that I had persuaded him not to go. This I denied, and requested him to explain his opinions. His answer was because the man had informed me that he was fixed upon for to go.

As he was my servant had he not a right to do so? He then told me, that if he had gone into the woods with the party, he had reason to believe, that he would have deserted them and have informed the natives what was in agitation, and on that cause he had confined him, and I should report him to the Governor in that light.

He now contradicted himself, for it now appears he confined him on two distinct cases. Both of which I can safely say he was innocent. He then told me was of opinion, that I and the man were connected with the natives. This I denied, and he repeated the same several times, and said what was my nonsensical pursuit to the lives of the stockmen and stock.

In the evening, the man was released, and I have heard nothing of the matter since. This gentleman said there never would be any good done, until there was a clear riddance of the natives. Then he seemed to have such an enthusiastic rapture, by his words, for the welfare of the country, and I shall not be backward in saying, that he is far a better preacher to himself than to what he alluded to; and with regard to calling my pursuit a nonsensical one, he ought to have been more deliberate, and instead of bringing your name in question, he ought to have been silent.”


See also Mitchell, R. Else, George Caley: His Life and Work, RAHS, Vol. xxv, 1939, pp 438-542.
December 1801
Certainly the road from Parramatta to Windsor was dangerous as James Hardy Vaux recounted. It is noteworthy for his use of the word “warfare”.

‘I joined a party of travelers accompanied by a cart in which I had deposited my luggage; these persons formed a sort of caravan and were all well-armed, the natives being at this time in a state of warfare, and the roads thereby rendered dangerous.’

1801: Conclusion
Exactly why the Hawkesbury was so quiet is puzzling. The logical expectation would have been for Pemulwuy to have received greater support. It may be that the inactivity supports my contention that Aboriginal people misinterpreted the white people as being reincarnations gone astray and treated each transgression individually. It may also be that Aboriginal politics were a factor and Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury had little empathy with Pemulwuy. This may in some way explain why the Bidjigal people blamed warriors from the Hawkesbury when seeking peace in May 1805.

1802: Overview
The governors remonstrated against the private enterprise of the cedar cutters throughout the history of settlement. This work was dangerous and isolated. That it continued for so long with any reported killings indicates that Aboriginal people and the timber getters had made mutually satisfying arrangements.

21 January 1802: Margaret Catchpole’s letter to Mrs. Cobbold
Following is Margaret Catchpole’s first letter from New South Wales. It was probably written from the Woolloomooloo farm of Commissary John Palmer. The letter is of interest because it demonstrates quite clearly the alarm that Aboriginal people caused among settlers, particularly the women. It is not clear who the eight killed and wounded men, women and children were. The letter is particularly significant because it is the earliest reference I have found to the increase in birth rate amongst settler women after arrival in the colony, which raises the question of what caused this increase in fertility. It is possible that this increased fertility may have been linked with hunting that would have provided increased protein in the diet of these women. This would have impacted upon Aboriginal food supplies.

‘sir pray Giv my Best respects to all my old fellear prisnors and tell them niver to say "Dead Hearted" at the thoughts of coming to Boteny Bay for it is Likley you may niver see it - for it is not in hapited - onely By the Blackes, the nativs of this place - thay are very saveg for thay all wais Carrey with them spears and tommeay horkes so when thay can meet with a wit man thay will rob them and speer them. - i for my part do not Like them - i do not know how to Look at them - thay are such poor naked Craturs - thay

110 James Hardy Vaux, Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux, a Swindler and Thief, Now Transported to New South Wales for the second Time, and for Life, 2nd ed. London: Hunt and Clarke, 1827
http://www.archive.org/stream/memoirsjameshar01vauxgoog/memoirsjameshar01vauxgoog_djvu.txt
111 Page 69, Laurie Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P Forth, 2012.
Behav them selves well a nof when thay Com in to my house for if not wee would Git them punneshed. thay very often hav a grand fite with them selves 20 and 30 all to gether - and we pray to be spared. sum of them are kild - thear is nothing said to them for killing one a nother.

The Crops of weat is very good in this Countrey for it perducers forteey Bussheells per ackear - it is a very Bountifull place in deed for i under stand them that niver had a child in all thear lives hav sum after thay com hear."112

Dear sir Jan th 21 the Blacks the natives of this places kild and Wounded 8 men and women and Children - 1 man they cut of his arms half way up and Brock the Bones that they Left on very much and Cut thear Leages of up to thear knees and the poor man was carread in to the ospitle a Liv - But the Govener hav sent men out after them to shot every I thay find - so as i hop i shorll give you Better a Count the next Letter.113

30th January 1802

The following extract from Lord Hobart’s despatch to Governor King relates to the 1799 trial.

'I have perused with great attention the reports transmitted by Governor Hunter of the trials of these persons, and on a full consideration of the circumstances attending those trials, and of the difference of opinion which prevailed amongst the members who composed the Court, as well as of the length of time that has elapsed since their several sentences were passed upon them, I have ventured to recommend them as proper objects of His Majesty's mercy, and I have in consequence received His Majesty's commands to direct you to grant pardons to each of those persons respectively for the offences of which they were convicted before the Court to which I allude, annexing to those pardons such conditions as you shall think most adequate to the due attainment of the ends of justice.

Before I dismiss this subject, I cannot help lamenting that the wise and humane instructions of my predecessors, relative to the necessity of cultivating the good-will of the natives, do not appear to have been observed in earlier periods of the establishment of the colony with an attention corresponding to the importance of the object. The evils resulting from this neglect seem to be now sensibly experienced, and the difficulty of restoring confidence with the natives, alarmed and exasperated by the unjustifiable injuries they have too often experienced, will require all the attention which your active vigilance and humanity can bestow upon a subject so important in itself, and so essential to the prosperity of the settlement, and I should hope that you may be able to convince those under your Government that it will be only by observing uniformly a great degree of forbearance and plain, honest dealing with the natives, that they can hope to relieve themselves from their present dangerous embarrassment.

112 In her letter of the 28th of January 1807, Margaret amplified this observation with the comment that “It is a wondfull Country for to have children in very old women hav them that never had non before”. In her letter of 25th May 1807 Margaret Catchpole implied that there was an early onset of puberty in the colony for the young Gairles that are born in this Countrey marry very young at 14 or 15 years old”. Pages 130 and 132, Laurie Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P Forth, 2012

It should at the same time be clearly understood that on future occasions, any instance of injustice or wanton cruelty towards the natives will be punished with the utmost severity of the law."

March 1802
In March 1802, 1,322 acres were granted to 14 applicants.

April 1802
‘GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDER
2nd April, 1802

“It having been represented to the Governor that some of the settlers at the Hawkesbury are making a traffic of the cedar growing on or about that river, he strictly forbids any cedar being cut down but by his particular permission to the officer commanding at that place; and if any cedar logs or planks are brought from any part of that river to any other settlement without the Governors permission, such logs or planks will be seized for the purposes of Government, and the boats and carts containing them confiscated to the public use.

The time of granting certificates to those whose terms of transportation are expired is necessarily deferred till after the seed-time is over, when further notice will be given thereof.”

PHILIP GIDLEY KING.115

14th April, 1802
The following passage from the log of the Lady Nelson indicates that the Upper Crescent Reach was the limit of downstream settlement at that time. The Lady Nelson which had picked up a cargo from Windsor anchored for the night on Lover’s Leap Reach, which is now known as Upper Crescent Reach. Lover’s Leap Rock is probably on the right bank on what was William Stubb’s grant. An article in the Town and Country Journal of 2st February 1891, promoting the Hawkesbury as a tourist destination asserted that Lover’s Leap was “a bold headland above Sackville, from which a dusky maiden and her lover were compelled to leap by a powerful and jealous rival”.116 Unfortunately there are too many other Lover’s Leaps around the world where First People have been pushed rather than leapt over precipices.

‘Wednesday, April 14th. At half-past 12 P.M. the tide having made down hove up and began to tow down the river and by 5 P.M. got down to the lowest settlers. At 8 P.M. fired a gun and set an armed watch; at 9 P.M. having a fair breeze of wind, got under weigh and by noon cleared Lover’s Leap Reach.”117

June 1802

‘Proclamation
By His Excellency Philip Gidley King Esq. etc.

Whereas a Despatch by the Coromandel has been received from the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, containing His Majesty’s Commands, That notwithstanding His permitting the Governor to Remit the Punishment of the five Persons tried by a Court of Criminal Judicature on the 18th of October, 1799, for wantonly killing Two of the Natives, yet It should, at the same time, be clearly understood that on future occasions any instance of Injustice or wanton Cruelty towards the Natives will be punished with the utmost severity of the Law; And His Majesty having at the same time recommended that every means should (after the Receipt of those Despatches) be used to conciliate the Goodwill of the Natives, I do hereby strictly forbid any of His Majesty’s Subjects, resident or stationary in this Colony, from using any act of Injustice or wanton Cruelty towards the Natives, on pain of being dealt with in the same manner as if such act of Injustice or wanton Cruelty should be committed against the Persons and Estates of any of His Majesty’s Subjects; But at the same time that His Majesty forbids any act of Injustice or wanton Cruelty to the Natives, yet the Settler is not to suffer his property to be invaded, or his existence endangered by them; in preserving which he is to used effectual, but at the same time the most humane, means of resisting such attacks. But always observing a great degree of forbearance and plain dealing with the Natives appears the only means they can adopt to avoid future Attacks, and to continue the present good Understanding that exists.

Given etc. this 30th Day of June, 1802.

PHILIP GIDLEY KING

June 1802

In June 1802 Nicholas Baudin’s scientific expedition to the southern lands limped into Sydney Harbour. Governor King assisted the French expedition in a most gracious manner. On board was Francois Peron, a zoologist whose observations were recorded in Voyage de découvertes aux Terres Australes, exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté, l’Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste et la goëlette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804, L’Imprimerie Impériale, 3 vols and atlas, Paris, 1807–17. The first volume was translated into English in 1809. As

118 John Kirby, a convict was the first man to be tried and executed for the murder of one of the First Peoples of Australia. On the 27th of October 1820, John Kirby and John Thompson attempted to escape from Newcastle. They were quickly apprehended by a group of Aboriginal people, despite Kirby fatally wounding Burragong, alias King Jack. Both men were tried for murder; Kirby was found guilty and executed while Thompson was acquitted. Sydney Gazette, 16th December 1820


The next executions were for the Myall Creek murderers. They also had convict backgrounds.

I do not read French I have relied upon Christine Cornell’s 2007 translation of Peron’s observations.

The first passage noting differences between the Aboriginal people of Van Diemen’s Land is of interest for several reasons. The dark skin and woolly hair of the Tasmanians contradicted contemporary thought on those physical attributes being confined to the tropics. As well it is important in that it does not attempt to explain the differences except through the observation that Van Diemen’s Land and the mainland must have been separated before being peopled. Peron did not propose polygenesis as the explanation, but his silence on the matter left it open.

‘Section I
Zoological observations which may render doubtful the primitive connection of New Holland to Van Diemens Land

OF ALL THE OBSERVATIONS that one can make upon passing from Van Diemens Land to New Holland, the easiest, most important and perhaps, also, the most inexplicable is that the races inhabiting each of these two lands are entirely different. Indeed, if one excepts the thinness of the limbs (which is equally observable in both peoples), they have almost nothing further in common — not in their habits, customs and rude arts, nor in their hunting or fishing implements, dwellings, canoes or weapons, nor in their language, overall physical constitution, shape of the skull, facial proportions, etc. This absolute dissimilarity extends to colour; the natives of Van Diemens Land are much browner than those of New Holland. It even appears in a characteristic which everybody agrees in considering the most important of those used to distinguish the different races of the human species. I refer to the nature of the hair. The inhabitants of Van Diemens Land have short, woolly and fuzzy hair; those of New Holland have hair that is long, straight and smooth.

How does one imagine now that an island, extending 60 leagues at the most, pushed back to the very limits of the eastern hemisphere and separated from all other known land by distances of 4, 8, 12 and even 15 hundred leagues, can have a race of men absolutely different from that of the vast, neighbouring continent? How does one imagine this exclusion of all contact, so contrary to our ideas on the communications between peoples and their transmigrations? How does one explain this darker colour, this frizzy, woolly hair in a much colder country?... All these singular anomalies are fresh proof of the imperfection of our theories, which are always related to the state of knowledge of the century of their birth and are always forced to undergo modification with it and by it. I must confine myself here to deducing from this first part of my observations, the important consequence that the separation of Van Diemen's Land from New Holland is earlier than even the period of the populating of these two countries. There can be scarcely any doubt, in fact, that had they then been joined, their inhabitants would have belonged to a common race and, more likely, to the one whose peoples occupy New Holland today.

A second zoological observation seems to me to be proper, not only to confirm the ancient separation of Van Diemen’s Land from New Holland, but also to
carry the period of that separation back beyond even the earliest time of the existence of the animals that live in these climates. Indeed, all those that we collected in Van Diemen's Land and which can be regarded as more particularly suited to the country, such as the mammals, reptiles, etc., are specifically different from the animals of New Holland. Most (even) of the species that populate this continent do not exist on the large island next door. The dog, for example — that animal so precious to man, that faithful companion of his miseries, his errands and his dangers, that untiring instrument of his distant excursions — which we found everywhere in New Holland — the dog is foreign to Van Diemen's Land. At least, we observed no trace of dogs anywhere and never saw any with the inhabitants, despite our daily communication with them. And it does not appear that any other traveller has caught sight of dogs either.120

In describing the “Bé-dia-gal” people Peron again highlighted their difference Peron made a similar distinction as above.

‘... the Bé-dia-gal, curious people who live in the forests surrounding the Hawkesbury River and who differ from the natives of Port Jackson and those of Botany Bay in customs, language, way of life, and above all, in an extremely unusual characteristic of their physical build. All the members of this tribe have arms and thighs disproportionately long in relation to the rest of their body.’121

Peron was in Sydney for five months and travelled extensively which makes the second extract highly important. It shows that after fourteen years of settlement Aboriginal people still rejected the benefits of civilization. This in turn raises questions about the interaction of Aboriginal people and the settlers on the farms. If Aboriginal people were not seeking trinkets, or to change their lifestyle, then it is likely that food and protection were their priorities.

‘No region can interest the naturalist so much as New Holland; it is a new area for research and thought. It differs from all other countries in its physical constitution and its products from the three kingdoms;122 and modern geographers, in designating it the fifth region of the world, are merely following Nature’s directions.

At the beginning of this account, I showed what influence the vegetation must have had on the population and civilisation of these countries. Indeed, whatever happy moral and intellectual qualities one might credit the natives with have been destroyed by the pressing need to think ceaselessly of maintaining and protecting their existence. Nature appears to have endowed them with just the one sum of intelligence, in harmony with the land they inhabit. Never, at any time that we had occasion to communicate with them, did we notice that degree of curiosity which indicates aptitude and desire for

120 Pages 33-34, Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, Dissertations on Various Subjects, by Francois Peron, Translated by Christine Cornell, The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2007.
122 I assume animal, vegetable and mineral.
learning. Although the natives of the Sydney region have associated fearlessly and constantly with the English for several years now, they are still no less barbaric than they were before the arrival of the Europeans. What a difference from the other inhabitants of the South Seas! European navigators who have landed in the Friendly Islands, the Society and the Sandwich Islands, have found themselves the centre of the greatest interest and the liveliest curiosity. Their gifts to the local inhabitants were received with enthusiasm and appreciated with discernment. Here, on the contrary, when we showed the natives of New Holland how to use a few objects that could be of the greatest service to them and then presented them to them, they received them without thought and abandoned them almost always with indifference.

Francois Peron’s curiosity was stirred by the Blue Mountains. His perception of their impenetrability was reinforced by Aboriginal observations that they could not be crossed, which was a palpable falsehood as Aboriginal people crossed the mountains on a regular basis. It was not in their interests to reveal the ways across. Peron’s recount is of interest, it is possibly the first mention of the inland sea and Oxley’s description of encountering cattle tracks eighty to ninety miles west of Bathurst in 1817. It was entirely possible that runaway convicts could have driven cattle from the Cow Pastures across the Blue Mountains.

‘What is, perhaps, the strangest thing in the account of these mountains is the fact that the natives of the country do not have any more precise knowledge of them than do the Europeans. All agree upon the impossibility of crossing this western barrier, and what they recount of the lands that they suppose to exist beyond it, shows plainly that those lands are quite unknown to them. There, they say, is a vast lake, on whose shores live white men like the English, dressed like them and building stone houses and big towns, etc. We shall see elsewhere that the existence of this great lake – this kind of Caspian Sea – is no less improbable than that of the white people and their civilisation. I shall merely observe here that it is likely that these notions go no further back than the establishment of the English colony, which appears to have inspired them.’

123 Pages 106-107, Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, Dissertations on Various Subjects, by Francois Peron, Translated by Christine Cornell, The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2007.
125 Page 31, Francois Peron, Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, Translated by Christine Cornell, The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2006.

Ever since settlement began Aboriginal people told the settlers of more attractive neighbourhoods in an attempt to move the settlers on. In 1828 XYZ displayed his gullibility in recounting a story from Wellington that “there exists in the western country, many days off, a vast interior sea, where the water is salt, and where whales are seen to spout! The manner in which they imitated the whale throwing up water was so completely satisfactory as to leave little doubt of the fact, as it is not likely these inland blacks could have known it but from actual observation”. Page 542, XYZ, Rambles in New South Wales, New Monthly Magazine, Volume 22, 1828.

http://books.google.com.au/books?id=nDkzAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA542&lpg=PA542&dq=%22and+where+whales+are+seen+to+spout%22&source=bl&ots=XgoBzUfg8b&sig=ZRqC8hYECewQgUt-U_VGu47VHk&hl=en&sa=X&ei=nKZkUYzCCYfKkgWs8YGIGCA&sqi=2&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=%22and%20where%20whales%20are%20seen%20to%20spout%22&f=false
SONG OF THE FUTURE by A.B. "Banjo" Paterson

’Tis strange that in a land so strong,
So strong and bold in mighty youth,
We have no poet's voice of truth
To sing for us a wondrous song.

Our chiefest singer yet has sung
In wild, sweet notes a passing strain,
All carelessly and sadly flung
To that dull world he thought so vain.

"I care for nothing, good nor bad,
My hopes are gone, my pleasures fled,
I am but sifting sand," he said:
What wonder Gordon’s songs were sad!

And yet, not always sad and hard;
In cheerful mood and light of heart
He told the tale of Britomarte,
And wrote the Rhyme of Joyous Guard.

And some have said that Nature's face
To us is always sad; but these
Have never felt the smiling grace
Of waving grass and forest trees
On sunlit plains as wide as seas.

"A land where dull Despair is king
O'er scentless flower and songless bird!"
But we have heard the bell-birds ring
Their silver bells at eventide,
Like fairies on the mountain side,
The sweetest note man ever heard.

The wild thrush lifts a note of mirth;
The bronzing pigeons call and coo
Beside their nests the long day through;
The magpie warbles clear and strong
A joyous, glad, thanksgiving song,
For all God's mercies upon earth.

And many voices such as these
Are joyful sounds for those to tell,
Who know the Bush and love it well,
With all its hidden mysteries.

We cannot love the restless sea,
That rolls and tosses to and fro
Like some fierce creature in its glee;
For human weal or human woe
It has no touch of sympathy.

For us the bush is never sad:
Its myriad voices whisper low,
In tones the bushmen only know,
Its sympathy and welcome glad.

For us the roving breezes bring
From many a blossom-tufted tree --
Where wild bees murmur dreamily
The honey-laden breath of Spring.

We have no tales of other days,
No bygone history to tell;
Our tales are told where camp-fires blaze
At midnight, when the solemn hush
Of that vast wonderland, the Bush,
Hath laid on every heart its spell.

Although we have no songs of strife,
Of bloodshed reddening the land,
We yet may find achievements grand
Within the bushman's quiet life.

Lift ye your faces to the sky
Ye far blue mountains of the West,
Who lie so peacefully at rest
Enshrouded in a haze of blue;
'Tis hard to feel that years went by
Before the pioneers broke through
Your rocky heights and walls of stone,
And made your secrets all their own.

For years the fertile Western plains
Were hid behind your sullen walls,
Your cliffs and crags and waterfalls
All weatherworn with tropic rains.

Between the mountains and the sea,
Like Israelites with staff in hand,
The people waited restlessly;
They looked towards the mountains old
And saw the sunsets come and go
With gorgeous golden afterglow,
That made the West a fairyland,
And marvelled what that West might be
Of which such wondrous tales were told.

For tales were told of inland seas
Like sullen oceans, salt and dead,
And sandy deserts, white and wan,
Where never trod the foot of man,
Nor bird went winging overhead,
Nor ever stirred a gracious breeze
To wake the silence with its breath --
A land of loneliness and death.

At length the hardy pioneers
By rock and crag found out the way,
And woke with voices of to-day,
A silence kept for years and years.

Upon the Western slope they stood
And saw -- a wide expanse of plain
As far as eye could stretch or see
Go rolling westward endlessly.
The native grasses, tall as grain,
Were waved and rippled in the breeze;
From boughs of blossom-laden trees
The parrots answered back again.
They saw the land that it was good,
A land of fatness all untrod,
And gave their silent thanks to God.

The way is won! The way is won!
And straightway from the barren coast
There came a westward-marching host,
That aye and ever onward prest
With eager faces to the West,
Along the pathway of the sun.

The mountains saw them marching by:
They faced the all-consuming drought,
They would not rest in settled land:
But, taking each his life in hand,
Their faces ever westward bent
Beyond the farthest settlement,
Responding to the challenge cry
Of "better country further out."

And lo a miracle! the land
But yesterday was all unknown,
The wild man's boomerang was thrown
Where now great busy cities stand.
It was not much, you say, that these
Should win their way where none withstood;
In sooth there was not much of blood
No war was fought between the seas.

It was not much! but we who know
The strange capricious land they trod --
At times a stricken, parching sod,
At times with raging floods beset --
Through which they found their lonely way,
Are quite content that you should say
It was not much, while we can feel
That nothing in the ages old,
In song or story written yet
On Grecian urn or Roman arch,
Though it should ring with clash of steel,
Could braver histories unfold
Than this bush story, yet untold --
The story of their westward march.

But times are changed, and changes rung
From old to new -- the olden days,
The old bush life and all its ways
Are passing from us all unsung.
The freedom, and the hopeful sense
Of toil that brought due recompense,
Of room for all, has passed away,
And lies forgotten with the dead.
Within our streets men cry for bread
In cities built but yesterday.

About us stretches wealth of land,
A boundless wealth of virgin soil
As yet unfruitful and untitled!
Our willing workmen, strong and skilled
Within our cities idle stand,
And cry aloud for leave to toil.

The stunted children come and go
In squalid lanes and alleys black;
We follow but the beaten track
Of other nations, and we grow
In wealth for some -- for many, woe.

And it may be that we who live
In this new land apart, beyond
The hard old world grown fierce and fond
And bound by precedent and bond,
May read the riddle right and give
New hope to those who dimly see
That all things may be yet for good,
And teach the world at length to be
One vast united brotherhood.

So may it be, and he who sings
In accents hopeful, clear, and strong,
The glories which that future brings
Shall sing, indeed, a wondrous song.
The Bulletin, 21 December 1889.'
Francois Peron and some companions made their way to Arndell’s Cattai property where he arranged for a boat to take them upstream to the Blue Mountains. On the way upstream they passed what is now known as The Terrace. Peron’s description of Aboriginal tracks on the face of the Terrace is one of a very small number of descriptions of an Aboriginal presence on the ground.

On the left side of the river, where the forests begin, one sees an escarpment, the slope of which is at an angle of more than 80°. It runs along the river for about two miles and is formed entirely of black schist, in what appeared to me to be horizontal layers. Despite the steepness of the slope, one could make out paths, which our guide assured us are habitually used by the natives. One must be both agile and experienced to be able to climb thus along these ramparts.¹²⁶

When Baudin left for Van Dieman’s Land Governor King hurriedly sent a ship south to the French camp where they raised the English flag and claimed Van Dieman’s Land for England. Baudin wrote to Governor King, on 23rd December 1802 criticising King’s actions. Included in the letter was a remarkably prescient comment of the affects of settlement upon Aboriginal people.

‘To my way of thinking, I have never been able to conceive that there was justice and equity on the part of Europeans in seizing, in the name of their Governments, a land seen for the first time, when it is inhabited by men who have not always deserved the title of savages or cannibals which has been given them, whilst they were but the children of nature and just as little civilised as are actually your Scotch Highlanders or our peasants in Brittany, who, if they do not eat their fellow men, are nevertheless just as objectionable. From this it appears to me that it would be infinitely more glorious for your nation, as for mine, to mould for society the inhabitants of the respective countries over whom they have rights, instead of wishing to occupy themselves in improving those who are so far removed by immediately seizing the soil which they own and which has given them birth. These remarks are no doubt impolitic but at least reasonable from the facts; and had this principle been generally adopted you would not have been obliged to have formed a colony by means of men branded by the law, and who have become criminals through the fault of Government which has neglected and abandoned them to themselves. It follows therefore that not only have you to reproach yourselves with an injustice in seizing their land, but also in transporting on a soil where the crimes and the diseases of Europeans were unknown all that could retard the progress of civilisation, which has served as a pretext to your Government, &c.

If you will reflect upon the conduct of the natives since the beginning of your establishment upon their territory, you will perceive that their aversion for you, and also for your customs, has been occasioned by the idea which they have formed of those who wished to live amongst them. Notwithstanding your precautions and the punishments undergone by those among your people who have ill-treated them, they have been enabled to see through your projects for the future; but being too feeble to resist you, the fear of your arms has made them emigrate, so that the hope of

¹²⁶ Page 343, Francois Peron, *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*, Translated by Christine Cornell, The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2006.
seeing them mix with you is lost, and you will presently remain the peaceful possessors of their heritage, as the small number of those surrounding you will not long exist."\(^{27}\)

**September 1802**

In September 1802, 12 individuals received grants totaling 624\(\frac{1}{4}\) acres.

**October 1802**

In October 1802, 1 supplicant received a grant of 35 acres.

*October 1802 Depredations of the Natives*

Respecting Your Lordship’s remarks on the causes that urged the natives to commit the acts that drew on them the resentment of four of the respites above alluded to, I beg leave to state that by former despatch I communicated, the natives having shown a disposition to become troublesome to the settlers, who, resisting their depredations, all the natives left that district, and soon after plundered many of the settlers, wantonly murdered four white men, and cruelly used some of the convict women at different times. That natives about Sydney and Hawkesbury continued as domesticated as ever, and reproved the conduct of the natives in the neighbourhood of Parramatta and Toongabbee, who were irritated by an active, daring leader name Pemulwye, and in the intercourses we had with some of his companions they expressed their sorrow for the part they were obliged to act by the great influence Pemulwye had over them. From their extreme agility, lying in wait for them was out of the question. Decided measures therefore became necessary to prevent the out-settlers from being robbed and plundered, and to restore the natives to a friendly intercourse. With these views (founded on the opinions of the principal officers coinciding with mine), I gave orders for every person doing their utmost to bring Pemulwye in either dead or alive, and as it is a practice strictly observed among the natives that murder should be atoned by the life of the murderer or some one belonging to him, the natives were told “that when Pemulwye was given up they should be re-admitted to our friendship.” Some time after two settlers, not having the means of securing the persons of Pemulwye and another native, shot them\(^{28}\). On this event they requested that Pemulwye’s head might be carried to the Governor, and that as he (Pemulwye) was the cause of all that had happened, and all anger being dropped on their part, they hoped I would allow them to return to Parramatta. Orders were immediately given to that effect and not to molest or ill-treat any native. When I received your Lordship’s opinion*\(^{29}\) on this subject I caused the enclosed proclamation to be

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\(^{28}\) Compare this account of Pemulwuy’s death with the quite differing one described in Sydney Gazette, 24 June 1804.

\(^{29}\) Note 225, page 583.Your Lordship’s opinion.

The asterisk refers the reader to the Governor’s Proclamation of 30\(^{th}\) June, 1802. It is followed by a copy of a cancelled draft proclamation that preceded the Proclamation of 30\(^{th}\) June 1804 in the order book “In the original order-book, a draft proclamation, which has been cancelled, precedes this one, and is of interest. It is in the handwriting of W.N. Chapman, secretary to the governor, and is as follows:-“whereas, in consequence of the outrages committed by the natives in murdering Dan’l Conroy, storekeeper, and severely wounding Mr. Smith, settler, in a wanton and inhuman manner, it was directed by
immediately published, and made the natives fully sensible of the intention and meaning thereof. They expressed much joy and are now on more friendly terms than ever. I have stated this circumstance in corroboration of the remarks made by your Lordship, and I have every hope (as it will be my care) that we shall continue on good terms with them; still the out-settlers must be on their guard against their predatory dispositions.\footnote{130}

In 1802, 27 grants were made with a total of 1,981¼ acres. All information regarding land grants is drawn from *Land Grants, 1788-1809*, Edited by R. J. Ryan, Australian Documents Library Pty Ltd, 1974.

**1802: Conclusion**

Governor King’s proclamation of the home government’s decision to remit the punishment of the men found guilty of “wantonly killing” Little George and Little Jemmy continued the ambivalence of official attitudes.

The death of Pemulwuy was a blow to Aboriginal resistance. Apart from the Governor’s paternalistic assurances there is no real reason to assume that local Aboriginal people sought the decapitation of Pemulwuy or were relieved by the killing of Pemulwuy.
1803 to 1811

1803-1811 Overview
A drought combined with the inexorable movement downstream of settlement to Portland Head and beyond led to a series of co-ordinated Aboriginal attacks along the Hawkesbury and South Creek in 1804-05 that were almost certainly part of an alliance from Pittwater to the Cow Pastures. This alliance collapsed in 1805 resulting in a peace that lasted for a number of years across much of the Sydney Plain.

A Note on Sources
Governor’s despatches continue to be a major source of information. Governor King’s despatches must be read with caution as he attempted to reconcile outbreaks of Aboriginal resistance in reaction to his massive increase in land grants on the Hawkesbury with his commitment to Lord Hobart’s orders “to conciliate the Goodwill of the Natives”.

A new source, the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* appeared in 1803. The *Sydney Gazette*’s publication was authorised by Governor King and it was essentially a government mouthpiece. Apart from government notices the paper provided information about happenings in the colony. George Howe, assisted by his son Robert was typesetter, printer, journalist and publisher of the paper. George Howe was born in 1769, the son of Thomas Howe, Government Printer on Saint Kitts, a Caribbean island whose economy was built upon slavery and sugar.¹ The *Australian Dictionary of Biography*² records that George Howe was well read and had received a classical eighteenth century education. In 1790 he went to England and worked on the *London Times* before falling foul of the law and being transported to the colony in 1801. Howe provided an articulate voice for the authorities and settlers upon whom he depended for income. He was emancipated in 1806, but had ongoing problems with defaulting subscribers and the NSW Corps during their insurrection.

Despite being one of our few sources of information on Aboriginal people and the Hawkesbury in this period, the stories in the *Gazette* must be read carefully. While the author was obviously well read and had a distinctive ironical style, his stories were

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¹ George Reeve in *The Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 7th of March 1924, wilfully or otherwise, wrote “George Howe, the editor and founder of Australia's first newspaper (his son was Robert Howe) was a Creole from St. Kitts' or other West Indian Islands, and had black blood in his veins, as has been testified over and over again, in the early history of this State”. [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85899521](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85899521). The only reference that supported George Reeve’s unpleasant assertion came from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21st August 1908, which reported an address on *The Early Press* to the Historical Society of New South Wales. The speaker, a Mr. Dowling mistakenly described George Howe and his son Robert as “two coloured gentlemen”. [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/15002994](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/15002994). In the following issue of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a granddaughter of George Howe corrected Mr. Dowling. “Presumably he made this statement because George Howe was a Creole. Now, Sir, a Creole is a person born in the West Indies, or Spanish America, descended from European ancestors, but not of native race.” [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/15022944](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/15022944).

dependent upon others, highly editorialised, prone to wild leaps into speculative fancy and sometimes plainly and deliberately wrong. Names such as Richmond Hill, Portland Head, and The River, were often used as general rather than specific locations. Tench’s River was probably used instead of the Hawkesbury to disguise the fact that there was conflict around Richmond Hill. South Creek was applied loosely to anywhere along the 64 kilometres of the creek. The two stock-keepers were killed on its headwaters near Cobbity, not around Windsor. If modern Dural was the valley of Dorell, at the Northern Rocks then the Northern Rocks extended far north of their present location. The farms of Cuddie and Crumbey were on South Creek at modern Llandilo, not at Portland Head. However, this last may have been a deliberate mistake, done to create the impression that the troubles were only downstream. As well the spelling of names was quite inconsistent, e.g., Cuddie/Cuddy and Crumby/Crumbie.

Howe maintained a constant denigration of Aboriginal people, drawing upon Locke, Hume, Montesquieu and others to place Aboriginal people on the lowest level of creation. He used terms such as banditi … on the maraud to stereotype Aboriginal people as criminals rather than individuals fighting for their land and identity. Images of idleness and cannibalism that occasionally resurface in modern racist discourse can be traced back to the Gazette. As well, and more significantly, he utilised John Locke’s chapter on property to provide the authorities with a rationalisation for colonising Aboriginal land.

CHAPTER. V., OF PROPERTY.
Sect. 34. God gave the world to men in common; but since he gave it them for their benefit, and the greatest conveniencies of life they were capable to draw from it, it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational, (and labour was to be his title to it;) not to the fancy or covetousness of the quarrelsome and contentious. He that had as good left for his improvement, as was already taken up, needed not complain, ought not to meddle with what was already improved by another's labour: if he did, it is plain he desired the benefit of another's pains, which he had no right to, and not the ground which God had given him in common with others to labour on, and wherein there was as good left, as that already possessed, and more than he knew what to do with, or his industry could reach to.  

Land Grants, 1788-1809, Edited by R. J. Ryan, Australian Documents Library Pty Ltd, 1974, is an invaluable resource. It is a chronological record of land grants that lists recipients, acreage and districts. However, it must be used with caution. There are cancellations and duplications, which combined with my mathematical limitations, make it difficult to arrive at exact totals. Despite this, it is important in showing the escalation of grants under Governor King. As well, the names of those targeted by Aboriginal warriors were essentially those who received grants in this period.

3 The Sydney Gazette of 3rd February 1805.
1803: Overview
Settlement came later to the Lower Nepean than it did on the Hawkesbury. Officially the first settlers came to Bardoo Narang in 1794 and Bird’s Eye Corner in 1803. Aiken’s farm, later known as Kearn’s Retreat on the then junction of the Grose, Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers was for many years the upper limit of settlement. The explanation for this lies in the absence of lagoons on either side of the river between Agnes Banks and Upper Castlereagh.

In 1802 the Coromandel brought a group of free settlers whose settlement around Portland Head in 1803 led to a fresh outbreak of confrontation and conflict. The major source of information about this conflict comes from the Gazette and Governor King’s despatches.

February, 1803
In mid February a group of fifteen convicts escaped from the Castle Hill farm and headed for the Blue Mountains and China. They broke into a number of farms and behaved badly before being caught. That they were all Irish did not escape the eye of the Gazette. The involvement of Aboriginal people in their capture between Richmond Hill and the Mountains showed that Aboriginal people had quite mixed feelings towards runaway convicts. Some they harboured, some they killed, some they ignored, and some, such as these escapees, they turned into the authorities. Two of the prisoners were captured while sleeping near an Aboriginal camp.

‘Eleven more of the desperadoes were secured, by a party of the Military and Constables, between Hawkesbury and the Mountains. Information had been given of their haunt by a body of natives shortly after they had broke into the house of a settler, where they had stopped to grind a quantity of wheat at a steel mill, having previously secured the family, and afterwards stripped the house of all such provision as they could conveniently carry off, together with two stands of arms.’

‘M. JOHN JAMIESON deposèd, that he went with a party in pursuit of the above delinquents, and that he assisted in apprehending the two prisoners then at the bar, on the 17th of February; that when he approached them they were asleep, near a party of natives.’

April, 1803
In April 1803 2,265 acres were granted to 18 individuals in Mulgrave district. With the exception of 1795, Governor King granted more land in the Hawkesbury in this one month than had been granted in any year previously. It is logical to link this increase in

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7 In 1794, 2,250 acres were granted to 75 grantees.
In 1795, a total of 2,375 acres was granted to 87 individuals.
In 1796, there was a total of 470 acres granted to 11 grantees.
In 1797, 1,840 acres were granted to 54 people.
settlement with the fighting that was about to erupt on the frontier. The obviousness of this relationship does not appear in his despatches.

7th of May, 1803: Convicts attempt to cross Blue Mountains and reach China. Whether John Place, John Cox, William Knight and John Phillips, all runaway convicts crossed the Blue Mountains is immaterial to this study. For this work the significance of their remarkable but unsuccessful escape-attempt lay in the fact that the lone survivor was rescued “by a man, who, with some of the natives, was in quest of kangaroos”. The fact that the settler was accompanied by Aboriginal people while out hunting kangaroos further supports my contention that relations between settlers and Aboriginal people were complex. As well, 1803 was a year of drought, again supporting my contention that that settlers imposed upon Aboriginal hunting grounds in times of stress.

‘John Place declares, that he, John Cox, William Knight, and John Phillips, all late of the Glatton (prisoners) formed a resolution on the road from Castle-hill to Hawkesbury, to attempt their escape. They formed this determination in consequence of having heard people say on board the Glatton, and while at work at Castle-Hill, that they could get to China, by which means they would obtain their liberty again: being all married men (excepting one) they were very anxious to return to their families. On the seventh of May (three days after their arrival at Hawkesbury) they left Cornwallis-place, resolved to pass the Mountains, and took with them only their Week's Ration, which they received on Saturday and consumed on the Wednesday following; after travelling for seventeen days, in hopes of passing the Mountains, and despairing of accomplishing the object on which they set out, they resolved (if possible) to return. After they had eaten their provisions they found nothing to subsist on but wild-currants sweet - tea leaves, and had been oppressed with hunger for twelve days.

Before they set off to return, John Phillips left them to gather some berries and they saw him no more; they heard him call several times, but could render him no assistance, they being so reduced by hunger and concluded he perished. Being asked in what direction they went, Place says, that they travelled the whole of the seventeen days with the sun on their right shoulder, and found great difficulty in ascending some of the Mountains, and also attempted to return by the direction of the sun. After travelling for upwards of Twenty-days, all (except Phillips) reached within five miles of Richmond-Hill, when William Knight, unable to proceed any further, lay down, where Place says he must have died. On the same day Place and Cox made the river above Richmond Hill, and in attempting to cross the Fall the current carried them down. One was carried to one side

In 1798, a total of 571½ acres were granted to 25 individuals.
In 1799, there were thirty five grantees receiving 2,631 acres.
In 1800, 1,045 acres were granted to 21 individuals.
In 1802, 27 grants were made with a total of 1,981¼ acres.
8 John Wilson probably has this honour.
of the river, and the other to the opposite side, with difficulty pulling themselves ashore by the branches of the trees. Cox had only his shirt and shoes on, Place saw him lain along the bank, where, being very weak, and the night extremely cold, he supposes he died. Place also lay, despairing of life, and was found on the day following by a man, who, with some of the natives, was in quest of kangaroos: he was then too weak to walk alone, but was led by the natives to the nearest hut, where he remained all night; in the morning he was taken to Hawkesbury, and from thence sent to the Hospital at Parramatta.  

9th of May, 1803
Governor King’s despatch of 9th May, 1803 linked the capture of the fugitive convicts with assistance provided by Aboriginal people. He further linked the Aboriginal assistance to their attachment to the settlers and their satisfaction with Lord Hobart’s decision on the five settlers found guilty of the murder of Little George and Little Jemmy. His despatch is also of interest because of the apparent meeting between magistrates and Aboriginal people to hear Lord Hobart’s response to the buck-passing of the court and Governor. Whether Aboriginal assistance in the capture of the runaways was because of their “attachment to the settlers” is problematical. It is more likely that the runaways were turned in as a means of gaining favour with the authorities. It is highly unlikely that the Aboriginal people who participated in the meeting with Marsden and Arndell were as satisfied as King would have it. All in all, King’s despatch is a masterful example of opportunism, spin and toadying designed to preserve his position.

9th May, 1803
Governor King to Lord Hobart
Sydney, New South Wales,
May 9th, 1803

My Lord,

The Proclamation issued in consequence of Your Lordship’s directions respecting the natives has produced the desired effect, and I hope it will be of long continuance. Being

Whereas Despatch by the Coromandel has been received from the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, containing His Majesty’s Commands, That notwithstanding His permitting the Governor to Remit the Punishment of the five Persons tried by a Court of Criminal Judicature on the 18th of October, 1799, for wantonly killing Two of the Natives, yet "It should, at the same time, be clearly understood that on future occasions any instance of Injustice or wanton Cruelty towards the Natives will be punished with the utmost severity of the Law"; And His Majesty having at the same time recommended that every means should (after the Receipt of those Despatches) be used to conciliate the Goodwill of the Natives, I do hereby strictly forbid any of His Majesty's Subjects, resident or stationary in this Colony, from using any act of Injustice or wanton Cruelty towards the Natives, on pain of being dealt with in the same manner as if such act of Injustice or want Cruelty should be committed against the Persons and Estates of any of His Majesty's Subjects: But at the same time that His Majesty forbids any act of Injustice or wanton Cruelty to the Natives, yet the Settler is not to suffer his property to be invaded, or his existence endangered by them;
made fully sensible of its meaning, they have undergone an examination before magistrates, whose decision prevented those acts that would doubtless have followed, and with which they were well satisfied. Those about the Hawkesbury are much attached to the settlers, &c., in that quarter, and have been very active and useful in securing some fugitives. \(^{11}\)

**May-August, 1803: Hawkesbury land grants**

In May 1803, 560 acres were granted to 6 individuals at Mulgrave District.

In June 1803, 1 grant of 200 acres was made on the Hawkesbury.

In July 1803, 1 person received a grant of 140 acres.

In August 1803, 1430 acres were granted to 15 people.

In 1803, 41 grantees received grants on the Hawkesbury totalling 4,595 acres. \(^{12}\)

**December, 1803**

The following passage is typical of the *Gazette*’s sneering racial superiority and must be read within the context of the *Gazette* being an arm of government. The influence of such diatribes on public opinion cannot be underestimated. Boneh was a Cooradgee, a clever man, not a chieftain.

‘A visitor from Hawkesbury mentions the death of Boneh, an ancient Native, who we believe was but little known at Sydney. This veteran had for many years past presided with impressive authority over his tribe, from whom he received a species of homage which approached to adoration. In fact the straggling subjects of this sooty Chieftain, have been frequently heard by the Settlers resident nearest the foot of those inaccessible Mountains, to ascribe to him the power of agitating the elements, and of causing floods, rains, &c. &c. a finesse probably constructed purposely to impress us with awe and reverence for being possessed of such extensive qualifications. That the mythology may in some degree owe its existence to similar causes, we shall not argue, but had this inky venerable been known to those imaginary existences, little doubt can be entertained but his complexion would at least have recommended him to a seat in the infernal regions, where, in the course of time, he might have become a compeer with the august Pluto. \(^{13}\)

Despite the problems of veracity the following *Gazette* story is important because of its reflection of contemporary Enlightenment thinking about the relationship of the polished

\[^{11}\text{By fugitives the Governor probably meant convict runaways. Pages 73 and 660, HRA, Series 1, Volume IV, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915.}\]

\[^{12}\text{Land Grants, 1788-1809, Edited by R. J. Ryan, Australian Documents Library Pty Ltd, 1974.}\]

\[^{13}\text{Sydney Gazette, 18th December 1803, trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/625933}\]
nations to savages. The author’s phrase, “barbarous usage” placed Aboriginal people at the bottom of the Great Chain of Being and justified the English settlement to the reader.

While the story almost certainly has a factual base; it highly unlikely that anyone would deliberately burn another person to death in response to an incurable injury. Certainly it was not consistent with funerary rituals that were geared to the release of the soul and its reincarnation. If the incident took place as reported, one would have expected salacious descriptions of horrific screams and a struggle to escape the flames, perhaps even a chorus of “Oom chug a lug”. Consideration has to be given to the possibility that the Aboriginal man brought his fate upon himself by bringing a settler to Milkmaid Reach.

The story is also of significance because it illustrates the steady downstream creep of settlement.

‘A circumstance that lately took place at Milkmaid Reach, on the Coast between Sydney and Hawkesbury, among A body of Natives, stands, in point of deliberate inhumanity towards a fellow creature, unparalleled save only in the barbarous usages to which these people are habituated. One of their number had climbed a lofty tree in pursuit of a Cockatoo; and as soon as he gained the summit and had secured the bird, unfortunately got entangled in the twigs, and in trying to disentangle himself, lost his hold, & by a tremendous fall had both a leg and thigh broke. The women at the instant let up a piercing shriek, and the men assembled round him. - The elders examined the fractures minutely, and pronouncing them incurable, hastily commanded the females to retire: then erecting a pile of brush-wood about the body, actually set it on fire, whilst the unhappy creature was alive. As soon as this inhuman yet effectual remedy was administered, the Boatmen who Were spectators of the proceeding, were advised by one of the more friendly natives to get off as quickly as possible, as the fatal event had aroused the indignation of the whole tribe against all white people, to whom the present misfortune was ascribed, as the Cockatoo would not have been climbed for, had not a reward been the known consequence of its capture.’

1803: Conclusion
The publication of the Gazette saw significant changes in which the way relations between the settlers and Aboriginal people were reported. The editor, Howe, was an educated man and his articles reflected contemporary European thought on the Great Chain of Being. Over the coming years he was to add a growing triumphalism and evangelical fervour to his articles.

Governor King’s despatches increasingly displayed an eagerness to be seen successfully implementing Lord Hobart’s orders “to conciliate the Goodwill of the Natives”. As King rapidly increased the number and size of land grants this became increasingly difficult.

14 Milkmaid Reach is now known as Bathurst Reach and is upstream of Wiseman’s Ferry. It indicates that settlement was moving downstream.
King’s affirmation of the strength of Aboriginal affection for the settlers was probably overly optimistic as the events of mid 1804 were to prove.

1804: Overview
The Drought which started in 1803 continued throughout 1804. In May and June 1804 there was an outbreak of hostility on the Hawkesbury which culminated in the killings of Major White and Terribandy. The conflict was probably associated with the harvest and the drought.

February, 1804
‘The long prevailing droughts of the present season, has been highly prejudicial to the standing crop of Maize. The latter plantation is excessively backward, but the Corn sowed earlier in the season promises to yield in tolerable abundance.’16

March, 1804
‘We are concerned to state that a drought has prevailed for the last eight months, highly to the prejudice of the Cultivator, and owing to which gardening has for a length of time been at a total stand; other provisions are nevertheless abundant, though from the prodigious increase of the brood of wild or native cats17 great quantities of poultry have been destroyed in the night time, and every effort to polish the manners and check the voracity of the grimalkin18 race had hitherto proved ineffectual.’19

April, 1804-June, 1804: Hawkesbury land grants
In April 1804 one grant of 300 acres was made.
In May 1804 there was one grant of 100 acres.
In June 1804 there were 7 grants totalling 1,050 acres.20

A Comment on the events of May – June, 1804.
While the extension of settlement around Portland Head was the probable reason for conflict in the months of May and June, the actual fighting raged across the Hawkesbury pointing to the importance of the ripening corn crops to both settlers and Aboriginal people. Indeed, simultaneous attacks appear to have been made by different bodies on several locations scattered across the Hawkesbury, suggesting a degree of co-ordination. The responses of settlers and the NSW Corps may have been more severe than reported.

In late May 1804 the Gazette reported attacks on the Sackville Reach farm of Matthew Everingham and John Howe’s Swallow Rock Reach farm in which Everingham, his wife, their servant and Howe were wounded. Houses were plundered and burnt.

On the 31st of May the Governor sent troops to Magistrate Arndell at Hawkesbury ordering settlers and constables to support those at Portland Head.

16 Sydney Gazette, 26th February, 1804.
17 Quoll.
18 An old grey cat, with implications of witchcraft and Satanism.
19 Sydney Gazette, 11 March 1804.
Around the 10\textsuperscript{th} or 11\textsuperscript{th} of June, while the fighting was going on at Portland Head, a group of 40-50 Aboriginal people sought shelter on an unknown settler’s farm at Richmond Hill. It is unclear where the farm was as Richmond Hill at that time referred to both sides of the river. If it was on the left bank, it was probably in the area of what is now called Kurmond or Freemans Reach.

Around the 10\textsuperscript{th} or 11\textsuperscript{th} of June fourteen settlers pursued Aboriginal people who had plundered farms at Portland Head. One group of seven settlers led by I. Phillips pursued 40-50 warriors carrying plunder who joined a second group of 250 warriors. A parley took place and some plunder was recovered before spears were thrown and shots fired. Three settlers carried plunder and the other four protected them in a retreat.

During the following week the farms of Bingham and Smith were robbed, John Wilkin was speared and the farms of Cuddie and Crumby were burnt. At the same time Joseph Kennedy repelled an attack upon his farm.

By the 18\textsuperscript{th} of June a party of the NSW Corps was in the Hawkesbury. About a dozen Aboriginal people sheltering on the settler’s Richmond Hill farm were alarmed by this and retired into the woods. On the 19\textsuperscript{th} of June a NSW Corps party came up and went into the woods. The settler heard three shots fired, killing Major White and Terribandy.\footnote{On the 20\textsuperscript{th} June Magistrates Marsden and Arndell called two “of the Richmond Hill chiefs, Yaragowby and Yaramandy ” to them, apparently bringing the hostilities to an end.}

On the 20\textsuperscript{th} June Magistrates Marsden and Arndell called two “of the Richmond Hill chiefs, Yaragowby and Yaramandy” to them, apparently bringing the hostilities to an end. The spelling of Yaramandy was probably a variation on Yellowmundee, this being the first time that Robert Howe had to spell Yellowmundee’s name and he probably got his information second hand from someone such as Marsden.

\textbf{Late May, 1804}

The reference to “The natives in the other districts are still on the domesticated footing” is a telling revelation. It is a repetition of the Governor’s language from previous years and reflects his lowly placement of Aboriginal people on the Great Chain of Being in NSW.

‘We are concerned to state a few of the Natives have again manifested an inclination to hostility, and already proceeded to acts of abominable outrage. Reports at the present juncture confines their ravages and barbarity to Portland Head, where Mr. Matthew Everingham,\footnote{Matthew Everingham had a fifty acre farm on the left bank of Sackville Reach. It is crossed by Tizzana Road.} settler, and his wife, and a servant, are said to have been speared; as is also Mr. John Howe,\footnote{John Howe had a 100 acre farm on the left bank of the Swallow Rock Reach.} settler, near the above spot. The house and out-houses of the former were plundered and afterwards set on fire, but the spear wounds received are not accompanied with any mortal appearance. Several other settlers in this neighbourhood have suffered very considerably in being robbed of their clothing, flock and grain.'
On Thursday evening shortly after the accounts arrived, HIS EXCELLENCY dispatched a file of troopers\textsuperscript{24} to the Magistrate at the Hawkesbury, with Instructions promptly to adopt such measures as the exigency of the case required. The settlers and constables of that settlement went to the succour of the other settlers at Portland Head; as no provocation appears to have been given the Natives in that quarter, and as the natives in the other districts are still on the domesticated footing they have been for the last two Years, it is hoped the exertions that are making to keep them in that state, will have the desired effect, without proceeding to further extremities.\textsuperscript{25}

10th or 11\textsuperscript{th} of June, 1804

I. Phillips’ encounter is of interest for several reasons. Firstly the apparent number of Aboriginal warriors involved, approximately 300, appears improbable. If correct, it was the largest group of warriors seen on the Hawkesbury to this date and raises the question of where these men had been over the previous ten years if they were locals. If correct, the most likely explanation is that warriors from other locations had come to fight here. Given that warriors from the Hawkesbury joined Goguë’s Liverpool mob in 1805 it is possible that this is where the extra warriors came from.\textsuperscript{26}

The stratagem of a small band of warriors leading their pursuers into an ambush manned by a larger reserve was, and is, a classic stratagem in irregular warfare that further refutes Tench’s observation that Aboriginal people were strangers to the art of war. However, it also raises the question of why the warriors did not press their advantage and overwhelm the settlers.

The account of four musket-armed settlers, holding off over three hundred Aboriginal warriors while escorting three baggage laden fellows from the foothills to Richmond Hill seems highly improbable unless the warriors were petrified with fear of the magic-wielding muskets. It is also possible that the author exaggerated the geography. However, the incident is particularly important because the numbers of warriors involved points to an alliance between different groups on the Sydney Plain.

The article closed with a brief mention of the spearing of unknown settler and the killing of Terribandy and Major White by the NSW Corps.\textsuperscript{27}

‘Last week in consequence of his Excellency’s despatches to T. Arndell, Esq. Magistrate for Hawkesbury, a body of settlers, fourteen in number, went in pursuit of the Natives that had committed numerous outrages at Portland Head; and separating into divisions, one party, seven in number, led forward by I. Phillips,\textsuperscript{28} who was best acquainted with

\textsuperscript{24} Strictly speaking a file is two soldiers, one standing directly behind another. A trooper is a mounted soldier.
\textsuperscript{25} Sydney Gazette, 3 June 1804
\textsuperscript{26} ‘the Windsor tribe, which was allied with the Liverpool tribe commanded by Cogai’. Page 168-169, Colin Dyer, The French Explorers and the Aboriginal People, 1772-1839, UQP, 2005 quoting from D’Urville’s 1824 Journal.
\textsuperscript{27} Major White and Terribandy were killed on 19\textsuperscript{th} July, 1804.
\textsuperscript{28} I have not yet identified I. Phillips.
the travel through the brush, proceeded towards the Mountains, and at length came up with forty or fifty of the hostile savages, who had a quantity of property of which they had stripped the settlers; these retreating towards a cluster of Rocks formed a junction with another group much more formidable, completing in all about 300. The few Settlers, agreeable to their instructions, endeavoured to ascertain their motives for the acts of depredation and cruelty they had committed to which end they offered a parley and interrogated them whether they had been ill treated, but all they offered in their justification was an ironical declaration that they wanted and would have corn, wearing apparel, and whatever else the Settlers had; then throwing down a flight of spears, compelled the pursuers, in their own defence, to commence firing, in hopes to intimidate their assailants, but without the desired effect; and tho’ several must have been wounded, yet the great body hovered around the Settler’s party, three of whom were laden with the most valuable part of the spoil which they had retaken from the forty at first fallen in with, and under cover of the fire of the other four, got into Richmond Hill without receiving a spear wound.

Late accounts state that they still continue their ravages, and that another European had been speared at the beginning of the week. Two of the most violent and ferocious were shot at the Green Hills by the Military detachment sent to the relief of the settlers, whose self preservation requires that they should ever be on the alert to counteract the mischievous designs of the savage and unfeeling enemy. 29

24th of June, 1804
The Gazette of 24th June 1804 carried an eight paragraph account of the latest attacks made by Aboriginal people and reflected upon their nature.

The first two paragraphs recount the attacks made around the 15th or 16th of June. Bingham 30 and Smith 31 were robbed, John Wilkin was speared, and the farms of Cuddie and Crumby were burnt. William Smith’s farm was on the Liverpool Reach and the farms of Cuddie and Crumbey were on the left bank of South Creek near modern Fifth Avenue, Llandilo. These latter farms had been plundered three times in as many months. At the same time Joseph Kennedy repelled an attack on his farm on Upper Crescent Reach. The closeness of these attack points to a high degree of co-ordination and the large numbers involved suggests that warriors from other areas were involved.

After describing these attacks the author in the third paragraph swung from the particular to the general, reflecting contemporary European thought on human development in justifying and condoning the actions of the settlers. Humans, he argued, had progressed from “brute creation” to savagery and barbarism, passing through hunting and

29 Sydney Gazette, 17 June 1804
30 I cannot locate Bingham’s farm. There is no record of a land grant. It may have been a purchase.
31 Between 1795 and 1804 there were six grants on the Hawkesbury to men with the surname of Smith. Robert Smith, Stephen Smith and William Smith received land grants in 1795. William Smith and John Smith received grants in 1803. Joseph Smith received a grant in 1804. Of these six grants the most likely is that of William Smith who received his grant on 12th of May, 1803 as part of a group of Portland Head settlers. Parish maps show William Smith as an early settler on Liverpool Reach.
pastoralism, to farming and commerce. The pinnacles of development were “polished nations”, e.g., England, with the assumptions of culmination, completion, superiority and exclusivity. These concepts allowed Europeans to portray themselves as benevolent benefactors and First People as ungrateful savages, devoid of initiative, reason, identity and humanity. The self congratulatory paternalism of the reference to “the settlers, who by constantly contributing to their support, and endeavouring to maintain a friendly intercourse have done the highest credit to themselves and the British Nation”, ushered in a new tone of triumphalism that rode roughshod over the facts. It was Aboriginal people who had shown forbearance to the invasion of the land and their hostility was in response to settler aggression. The Gazette’s claim that Pemulwuy was killed by his own people is contradicted by Governor King’s account of October 1802. It is now conventional wisdom that Pemulwuy was killed by Henry Hacking.

The fourth paragraph is damning of Aboriginal people, placing them at a level of brutishness and devoid of initiative. It reflects Hobbes and references Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776. The phrase “innate indolence” is probably derived from John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690. Locke explored issues related to human understanding. He explored whether understanding was innate or acquired. He started by exploring maxims such as “It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be”.

“That the general maxims we are discoursing of are not known to children, idiots, and a great part of mankind, we have already sufficiently proved: whereby it is evident they have not an universal assent, nor are general impressions. But there is this further argument in it against their being innate: that these characters, if they were native and original impressions, should appear fairest and clearest in those persons in whom yet we find no footsteps of them; and it is, in my opinion, a strong presumption that they are not innate, since they are least known to those in whom, if they were innate, they must needs exert themselves with most force and vigour. For children, idiots, savages, and illiterate people, being of all others the least corrupted by custom, or borrowed opinions; learning and education having not cast their native thoughts into new moulds; nor by superinducing foreign and studied doctrines, confounded those fair characters nature had written there; one might reasonably imagine that in THEIR minds these innate notions should lie open fairly to every one's view, as it is certain the thoughts of children do. It might very well be expected that these principles should be perfectly known to naturals; which being stamped immediately on the soul, (as these men suppose,) can have no dependence on the constitution or organs of the body, the only confessed difference between them and others. One would think, according to these men's principles, that all these native beams of light (were there any such) should, in those who have no reserves, no arts of concealment, shine out in their full lustre, and leave us in no more doubt of their being there, than we are of their love of pleasure and abhorrence of pain. But alas, amongst children, idiots, savages, and the grossly illiterate, what general maxims are to be found? what universal principles of knowledge? Their notions are few and narrow, borrowed only from those objects they have had most to do with, and which have made upon their senses the frequentest and strongest impressions. A child knows his nurse and his cradle, and by degrees the playthings of a little more advanced age; and a young
savage has, perhaps, his head filled with love and hunting, according to the fashion of his tribe. But he that from a child untaught, or a wild inhabitant of the woods, will expect these abstract maxims and reputed principles of science, will, I fear find himself mistaken. Such kind of general propositions are seldom mentioned in the huts of Indians: much less are they to be found in the thoughts of children, or any impressions of them on the minds of naturals. They are the language and business of the schools and academies of learned nations accustomed to that sort of conversation or learning, where disputes are frequent; these maxims being suited to artificial argumentation and useful for conviction, but not much conducing to the discovery of truth or advancement of knowledge.\textsuperscript{32}

The sixth paragraph is of interest because the author ascribes creation in Australia not to God but “\textit{sportive nature}”, reflecting the lack of references in the Bible to the creation of the New World and the Antipodes. The \textit{Gazette’s} solution to this oversight of God was to suggest that when God created the world he only created the Northern Hemisphere and took no responsibility for the Southern Hemisphere leaving the job to a pagan entity. The paragraph also carries a sense of polygenesis. Certainly it placed Aboriginal people outside of God’s creation.\textsuperscript{33} The phrase “\textit{innate indolence}” indicates the author may well have read the following conflicting opinions by Hume and Montesquieu.

‘If the characters of men depended on the air and climate, the degrees of heat and cold should naturally be expected to have a mighty influence; since nothing has a greater effect on all plants and irrational animals. And indeed there is some reason to think, that all the nations, which live beyond the polar circles or between the tropics, are inferior to the rest of the species, and are incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind. The poverty and misery of the northern inhabitants of the globe, and the indolence of the southern, from their few necessities, may, perhaps, account for this remarkable difference, without our having recourse to physical causes. This however is certain, that the characters of nations are very promiscuous in the temperate climates, and that almost all the general observations, which have been formed of the more southern or more northern people in these climates, are found to be uncertain and fallacious.\textsuperscript{34}

‘In southern countries a machine of a delicate frame but strong sensibility resigns itself either to a love which rises and is incessantly laid in a seraglio, or to a passion which leaves women in a greater independence, and is consequently exposed to a thousand inquietudes. In northern regions a machine robust and heavy finds pleasure in whatever is apt to throw the spirits into motion, such as hunting, travelling, war, and wine. If we travel towards the north, we meet with people who have few vices, many virtues, and a

\textsuperscript{32} John Locke, \textit{An Essay Concerning Human Understanding}, Volume 1, 1690, \url{http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/10615}

\textsuperscript{33} It appears to be drawn from John Millar, \textit{The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks}, 1771, \url{http://socerv.mcmaster.ca/~econ/ugcm/3133/millar/rank}, David Hume, \textit{Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion}, \url{http://www.fullbooks.com/Dialogues-Concerning-Natural-Religion2.html} and Thomas Malthus, \textit{An Essay on the Principle of Population}, 1798, \url{http://www.gutenberg.org/browse/authors/m#a1411}.

\textsuperscript{34} David Hume, \textit{Of National Characters}, 1742. \url{http://www.econlib.org/library/LFBooks/Hume/hmMPL21.html#Part%20L%20Essay%20XXI%20OF%20NATIONAL%20CHARACTERS}
great share of frankness and sincerity. If we draw near the south, we fancy ourselves entirely removed from the verge of morality; here the strongest passions are productive of all manner of crimes, each man endeavouring, let the means be what they will, to indulge his inordinate desires. In temperate climates we find the inhabitants inconstant in their manners, as well as in their vices and virtues: the climate has not a quality determinate enough to fix them.

The heat of the climate may be so excessive as to deprive the body of all vigour and strength. Then the faintness is communicated to the mind; there is no curiosity, no enterprise, no generosity of sentiment; the inclinations are all passive; indolence constitutes the utmost happiness; scarcely any punishment is so severe as mental employment; and slavery is more supportable than the force and vigour of mind necessary for human conduct.  

The author’s brazen assertion in the last two paragraphs that Aboriginal people of the interior must have been cannibals as they did not eat fish, farm the land nor herd animals drew upon earlier uncertainty about what food the inland Aboriginal people ate as they did not appear to eat fish like their coastal brethren. As early as 1778 Kames asserted that Aboriginal people (“gross savages” in his words), “live upon small fish dug out of the sand when the sea retires. Sometimes they get plenty, sometimes very little; and all is broiled and eat in common. After eating they go to rest: they return to their fishing next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they must, or starve.”

Obviously denying common humanity to Aboriginal people turned them into Other, that one need not feel bad about exploiting. In the interests of objectivity and balance the reader may wish to investigate the numerous cases of child abuse and neglect commented on in the Sydney Gazette, 3rd June, 1804.

In making these absurd claims he drew upon Malthus, An Essay on the Principle of Population, 1798, and David Hume An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding, 1748.

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which levelling at the savages induced them to desist from the further persecution of the wounded man, and to consult their own safety by a timely flight.\(^37\)

Last Friday se’nnight the farms of Crumby and Cuddie at the South Creek\(^38\) were totally stripped by a formidable body of natives supposed to be about 150 in number, many of whom darted their spears at a labouring servant, who fortunately effected an escape without receiving any wound. – the above persons have been thrice plundered in the space of a very few months, and have now lost not only their crops, but their whole flock of poultry, together with their bedding, wearing apparel, and every other moveable.\(^39\) On Thursday last they represented to HIS EXCELENCY the excessive inconvenience under which they laboured owing to the latter loss, and received such assistance as they stood in immediate need of.

Another group\(^40\) made a visit to Tench’s River\(^41\) on the maraud, where getting among the corn of J. Kennedy\(^42\) without endeavouring to conceal themselves they were speedily discerned gathering in the crop with unusual activity: the settler disapproving their diligence, as it promised but little advantage to the interests of his own family, instantly embraced the means of repelling a visit that had no real claim upon the laws of hospitality, and by a few discharges obliged them to retire with a trifling booty. -\(^43\) We do not hear of any other attempts thereabouts; nor that any Europeans have lost their lives through their spear wounds.

Though these unenvied people must already feel and acknowledge the miserable effects of unprovoked hostility and aggression, yet no doubt can be entertained that their rancour will continue until some of the more obdurate and enterprising can be marked out, as the immediate cause and spur to the recent atrocities; and as they are no less remarkable for perfidy to each other than ingratitude to the settlers, who by constantly contributing to their support, and endeavouring to maintain a friendly intercourse have done the highest credit to themselves and the British Nation, they would no doubt, as in the case of Pemulwoy, whose assassination was voluntarily undertaken by themselves, again

\(^{37}\) This attack appears to have been made by a small party.

\(^{38}\) These farms were located between what is now Fifth and Sixth Avenues, Llandilo. There is high ground to the north and west of these farms. Working on the archaeological premise that Aboriginal people settled within 100 metres of water, these two farms would have been a significant Koori site. While it is now too late to tell, consideration must also be given as to how isolated these farms were in ascertaining why they were attacked so often.

\(^{39}\) It would be difficult to estimate numbers in a night time attack. However, if the estimate of 150 is correct it would be highly unlikely that the warriors intended to kill the labourer. That three attacks were made on the farms points to these Aboriginal people viewing the farms as a food source rather than a target to be destroyed. It raises the question, who were these warriors and where were they from?

\(^{40}\) The implication is that there were two different groups of warriors operating on the Hawkesbury.

\(^{41}\) Tench’s River is an early name for what became the Nepean River. It may well be that in this particular case it is referring to the Hawkesbury. It is most likely that Tench’s River was used to confuse the authorities in England. The matter is confusing because there was a Joseph Kennedy and James Raworth Kennedy and his son John in the area at this time.

\(^{42}\) Joseph Kennedy had two farms on the Upper Crescent Reach of the Hawkesbury.

\(^{43}\) This paragraph well illustrates the response of the settlers to Aboriginal people taking corn, the Koori fear of firearms and nature of European attitudes to Aboriginal people taking food from what they considered to be still their lands.
willingly qualify a treaty by the sacrifice of such whose superior malignity may have distinguished them.

It may be verily advanced, that no set of people in the known world were ever so totally destitute as these are of industry and ingenuity,\textsuperscript{44} or whose innate indolence renders them so wretchedly inattentive to the very means of subsistence.\textsuperscript{45} However gratified they may be with a shelter from the inclemency of the seasons, yet none aspires to the superior comforts of civilization, none attempts to erect a hut for himself or his little naked progeny; and though pierced with cold yet none contrives a garment, which the skins of animals would furnish them with little trouble – and yet it is obvious that their nudity proceeds only from supineness as they invariably condescend to clothe themselves when furnished with European habilments.\textsuperscript{46}

As sportive nature would seem to have designed the southern hemisphere for the display of phenomena in the animal creation, so also does the polity of these barbarous inhabitants oppose itself to every principle of rational government, and to the propagation of the human species.

That the natural strength of a country\textsuperscript{47} must consist first in its population is a maxim that requires no embellishment, as it admits not opposition; but here it is discernible, that unless the propagation of the species\textsuperscript{48} be limited by destructive and abominable customs, their natural indolence\textsuperscript{49} must in process of time have reduced them to the horrible necessity of existing as cannibals, as nature is wholly unassisted, and the increase of the herb and the animal alike neglected.

Thus, then, even though the supply of their immediate wants by chance research constitutes their only civil occupation, still is it mysterious how the hordes of the interior, who have not the advantage of fishing can possibly supply those wants throughout the year without indulging in all the terrible excesses of refined barbarity.\textsuperscript{50}

\textbf{1\textsuperscript{st} July, 1804}

The first account of the killing of Major White and Terribandy appeared in the \textit{Gazette} of 17\textsuperscript{th} of June, 1804. This account of the killing of Major White and Terribandy provided more details, but again raised many issues.

\textsuperscript{44} Drawn from Adam Smith, \textit{An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations}, 1776.

\textsuperscript{45} Charles Darwin made similar observations when he passed through Penrith some thirty years later.

\textsuperscript{46} This raises the interesting question of why Aboriginal people chose to wear European garments. Part of it may reflect the loss of traditional possum skin cloaks, part of it may reflect Koori attitudes towards Europeans ranging from condescension, contempt, appeasement or even wanting to be just like them. Obviously there was considerable pressure by Europeans to clothe Aboriginal people.

\textsuperscript{47} A phrase from Malthus.


\textsuperscript{49} A phrase used by David Hume in \textit{An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding}, http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hume/david/h92e/chapter5.html

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Sydney Gazette}, Sunday, 24\textsuperscript{th} June 1804
On the 11th of June a group of thirty to forty Aboriginal people appeared on a settler’s farm professing hostility to the Portland Head troublemakers and seeking shelter, which was granted. While there is a general perception that Aboriginal people on farms were in a dependent relationship with settlers, there are other accounts of a similar nature that suggest that on some farms the relationship was one of mutual co-dependence rather than dependence. Aboriginal people warned settlers of the impending floods in 1799. Little George and Little Jemmy returned Hoskinson’s musket in 1799 at the request of Jonas Archer. Joseph Holt in 1802 described in some innocence how Aboriginal people helped on his farm. The nature of Aboriginal humour no doubt totally escaped Holt. In 1813 Aboriginal people promised to bring in the killers of Richard Evans. In 1816 Mr Kennedy bluntly described how Aboriginal warriors protected his farm. These accounts also support my contention that Aboriginal responses to invasion were largely shaped by family units rather than “tribal” groups. The group of Aboriginal people that came to the farm appear to have been from Richmond Hill. Consideration must be given to the possibility that the chief was Yaragowby. While the identity of the settler is unknown, the language used in the article indicates that he may have been a gentleman farmer. The location of his farm is described in one account as being at Richmond Hill suggests that the gentleman may have been Richard Rouse. However, the gentleman farmer may have been on the right bank of the river as the Sydney Gazette, 17 June 1804, reported that “Two of the most violent and ferocious were shot at the Green Hills by the Military detachment sent to the relief of the settlers.” In this case the gentleman farmer may have been William Cox.

On the 18th of June a group of twelve to fourteen took to the woods on hearing that a party of the NSW Corps had come to the aid of the Portland Head settlers. The circumstances of the NSW Corps coming to the farm on the following day are not explained. On the 19th of June the settler heard three musket shots and learned that Major White and Terribandy had been killed. While there is no other information about the killing of Major White and Terribandy, logic strongly suggests that their deaths were

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51 ‘I have frequently had a hundred of both males and females in the farm-yard at a time, and it was my custom to take in the chief and his Gin, and give them their breakfast and a glass of grog. I then told them not to meddle with my corn or melons, for if they did, I should be murry (very) angry with him. He said “Bail bail,” that is, never fear. The chief then went out, and set up a shout, when all his company came round him, and he gave the order, to which they were as obedient as any party of soldiers I ever saw. He then held up his hand, saying, “Murry, Tat, Tat,” and pointing in a certain direction, he would acquaint them where the next camp was to be formed, and that they must not touch any thing belonging to the master here, or that he would “Murry pialla” them, that is, spear them to death. They then ordered their Gins to go catch “mograi” that is, fish, for the mistress.’

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirsofjosephh02holt

52 The following extract for the 12th of April 1816 is from Captain Wallis’s report to Governor Macquarie. “He informed me there were some inoffensive natives on his farm, but were afraid to be seen by me. I assured him I would not molest men of this description, he sent them assurances of this, and they soon made their appearance unarm’d. On enquiring their names and looking in the Governor’s list I found two of them were proscribed, Yallaman and Battangalie. I told Mr. Kennedy I must make Prisoners of them. He assured me they were harmless, innocent men, guiltless of any of the recent murders, protected his and Mr Broughtons farm, and that if I took them he must abandon the country.” (Reel 6045; 4/1735 pp.50-62)

53 According to the account of 17th of June Major White and Terribandy were killed at the Green Hills. The Gazette of 15th July, 1804 has them killed at Richmond Hill.
suspicious. For two warriors to be killed by three shots the range must have been very close. They were certainly not ambushed. It was daylight and the NSW Corps were on the move. Whether treachery or Aboriginal guides played a part is unclear. Someone who knew the two men must have identified them, which points to the two men being executed while taking part in a parley. The Irish convict leader, Cunningham, had experienced a similar fate at the hands of the NSW Corps some months earlier.\(^{54}\)

“We understand from good authority that the natives of and around Richmond Hill, are for the most part averse to the hostile measures adopted by their brethren down the River, and that during the whole of the wanton warfare, they met with every protection from their pacific inclination entitled them to from the surrounding settlers, from one of whom we have we receive the following narrative of transactions immediately subsequent to the commencement of the excesses committed at and about Portland Head.

On the 11\(^{th}\) instant a party appeared near my farm, who seemed desirous of maintaining that friendly intercourse which is indispensable to their true interests; and their chief, placing himself in a warlike attitude, with his spear shipped,\(^{55}\) declared he was determined to kill everyone of his own complexion whom chance should throw in his way; but I thought myself bound in humanity to avert so terrible a resolution, if possible, by dissuasion, and at the same time to encourage the amicable disposition of himself and his adherents, who were from thirty to forty in number, by repeated assurances that no one would be hurt that did not act offensively – they then became confident, and accepted an offer to remain upon my farm, as in that case I would be responsible for their peaceable behaviour. From that period to the 18\(^{th}\) ult. accounts continued to arrive of the many enormities that have been committed about Portland Head, whither a party of the New South Wales Corps had been detached to the relief of the settlers: but upon this latter information some of my guests became timid, could no longer be prevailed upon to remain: 12 or 14 accordingly took to the woods,\(^{56}\) after many times thanking me, and promising still to retain their friendship towards us, and I verily believe they have not forfeited their promise. On the following day I heard the discharge of three musquets, and afterwards learnt that two of the hostile natives had been shot; one of whom, better known by the name of Major White than any other, had ever been remarkable in fomenting mischiefs. Since then their rancour has greatly subsided, or at all events its consequences much less injurious than before and many have signified a desire of returning to their accustomed habits, without which the wants peculiar to the savage state must be felt with increased severity, as well as from the loss of the succour afforded them by the settlers, as from the relaxation produced by a long state of dependence upon the bounty of their benefactors.\(^{57}\)

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\(^{55}\) This account may not be in the words of the settler. The word “shipped” was also used in the Gazette of 11\(^{th}\) of November, 1804, in describing an attack on Gilberthorp on the road between Parramatta and Sydney in which when “he approached to within a couple of hundred paces of their rendezvous, several of the men stepped into the road, and shipped their spears to receive him:” [http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626492](http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626492)

\(^{56}\) These people may have been a small family group who fled from the approaching soldiers or they left to join Major White.

\(^{57}\) An interesting word choice that throws much light on the European capacity for self justification.
Two of the Richmond Hill chiefs, Yaragowhy and Yaramandy, were sent for the day after the firing, by the Rev. Mr. MARSDEN and Mr. ARNDELL, residentary Magistrate, who received them in a most friendly manner, and requested that they would exert themselves in putting a period to the mischiefs, at the same time loading them with gifts of food and raiment for themselves and their friendly countrymen; and I have no doubt that the mild and placid measures which have been pursued by Government on this, as on every former such irksome occasion, will have the desired effect of recalling these unfortunate creatures to a state of amity, and restore safety and tranquility to the remote settler.59

The extreme mildness of the present season excites the surprise of the oldest Colonists.60

The grain at the Hawkesbury was scarcely ever known in so forward a state at the time of year. – Barley has appeared in ear in different parts of the districts three weeks, and Wheat a fortnight since.61

It is remarkable that Major White and Nabbin the two Natives lately killed at Richmond Hill, were the two identical persons who between four and five years since inhumanly and treacherously murdered Hoskinson and Wimbo, the game-keeper and settler, on the second ridge of the Mountains, whither they had unfortunately straggled in search of the Kangaroo 62. They always discovered a rancour to an European, and never lost an occasion to repay their favours with hostility and ingratitude.63

**July, 1804: Hawkesbury land grants**

In July 1804 there were 15 grants totalling 2079¾ acres in the Hawkesbury.64

**August, 1804**

In August 1804, 51 individuals received grants totalling 7,225, a record far more than any other month and greater than any previous yearly total. As well, 20,830 acres were set aside for commons in the Hawkesbury. The Nelson Common stretched northwards between the modern Old Stock Route Road and Boundary Road. UWS Hawkesbury and the RAAF base occupy what used to be the Richmond Hill Common. The Phillip Common was near modern Mulgrave station.65

**14th August, 1804**

58 Marsden’s unsympathetic attitude towards Aboriginal people is illustrated by a letter he wrote in 1826 to the French explorer, D’Urville. It is contained in Part Six of *Pondering the Abyss.*

59 The sanctimonious, self-righteousness of the latter part of this report signals the growth of the evangelical movement.

*Sydney Gazette,* 1st July, 1804

60 Again, an interesting phrase given that the colony was only fourteen years old.

61 This excerpt strongly suggests that Koori raids at his time were driven by the need for food. It could be argued both to gain food and deny it to the settlers. *Sydney Gazette,* 15th July, 1804.

62 One would indeed struggle to find kangaroos in the Blue Mountains. Earlier reports state that they were in search of “pheasants”, probably lyrebirds.

63 The 1799 trial of five settlers demonstrated quite clearly that while Hoskinson was probably in the wrong place at the wrong time Terribandy had a very real issue with Wimbo who was living with Terribandy’s daughter. *Sydney Gazette,* 15th of July 1804


Governor King’s despatch to Lord Hobart concerned the conflict in May and June. It targeted a different audience than the Gazette and had significant differences. King reported to Hobart that Aboriginal warriors were successfully driving the settlers out of the lower Hawkesbury. This was not reported in the Gazette, probably to avoid a panic. Like the Gazette, King blamed the fighting on the natives taking the crops of the settlers on the lower Hawkesbury. This conveniently avoided the truth that it was the act of settling the Lower Hawkesbury that provoked the conflict, which King later acknowledged in his despatch of 20th December, 1804. Like the Gazette his focus on the taking of grain placed Aboriginal people in a lowly position in the Great Chain of Being. His use of the word *domesticated* to describe the allegedly more settled natives around the Green Hills reinforced his Great Chain of Being argument and served to distinguish the *Branch* natives who had not been reconciled to the new settlers. In his desire to appear to be successful in implementing Hobart’s orders “to conciliate the Goodwill of the Natives” King distorted the facts. The two men killed, Terribandy and Major White, were not “Branch natives”, i.e., Aboriginal people of the Colo River. Nor were they killed near Portland Head. The only way in which their deaths could have settled matters on the lower Hawkesbury was if they had been driven downstream by the encroaching settlers.

Michael Young’s escapades as reported in the Gazette, while of a minor nature, further reinforce the way in which the Gazette was instrumental in the construction of a First Peoples identity and a related discourse. Twice the author uses the word “*barbarous*”

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66 Lord Hobart was the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.
67 This sentence is not well written.
68 Terribandy and Major White.
69 This would be the Upper or Second Branch, i.e., the Colo River.
70 The Governor’s discourse reflects contemporary Enlightenment thinking. Aboriginal lifestyles were at the level of brutish savagery. Settlement would progressively raise them to a higher level on the Great Chain of Being. It was also a convenient rationalization for the extermination of the way of life of a people whose land he had stolen.
which contextualised Aboriginal people within the Great Chain of Being. As well his use of “savage banditti” and “miscreants” places them outside the pale of English law. To an audience that had no doubt been alarmed by the excesses of the revolutionary mob in France these words would have been an effective trigger.

September, 1804

‘Michael Young, whom we last week mentioned to be missing, has not since been heard of; and circumstances sanction the apprehension of his having fallen a sacrifice to the barbarity of some of the natives into whose way it may have been his misfortune to fall. He had frequently related a former adventure which had nearly proved fatal, during the ravages of Pemulwey. On the route from Parramatta to Hawkesbury he came upon a man that had been stripped by a savage banditti from whose ferocious clutches chance had alone delivered him: notwithstanding which, Young thoughtlessly proceeded on his journey, confiding in the amicable treatment he had before experienced from them. He shortly after encountered, and was surrounded by the party, whose first attention was engrossed by a small bag that contained his provisions; they next became enamoured with his apparel, and signified a wish that he should oblige them; but manifesting a reluctance to comply with the desire, the miscreants became impatient, and were about dreadfully to convince him of his impolicy in resisting their barbarous authority, when an Officer of the Colony appeared on horseback, and happily then averted the intended murder.’

William Knight attempted to induce the Governor to issue orders for the clearing of Aboriginal people from the land by forging the signatures of his fellow settlers in a memorial to the Governor. However genuine were his fears, Knight’s actions raise the possibility that settler grievances against Aboriginal people, and the public record of these perceived grievances, were exaggerated. It also signalled the control that the Governor’s wielded over the ex-convict settlers.

‘William Knight, a settler on the Nepean’ was brought forward to answer a charge of having presumptuously subscribed the names of six persons, resident in the above neighbourhood, to a memorial addressed to His Excellency, the purport of which was to represent grievances owing to the renewal of pillage and hostility from the natives; but which upon minute enquiry appeared to be unfounded, and the signatures made without the knowledge or consent of the supposed subscribers, all which the prisoner admitted, confessing likewise that he had himself affixed them; but pleaded in excuse that he had been recently robbed by the natives, as from credible report he believed others to have been, and had therefore unthinkingly used the unwarrantable freedom, firmly believing that they would set up no objection to signing it themselves; he concluded with praying the mercy of the Court.

It was then remarked from the Bench, that an offence, however it might possibly have been unthinkingly committed, was still the same in its effects. Here he had in the first

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73 William Knight’s farm was not on the Nepean, but Boston’s Reach, now known as Cumberland Reach, on the Hawkesbury.
place acknowledged an attempt to impose misrepresentation on the Chief Authority; and he had moreover confessed having practised fraud and artifice to give it colour: To overlook the offence, then, would be inconsistent and unjust: but, in consideration of his general good character, the Court thought proper to pass upon him the lenient sentence of Imprisonment for One Kalandar (sic) Month.  

Sunday, 21st October, 1804
The sanctimonious reporting of the discovery of the body of an escapee in the woods is interesting for the rolling together of secular and religious authority. How long the escapee lived in the woods before dying is unknown. Certainly he did not die at Aboriginal hands, reinforcing again my argument that those convicts who were killed by Aboriginal people probably brought their death upon themselves by breaking traditional law. That Aboriginal people told the authorities of the location of his body illustrates the complex nature of their relations.

‘On Friday se’nnight information was received by the inhabitants of Prospect from several natives, of the dead body of a white man being in the woods; and further that he had been an exile from society for a length of time, and had fallen a victim to grief and famine. This was probably one of the thoughtless bandits who in the beginning of March last joined the party of insurgents; and fearful that after the expiration of the term limited by His Excellency for the extension of mercy to those that should surrender themselves chose rather to perish in a state of misery the most deplorable that can be depicted to the mind, than prostrate himself at the feet of an authority which has invariably evinced a benevolent desire of snatching the penitent from destruction and despair.

Strange, very strange that man should himself prepare the dreadful storm whose rage must fall upon himself alone.  

11th November, 1804
Bushfires were a problem from an early date. This article, while not set in the Hawkesbury is relevant. It clearly demonstrates that the settlers had no understanding of Aboriginal land management, attributing the use of fire to the carelessness of a barbarous race. The causes of the fire which ravaged the north shore of the harbour are unclear. The intensity of the fire may have been due to the cessation of Aboriginal fire practices in that locality. The author’s confidence that Providence intervened to save the crops was probably overly optimistic.

‘The numerous ravages made in former years among the crops, owing to the carelessness of persons in carrying lighted Pipes or Fire brands through the brush, must impress every one with a becoming sense of a species of impropriety, dangerous in the extreme, not only to the interests of individuals whose property may be thus destroyed, but to the common welfare of all Society.

The first instance that has appeared during the present season is that of a Conflagration which burst out on Tuesday morning at Lane Cove, by which we are very sorry to state the loss sustained by Mr. Wiltshire of between 16 and 17 acres of standing wheat totally consumed. In the course of the same day the fire extended itself along the whole campaign as far down the harbour as the North Point, embracing a distance of eight miles.

The whole of Tuesday night the face of the country was covered with detached fires, which presented a spectacle at once awful and romantic, but embittering the sensation with the possibility of extensive mischief. Had the wind shifted to an opposite quarter while the excessive rage of the of the conflagration lasted, it would be difficult to compute the possible damage which might have ensued to all the cultivated grounds extending along the northern banks of the river up to Parramatta: but as Providence happily decreed it otherwise, perhaps by the force of example to arm us with becoming caution in the preservation of those gifts with which the industry of man is ever liberally rewarded.

To the General Order issued by His EXCELLENCY on Monday last, strictly forbidding persons to approach any cultivated ground with lighted pipes or firebrands, none will oppose a criminal perseverance in a dangerous and wanton habit: or should a rooted and inflexible aversion to an orderly compliance denote peculiar depravity in a single instance, no one will surely screen his disobedience to an Ordinance so truly requisite to the security of the crops throughout the colony, by suffering the breach to pass without complaint, as that would be to participate in the offence itself.

It is allowable also that these accidents are frequently to be attributed to the uninterested heedlessness of the natives, in transporting fire sticks from place to place, and leaving unquenched their fires scattered through the woods. As there is no possibility of preventing the dangers arising from the common habits of a barbarous race, yet the consequences may sometimes be abridged by the attention of persons whose avocation calls them to the wood, in carefully extinguishing those frequently very inconsiderable sparks, which upon the slightest increase of the wind may furiously rise to blight the richest harvest.  

Sunday, 2\textsuperscript{nd} December, 1804

Contemporary European thought held that humanity had progressively passed through developmental stages of hunting, pastoralism, farming and commerce. Parallels were drawn between human development and the growth of a child. It was a common assumption of the Enlightenment that children, savages and idiots were blank slates, \textit{tabula rasa}, which could be raised to maturity by the application of reason. Aboriginal children who fell into the hands of Europeans were of keen interest not just because of the opportunity for salvation, but rescuing the child from barbarity provided an opportunity for social engineering. This sanctimonious passage deals with two such

\footnote{76 The Sydney Gazette, of 31\textsuperscript{st} March, 1805 reported a court case in which one Hawkesbury settler, Dennis McCarthy, successfully sued another, John Kenny for lighting fires that destroyed his haystacks. In his defence Kenny claimed the fires had been lit by Aboriginal people. 
\textit{Sydney Gazette}, Sunday, 11\textsuperscript{th} November, 1804, \url{http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626502}}
children. It is highly likely that both these lads were survivors of killings at the Prospect corn fields in 1794.\textsuperscript{77}

‘SYDNEY.

On Wednesday a native youth died at Sydney of a dysentery, who was the first of the savage inhabitants of this colony introduced to civil society. When an infant he was rescued from barbarism by the event of his parents' death, both being shot while they were engaged in plundering and laying waste the then infant settlement at Toongabbee\textsuperscript{78}. When the pillagers were driven off the infant was found, and compassionately adopted as a foundling by George Bath, a prisoner. The little creature then received the name of James Bath. His protector, at leaving the colony, bequeathed his little charge to D. Greville, who likewise going away, left him to the care of J. Sparrow; but the boy expressing an inclination to reside with William Miller, at the Hospital Wharf, continued ever since in his service, a period of about six years. His origin he remembered with abhorrence, and never suffered to escape any occasion whereby he might testify a rooted and unconquerable aversion to all of his own colour - also esteeming the term native as the most illiberal and severe reproach that could possibly be uttered. During the several last years of his life, he endeavoured by diligence and every mark of fidelity to requite the liberality that had afforded protection to his infancy, and above all, snatched him from the habits of his countrymen. In the work of a small Hawkesbury vessel he became an expert; generally accompanied his master's excursions to the interior in search of native birds and wild animals, and in the art of rowing acquired a dexterity but rarely equalled. In fact, with his early alienation from his sooty kindred he seemed to have undergone a total change of disposition from that which forms their characteristic, (sic) as he was docile, grateful, and even affable; he took much pride in cleanliness of dress, he spoke none but our language, and as he approached his latter end gave undoubted proofs of Christian piety, fervently repeating the Lord's Prayer shortly before his dissolution. As the attachment to his opposites in complexion equalled his aversion to all of a contrary colour, it cannot be supposed that he lived friendless, or died unregretted: he attained to about his sixteenth year when attacked by the disorder to which he fell a victim notwithstanding the first medical aid, added to the kindest care and attention that could possibly be afforded: and in his example we have much reason to infer, that the total indolence and inactivity of his countrymen is chiefly, if not entirely the effect of habit, and that their hitherto unserviceable race might in process of time attach themselves to

\textsuperscript{77} Charley was possibly taken at the same time.

\textsuperscript{78} 'At Toongabbie, where the Indian corn was growing, their visits and their depredations were so frequent and extensive, that the watchmen stationed for the protection of the corn-grounds were obliged to fire on them, and one party, considerable in number, after having been driven off, returning directly to the plunder, was pursued by the watchmen for several miles, when a contest ensued, in which the natives were worsted, and three were left dead on the spot. The watchmen had so often in with accounts of this nature, that, apprehensive lest the present transaction should not be credited, they brought in with them, as a testimonial not to be doubted, the head of one of those whom they had slain. With this witness to support them, they told many wonderful circumstances of the pursuit and subsequent fight, which they stated to have taken place at least fourteen miles from the settlement, and to have been very desperately and obstinately sustained on the part of the natives. It was remarked, however, that not one of the watchmen had received the slightest injury, a circumstance that threw a shade over their story, which, but for the production of the head, would have been altogether disbelieved. ' Page 304, David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume I, A.H. &A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.
industry, and become useful in society. Another of these boys, somewhat younger than the above, was under circumstances not altogether dissimilar, baptised and received under the protection of the Rev. Mr. MARSDEN, from whose humane attention to his civilization, the boy has been instructed in the first necessary branches of education, shews symptoms of a tolerable capacity, and the same dislike to others of his own complexion as did the deceased.  

20th December, 1804

In his despatch to Lord Hobart of 20th December, 1804, the Governor recounted a conversation with three Aboriginal people who told the governor that they had gone down river as the white men took their land. King’s assurance to them that there would be no more downstream settlement must be placed in the context of his record allocation of land grants in the Hawkesbury. In 1803 he allocated 4,435 acres, nearly twice as much the previous record of 2,631 acres in 1799. In 1804 he allocated 10,335 acres in grants on the Hawkesbury, over twice as much as 1803. As well, he allocated 20,830 acres on the Hawkesbury as commons. That there were no land grants on the Hawkesbury in 1805 has less to do with King’s sense as justice towards Aboriginal people as there being little arable land left.

Governor King to Lord Hobart

‘Being anxious to ascertain what number of people could be fixed on the lower part of the Hawkesbury and its branches, I directed the acting surveyor to make an accurate survey of the river from Portland Head to the entrance of Mullett Island. Broken Bay had been most accurately surveyed by Governor Hunter; but as the Hawkesbury River was only an eye sketch, it directions are in many places corrected by the late survey. Very small portions on the different points could be cultivated to any advantage, seldom exceeding spaces of 30 or 40 acres, bounded by inaccessible rocks. However, from an occurrence that happened shortly after the surveyor’s departure I should have deferred making any more settlements down that river.

One of the settlers recently fixed below Portland Head, who was much annoyed by the natives in June last, delivered me a memorial, said to be signed by all the settlers in that district, requesting they might be allowed to shoot the natives frequenting their grounds, who had threatened to fire their wheat when ripe. On further enquiry I found that none of the settlers had authorised this man to put their signatures to the paper and that his fears of what might be had operated with him more forcibly than any present or future probability of the natives again being inimical to him or his neighbours. As the imposition could not pass by unnoticed, he was sentenced by the magistrate to a month’s confinement in the jail; but in consideration of his property being likely to suffer he was released after a few days confinement.  

Wishing to be convinced myself what cause there was for these alarms, three of the natives from that part of the river readily came on

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79 Samuel Marsden in his evidence to the Bigge Enquiry described attempting to civilise two Aboriginal boys. It is likely that this boy was the second, (Mrs. Marsden’s maiden name was Tristan). James Hardy Vaux thought Tristan was about fourteen in 1807, thus making him about eleven in 1804.  
80 William Knight  
81 Much the same thing happened after the 1800 trial.
being sent for. On questioning the cause of their disagreement with the new settlers they very ingenuously answered that they did not like to be driven from the few places that were left on the banks of the river, where alone they could procure food; that they had gone down river as the white men took possession of the banks; if they went across white men’s grounds the settlers fired upon them and were angry; that if they could retain some places on the lower part of the river they should be satisfied and would not trouble the white men. The observation and request appear to be so just and so equitable that I assured them no more settlements should be made lower down the river. With that assurance they appeared well satisfied and promised to be quiet, in which they continue. 82

20th December, 1804: Margaret Catchpole’s letter to her relatives Anne and William Howes
This letter was written from the Hawkesbury. Margaret had come with Commissary Palmer’s family to Stillwell Farm on Freeman’s Reach and became housekeeper at William Bowman’s Soho Farm (near Hobartville) upon the death of his wife in 1803. 83 The extract is of interest not just for her ongoing concern at the nakedness of the Aboriginal people but also her observations on what were quite primitive farming methods.

‘At this present time i am housekeeper to a free sattler that had the miss fortin to Loos a Good Wife and left him with tow children - thay com over in the sam ship i did.

Thes free peopell are the farmers they hav one hundred ackers giv to them wen they Com hear But it is all Lik a Wood so thay hav to Cut down the tres and burn them a Way Befor thear can be aney Corn grow - Wee Begun to sow Wheat in March and apprel and harvest com on in november and as soon as that is of thay seet fieer to the stubbell and Burn it of and then put in Corn Dyrickely- not plow it nor how it.

Ower land is most part Brak up with min and larg howes wich is very hard work and hav kiled maney a good man. This is a very Daingres Countrey to Liv in for the natives thay are Black minn and wimen - thay Goo nacked - thay youst to kill the wight poopell very much But thay are Better - But bad a nof - now.’

Later in the same letter Margaret Catchpole confirmed Atkins earlier comment that the clearing of the land was impacting upon the climate. Consideration has also to be given to the impact this would have had on Aboriginal food sources and the effect this would have had on relations between settlers and Aboriginal people.

‘This is a very hot Countrey - the Ground burn ouer Feet in the Summer part - wich is at this time - and in the Winter it is very Could, but no snow-just very white frostes - It is a grat Deel Coulder than it youst to Be for it was a very woodey places but now it onely is

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82 Pages 166-167, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915., Series 1, Volume V.
83 Margaret Catchpole came off the Nile in December 1801. Page 93-96, Laurie, Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P Forth, 2012.
The following story is a work of fiction with some factual elements. The *Surprise* did arrive on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1790 and there was a whaler, *Harriet*, in the harbour in May 1805. However, I can find no reference to Geatons or Prossers as marines or soldiers in the NSW Corps. Apart from the initial R the identity of the author is unknown. The story falls within the genre of the doomed savage, it is very much in keeping with Fenimore Cooper's writings. I have included it here because it may have some foundation in truth. It must be stressed that the actual encounter is full of contradictions. Perhaps the fact that Nannella’s name is spelt three different ways in the story is the most telling part of it.

‘Alf and Nannella.

[For THE GAZETTE.]

IN the year, 1803, a discharged soldier, named Richard Geaton, lived with his wife and family and two others - nowise related to them – on the bank of the Hawkesbury. The 'wo others' were Alfred Prosser and Nannella (sic). Alf Prosser was at this time a fine strapping, blue eyed curly-headed young man of between three and four and twenty; kind and generous in disposition, but somewhat impulsive. Alf's father and Geaton had been comrades, and both had come out as soldiers with Governor Phillip – Prosser bringing his boy, then between seven and eight with him; but Prosser died within two years of their landing, and Geaton had promised the dying father hat he would do what he could in the shape of looking after his boy. Geaton, though quite young, was a married man, but had left his wife at home - with the under-standing that she was to be provided with a passage in the next ship which would sail for Botany Bay. She arrived in the ship 'Surprise,' which reached Sydney on June 26th, 1790, and some two years after, her husband got his discharge from the Corps, and settled on his grant of land bringing Alf, then about thirteen, with him. Shortly after her husband's departure from home; Mrs Geaton gave birth to a daughter and she had become the mother of another child before Geaton obtained his discharge. So when they settled on the Hawkesbury, she got a little black, girl named Nannella to help her with the children, and do little odd jobs about the house. The girl stayed with them and acquired the manners, at least to some extent, and also learned to speak the language of the whites with tolerable fluency and accuracy; and as she and Alf grew up together, her fondness for him seemed to grow at a rapid rate - and to tell the truth, the fondness was well reciprocated on his side; for his greatest delight was to teach the young girl to speak English. By 1804, Nannella, had grown into a very pretty copper-coloured beauty - with a pair of dazzling bright, black eyes, and a

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<sup>84</sup> On the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 1833, Mrs. Felton Matthews made a similar observation. “A few weeks since one night’s frost cut off all the tops of my geraniums, and some white lilies we had brought from Brisbane Water which were growing beautifully are I am almost afraid entirely gone. This is irrelevant but I merely mention it to shew the extent of cold, so much increased since the first settling of the Colony, when frost was unknown and the climate believed to be an almost tropical one. All the old inhabitants say it is greatly changed & the frost increasing yearly. ” Page 128, Olive Harvard, Mrs Felton Matthew’s Journal, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Volume 29, 1943.

very glossy head of curly black hair, which she wore in ringlets of a Sunday and on
special occasions and was then, as near as the Geaton's could guess, about eighteen
years of age; and by that time, Alf's and her respective fondness for each other had
grown into passionate love. But the Geatons, whom he had come to revere as his parents,
objected to the match; for the idea of a smart, handsome young man like him throwing
himself away on a recently partially civilized black gin, was very repugnant to them; but
to dethrone Nanella from her position of Queen of Alf's heart was beyond their power. He
loved his black jewel as he called her, too dearly for that. In 1804, the blacks had become
both bold and impudent in their ravages and petty thefts, and therefore unbearable to the
whites; so Governor King issued instructions that the blacks should be asked their reason
for their depredations, and a day was fixed whereon to make the enquiry. But many of the
whites thought that a little powder, and lead would have a most persuasive influence on
the darkies, and Geaton was one of the number who thought so. Alf came to know all this,
and as Nennella (sic) was the queen of his heart, he, as a dutiful subject of the Kingdom,
or Queendom of love, told her of the proposal; and; advised her to go to the blacks' camp,
and try to get her father away for the day. But her reply was that if there was a danger
her father would not desert his country-men. Still, Nannella was missing next morning.
She had risen with the dawn, of light and gone to the blacks' camp, some four miles off,
and informed her father what the whites intended doing, and persuaded him to get ten or
twelve other blacks and go along a certain ridge, as some of the whites intended coming
that way to pay their visit, and detain them in a friendly yabber. This was only a ruse of
her own, as she thought that the only way to get her father to keep out of da
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that way to pay their visit, and detain them in a friendly yabber. This was only a ruse of
her own, as she thought that the only way to get her father to keep out of danger, He
accepted the idea with the idea (sic) of avidity, but as it turned out afterwards, was very
rash in the choice of his companions. Unknown to Geaton, several of his neighbours had
appointed his house as their rendezvous, and a magistrate was to meet them there. So,
early in the morning, between fifteen and twenty armed settlers mustered there; and as
unpremeditated occurrences will sometimes turn out as if the results of serious
premeditation, it so turned out this time, that it was arranged that five of the settlers, with
Alf Prosser to act as their guide, should advance to the blacks' camp along the very ridge
that Nanella's (sic) father was to be on. Each party advanced from their respective
starting points, and the first intimation the whites had that they were in any danger was a
couple of spears dropping a few yards in front of them, which caused them to halt.
Directly they did, some half-dozen spears came whizzing past them, apparently hurled by
no visible hands, and one of the spears went through the skirt of a blue shirt a settler
wore. Half-a-dozen blackfellows then stood out from behind trees, and let out a horrid,
almost devilish yell of defiance, which convinced the whites that here was no was
no hope whatever of a friendly parley, so each man put his gun to his shoulder and fired. One
of the blacks was seen to drop, but he sprung to his feet almost instantly, and then made
towards their camp as fast as he could run and his companions followed his example.
Nannella's fragile form was then seen advancing towards the white men, when Alf
dropped his gun and ran to meet her and noticed that there was blood running down her
breast. She had accompanied her father and the others, saying that she would return to
Geaton's that way. But when they met the whites, several of the blacks boasted; that they
would soon drive them back, with the result already mentioned. Nannella's sharp
aboriginal eyesight, had spied her lover among the whites, and knowing that some of the
blacks intended throwing spears at him and his companions, she, trembling with fear lest

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he would be hurt, laid flat on the ground to watch him, and while in that position, she was struck in the shoulder by a bullet. As Alf was meeting her, she greeted him with a sweet confidential smile, and when they met she said, "Oh Alf, me did not think that we would meet any white fellows here." To that he replied, "Neither did we think that we would meet any natives. But you are hurt Nanella (sic). Did one of our bullets hurt you?" She answered, "I don't know Alf, I did feel something strike me, but it didn't hurt much – at least, I didn't feel it hurt me. You not hurt, are you Alf?" By that time they were close to the other five, and one of them commenced to chaff Alf about his black jewel, but noticing the blood on her gown, he desisted; and one of the others tried to stop the bleeding, but could not. She then sat on a log, lying close to where they were standing, and Alf sat down beside her. Some of his companions then proposed making another start, when he told them that they could do as they liked, he wouldn't leave the wounded girl. So they left him and her there, and made in the direction the blacks went. Directly they were gone, he inquired of her, "You feel sore, Nanella?"

"No- Alf; only weak; you got some water?"

"No Nanella, but if I had anything to carry it in, I would fetch you some."

"Never mind Alf," and while saying the words she looked into his eyes with such an intensely ardent look, and then said, "Oh Alf, me love you, oh so much."

At that he put his arm around her waist, and while doing so, said, "Yes dear, and I love love you with all my heart. Mrs. Geaton must let us get married before long.

"Yes Alf, perhaps, so." And with that she laid her, head upon his shoulder. Each then remained silent for some minutes, during which they gazed into each other's eyes, and Alf thought that her weight was becoming heavier on his arm, and her head seemed to becoming heavier upon his shoulder.

She was the first to break the silence by again repeating "Oh Alf, me love you - oh so much much, - me wish I had a drink me feel so thirsty –I think me die, Alf?"

He felt a choking at the throat; "Don't say that, Nanella; you will soon be better."

"Let me sit on the groun' Alf,' me feel weak." She made an effort to rise, and he tightened his grasp round her waist, lifted her up, and placed her in a reclining position against the log: Bitter remorse was tormenting him; the thought kept haunting him that perhaps it was his bullet that had struck his darling. But her soft, loving look ameliorated remorse's wounds. "I think me die, Alf – oh, me love you – oh, so much – better'n father and mother," gasped his black jewel. The fervour of her words brought tears to Alf's eyes, and she said, "Don't cry; Alf – me die now – bye-em-bye me come agen white woman; then you marry me – only, when me come agen you call me Nanella – Nanella love you first – Nanella love you best…….. Kiss me, Alf - by-em-bye you call bulgery white woman Nanella." These were the last words his loving Nanella uttered. – Her head was resting on his shoulder, and he put his arms round her and pressed her gently to him Presently her head became heavier, and her lithe form limp, and with a few deep gasps the mortal and immortal parts of Nanella separated. He kissed the dead lips reverently, and then he carried the lifeless form to Geaton's, and placed it on his own bunk until she would be buried.
After Nanella’s (sic) burial Alf grew morose. In the following May he joined a whaling vessel called the "Harriet". ’ The rest of the story concerns Alf’s journey from which he never returned.86

In 1804, 75 individuals received 10,335 acres in grants on the Hawkesbury, another record allocation. As well, 20,830 acres were allocated on the Hawkesbury as commons. Land Grants, 1788-1809, Edited by R. J. Ryan, Australian Documents Library Pty Ltd, 1974.

1804: Conclusion
The events of 1804 highlighted the significance of food in relations between Aboriginal people and settlers. The expansion of settlement downstream, drought and the harvest in mid year were tinder for the outbreak of hostilities.

1805: An Overview
The drought continued into January 1805 but appeared to break in February. The fighting started slightly earlier than in 1804. This year it was obvious that there was an alliance between Aboriginal groups on the Sydney Plain that stretched from Pittwater to Burragorang Valley. While there was a co-ordinated series of attacks around Sydney, there was also a determined effort by at least one and possibly more Aboriginal groups to find an accommodation with the settlers.

In early April, Goguey, a Cowpasture man went to the Hawkesbury theoretically to take part in a ritual punishment, but more likely to plan a series of co-ordinated attacks. Goguey was no doubt alarmed by John MacArthur’s acquisition of the valuable Cow Pastures on his return from England. A fortnight later Branch Jack, a Aboriginal man from either the Colo or MacDonald Rivers, led a party that attacked two ex military settler farms on the Upper and Lower Half Moon Reaches, killing three settlers. At the end of April General orders were put in place distributing NSW Corps soldiers to the outlying farms, banning Aboriginal people from approaching farms and calling upon settlers to co-operate in repelling natives. An attack was made upon the Government farm at Seven Hills and two stockmen on MacArthur’s South Creek property near Cobbitty were killed. Aboriginal warriors from the Hawkesbury were almost certainly involved in this attack. An attempt to board the William and Mary at Pitt Water failed and two salt boilers thought killed by warriors were assisted back to Sydney by Aboriginal people.

In early May 1805 Reverend Marsden responded to a request for a peace conference at Prospect. It appears that the request came from the Bidjigal people who were the most exposed to settlement. His terms for peace were the surrender of the principals in the recent attacks. In a fairly classic example of blame shifting, five warriors, probably from Burragorang Valley and the Hawkesbury were identified as the principals in the killing of the stockmen and Tedbury, son of Pemulwuy, a Bidjigal man and a participant in the killings offered to be a guide in finding them. The Governor responded by issuing general orders protecting those Aboriginal people camped between Prospect and the George’s

River. In the same week an attack was made by constables and settlers, guided by two Aboriginal men, on an Aboriginal camp probably located on the junction of Shaw’s Creek and the Nepean River. Yaragowhy and at least seven or eight others were killed. In a related operation Charlie was killed at Obadieh Iken’s farm on the Nepean Hawkesbury at modern Yarramundy. An attack was made at Pitt Water on the colonial vessel Richmond and a soldier was drowned while crossing the Nepean, possibly in a follow up expedition to the attack at Shaw’s Creek.

In the second half of May Tedbury was captured north of Parramatta. One of the accused killers of MacArthur’s stockmen was shot by an Aboriginal guide at the Hawkesbury.

In June General Orders protecting Aboriginal people at Sydney and Parramatta were repeated. However, hostilities still continued at George’s River and the Hawkesbury. Attacks were made on William Stubbs’ farm on the Hawkesbury and the farms of Cuddy and Crumbe on South Creek. William Knight’s farm was plundered by Branch Jack and the farms of Henry Lamb and Abraham Yeouler were apparently burnt by an Aboriginal girl taken by the Lamb’s as an infant. She was later accused of attempting to burn the farm of Thomas Chaseland.

Between June and August it appears that a peace between most of the Aboriginal people on the Sydney Plain and the settlers was cobbled together. The paucity of historical records for these events is both frustrating and informative. In late June nine Aboriginal people were captured and taken into custody. Who they were or where they were captured is unrecorded. In early July two of this party assisted in the capture of Musquito and Bulldog who were the supposed instigators of the current troubles. Tedbury and Musquito only entered the pages of the Gazette on the 19th of May 1805. Governor King wrote to the Governor of Norfolk Island in August 1805 regarding the transfer of Bulldog and Musquito there. In 1811 David Mann published The Present Picture of NSW 1811 which mentioned Bulldog and others who appear in this work:

"Yet there are many of the natives who feel no disinclination to mix with the inhabitants occasionally — to take their share in the labours and the reward of those who toil. Amongst these there are five in particular, to whom our countrymen have given the names of Bull Dog, Bidgy Bidgy, Bundell, Bloody Jack, and another whose name I cannot call to recollection, but who had a farm of four acres and upwards, planted with maize, at Hawkesbury, which he held by permission of Governor King, and the other four made themselves extremely useful on board colonial vessels employed in the fishing and sealing, for which they are in regular receipt of wages. They strive, by every means in their power, to make themselves appear like the sailors with whom they associate, by copying their customs, and imitating their manners; such as swearing, using a great quantity of tobacco, drinking grog, and other similar habits. These natives are the only ones, I believe, who are inclined to industrious behaviour, and they have most certainly rendered more essential services to the colony than any others of their countrymen, who, in general, content themselves with assisting to draw nets for fish, for the purpose of coming in for a share of the produce of others toil."

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87 This was probably Charley.
88 Page 47, David Mann, The Present Picture of New South Wales 1811, Royal Australian Historical Society, 1979
There is also a description of a young man, “Toul-gra, called Bouldog, aged 14-15, who, in 1802, was Quite well built, very lively, excellent mimic.”89 Toul-gra may have been Bennelong’s nephew and a member of the Burramattagal people.90 If this is the same youth, his age is reason enough to suggest that Musquito and Bulldog may have been sacrificial pawns to secure the release of far more important people. In August Tedbury was released and peace descended upon most of the Sydney plain.

There is a possibility of a more sinister interpretation of the capture of Musquito. Samuel was at this time a minister, a magistrate and a Hawkesbury landholder. The following extract from Marsden’s 1826 Report to Archdeacon Scott on the Aborigines in N.S.W. reveals that Marsden knew Musquito on the Hawkesbury, probably before 1800. It raises the possibility that Marsden may have suffered at the hands of Mosquito and deliberately sought his apprehension when the opportunity presented. “More than 20 years ago there was a Native named Musquito, living on the banks of the Hawkesbury River, where there were some European settlers. Musquito was a great savage, and committed several robberies and murders in that Settlement. He was apprehended, lodged in Gaol, and banished to Norfolk Island, and put into one of the working gangs. He remained there some years, cut off from his own people, and when that settlement was removed to Van Diemen's Land, Musquito accompanied the Settlers. Some time after his arrival he took to the woods, joined the Aborigines of that Island, was guilty of many robberies and murders, and was at length taken, tried and executed. From the years he had been cut off from all communication with his own people, one would have supposed he would have made some progress in civilization and formed some habits of civil life; but he appears to have lived and died the same character he was when I knew him on the banks of the Hawkesbury, almost 30 years ago.”91

On the lower Hawkesbury the struggle continued for the rest of the year. In early August Wogolomigh was killed and Branch Jack wounded in a failed attack upon the Hawkesbury at Mangrove Point. In December repeated attempts were made by “Branch natives “to fire the crops.

January, 1805

“We are sorry to hear that the droughts that have long prevailed at Hawkesbury are severely felt, the stubble corn being at this time much in want of rain. On some of the orchard grounds the late peaches have shared the fate of the early fruit, having mostly fallen off the trees.”92

89 This description is on page 61 of Colin Dyer’s The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians, UQP, 2007 and taken from Peron, François and Freycinet, Louis, Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes. Historique, 2 volumes, Paris 1807 and 1816. Vol. I, page 477. The use of the word mimic is telling. Aboriginal people conversed with the settlers in English. When Lancelot Threlkeld came to Sydney in 1817 he noted that no settler knew a Koori language.
92 Sydney Gazette, 13th January 1805
20th January, 1805
The following musings on Aboriginal beliefs in the afterlife provide a valuable insight into what Aboriginal people thought of white people. It is important to note that when quizzed about the afterlife the Aboriginal man paused before saying that he might come back as a white man. The Aboriginal man was not flattering the white man; he was attempting to make sense of the unknown in a rapidly changing world. His interrogator was probably right in surmising that the silence of the Aboriginal man signified a fear that the benefits of such a change would be a change for the worse, supporting my supposition that Aboriginal people thought the white people were Aboriginal souls gone astray during reincarnation.

The second paragraph reflects contemporary European frustration with Aboriginal unwillingness to relinquish the old ways and embrace the new. Even after several Aboriginal men had sailed to the far corners of the world and others had crewed coastal boats, all went back to a traditional life. Not only does this show the resilience of Aboriginal culture it also shows how little the strength of Aboriginal culture was understood by the outsiders.

“We are but little acquainted with the ideas entertained by these people of futurity, although from common observation it is discernible, that they are strongly infected with superstitious (sic) prejudices, which shew themselves in an unwillingness to travel in the dark, the application of remedies to diseases, and in many other shapes. One of them, advanced nearer to civilization than the generality of his brethren, interrogated as to his notion of what was to happen after death, replied with some embarrassment, that he did not know positively; but perhaps he might become a white man. - Whether he conceived advantage were to be derived from such a change, the most courteous eloquence was incapable of extorting; so that, from his silence two inferences were to be drawn; the first, that if he really considered such a change a benefit, he could not consent to a avowal of his sentiments lest he should be suspected of flattery; and next, that if he was apprehensive of disadvantage from a reversed complexion, he had too much politeness to offend the person to whom he addressed himself.

The suggestion was, however, crude and irreconcilable; for although humanity is apt to draw a flattering picture of future events, yet it is evident that this poor native gave no immediate preference to manners which he might and would be encouraged to adopt, could he consent to lay his own aside. Some few instances have shewn them capable of a grateful return for favour and protection; one or two have even engaged in coasting vessels but immediately on their return, embraced the shield and spear, and sank again

93 As noted elsewhere some white people were accepted into Aboriginal society in the belief that they were reincarnations of Aboriginal people who had died. It was possible that Aboriginal people thought that the difficulties white people experienced in adjusting were probably due to the process going awry for some reason. On page 222, the Reverend David MacKenzie, *The Emigrant's Friend*, London, 1845, recorded: “Many of them believe that after death they will “jump up white fellows;” and they confidently assert, that among the white Europeans here, they recognise several of their friends and relations.”
http://archive.org/stream/emigrantsguideor00mackrich#page/222/mode/2up
into all their barbarous habits. – This may be readily accounted for, as even the most enlightened sometimes yield to juvenile prejudices, and it would be therefore unreasonable to expect that they should long renounce those customs to which in their early infancy they were inured, and to which also they are bound by every tie of natural affection.  

3rd February, 1805
In considering the causes of conflict between Aboriginal people and settlers attention is invariably drawn to the prevalence of fighting over the corn harvest around April and May. This was related to the taking of the yam beds along waterways for farming and closer settlement. However, the settlers were also hunting game, as shown by the following extract, which also depleted Aboriginal food sources. As well, while current bush and native sarsaparilla were not part of the Aboriginal diet, settlers pushing further out in search of these plants as a treatment for scurvy must have interfered with Aboriginal food gathering. “The foresters lately abate in their ardour of hunting the Kangaroo, because the price like that of every other species of animal food, has unfortunately experienced a fall.”

13th February, 1805
The following court transaction caused a stir among settler society because a white man was punished for striking a native.

“PARRAMATTA,
Feb. 13.
James Houlding, a prisoner who some time since absconded from public labour, and was supposed to have taken to the woods, was on Monday apprehended on a farm at Prospect, and brought in; when he was ordered to work in the gaol gang till further ordered; as was also Thomas Brown, for wantonly striking a native”.

March, 1805

Sunday, 24th March, 1805
Whatever the details of the case, the author’s use of the terms “barbarian”, “brutal rage” and “civilised Community” managed to turn the dispute into a conflict between brute savagery and civilisation.

‘At the above settlement a circumstance occurred a few days since among the natives, at the detail of which humanity must shudder. A trivial misunderstanding having taken place between a woman and her male associate, the latter levelled his spear at the defenceless object, and with a horrible dexterity passed it through her body, the point entering the back below the shoulder, and re-appearing under the left breast. The

97 Hawkesbury.
unhappy victim of a brutal rage was then abandoned to her fate by this barbarian, who unconscious of his obligation to the sex for the nurture of his infant years, and without which he must have perished in neglect, had with impious treachery hurled the sanguinary weapon at a poor trembler, incapable of defence, and at the very moment looking up for his protection. Surely, no member of a civilised community can be challenged by conscience with an offence quite so barbarous and debasing - at least, for the honour of civilised society, it is as well to hope so. - But to return to the poor native, afflicted equally in mind and body. The spear could not be extracted, and remained in its described position for more than two whole days. Mr. ARNDELL, the residentary Surgeon at the settlement, rendered every assistance that humanity could suggest, to alleviate the sufferings, and to rescue, if possible, an unfortunate fellow creature from unmerited destruction. The weapon was still immovable on Thursday night, when the unhappy creature appeared anxious to have it extracted at all hazards; but whether it be possible she can survive the operation the event alone can determine.  

**Yellomundi’s Lagoon**
The following passages include what is probably the first reference to what is now called Yarramundi Lagoon, which suggests that Yellomundee, who we first met in 1791 was living in the area. The nearby Yarramundi Falls, which were largely washed away in the 1867 flood confirm the connection with the man. “A quantity of very fine eels was last week caught by the natives in the Lagoon of Yarramundy, at Hawkesbury, some weighing from 12 to 14lbs.” The catching of eels in April was traditional, as the eels had fattened themselves up and were beginning their long run into the warm waters of the Pacific Ocean. That the catch was reported, points to Aboriginal people being engaged in some sort of trade with settlers.

It is curious that it is the *Sydney Gazette* spelling of Yellomundi’s name that persists today. There are a number of spellings from the Nineteenth Century that clearly refer to the man that Phillip met in 1791. In drawing the boundaries of the Richmond Hill Common in August 1804 Governor King used “Yellow Munday’s Lagoon” as one boundary. Governor Macquarie referred to the place as “Yellow-Mundie-Lagoon” in December 1810. There is a reference to “Yellow Munday’s Lagoon” in 1848. It is probably the only place in the Hawkesbury where Aboriginal ownership was so recognised. Cooramill made two suggestions regarding the name, which clearly demonstrate the vagaries of oral history. The first obviously refers to the man while the second is quite fanciful unless the horse got drowned at both Yarramundi Falls and Yarramundi Lagoon, “I have been told by some

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that it was so-named after an aboriginal who used to camp on the banks: by others that it was through a horse being drowned there, and yarra was the blacks’ name for horse.”

Yellomundi was probably camped at his lagoon for a number of years. It is likely that his daughter Maria was born there around 1807-1808. The death certificate of Maria’s daughter, Mary Ann Ward, who died in 1885 at Blacktown, recorded Mary Ann’s birth place as Liverpool. Alongside that the word “Aboriginal” had apparently been crossed out. The certificate recorded her mother’s name as Maria Lutteral. I think there are good reasons for not leaping to the conclusion that her father was a Lutterell. Firstly it was not uncommon for Aboriginal birth/marriage/death certificates to bear the names of settler families they were associated with in some way, for instance a certificate of an Aboriginal woman born at the “Blacktown” (on Blacktown Road, Freemans Reach) lists the local minister as her father. Secondly I do not think Edward Lutterell spent much time on his Hobartville estate. Lutterell arrived on the Experiment in August 1804 and received his 400 acre Hobartville land grant on the 11th of August 1804. He was probably still in Sydney in October 1804 when his son deserted the Experiment and his daughter eloped with the captain of the Experiment. It appears from his letters that he was an unhappy farmer in 1804 and the first part of 1805. In June 1805 he replaced the assistant surgeon John Savage at Parramatta. Governor Bligh appointed him surgeon to the Porpoise, probably in 1807, a post that he held until November 1808. He was then unemployed for three months until being reappointed to the position of Acting Colonial Surgeon in February 1809.

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104 A list of “The Names of Children of the Aborigines received into the Native Institution Parramatta, since its foundation, 10 Jan. 1814” identified Maria, who came into the Native Institution on the 28th of December 1814 and lists her “supposed age” as 13 which indicates that she was born around 1807/08. There are two Native Institution rolls of attendance made c. 1821. I have seen a transcript of the first on Page 89, J. Brooks and J.L. Cohen, *The Parramatta Native Institute and the Black Town*, University of New South Wales Press, 1991, and a photocopy of the second on [http://darugweavers.tripod.com/ourblackandwhitefamily/id2.html](http://darugweavers.tripod.com/ourblackandwhitefamily/id2.html), and page 238, Ed., Malcolm R. Sainty and Keith A. Johnson, *Census of 1828*, Library of Australian History, 1985, which gives her age as 20.

105 I have not yet sighted the original death certificate, however, I have seen the information in several sources. The information is readily available from [http://darugweavers.tripod.com/ourblackandwhitefamily/id40.html](http://darugweavers.tripod.com/ourblackandwhitefamily/id40.html).


still employed at Paramatta.\footnote{Pages 787, \textit{Historical Records of Australia}, Series 1, Volume 7, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915.} Record nearly eighty years after her birth, I am of the opinion that the name \textit{Lutteral} in this instance linked her birthplace to Hobartville, to the Richmond Bottoms and to Yellomundi’s Lagoon. There is a possibility that Maria’s biological father was not Aboriginal. In 1838 Mrs. Shelley gave evidence regarding the native Institution which she ran for eight years following the death of her husband in 1815. In her evidence she said: “\textit{Most of the girls have turned out very bad, but there is one exception in a half-caste girl, who was married to a white man, and was very industrious, taking up needlework, &c. I have not, however, heard of her for two years.}”\footnote{The Colonist, 29\textsuperscript{th} December, 1838, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31722278}} It is likely that she was referring to Maria. Mrs. Shelley’s evidence must be placed in the context of Maria’s 1831 memorial in which she identified herself as “\textit{Maria Lock, an Aboriginal Native of New South Wales}” who was placed in the Native Institution “by her father the Chief of the Richmond Tribes”\footnote{Page 95, James Kohen, \textit{The Darug and Their Neighbours}, Darug Link in association with Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1993. Original source: AONSW, Reel 1153, Vol. 2/7908.}.

\textbf{7\textsuperscript{th} April 1805}

Attacks by native dogs on the animals on settler farms can be seen as evidence of the shattering of traditional Aboriginal lifestyles. The latest research shows that dingoes avoid farms when pack structure is intact. If their owners were killed and their dogs turned out, then attacks on farms were likely.

‘\textit{A native dog, whose depredations on a farm near the above settlement we before took notice of, returned again on Sunday evening to clear away the remaining flock on hand; but being discovered and pursued, was obliged to content himself for the present with a couple of fine geese.}’\footnote{\textit{Sydney Gazette}, Sunday, 7\textsuperscript{th} April, 1805, \url{http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626711}}

In March 1805, between Prospect and Parramatta, Goguey was ritually speared by Bennelong and Nanberry for killing an unknown person. That Goguey was going to the Hawkesbury for another ritual spearing indicates that traditional life was active on the Hawkesbury. Some weeks later Goguey recovered enough to go to the Hawkesbury. Despite the wording of the article he was not going to take part in a colonial murder trial but to participate in another ritual punishment.

However, while Goguey may have participated in a ritual spearing on the Hawkesbury, he almost certainly enlisted the support of Hawkesbury warriors to defend his lands as a fortnight later warriors from the Hawkesbury were involved in attacks on Macarthur’s farms in Goguey’s homelands.

‘\textit{With a degree of astonishment we learn that the native, Goguey, whose mischance it was to receive a spear in the back, in which position it immoveably remained for upwards of}’

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three weeks, is sufficiently recovered to proceed to Hawkesbury to assist in the trial of an offender upon divers charges of very unjustifiable homicide. The spear was extracted last Sunday morning; and maugre the unseemly aperture it left behind, he marshalled forth with stoic composure intent upon transferring the compliment, should the fates permit so enviable a happiness to fall to his lot.

18th April, 1805

The Nancy was a Hawkesbury boat, wrecked south of Jervis Bay. Providence, according to the author, intervened to save lives. Jack, a Aboriginal crewman, apparently absconded with various articles. However, he turned up in Sydney with the goods intact a fortnight later. It is possible that the “native Jack who went in the Nancy as servant to Mr. Demaria” was Jack Richmond who in 1817 and 1819 went on sealing trips; however, there were a number of Jacks around at this time. Corriangee, apparently involved in the Prospect and Cowpasture troubles at the same time, was another seafarer. He was also known as Cabone Jack and Cobbon Jack. Cobbon Jack was the father of Narang, or Little Jack.

‘LOSS of the NANCY.

In addition to the losses recently sustained to the Colony in its small craft, we have to regret that of the above fine cutter on the 18th ultimo, a few miles to the southward of Jervis Bay. On the 17th appearances strongly indicating an approaching gale, she hauled off shore, and in the evening a dreadful hurricane set in accompanied with very vivid lightning, and awful peals of thunder that rolled without intermission, together with an incessant torrent of rain. The rage of the elements increasing, split the mainsail, which was close-reefed, the vessel still driving at the rate of 4 or 5 knots, and at the same time making much lee way. At midnight the gale became furiously violent, not a sail was left, and the sea making a fair breach over her, prevented the possibility of keeping a light in the binnacle. The gale blowing dead on the shore, at about two in the morning the man at the helm gave notice of land to leeward, which was discernible by the lightning; and such was its appearance, being a chain of perpendicular cliffs against which the sea dashed with inconceivable violence, as to fill with horror and consternation the minds of those already hopeless of escaping a destiny presented in a variety of dismal shapes; all above-board was by this time washed away, and to avoid grounding in a situation where every person on board must have inevitably perished, all that remained to determined perseverance was effected, and by keeping her as much to the wind as her helpless condition would permit, she happily changed her ground, and striking on a small sand-beach between two bluff heads, unhung her rudder at the first blow. To this interposition of providence alone is to be attributed the rescue of the people from a melancholy fate, one of whom, Richard Wall, a native of Exeter, was unfortunately lost. The same morning the hull parted, and shortly after went to pieces, the continued violence and rapidity of the surf preventing any part of the cargo from being saved; and such few articles as were washed ashore were carried off by the natives, who, though they offered no personal violence, had become too numerous to be resisted. One of these people, whose conduct

116 Maugre is an obsolete word meaning notwithstanding
Mr. Demaria, the master of the vessel, noticed as being in all respects opposite to that of his brethren, cheerfully undertook to conduct his distressed party round to Jervis Bay, for which place they set out on the morning of the 20th, and reached it the same evening; and next morning perceiving that the natives, possibly with no other design than the gratification of curiosity, were clustering round them from all directions, it was considered most adviseable to commit themselves to the Providence that had thus far bountifully preserved them, and make the best of their way for Sydney by pedestrian travel. Destitute of provisions, without a musket, except one that was useless, and only borne to intimidate the natives, the proposal was readily concurred in, and after a terrible journey of eleven days, lengthened much by the inundated state of the country, they attained the much desired object on Wednesday night last, crippled by fatigue, and reduced to the last extremity by actual want.

Near the Five Islands Mr. Demaria mentions his having experienced a portion of civility from the natives which would do credit to a more polished race of Men, as it even extended to the liberal partition of their scanty fare among his little party when they were much exhausted. On the other hand a Sydney native who had accompanied the trip and received every favour and indulgence, forsook his fellow travellers the day after the wreck, and went over to his kindred with every trifling necessary that might have softened in some measure the rigours of a painful travel. Among the articles stolen by this perfidious miscreant was a small axe, the loss of which added much to their calamity, as the travellers had not then any edged implement whatever, and were in consequence deprived of the means of procuring the cabbage tree, upon which they had placed much reliance.\footnote{The native Jack who went in the Nancy as servant to Mr. Demaria, and from whose infidelity Mr. Demaria suspected he had lost his wearing apparel, came in on Tuesday last, with every article safe and in the condition he brought them from the wreck’. Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 12th May, 1805.}

The cargo of the Nancy consisted of 3187 skins;\footnote{Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 5th May, 1805.} she was the largest vessel ever built at Hawkesbury, from whence she was about two years since launched by Mr Thompson, and sold to Messrs Kable and Company in whose service she remained to the moment of her dissolution.\footnote{Seal skins.}

17th April, 1805

The following account of attacks upon the farms of Llewellen and Adlam probably marks the first appearance of Branch Jack in the historical record. The author used the attacks on the crops as evidence of the inherent barbarity of Aboriginal people. Because Aboriginal people did not farm crops it was cited as further evidence of their indolence and lowliness on the Great Chain of Being.

Interestingly, in ridiculing the idea that Aboriginal people were provoked into the attacks, the author reveals that at least some settlers were of the opinion that the attacks were in retaliation for ill treatment. There is some evidence within the text to support this view. Being ex NSW Corps soldiers may well explain why Llewellen and Adlam were targeted. They may well have been involved in attacks upon Aboriginal people. The remains of
Adlam and his servant were scattered which strongly suggests that by so doing the warriors were determined to prevent the reincarnation of Llewellen and Adlam. As well, Llewellen’s servant was thrown face down into the river and left for dead, which was a traditional means of frustrating a spirit from finding its way home.

The Gazette was not however devoid of spiritual sensibilities, once again citing Providential intervention in the affairs of men, this time to save the life of John Knight, Llewellen’s servant.

‘With inexpressible concern we have to recount a series of barbarities lately practised by a banditti of these people, inhabiting the out-skirts of Hawkesbury.

Last Wednesday se’nnight a fellow known by the name of Branch Jack went to the farm of John Llewellen, one of the Military settlers, who was at dinner with his labouring servant in a field; he was invited to partake of the fare; and after sharing in the repast, found means to get the settler’s musket and powder horn in his possession, with which he made off with a loud yell, which was returned by about 20 others that had before concealed themselves, but now came forward, and discharged several spears at the unfortunate men, two of which entered the master’s breast, who fell immediately, two others passing between the servant’s legs. The latter requiring to know their motive for the barbarous assault, was answered by a flight of spears, one of which penetrated his shoulder, and another one of his groins. After he had fallen the natives closed upon him, and thrice struck him on the head with a tomahawk, each blow occasioning a dreadful wound. They then hurried the unfortunate object of their fury toward the bank of the river, and hurled him downwards; when he had lain some time half immersed he heard the groans of his unhappy master, who was shortly after dispatched by some of the assailants who returned to all appearance purposely; and supposing the servant dead, left the site of horror. In this deplorable condition the poor man lay for the space of two whole days; and when upon the very point of expiring, was snatched by the hand of providence from immediate death, and taken to Hawkesbury in a boat accidently passing, where he gave the above detail to the magistrate there resident.

On the same day another event of the same horrible kind took place at the branch, within three miles of the above. The farm house of F. Adlam was set on fire by a body of natives supposed to be the same; and after the alarm had been given, a search was made for the settler and his man, but they had shared a merciless fate, a part of their Relicks being found among the ashes, and the remainder scattered piecemeal, to become the prey for of prowling animals and carnivorous birds; from which circumstance it is probably

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122 Llewellen’s farm was on the Lower Half Moon Reach.
123 This raises the interesting question of how the settlers and Aboriginal people communicated. It suggests that there was considerable interaction between the two. From other sources it appears that English was the medium.
124 Both Llewellen and Adlam were ex NSW Corps soldiers who had been granted their land on 11th August, 1804. Adlam’s farm was on the Upper Half Moon Reach. For further information see http://72.14.203.104/search?q=cache:UNYqmK9tsucJ:www.hawkesbury.net.au/cemetery/half_moon_farm/history.pdf+Smith+%2B+Hawkesbury+%2B+Aboriginal&hl=en&gl=au&ct=clnk&cd=10&lr=lang_en
conjectured that after the ill-fated people had been inhumanly murdered their limbs were severed and wantonly scattered.\textsuperscript{125}

It since appears that some of these pitiless barbarians had several weeks before intimated their detested purpose to several individuals, who treated it with levity, as nothing was visible in their deportment that could justify suspicion of a hostile change.

The above survivor whose name is John Knight gave the foregoing detail up on Friday evening and armed boats were sent from the Green Hills, to prevent further mischief about the Branches: and it is devoutly to be hoped that the measures adopted by order of HIS EXCELLENCY may bring the barbarities to a speedy crisis.

It is sometimes contended, that these outrages are only acts of retaliation for injuries received; but such a persuasion must be allowed to yield to observation and experience to the contrary.

Should it at any time appear that an individual amenable to the law abuses by maltreatment any of these people, the offence is immediately investigated, and the slightest act of injustice treated with even greater rigour than it would have been had the complaint proceeded from an European. The natives are themselves perfectly aware of the protection they owe to the Government and its Officers; and seldom suffer an occasion to escape of representing the slightest grievance.

During the last twelvemonth no complaint has been set up by a native, except in one single instance of assault about for months since: and in consequence of which the aggressor, altho’ a free man was committed to the County Gaol from Hawkesbury; and still remains a labourer in the gaol gang.\textsuperscript{126}

Nor did the act of this delinquent extend further than a blow, as he himself declares in his own justification, to a native who designed to plunder him, so infrangible\textsuperscript{127} are the Regulations providing for their security by inflicting exemplary punishment upon any whose want of humanity might stimulate them to acts of wanton violence against this race of men.

The benefits they daily receive from the settlers and other inhabitants are on the other hand boundless, and should lay claim to every grateful return which can extend no further than a passive forbearance from rapacity; but no consideration whatever can bind them; nor even secure from assassination him that is in the very act of contributing to their relief from want. And nothing further need be said to refute a notion of their being actuated to enormity by a principle of resentment, than the bare recollection that those enormities are periodical in their commencement, at every season when they may despoil the settler of his crops, and reap by stealth and open violence the produce of a

\textsuperscript{125} The British dead at the Battle of Islandlwana in 1879 were mutilated by the Zulus to prevent them coming back in the next life to kill Zulus. Aboriginal warriors may well have observed similar customs.

\textsuperscript{126} Thomas Brown.

\textsuperscript{127} unbreakable.
tract they themselves too indolent to cultivate; and unless a provoked opposition to their doing which be deemed a provocation to the renewal of mischiefs, certain we are that no pretence cation\(^{128}\) (sic) what ever can exist.\(^{129}\)

27th April, 1805

I am of the opinion that these General Orders\(^{130}\) expelling Aboriginal people from the farms were possibly more significant in breaking Aboriginal resistance than the related military operations. It is my contention that by 1805 killings, disease and the taking, destabilisation and transformation of traditional food sources had resulted in the increasing dependence of Aboriginal people upon the farms for their survival. Consideration has to be given to the possibility that it was the killing of two of Macarthur’s stockmen that may have precipitated the General Orders, dated 28th April, 1805:-

‘General Orders.

Whereas the Natives in different parts of the Out-Settlements have in an unprovoked and inexcusable manner lately committed the most brutal Murder on some defenceless Settlers whose hospitality appears to have drawn upon them the most barbarous treatment, and there being but little hopes of the Murderers being given up to Justice, the Governor has judged it necessary, for the preservation of the lives and properties of the Out-Settlers and Stockmen, to distribute Detachments from the New South Wales Corps among the Out-Settlements for their protection against those uncivilised Insurgents, but, as those measures alone will only be a present check, it is hereby required and ordered that no Natives be suffered to approach the Grounds or Dwellings of any Settler until the Murderers are given up; and that this Order may be carried into full effect, the Settlers are required to assist each other in repelling those Visits; and if any Settler, contrary to the purport and intent of this Order, harbours any Natives, he will be prosecuted for the breach of a Public Order intended for the Security of the Settlers.

By Command of His Excellency,

G. Blaxcell, Acting Sec.

Government House, Sydney.
April 27, 1805\(^{131}\)

Sunday, 28\(^{\text{th}}\) April, 1805

The following account, while principally about an attack upon one of Macarthur’s farms between Prospect Hill and the Cowpastures, is important because it strongly points to an alliance that stretched from Pitt Water to the Burragorang Valley. The fact that many of the warriors spoke English suggests that some at least of the warriors from the mountains came from the Hawkesbury where Aboriginal people were in frequent contact with settlers.

\(^{128}\) provocation?
\(^{129}\) Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 21\(^{\text{st}}\) April 1805.
\(^{130}\) The term “General orders” appears to have a military origin. Essentially the “General orders” established martial law for their duration.
The account is also significant in that it contradicts Tench’s opinion that Aboriginal people were unfamiliar with irregular warfare.

The use of terms such as “assassination”, “sanguinary” and “diabolical” indicates that the author had lost none of his skill in typcasting Aboriginal people. The introduction of “diabolical” reflects the increasing evangelical tone of the times.

"In addition to the inhumanities mentioned last week to have been wantonly practised by the natives, we have unfortunately to add the assassination of two stockmen on Captain M'Arthur's farm between Prospect Hill and the cow-pasture Plains, on Wednesday last. They are supposed to be recruited since by a number that have joined from the interior of the mountains, as many strangers are seen among them, whose number, in addition to their own, is estimated at between three and four hundred. They were traced during the late heavy weather by a small party of settlers, armed, some of whom had been recently plundered; and were come up with, but on opposite sides of the creek, the increased rapidity of the current preventing any nearer approach. Not designing any personal violence to the aggressors, detestible as the outrages committed by some of them had been, the settlers commenced a parley, in which many of the natives who spoke English tolerably, readily engaged; and when their object for the renewal of excesses was demanded, they avowed, in general, a determination to take advantage of every opportunity to execute their sanguinary purposes, but without assigning: any motive whatsoever. It can be no longer necessary to point out the impropriety of encouraging any of these people about the out farms at the present crisis, as the experience of former years has too well convinced us of their perfidy, as well as of their being with little exception actuated by the same diabolical spirit, which in a single instance no sooner manifests itself, than spreading like wildfire, their operations are somewhat systematic, and assume the appearance of a pre-concerted plan. Notwithstanding all that has been done, however, we are confidently assured that the measures adopted against them have as yet had no other object than to repel them by intimidation; but in this particular the bare appearance of fire arms has lost much of its efficacy; so that it is to be apprehended, that before the flame can be extinguished, severity will be found necessary, though reluctantly resorted to.

We are happy to relate, that the two men employed as salt boilers by Mr. A. Thompson at Broken Bay were not, as conjectured, so unfortunate as to become the victims of native barbarity, though they narrowly escaped their fury. These men were conducted in from Pittwater by two friendly natives, joined in their route by four others, who appeared equally anxious in. their preservation.

They had been attacked by a body, one of whom, a very old man, had discharged a spear but was afterwards induced to desist from an unprovoked assassination by humiliating intreaty, and a willingness to acquiesce in whatever mould be insisted on: their cloathing and provision fortunately purchased their respite from a fate that appeared inevitable; and naked being permitted to depart they knew not whither, were soon precipitated by extreme terror into an unknown and trackless part of a wood in which they wandered

132 Possibly South Creek.
hopeless for the term of fifteen days, miserably sustaining nature with such precarious fare as their misfortune reduced them to the necessity of subsisting on, so that when they came in their ghastly appearance and painful debility must be submitted to the reader's own imagination, as language is inadequate to the distressing picture. The poor fellows, in return for the kind services of their guides, who would have parted company before they entered town, prevailed on them to continue their friendship, and in turn led them to the house of Mr. M. Kearn's, in Pitt's Row, who testified his satisfaction at the event by an abundant supply of food, with which they retired amply satisfied for their salutary labour and humane assistance to the otherwise devoted objects in whose preservation it had been the will of Providence to render them immediately instrumental.\(^\text{133}\)

The following are, we understand, the circumstances that attended the barbarous murder of the two stock-keepers on Wednesday last near Prospect;—when one of the poor men was employed in a small hut at some distance from his, companion grinding a part of their provision, the wretches rushed in upon him, and clove his head open with a tomahawk; and after taking such trifles as were in the place, awaited the arrival of the other, whom they perceived moving towards the hut; upon his entering into which he unhappily shared the fate of his murdered fellow servant.

A report was yesterday current that a passenger had been murdered by the natives in the road between Sydney and Parramatta; but this appears to be unfounded; as the party made choice of as the subject of the rumour we know to be at the present moment in the land of the living.

The natives seem inclined to try their dexterity in piratical achievements now that they are assured we are tolerably upon our guard against their atrocities by land, which we hope a strict adherence to His Excellency's Order of the present date will bring to a speedy crisis. The exploit we now have to allude to was audacious and outré, and might possibly have been fatally successful had not vigilant resolution been opposed to it. While the William & Mary, Miller, lay at Pittwater, about 8 days since, the small boat was dispatched for a supply of water and fuel; and although the natives were numerous, yet they did not appear to have any evil design in contemplation until the boat was about to put off again; when several running towards her, one of them made good his grappling, in order to board on the bow, but receiving a smart earnest across the knuckles from one of the boatmen, was induced to relinquish his claim. Irritated at the disappointment, and considering resistance a sufficient provocation for all that was to follow, in a few moments a squadron of five vessels was equipped and sent out, under command of the commodore whose knuckles had already tingled: but sheering along side, he in plain English commanded the William 'to strike', though he had reason to be satisfied that he had already had striking enough in conscience. Miller replied to the summons of this

\(^{133}\) Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 28\(^{th}\) April, 1805, [link](http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626742)
Matthew Kearn bought Obadieh Aiken's old farm in 1806. Matthew was executed for murder in 1813. The farm was still known as “Kearn’s retreat” when rented by the Lewis’. Mrs. Lewis and an assigned servant were killed there in 1816.
sooty son of Erebus & Nox\(^\text{134}\) by pointing his musket constantly at him only, and declaring his determination to kill the first that should dare to venture nearer: and none choosing to put his veracity to the test, they all turned tail; contenting themselves with threats and imprecations.\(^{135}\)

**30th April, 1805**
Governor King in his despatch to Earl Camden shifted any responsibility for the fighting on the frontier away from his land grants along the Hawkesbury to the treachery of Aboriginal people. His despatch reinforced the link between the harvesting of the corn and fighting. His comment “no consideration can restrain them from destroying a much greater quantity than they can consume by eating” strongly suggests that the destruction of the corn fields was a strategic act of war on the part of Aboriginal people. How widespread these attacks were is unknown leaving open the question of whether particular settlers only were targeted.

‘Governor King to Earl Camden
30th April, 1805
I am much concerned to state that, within these Three Weeks past, the Natives have been very troublesome among the distant Settlements at the South Creek and the lower part of the Hawkesbury River. It has constantly happened that the more distant Settlers have been much incommodated by those irruptions at the Time the Maize is ripe, And I am very confident that the Settlers in those Situations have been extremely liberal to the Natives, however, this has not been sufficient to deter the latter from the most ungrateful and Treacherous Conduct at the Moment they have been on the most Friendly Terms with the Settlers, Two recent instances of which I cannot omit communicating to Your Lordship. In My Letter by the Lady Barlow,\(^{136}\) I stated the Circumstance of some Misunderstanding between the Branch\(^{137}\) Settlers and Natives, and the Measures I had taken in assuring the

\(^{134}\) Erebus was the god of darkness and Nox or Nyx was his wife. The etymology of *nocturnal* can be traced to Nox.


\(^{137}\) \* The order, dated 28th April, 1805, was as follows:-

"Whereas the Natives in different parts of the Out-Settlements have in an unprovoked and inexcusable manner lately committed the most brutal Murder on some defenceless Settlers whose hospitality appears to have drawn upon them the most barbarous treatment, and there being but little hopes of the Murderers being given up to Justice, the Governor has judged it necessary, for the preservation of the lives and properties of the Out-Settlers and Stockmen, to distribute Detachments from the New South Wales Corps among the Out-Settlements for their protection against those uncivilised Insurgents; but, as those measures alone will only be a present check, it is hereby required and ordered that no Natives be suffered to approach the Grounds or Dwellings of any Settler until the Murderers are given up; and that this Order may be carried into full effect, the Settlers are required to assist each other in repelling those Visits; and if any Settler, contrary to the purport and intent of this Order, harbours any Natives, he will be prosecuted for the breach of a Public Order intended for the Security of the Settlers."


\(^{137}\) \* The Colo River was known as the Upper Branch and the Macdonald River was the Lower Branch. The trouble with the natives was experienced chiefly by the settlers between Portland Head and the Colo River."
latter that no more people should be settled below those already fixed. The Tranquillity that ensued led me to hope that mutual Confidence and good-Will was restored; but I am sorry those hopes have been disappointed. A Native, while in the act of eating with one of the Settlers and his Labouring Man, had scarce ended his Meal before he took an opportunity of seizing the Settler's Musket and Powder, and by a Yell summoned his Companions, who instantly put the unfortunate Settler to death and left his Servant, as they thought, in that State. Another Horror, but still more savage than the former, took place the same Day about Three Miles from where the first Murder was committed. The House belonging to a Settler was set on Fire by the same Band of Natives. After a search the mangled and burnt Limbs of the Settler and his Man were found some in the Ashes and others scattered. These Barbarities calling forth Assistance necessary to stop such Acts, I directed a party of Military to take post at the Branch and to drive the Natives from thence, first assuring them that if the Murderers were given up all further Resentment should cease. However, the Velocity with which these people Remove from One place to another put it out of the Guards' power to follow them, and since then they have begun their Depredations at the South Creek, where they have unfortunately murdered Two Stock-keepers. A Detachment has been sent to that Quarter, but I am sorry to say that until some of them are killed there is no hope of their being quiet. Notwithstanding the liberality with which the Settlers supply these people with Corn and many other Comforts to keep on good Terms with them, yet at the period of the Maize Harvest no consideration can restrain them from destroying a much greater quantity than they can consume by eating. The least Check on the part of the Settler is an injury never to be forgiven, and from thence arise those disagreements and the bad consequences attending the partial Broils between the Natives and distant Settlers. That every endeavour has been used to prevent those Events I need only refer Your Lordship to my former Communications on that Head. No complaint of a native has ever been disregarded but an instant Investigation as followed, which was only once in the course of last Year. The White Man's crime did not extend beyond striking the native, who he said designed to plunder him; but as no Act of plunder was committed he was ordered by the Magistrates to Gaol for Six Months. This Reparation at the Time was thought a sufficient Atonement. But it constantly happens that those imaginations are heated and excited to Action by the accidental recollection of an Injury which was expiated long past. This is so often the case among themselves in their Rencounters with each other that it is not, to be wondered the same Idea should obtain with respect to the former real or imaginary Evils they may have received from White People. In consequence of those unprovoked Acts and the Apprehensions the distant Settlers are under, I found it necessary to give the General Order* of the 28th


* The letter by the Lady Barlow, referred to by Governor King was dated 20th December, 1804 (see page 165 et seq.), the passage relating the natives being on page 166. Note 89, Page 821, HRA, Series 1, Volume V, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915.
Inst., which I hope will soon put a period to those partial excesses committed by the Natives.\footnote{139}

**Wednesday 1st May, 1805**

The peace conference initiated by the Bidjigal people of Prospect is significant because it largely brought an end to the hostilities and endured for a number of years. As they were largely surrounded by settlement it is logical that the Bidjigal were the initiator of this action. Like most other accounts of interactions between Aboriginal people and settlers the historical record is sparse with many gaps that can only be filled speculatively. However, a careful reading of this document and related documents reveals much. This is the only document that points to the role of Aboriginal women in such negotiations. As well, the Bidjigal played a sophisticated hand in dealing with Marsden. The principals that they identified were all from the Hawkesbury or the Burragorang Valley and the guide who volunteered to help find these men was Tedbury, Pemulwuy’s son, a Bidjigal man and a principal in the attack upon the stockmen. Needless to say Tedbury did not find any of the accused men.

‘Sunday 5th May, 1805

**POSTSCRIPT**

It being intimated to the Reverend Mr. Marsden on Wednesday last that the Natives of Prospect wished a conference with him, with a view of opening the way to a reconciliation, that Gentleman readily undertook the mission, and repaired without

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Being anxious to ascertain what number of people could be fixed on the lower part of the Hawkesbury and its branches, I directed the acting surveyor to make an accurate survey of the river from Portland Head to the entrance of Mullett Island. Broken Bay had been most accurately surveyed by Governor Hunter; but as the Hawkesbury River was only an eye sketch, it directions are in many places corrected by the late survey. Very small portions on the different points could be cultivated to any advantage, seldom exceeding spaces of 30 or 40 acres, bounded by inaccessible rocks. However, from an occurrence that happened shortly after the surveyor’s departure I should have deferred making any more settlements down that river.

One of the settlers recently fix’d below Portland Head, who was much annoyed by the natives in June last, delivered me a memorial, said to be signed by all the settlers in that district, requesting they might be allowed to shoot the natives frequenting their grounds, who had threatened to fire their wheat when ripe. On further inquiry I found that none of the settlers had authorized this man to put their signatures to the paper, and that his fears of what might be had operated with him more forcibly than any present or future probability of the natives again being inimical to him or his neighbours. As the imposition could not pass by unnoticed, he was sentenced by the magistrates to a month’s confinement in the jail; but in consideration of his property being likely to suffer he was released after a few days’ confinement. Wishing to be convinced myself what cause there was for these alarms, three of the natives from that part of the river readily came on being sent for. On questioning the cause of their disagreement with the new settlers they very ingenuously answered that they did not like to be driven from the few places that were left of the banks of the river where alone they could procure food; that they had gone down the river as the white men took possession of the banks; if they went across white men’s grounds the settlers fired upon them and were angry; and if they could retain some places on the lower part of the river they should be satisfied and would not trouble the white men. The observation and request appear to be so just and so equitable that I assured them no more settlements should be made lower down the river. With that assurance they appeared well satisfied and promised to be quiet, in which state they continue. ’ Governor King to Lord Hobart, Pages 166-167, HRA, Series 1, Volume V, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915.

\footnote{139} Pages 306-07 and 821, HRA, Series 1, Volume V, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915
hesitation or delay to the appointed place of rendezvous. On his arrival the only persons visible were three native women, by whom he was informed that the men desirous of conversing with him were then in the woods, whither they had betaken themselves with a design of summoning a more general consultation on the subject; but that immediately on their return, a deputation composed of three persons would be dispatched to Parramatta to report the result of their errand. Three men in consequence waited on Mr. Marsden on Thursday, under the guidance and protection of Mr. John Kennedy, a settler.\(^{140}\) Declaring a speedy reconciliation to be the desired object of their embassy, Mr. Marsden acquainted them with the only terms upon which it could be ventured on, namely, the surrender of those who were principally active in the recent horrible enormities; explaining at the same time that until this demand should be complied with, none of them could be admitted on the grounds of any settler. Without starting objection to the demand, they appeared to be somewhat concerned at their inability to render information of more than one of the chief aggressors; but nevertheless pledged themselves that upon the following day he should receive every necessary information from a party at or in the neighbourhood of Prospect; and some of whom they doubted not would readily engage in pursuit of the murderers. Mr. Marsden was exact to this appointment also, and on Friday met them again at Prospect, where, though they were scattered in prodigious numbers through the surrounding wood, yet not more than twenty approached near enough to be conversed with. The information insisted on of the names of the principal murderers was extorted by degrees from the division inhabiting the Cow-pasture Plains; but all positively resisted the demand of aiding in their apprehension, until Mr. Marsden in a determined tone forbade their hope of reconciliation until the terms insisted on should be complied with; when one\(^{141}\) advancing, volunteered himself for the expedition, upon which 6 of the military were detached, accompanied by Warby,\(^ {142}\) and a second native who afterwards offered his joint assistance as a guide.

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\(^{140}\) John Kennedy was the nephew of Hamilton Hume’s mother, Elizabeth. He settled the Appin district in 1814.

\(^{141}\) Tedbury.

\(^{142}\) John Warby (c.1767 - 1851), a convict, was granted 50 acres of land close to Prospect Creek at the foot of Prospect Hill in 1792. In 1802 he accompanied Ensign Barrallier in his attempt to find a route across the Blue Mountains; and later, in 1806, he assisted the naturalist George Caley in his endeavours to retrace Barrallier’s route. On 22 July 1814, Macquarie authorised Warby and John Jackson to lead an armed party of twelve Europeans and four native guides to track down and capture five Aboriginal men who had been identified as responsible for a recent series of attacks on white settlers (Goondel (chief of the Gandangarra tribe), Bottagallie, Murrah, Yellamun, and Wallah). The party returned without making contact. Three months later, in September 1814, Warby and several native trackers assisted a party of soldiers sent in pursuit of the bushranger Patrick Collins, who had been robbing and murdering settlers in the Hawkesbury area. They led the soldiers to Collins’ hiding place and when Collins tried to escape the Koori trackers speared him in the leg and arm - he was overpowered and brought to trial in Sydney.

Although instructed to assist the party of soldiers, under the command of Captain Wallis sent out in April 1816, to take prisoner any natives that they met, Warby refused to assist. The native guides, Boodbury and Bundell, absconded when they discovered the purpose of the expedition, and Warby absented himself from the party soon after - fearing that it would compromise his credibility and favourable relationship with the tribes of the Sydney region. [http://www.lib.mq.edu.au/all/journeys/people/profiles/warby.html](http://www.lib.mq.edu.au/all/journeys/people/profiles/warby.html)
The names of the persons accused by their own tribes are, Talboon, Corriangee, & Doolonn, Mountain natives; Moonaning & Doongial, Branch natives; and Boon-du-dullock, a native of Richmond Hill.

5th May, 1805

‘GENERAL ORDERS.
A Number of Natives, composed of the Families well known about Prospect and Parramatta, with some Strangers from the Cow Pastures having put themselves under the protection of the Magistrates at Parramatta, and are sit down at the Brush between Prospect and George’s River, they are not to be molested in that situation; some of them having accompanied a party to apprehend the Murderers of the two Settlers and the two Stockmen.

By Command of His Excellency,
G. Blaxcell, Acting Sec.

On 20th June 1816 Macquarie granted Warby 260 acres of fertile land in the district of Airds (on the site of present day Campbelltown). References to Warby can be found in the Sydney Gazette: 21st September 1806; 24th September 1814; and 11th May 1816.

Keith Vincent Smith has identified Corriangee, Corriangii, Karingy, Kurringy Kurrgan, Carbone Jack, Cobbon Jack, Captain and Black Captain as being the same person and a Hawkesbury man. Page 166, Keith Vincent Smith, Mari Nawi, Aboriginal Oddessys, Rosenberg, 2010. If this is correct then it is possible that he was the father of Narrang Jack, i.e., Little Jack.

Reading through the filters of time and prejudice the following excerpts from Louisa Atkins’ Recollections of the Aborigines reveals much of the complexity of the interaction of Aboriginal people and settlers.

‘Their names were frequently give in reference to some peculiarity of their birthplace - that place being their inheritance; thus a man named Philip was called by his tribe Burrengumbie, having been born at and inherited a place of that name, so called from the cliffs (Philip may have been Musquito’s brother). A man named Cobbon Jack, i.e. Big Jack, had a son which received the diminutive of Jackey Nerang (little or the less). This man’s gin was given to the practice of infanticide, which he objected to, and requested a lady to adopt his son should he die, and leave it to the heartless Jinny’s care. She promised to do so, and inquired by what name the child should call her, “nowar,” (mother)? queried Cobbon; on her assenting and repeating the word, he manifested great delight; little Jackey was henceforth called Garrida, from his birthplace; the blacks explaining that he was going to be gentleman now, implying that a name emanating from landed possessions carried rank with it, as the Scotch lairds were called by the names of their estates.

... The wife of Cobbon Jack, already alluded to, used to live at a farm-house as domestic servant, for weeks at a time, and could cook and wash, and she was said to be a very proficient laundress; she dressed neatly, was clean and useful, but would tire of settled occupations, and return to her tribe and husband.’


The author of this article is completely wrong regarding his claim that the five named warriors were “accused by their own tribe”. The “tribe” were Bidjigal people. The men that they nominated as the killers were not Bidjigal. “Talboon, Corriangee and Doolonn”, were probably from somewhere on the Hawkesbury. “Moonaning” and “Doongial” were from the Colo River and “Boon-du-dullock” from Richmond Hill. Given the links between the Hawkesbury and Liverpool mobs it is entirely possible that these men were the killers. The Bidjigal warrior who volunteered to act as a guide in hunting these men was Tedbury, a Bidjigal man. While the Bidjigal were genuinely seeking peace they were doing so at the expense of their former allies. Sydney Gazette, Sunday 5th May, 1805.
Sunday 5th May, 1805
The attack described in the following articles probably broke Aboriginal resistance on the Hawkesbury. It is significant that the attack was made possible by two Aboriginal guides who apparently sought Aboriginal women as their reward which suggests that the target group were a clan with women and children, not a group of warriors acting alone with the women and children in safety some distance away.

That these Aboriginal men were prepared to act against other Aboriginal people suggests divisions amongst Aboriginal people as well flagging as the dependence of Aboriginal people upon by Europeans who occupied their land. However, consideration must be given to the possibility that for the Aboriginal guides, this course of action was possibly the only way in which they could save some of the women from rape and murder. It is possible that one of the guides was Colebee, the son of Yellomundee. Certainly Colebee went on to become a guide for Cox in 1814 and the military in 1816. Arming these Aboriginal men with muskets indicates the complexity of relations between Aboriginal people and Europeans and challenges stereotypes about Aboriginal people gaining access to guns.

Yaragowhy, Charley, and others were killed. Both of these men had considerable interaction with the settlers and their deaths in this action highlight the complexity of relations between settlers and Aboriginal people and strongly suggest that the conflict was a typical irregular war where the occupying forces were never certain of the identity of friend or foe.

While the article identifies the Aboriginal people as “Branch natives” the location of the action is near neither the McDonald nor the Colo Rivers, but probably at Shaw’s Creek, above the junction of the Grose and Hawkesbury/Nepean Rivers. Given the geographic confusion that abounded in the Gazette at this time, it is most likely that Howe, under the Governor’s guidance, was attempting to conceal the extent of the conflict from the British government.

The modern reader attempting to follow these maneuvers on a modern map should be warned that the floods of the 1860’s significantly altered the courses of the Nepean, Hawkesbury and Grose Rivers. Weakened by land clearing “the banks of the river and acres and acres of farms nearby were swept away”, shifting the Nepean River half a mile to the east. As well the Grose had “a great washaway” which resulted in the Grose joining the Nepean Hawkesbury River a mile further downstream. The original junction of the Grose with the Hawkesbury River was upstream of the present Yarramundi Bridge.

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146 *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 5th May, 1805.
'The implacable disposition for some weeks manifested by the natives has at length provoked the adoption of coercive measures on the part of the settlers, and which, tho' determined on with reluctance, were yet unfortunately (sic) necessary to the preservation of their lives and property. On Sunday last several groups were assaulted near the Mountains, among whom Yaragowhy, Charley, and four or five are said to have fallen. The latter of the two above mentioned was at one time a subject of dread to the out-settlers and the traveller; but of late has shewn a strong disposition to amity, until the commencement of the present warfare. This fellow, who fell more by accident than from design, had in some measure renounced the native mode of living; and in contradiction to the idea vulgarly entertained of their innate disgust to Labour, has actually had a small spot of ground for cultivation, in the management of which he imitated the experienced culter with every success, and patiently awaited the maturity of its produce. Upon the whole, however, he was one of the most dangerous and perfidious, and notwithstanding his numerous obligations to the settler's friendship, could not now refrain from the barbarous habits which formerly distinguished him.

Between 11 and 12 during the night of yesterday se'ennight, an attempt was made upon the life of James Dunlap, a settler at Prospect, but failed of its execrable purpose. The wretches made their way into his bed-room and after repeatedly wounding him on the head with an edged implement or weapon, made off. Next morning some footsteps were traced; but from the circumstance of one of the villains being shod, it is difficult to conjecture of what description they were. It is an odious suggestion, possible as it may be at the same time, that a party of natives might have been conducted to the spot by some abandoned fugitive, whose crimes have rendered him hopeless of an extension of mercy from which none are precluded who have a genuine desire to obtain it.

On Sunday last a party of natives visited the Government stock farm at Seven Hills, and after launching several spears at the hut-keeper, happily none of which took effect, contented themselves with stripping the little habitation, with the whole contents of which they made off; and on Tuesday morning the party supposed to have been concerned in the murder of the two stockmen at Capt. McArthur's farm were seen by W. Warby and others, but made off when approached.

A second marine attempt from the natives was last week designed at Pittwater, where the William and Mary were palpably attacked the week before. This was upon the sloop Richmond, one of whose people going on shore in the small boat was decoyed into a small inlet by an old native who called himself Grewin, whom he knew to be universally respected by the boatmen, but proved to be the very man that had first attacked Miller's boat. A powerful banditti then shewed themselves; but the Richmond fortunately happening to be landing directly towards them, the ancient impostor enquired if they had any guns, and being assured that they carried at least two thousand, held up his hands in astonishment, and permitted the man's departure.  

12th May, 1805


Pondering the Abyss 568 last updated 28/10/16
"These people still continue troublesome wherever they find access. On Tuesday last they made another visit to the Government flock-farm at Seven Hills; but the flockmen were fortunately out of the way; wherefore they were obliged to content themselves with a trifling booty, comprising whatever they could lay their hands on."

On Wednesday night they made a descent on the farm of I. Nichols at Concord, and after using their accustomed familiarity with the flockmen's little property and provision, the man having fortunately fled for safety. They chased and dispersed the flock in all directions.

The successful assault made upon the Branch natives by a party of Richmond Hill and adjacent settlers a fortnight since would perhaps have been decisive, as most of the principals must have fallen into our hands, had not the treachery of a man but little suspected prevented their surprise. The country being much inundated at that time the party operating with Mr Thompson, set out from the Green Hills for the Nepean, Mr T. having provided a baggage wagon, in which among other necessaries a boat was conveyed for the purpose of crossing the River, not then fordable. The depth of water in many parts of the road approaching the river preventing the wagon from proceeding the boat was of necessity taken apart, and transported by the party on their shoulders for several miles. When they had crossed the river at the spot where the native encampment had been the day before, they perceived that the tents were abandoned; and here the pursuit must have closed had it not been for the assistance rendered by a couple of Richmond Hill natives, who in consequence of repeated proofs of fidelity added to a contempt of their brethren were entrusted with firelocks to attend as guides, with no other desire of reward than a promise of being permitted to seize and retain a wife a-piece.

After much additional fatigue the settlers perceived a fire at a distance out of the track they were then in; and taking it for granted they were encamped there, would have made towards it, but were prevented by the assurance of their conductors that it was only a feint to decoy them into a track which their present prospect commanded; so that if they were once alarmed it would be impossible to come up with them. This assurance proved to be just; and in a short time after they found the natives within gun-shot. But still unperceived, they reconnoitred well the situation of the natives, and soon discovered that they were mostly employed in preparing their weapons for the purpose of destruction. Yaragowhy, who Mr Thompson left the day before at the Green Hills under every assurance of strict friendship, had by a nearer cut made his way to their first encampment, to warn them of the attack designed by the settlers; he was now equipped from head to foot in the spoils of the unfortunate men whom they had murdered; his

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149 This is an important insight into the European domination of Aboriginal lands. Aboriginal people were denied access to what had been previously theirs.
150 7th May, 1805
151 Avoiding the flock men was probably deliberate on the part of the Aboriginal people.
152 8th May, 1805
153 Isaac Nicholls was also a ship owner. As Aboriginal men from the Hawkesbury frequently crewed coastal vessels, this attack may have had more to do with shipping than farming. Sydney Gazette, Sunday 20th January 1805. If Tedbury was in the party it is possible that there was a connection with the death of Pemulwuy who was killed in the vicinity of Concord.
154 This would be Andrew Thompson, the Chief Constable.
person was not recognised at the instance, especially as he was supposed to be at the Green Hills; and he was the first of seven or eight that fell.\textsuperscript{155} Such was the consternation at the appearance of so large a party, that they made off without a stand, leaving behind several thousand spears,\textsuperscript{156} frightfully jagged, and almost certain of carrying mortality along with them. The faithful guides next prevented a division of the expedition from following a number who retreated towards the foot of a precipice, on the summit of which another party had stationed themselves to hurl stupendous rocks upon their heads.\textsuperscript{157} All the spears and other war implements were burnt and little molestation has since been felt about Hawkesbury.

Before he settlers quitted the Mountains Mr Thompson proposed leaving a defence with Serjeant Aicken, his being a solitary farm on the Mountain side of the Nepean. This was a truly fortunate circumstance for the same evening the well known and little suspected Charley paid a visit to Mr. Aiken, and in a friendly manner requested and obtained such relief pretended want as the house afforded. After making minute enquiry whether any arms were in the house or not, but at the same time breathing the kindest assurances of his protection, he advanced towards the bed room in which the armed persons were concealed; and Mr. Aiken not willing that his state of preparation should be known, requested him not to enter that apartment. A truce to friendship -- a volley of abuse was poured forth by the villain. A single call brought Mr. Aiken’s friends from their cover, upon which Charley endeavoured to escape, but was shot dead. The others disappeared in a few minutes; but the next morning rallied and were again repulsed.

\textit{In consequence a report on Thursday to the Commanding officer of the New South Wales Corps stating that a body of hostile natives were assembled between Sydney the half-way houses, two bodies were detached to disperse them, one by land, and the other by water, in order to examine the numerous creeks and avenues along-shore} \textsuperscript{158} -- but upon the strictest search it was clearly determined the information was erroneous, as was happily the report also some barbarities being actually practised at the house of the district constable.\textsuperscript{159}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{155} That Yaragowhy was wearing the clothes of men that he had killed raises two important points. Firstly the clothes possibly belonged to Llewellen or Adlam, pointing to the possible involvment of Yaragowhy in those attacks. Secondly, as Yaragowhy was unlikely to have been wearing the clothes because he was cold, it was probable that he was wearing them as a trophy or for a spiritual purpose to do with the killed men. Destroying the material possessions of the dead was an important part of ensuring the release of the spirit to complete the process of reincarnation. Holding onto the clothes would prevent this. The mutilation and scattering of the remains of Adlam and his servant pointed to a similar determination. It is strange that the settlers were apparently able to maintain the advantage of surprise if Yaragowhy had gone ahead to warn the Aboriginal people of an impending attack.

\textsuperscript{156} While this at first seems an unlikely figure, it is entirely possible. The destruction of these killing spears would have severely limited any future Aboriginal attacks.

\textsuperscript{157} The description of the geographic features suggests that the location of this incident may have been around where the Springwood Road begins its ascent of the Blue Mountains at Shaws Creek. This opinion is based upon the presence in this area of: a river crossing; a major work site, several intersecting environments offering a range of food sources, a rock shelter; rock carving; and an ancient Aboriginal path ascending the escarpment.

\textsuperscript{158} I suspect this refers to the Parramatta River.

\textsuperscript{159} i.e., the district constable was the victim of an attack.
\end{flushleft}
On Wednesday last a party of the Corps detached for the defence of the out-settlers having occasion to cross the Nepean, availed themselves of an offer from two natives who declared themselves amicably disposed to ferry them over one by one in their canoe, but whether from design or accident cannot be exactly be reported, the vehicle was upset in the center (sic) of the river when Robert Rainer was passing over, and he, we are concerned to add, was unfortunately drowned.

Yesterday fortnight an attempt was made by a large party to arrest W. Evans on the Parramatta road, three miles beyond the half-way houses. He fortunately happened to be well mounted; and had overtaken an unfortunate pedestrian just before the natives shewed themselves on each side of the road. Evans presented a stirrup, of which the other eagerly availed himself; and as the urgency of the moment would not permit the slightest accommodation from a slack pace, the poor fellow was necessitated either to quit his hold and lose all hope of security, or to match himself against the speed of a Pegasus, whose wings were but little shortened by the terror of its rider. The black legion gave chases; but finding themselves out galloped, declined the pursuit after scampering about 300 yards, which one of the parties lengthens to at least three miles.

13th May, 1805

‘Major Johnston, Commanding officer of the New South Wales Corps, on Monday last left Sydney at His EXCELLENCY’s request, on a visit to Hawkesbury for the purpose on enquiring directly into the extent of damage sustained to the settler’s property from the various incursions of the natives; of which we have every reason to believe the reports heretofore published convey but a faint idea, as few, if any of the out-farms have escaped pillage to an amount more or less considerable. The above Officer was attended on the expedition by a single trooper; and after an extensive survey returned to town on Thursday evening.

Last Monday a party composed of the settlers on the Northern Boundary and Baulkham Hills, joined by the constables of Parramatta went in quest of the natives in the neighbourhood of Pendant Hills, in order to disperse them, and prevent any ravages in that quarter, having previously driven off a number secreted in the Northern Rocks, who being alarmed by their dogs, escaped, many of the dogs being killed by the settlers.

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160 8th May 1805.
161 i.e., half way between Parramatta and Sydney. On page 203, D.G. Bowd, Hawkesbury Journey, Library of Australian History, 1994, writes that the licence for the Half Way House was granted to Edward Powell in 1809. The following recollection by James Hassall, born at Parramatta in 1823, took place on Christmas Day 1827. ‘One of my first recollections is driving from Parramatta to Sydney with my father, over seventy years ago, and I retain a clear remembrance of the latter town as it was at that time. We travelled the road from Parramatta without seeing a house except the half-way inn at Homebush ... ’ James Hassall, In Old Australia Records and Reminiscences from 1794, Originally printed 1902, Facsimile reprint, Library of Australian History, 1977.
162 Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 12th May 1805
163 13th May 1805
164 This incident supports my contention that Aboriginal people wanted dogs from the settlers to guard their camps against surprise attacks. Killing the dogs to prevent them warning of the approach of Europeans would be an important tactic in surprising Koori camps.
At Pendant Hills the same night one of their number was apprehended, whose vices have on many occasions rendered his very name terrifying to the unwary passengers. This fellow proves to be Tedbury, the son of the assassin Pemulwoy, under whose horrible tuition and example he imbibed propensities of the most diabolical complexion. He was conducted in to Parramatta, when in crossing the bridge he slipped his jacket and had nearly escaped from custody; but failing in which he was taken before Major JOHNSTON and the Rev. Mr. MARSDEN, by whom the miscreant was soon brought over, and declared one of the ruffians who volunteered his guidance in quest of the murderers of the stockmen at Prospect to be himself one of the assassins. He was further prevailed upon to conduct a party to a cavity in the north rocks wherein the property taken from the unfortunate victims to their cruelty lay concealed; and where a tomahawk was found, with which one of their heads was cloven. The party fell in with a small cluster, one of whom, called Bush Muschetta, saluted them in good English, and declaring a determination to continue their rapacities made off.

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165 I think this sentence is saying that Tedbury was one of the two guides from Prospect who volunteered to hunt down the killers of the stockmen and that he admitted to being one of the killers of the stockmen. One can only contemplate the manner in which he was “brought over”. Perhaps the following may give some clue as to Marsden’s persuasion skills. “There was a story told, and well known to be a fact, that Mr. Marsden once called at a farm on the Hawkesbury River, and enquired how the wife, whom he had to her husband out of the factory was getting on. The poor husband said she was “no good.” Would not work or do anything for him; whereupon Mr. Marsden took his gig whip and laid it about her shoulders, and told her that, if she did not behave better, when he next came that way he would have her returned to the factory.”


Magistrates Marsden and Atkins had some involvement in the punishment of Paddy Galvin, a young Irish convict who on the 30th of September 1800 received 300 lashes, one hundred each across shoulders, buttocks and calves in a futile endeavour to make him reveal the location of hidden pikes. A few days later Marsden ordered that Gavin be sent to work in the cyane pepper mill. Pages 74-75, Bill Wannan, Early Colonial Scandals, Lansdowne, 1962 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Marsden.

166 As in the previous footnote, one must contemplate what the means of prevailing upon Tedbury were. Judge Advocate Atkins was at that time enquiring into the issue of Koori evidence in court.

167 In 1826, Samuel Marsden, in a letter to Captain d’Urville recounted knowing Mosquito on the Hawkesbury around 1805. The name “Bush Muschetta” serves to distinguish this man from Botany Bay Mosquito who died as a result of ritual combat in January 1806. While the name “Bush Muschetta” is frequently rendered as Mosquito, Howe’s spelling “Muschetta” suggests that this man may have used the English word, “musket” to identify himself to the settlers. While the etymology of musket is unclear, it was not uncommon for French firearms to be named after animals, in this case, mousquette, the male sparrow hawk. The Italian word moschetto, meaning little fly, is also relevant because the shape of the bolt of the musket resembled a little fly. In using the word Muschetta Howe demonstrated his awareness of these differences in meaning. It would not have required much effort to diminish Muschetta to Mosquito, particularly as the Gazette uses the spelling musquet for the weapon which is now spelt as musket. Apart from articulating the worst fear of the settlers, i.e., musket armed Aboriginal warriors, Bush Muschetta may have used the English word musket to give a sense of what his name meant, i.e., possibly something to do with fire, lightning or thunder. Muschetta’s “good English” came from his contact with Europeans, including Marsden, in his youth on the Hawkesbury. See musket in Chambers online etymological dictionary.

‘On Tuesday’\textsuperscript{169} a Richmond Hill native that accompanied Warby to the Mountains in search of some of the chief delinquents of his own colour, fired at and mortally wounded the identical fellow who perpetrated one of the murders at Prospect. They had passed several, whom the guide declared to be innocent of murder; but as soon as the above appeared in view, he burst into a transport of rage, and after pointing him out to Warby, presented his own piece, and shot him.\textsuperscript{170}

A quantity of property of different descriptions has been found at Jerusalem,\textsuperscript{171} near Parramatta, to which Tedbury led the way, having confessed himself a party in most of the robberies committed in that neighbourhood. At least 40 bushels of corn was found secreted in a single cavity.\textsuperscript{172}

\textbf{20\textsuperscript{th} May, 1805}

\textsuperscript{169}\textit{Sydney Gazette}, 19\textsuperscript{th} May 1805.
\textsuperscript{169}\textit{Sydney Gazette}, 14\textsuperscript{th} May 1805.
\textsuperscript{170} Given that Major Johnston’s party was credited with the killing of Talloon and Warby was in the Hawkesbury at the same time as Major Johnston it is possible that the man killed by the Koori guide was Talloon. The guide with the musket was probably one of those who guided Andrew Thompson’s attack. It is possible that he was Colebee, son of Yellomundee. Whether the killing was voluntary or forced is a moot point.
\textsuperscript{171} According to the \textit{Sydney Gazette} of 16\textsuperscript{th} September 1804, Jerusalem “lies about six or seven miles from Parramatta, towards the Northern Rocks.” In the valley, “encompassed by stupendous rocks” were “caverns open to the uncloth’d tribe, whose far recess forbids the approach of rude and chilling winds.”
\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Sydney Gazette}, 19\textsuperscript{th} May 1805.
Two excerpts from King’s letter to Banks of 20th May, 1805 highlight the contradictions in King’s account of the fighting in 1805. On the one hand King blamed Aboriginal people for starting the fighting by killing settlers and relating these killings to the ripening of crops. On the other hand he lauds the extension of settlement along South Creek. In maintaining his position it was important that King separated these issues.

*Our crops the last year have been sufficiently abundant for two years’ consumption, notwithstanding the quantity of grain we have sent to the new settlements. We have lately had a misunderstanding with the natives, begun by their killing, in the most unprovoked manner, three settlers and two stock-keepers. I hope we shall be soon reconciled again, as these irruptions always occur when the maize is ripe, which happens to be the case at present.*

_Much good ground has been ascertained in the neighbourhood of the So. Creek, which leads from Hawkesbury River, and runs parallel with the Nepean for upwards of thirty miles, which will afford good ground for many settlers._

*For an account of some of these attacks by the natives, see the Sydney Gazette of 21st April, 1805.*

**22nd May, 1805**

‘I am sorry to say that some Miles off the Natives still continue their excesses, while the greater part have assembled under the protection of the Magistrates at Parramatta; however, when the Maize is got in their depredations and excesses will probably cease.’ Governor King to Under Secretary Cook

**25th May, 1805**

Governor Bligh’s Commission was remarkably similar to Phillip’s, Hunter’s, King’s and Macquarie’s regarding the treatment of Aboriginal people.

‘6th. And whereas we are desirous that some further information should be obtained of the several ports or harbours upon the coasts and the islands contiguous thereto within the limits of your Government, you are, whenever any of our said ships can be conveniently spared for that purpose, to send one or more of them upon that service. You are to endeavour by every possible means to extend your intercourse with the natives and conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them; and if any of our subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary interruption of the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offence. You will endeavour to procure from time to time accounts of the number of natives inhabiting the neighbourhood of our said settlement, and report your opinions to one of our Secretaries of State in what manner the intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage thereof.’

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173 South Creek.
Sunday, 26th May, 1805

The following article is a smug reflection of the effectiveness of the Governor’s General Order banning Aboriginal people from the farms and the operations against Aboriginal people. Tedbury had been captured. Talloon was probably dead and Andrew Thompson had a striking success at or near Shaw’s Creek. The article utilises the concept of the “tabula rasa”, or blank slate, to reduce Aboriginal people to the level of mischievous children and portray the settlers as civilising parents. Despite the smugness and hypocrisy of the article, the reference to “a temporary banishment from their accustomed habitations”, i.e., the farms, demonstrates clearly the interdependent relationship of many Aboriginal people and settlers for food, shelter and protection.

‘The natives tired of their mischiefs, will no doubt sue for the renewal of an intercourse debarred from which their natural wants must be excessive. To those who have witnessed the benefits of civilization, and themselves benefited from the hospitality which it teaches, a separation is less to be endured than every imagination is capable of conceiving; not only because it diminishes their means of support by an exclusion from the settlers’ liberality, but as it inflicts a temporary banishment from their accustomed habitations, which forms a principal attachment in the unenlightened mind, and harrows the feelings with the remembrance of absent objects. Had they reflected upon probable consequences, it is possible the majority would never have consented to join the perpetrators of the first excesses; but unhappily, the want of reflection is not totally confined to the barbarous condition of man, and though in a savage it can scarcely be considered a privation, yet in a being, taught from his infancy to respect those laws by wisdom framed, and cautiously adopted by the general consent of millions for their mutual preservation, every violation argues a depravity of mind that renders him noxious to society and by the decree of a whole nation divests him of his civil privileges, it is the duty of a parent to watch attentively the dispositions of his charge, and as they sometimes vary, must their treatment likewise. Indulgence to the undutiful would be injurious to the deserving; and unless vice be early suppressed by exemplary chastisement, virtue may itself become contaminate, merely because the necessary distinctions have been neglected.

Until the crop of maize shall be wholly gathered the natives will be more or less troublesome; tho' the last accounts respecting them state nothing further than a party were fallen in with a fortnight ago, by whose wily conduct the persons stationed for the defence of the out-farms were attempted to be drawn into a valley nearly surrounded by high rocks on the summits of which a number were ready to shower stones and spears down upon their heads, but failing in their design, were very soon dispersed; 177 and since the above period a small plantation of maize belonging to Robert Watlon at South Head has by them been almost cleared away. 178

One of the most curious tales of that year of war along the Hawkesbury concerned the burning of a succession of farms housing the family of Henry Lamb. The first account

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177 This would have been Andrew Thompson’s party.
reproduced below described Aboriginal warriors setting the house on fire and fleeing towards “the head of the Nepean”, suggesting that they were warriors from the Burragorang Valley. This identification was probably a fabrication given that the Governor was keen to convince the London authorities that the Hawkesbury was domesticated. Given later reports in the Gazette it is highly unlikely that this attack took place, however, this not to say that it did not enter into the lore of the Hawkesbury.179

‘Last Wednesday a number of natives assembled near the farm of Henry Lamb, at Portland Head, who was absent from home. After remaining some considerable time without manifesting any discretion to violence, they all ascended a ridge of rocks at a trifling distance from the house, where they kindled their fires; and rising suddenly commenced an assault upon the settler’s little property against which it was impossible to devise any means of security. A number of fire-brands were showered about the house and different sheds, which were thrown from a considerable distance by means of the moutang or fish-gig; and the premises being by this time set fire to, were in a short time wholly consumed, the family being able with some difficulty to save themselves. The settler on his return went immediately in pursuit of the wanton assailants towards the interior of the Mountains; but by a feint they eluded pursuit, having first taken that route and afterwards struck off for the head of the Nepean.”180

179 William Freame in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30th November 1917, trawled the pages of the Sydney Gazette to perpetuate an inaccurate concoction of fear mongering based on this incident. There is no real evidence to suggest that the natives assembled in great numbers in the vicinity of Portland Head to burn the farms of Cuddy, Lamb and Yeouler. Cuddy’s farm was on South Creek, not Portland Head. The farms of Lamb and Yeouler were burnt by a small Koori girl who had been taken by the Lambs. “In the Sydney Gazette’ of 2nd June, 1805, we read of the destruction by the blacks of the farm of Mr. Henry Lamb, at Portland Head. In the same issue of the Sydney Gazette’ is the account of the accidental death of ‘a most respectable pioneer,’ Mr. William Stubbs, who was drowned in the river. During the same month of June, 1805, evidently a black month with the Hawkesbury River pioneers, the natives assembled in great numbers in the vicinity of Portland Head, and made an alarming demonstration near Cuddy’s farm, the small homestead being menaced by a sudden and determined attack, and it was not until attempts had been made to bum the dwelling down that the natives were driven off, after having severely damaged the farm. A few days after they turned up again; this time the small farm of Abraham Yeouler was their objective. There again they did considerable damage; fences were burnt down, crops destroyed, and the whites driven to secure the shelter afforded by their slab hut, which was only preserved from destruction with extreme difficulty. Had it not been a wet season, the white population would most probably have been all burnt out of this locality. We read of occasional demonstrations and depredations by the blacks, in various parts of the Hawkesbury districts, but none so determined as those made on the white settlers during 1805-6.”

George Reeve continued the misinformation in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 18th January 1924, reprinting the Sydney Gazette’s 2nd June 1805 account of the burning of Henry Lamb’s hut. In the following issue, 1st February 1924, he returned to the theme. “The ridge of rocks where the natives descended and terrified the people 124 years ago is still to be seen. I mention these facts for accurate historical data for the future generations.” In the 4th of February 1927 edition, celebrating the 118th anniversary of the Ebenezer church the Sydney Gazette article on the attack on Lamb’s farm was reprinted, despite Lamb’s farm being across the river. In the 29th of April 1927 edition of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette George Reeve returned to the theme and added a second attack in 1808 for which I have found no substantiation. “The surrounding ridge near the old ‘Lamb” homestead is indeed a very historic place as being the exact site of two furious onslaughts made on the house and women and children inmates of the Lamb family by the Maroota Blacks (Aboriginals) during the year 1805, and again in the year 1808.” Ronald Macquarie Arndell, author of Pioneers of Portland Head, repeated the Sydney Gazette’s, 2nd June 1805 account of the
ACCIDENTAL DEATH.
On Wednesday se'nnight Wm. Stubbs, a settler on the River Hawkesbury, was unfortunately drowned in crossing that river in a canoe; a second person was accompanying him, and when in about the center (sic) the vehicle unexpectedly upset, and the above unfortunate man depending on his ability to swim on shore, advised his companion not to quit the boat, as it would be sure to drift, on the banks. He did so, and saved his life and Mr. Stubbs, after very nearly gaining the shore, unfortunately became entangled among a cluster of reeds, from which unable to extricate himself, it was his fate to perish in the presence of one of his children, who witnessed the melancholy disaster from the bank. The accident is the more afflicting, as the deceased leaves a widow and large family to deplore his untimely fate; the circumstances that led to which still heighten the calamity. The house was the day before surrounded by natives, at whose appearance Mrs. Stubbs being excessively alarmed, she fled towards the river side, and would have precipitated herself into the stream, had she not been prevented by assurances from one of the natives that she or her infants should not be harmed. They afterwards gutted the house of its whole contents, and retreated with the plunder, and as soon as the deceased was made acquainted with what had happened, were closely pursued towards the Mountains, but in vain, as no single article of the property was recovered. As not a requisite to comfort remained to the family, Mrs. Stubbs set out that night for Parramatta, in order to procure a few requisites more immediately wanting; and during her absence the unfortunate event of her husband's death took place.

In addition to the lamentable circumstances that tend to multiply embarrassment upon the above unfortunate family, we have feelingly to mention that, that within the space of twelve months they have been four times bitterly distressed by hostile natives, who have at either time stripped them of domestic comforts or swept their fields before them. The poor child who sadly witnessed the dying struggles of an unfortunate parent is a fine boy, nearly eight years old; and eldest of four helpless Orphans in the dispensation of the Divine Will left to deplore a father’s loss. For poignant affliction, happy for the unfortunate, Heaven still provides by bestowing its bounties upon some among the many, who by the most delightful application give testimony, that all Mankind are not insensible of what they owe to Providence, and when distress like this presents her claim to sensibility, generously steps forward to discharge the debt.

9th June, 1805
‘We are concerned to state that the natives have Lately been very troublesome about the farms on the banks of George's River, Last week they plundered the grounds of Mr. Strode; but were resolutely opposed by one servant and a neighbouring settler who came

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burning of the Lamb farm in a 1964 address to the Presbyterian Historical Society. The Ebenezer Church Newsletter, No. 18 April 2015 reprinted Arndell’s address in its entirety.
181 On the right bank of Upper Crescent Reach.
to his assistance. A prodigious number of spears were thrown, to which musket shot were returned as long as their ammunition lasted; - and just as it was expended they found themselves completely hemmed in upon all sides by the natives, and their retreat effectively cut off by an impassable creek; but favoured in providence in this last extremity a third person whom the report of musketry had alarmed came to their assistance; and the assailants probably supposing others at hand, betook themselves to flight, having first set fire to the dwelling house and done every other mischief in their power.

The articles of property belonging to Henry Lamb, last week mentioned to have been fired by the natives and consumed, comprised his dwelling house, barn, a stack of barley, a cask of meat, household furniture, and whole wearing apparel of his family. Mrs. Lamb was at a small distance from the dwelling in which she left an infant asleep; and perceiving a smoke issue from the roof, hastened back to the house, which was in a blaze before she entered it, and scarcely permitted her with safety to rescue the child from the flames. Two labouring servants at work in an adjacent field ran to her assistance; but the fire raged with such violence as to render every exertion to save a single article ineffectual. 183

The following paragraph forms part of the article in which the above entry appears. It is one of the more perceptive that appeared in the Gazette. The observation that Aboriginal people moved around in small family groups reinforces my contention that the attacks made by several hundred warriors probably represented the combined manhood from the Burrarorang Valley down to the mouth of the Hawkesbury and into the Hunter. The author’s reason for Aboriginal people moving around in small groups, i.e., “incompetency of subsistence” reinforces his previous assertions on the lowly status of Aboriginal people and implies that settlers with their superior standing in the great chain of being would face no such problems from a hostile environment.

‘The natives do not appear in large numbers; but in small parties, seeming rather as small families separated from their tribes. Their propensity to mischief does not yet abated: and although their numbers are not formidable in one place, yet by treachery they accomplished more than by open menace. The cause of their dividing into considerable parties is apparently in the incompetency of subsistence to be procured for a considerable number.’ 184

9th June, 1805
While the destruction of the camp near Yarramundi and the dispersal of its people appeared to have brought quiet to the upper Hawkesbury, the fighting continued downstream, on the Georges River and on South Creek. The Bidjigal people appeared to have made their peace and Musquito was apprehended.

‘General Orders.

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THE Natives having solicited to return to Sydney and Parramatta, no molestation is to be offered to those frequenting the above places, provided they behave quietly: Otherwise they are to be reported to the Magistrate, who will order them to be confined. The Natives about Hawkesbury and George’s River still continuing their depredations, the General Order of the 27th of April is to continue in force respecting those places; and it is hoped the apprehension of the native called Musquito might effectually prevent any further mischief in those quarters.

By Command of His Excellency,
G. BLAXCELL, Acting Sec. Government House, Sydney,
June 9, 1805.\(^{185}\)

9th June, 1805

Cuddy’s and Crumby’s farms were burnt for a second time, a year after the first attack. Locating Cuddy’s farm at Portland Head may have been a deliberate error to preserve the fiction for English readers that the upper Hawkesbury and South Creek was “domesticated”.

‘Last Sunday\(^{186}\) the natives did considerable damage on Cuddy’s\(^{187}\) farm at Portland Head; and continuing to menace the neighbouring settlers, information was forwarded to the Magistrate at Hawkesbury; who immediately dispatched a party to apprehend if possible the principal aggressors; but the banditti,\(^{188}\) perhaps apprehensive of their danger, had dispersed before the party arrived.

In addition to the account contained in the foregoing page of excesses committed very recently on Cuddy’s farm (at Hawkesbury) we are sorry to learn that he mischief is much more serious and alarming than we were at first apprised of: for not content with plunder they wantonly set the house on fire; by the same means destroying the premises of -------- Crombie.\(^{189}\)

Saturday 15th June, 1805

‘The natives on Saturday last\(^{190}\) stripped the farmhouse of William Knight, settler at Boston’s Reach\(^{191}\) Portland Head. At about half past three in the afternoon none were


\(^{186}\) i.e., 9th June, 1805.

\(^{187}\) As yet I can find no record of Cuddie and Crumby moving to Portland Head. I think the Sydney Gazette is wrong in this matter. I am of the opinion that Cuddie and Crumby were still on South Creek. The Sydney Gazette of 17 March 1810 carried an advertisement for the sale of a farm adjacent to Crumby’s farm on the west bank of South Creek. While the Parish maps show William Cuddy as being the landholder, the registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages has no record of William Cuddy, but a record of the death of William Cuddie in 1821, aged 67.

\(^{188}\) Italian in origin, the word means outlaw. The use of this description suggests that the Europeans thought Aboriginal people who carried out these attacks were outside the law, and by implication whatever protection that the law offers to combatants.

\(^{189}\) The space prior to Crumbie probably relates to Crumby’s first name, Robert. The Parish Map and Muster Book refer to Robert Crumby, not Crumbie. Sydney Gazette, 16th June 1805

\(^{190}\) i.e., the 15th of June, 1805.

\(^{191}\) Boston’s Reach is now known as Cumberland Reach.
visible, and the settler went with his man into an adjoining field; but were not many paces from the house before they were alarmed with the shouts of a number, who were rushing at the door, under cover of about a dozen, who with spears shipped, cut off their communication. Branch Jack brought out the settler's musket, and calling him by name, assured him they were by no means apprehensive of the consequences; they then plundered the place, and carried off every article they could find, of bedding, wearing apparel, tea & sugar, meat, &c &c, to an amount which the sufferers declare one hundred pounds sterling would not replace. 192

15th June, 1805 and following fortnight
The following article is important for two reasons. Firstly, Abraham Yeouler’s farm was not burnt by “a party of natives” as reported in the Gazette. The next Gazette extract revealed that Yeouller’s barn and crops were set on fire by a young girl taken in by the Yeoullers, not this non existent marauding party. Secondly, the capture of the nine people led to the taking of Musquito and Bulldog and the release of Tedbury. Unfortunately there is no other information regarding the identity of these nine people. One can only surmise the importance of these people. The use of the word “apprehended” by the Gazette without any report of wrongdoing carries the implication that these people were deliberately taken as hostages. This is supported by their being taken into Parramatta and being treated well. It is possible that the nine were Bidjigal Elders.

‘Yesterday fortnight the Farm of Abraham Yeouler at Portland Head was attacked by a party of the natives, who set fire to his barn and stacks which we are sorry to hear were wholly consumed; and after their mischievous inclination, effected their escape. Since the above period nine of these obstinate people have been apprehended and conducted into Parramatta; when, so opposite was their treatment to that which their desperate conduct had taught them to expect, that several of the number immediately made a voluntary tender of their services to guide a Party in quest of their infatuated kinsmen who still wantonly continue to provoke hostility. For this service two were accepted to go in search of Musquetta, who with Branch Jack and one or two more of his desperate associates, still keeps the flame alive. The remaining seven are for the present held in custody. 193

Sunday, 7th July, 1805
Reports of a raiding party of Aboriginal people burning the Lamb’s farm with fiery missiles in the Gazette of 2nd June 1805 were proven to be imaginary, as was their burning of Yeuller’s barn and crops as reported on 30th June 1805. The Gazette of 7th July 1805 with all the hyperbole customary to the period revealed that an ungrateful Aboriginal girl taken in by the Lamb’s was responsible. It was a strange case made stranger by the fact that there was an arsonist in the Lamb household. Elizabeth Chambers, Henry Lamb’s partner had set fire to her master’s house in 1791 to cover her

This article is also important in the way that it signalled the end of hostilities on the Sydney Plain in 1805. Musquito was brought in, the nine captives were released and the Hawkesbury natives were added to those already under the protection of the Governor’s General Orders. From the Colo River downstream hostilities still continued to the end of the year.

'It has been discovered that the perpetrator in setting fire to the houses lately destroyed at Hawkesbury was no other than a native girl, not exceeding 13 years, reared from her infancy by Henry Lamb, in whose family she had ever remained, and was a perfect stranger as well to the district as the manners of her kindred.

This juvenile incendiary was detected in the very act of attempting to destroy with fire-brand the premises of Thomas Chaseland; and immediately acknowledged that she had set fire to the premises of her benefactor and the kind protector of her infant years, who had rescued her when abandoned to famine in the woods, and clinging to the breast of her departed mother, but taken home and cherished, was ordained by fate to attempt to ruin her preserver, who still continued to afford her refuge.

After Lamb was burnt out he took shelter at the farm of Yeouller and here the little miscreant gave a second instance of her monstrous depravity. Chaseland's was the next retreat of the distressed family of which she was still a member; and but for the interposition of providence here also would she have accomplished her execrable purpose - but fortunately fell a sacrifice to her unparalleled depravity, perfidy and ingratitude. To render still more unaccountable the conduct of this juvenile desperado, she had never been observed to intermingle with the native Tribes, nor to hold any intercourse among them though she had frequently been missed of late, until shortly before her excesses commenced she had several times been in conversation with a boy rather older than herself.

Postscript. – Last week several Natives suspected of being concerned in the late Outrage, were committed to Parramatta Gaol by the Rev. Mr. Marsden; but were liberated on Tuesday last on a promise to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend the native called Musquito, who had been reported by the Natives themselves, and also by the White Men who have gone in search of them, as the Principal in all the wanton sorts of cruelty of

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195 Henry Lamb had been given a land grant at Lane Cove when he came to the colony as a NSW Corps soldier in 1794. It is logical to assume that he acquired the child, then probably an infant of two, at this time. Whether the mother died of famine in the woods or was killed by settlers is open to conjecture.
196 Abraham Yeouler at Portland Head.
197 It is worth considering whether the girl’s actions – if indeed she was responsible for the fires - was the result of:
  – her own natural “unparalleled depravity, perfidy and ingratitude”,
  – the instigation of the older Koori boy, or
  – abuse.
Consideration has to be given to the fact that Elizabeth Chambers, Henry Lamb’s partner had set fire to her master’s house in 1791 to cover her thefts.
Cruelty they have perpetuated. We are happy to add, that they fulfilled their promise, and the above Culprit was last night lodged in Parramatta Gaol.\footnote{Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 7th July, 1805, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626845/6142}}

**GENERAL ORDERS.**

The Natives, after giving up the Principal in the late Outrages, having generally expressed a Desire to COME IN and many being on the Road from Hawkesbury\footnote{The capture of the unknown nine Aboriginal people and the subsequent capture of Bush Muschetta and Bulldog appear to have brought hostilities to an end.} and other Quarters to meet the Governor at Parramatta, NO MOLESTATION whatever is to be offered them in ANY Part of the Colony --- unless any of them should renew their late Acts, which is not probable, as a RECONCILIATION will take place with the Natives generally.

By Command of His Excellency,

Government House,
Sydney, July 7, 1805\footnote{Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 7th July, 1805, \url{http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626844}}

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**20th July, 1805**

*Governor King to Earl Camden*

The Governor’s despatch contains the Judge Advocate’s opinion on the treatment of Aboriginal people. Atkins avoided examining the cause of hostilities. He found that Aboriginal people while under the protection of the crown could not participate in the legal system as defendants or as witnesses. His main finding was that if Aboriginal people transgressed they should be pursued and punished. Atkins’s document is also important in its revelation “that a considerable number of them have fallen”, a finding that is not reflected in the governor’s despatches. Unfortunately the letters of Andrew Thompson and Obadiah Iken do not appear to have survived. Apart from this document there is no record of an attack on Dunn.

‘3. Referring to my General letter of the 30th April last I am happy to inform Your Lordship that the Natives’ late excesses are terminated, by their voluntarily giving up the Aggressors who are now at their own Desire and conducted by them lodged in the Gaol at Parramatta which has produced a good Understanding - That the Natives now confined were principally implicated in the Murder of the Two Settlers and Stock men there can be no doubt on the most circumstantial and conclusive proof.”

4. Considering it my duty to cause Justice being done to Natives as well as the Settlers, I required the Judge Advocate’s opinion how far such a Measure could be practicable – His answer I have the honour to enclose, by which Your Lordship will observe the

\footnote{Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 7th July, 1805, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626845/6142}}

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\footnote{The capture of the unknown nine Aboriginal people and the subsequent capture of Bush Muschetta and Bulldog appear to have brought hostilities to an end.}

\footnote{Sydney Gazette, Sunday, 7th July, 1805, \url{http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626844}}

\footnote{The settlers were Llewellen and Adlam. The two stockmen were Macarthur’s. The Governor made no mention of Adlam’s convict servant who was also killed. I assume that the Governor was referring to Bush Muschetta and Tedbury who were both in prison at this time. Tedbury was involved in the killing of the stockmen. However, the Governor’s assurance that there was no doubt as to their guilt is somewhat problematical in the case of Bush Muschetta, as Branch Jack had been named as the killer of Llewellen and Adlam.}
existing Objections and inconvenience of trying the Natives whose Natural inclination for taking the most sanguinary Revenge for trifling supposed ill treatment scarcely makes it a Crime with them – Their customs admitting the Murder of another and his friends to defend himself against the Relations or Tribe of the deceased. The settlers etc. Killed by the natives were four, viz. Two Settlers and Two Stockmen – From the necessity of coercive Measures being taken, Six of the Natives and those the most guilty were Shot in a pursuit by the Settlers – I have therefore impressed on the Natives that altho’ the Delinquents now in custody ought to suffer, Yet as Two Blackmen more than Settlers have been shot, I shall forego any further retaliation, but as they were so desirous of showing their Sorrow for what had passed by giving up the Delinquents\textsuperscript{202} and requiring they might be punished, I should try the expedient of sending them to another Settlement to labour which has been much approved of by the rest – Thus our late disputes have ended and I hope they will continue in those domestic Habits with the Settlers they have been accustomed to, and are now enjoying. One of the Settlers having engaged Four to stay with him as hired servants for a limited Time, I hope others may be induced to do the same without restraining the Natives’ Inclination.

\textit{Governor King to Earl Camden, 20\textsuperscript{th} July 1805}\textsuperscript{203}

\textbf{Monday, 8\textsuperscript{th} July, 1805}

\textbf{‘JUDGE-ADVOCATE ATKINS’ OPINION ON THE TREATMENT OF NATIVES}

\textit{In obedience to your Excellency's Injunctions to me, I have given the two Paragraphs in the Letter\textsuperscript{204} of H.M. Secretary of State to the Executive Government of this Colony, respecting the Treatment of the Natives, all the consideration in my Power. I have further

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 202 Bulldog and Musquito.
\item 204 The following extract from Lord Hobart’s despatch to Governor King relates to the 1799 trial.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}

\textit{I have perused with great attention the reports transmitted by Governor Hunter of the trials of these persons, and on a full consideration of the circumstances attending those trials, and of the difference of opinion which prevailed amongst the members who composed the Court, as well as of the length of time that has elapsed since their several sentences were passed upon them, I have ventured to recommend them as proper objects of His Majesty’s mercy, and I have in consequence received His Majesty’s commands to direct you to grant pardons to each of those persons respectively for the offences of which they were convicted before the Court to which I allude, annexing to those pardons such conditions as you shall think most adequate to the due attainment of the ends of justice.}

\textit{Before I dismiss this subject, I cannot help lamenting that the wise and humane instructions of my predecessors, relative to the necessity of cultivating the good-will of the natives, do not appear to have been observed in earlier periods of the establishment of the colony with an attention corresponding to the importance of the object. The evils resulting from this neglect seem to be now sensibly experienced, and the difficulty of restoring confidence with the natives, alarmed and exasperated by the unjustifiable injuries they have too often experienced, will require all the attention which your active vigilance and humanity can bestow upon a subject so important in itself, and so essential to the prosperity of the settlement, and I should hope that you may be able to convince those under your Government that it will be only by observing uniformly a great degree of forbearance and plain, honest dealing with the natives, that they can hope to relieve themselves from their present dangerous embarrassment.}

\textit{It should at the same time be clearly understood that on future occasions, any instance of injustice or wanton cruelty towards the natives will be punished with the utmost severity of the law.}

read the whole of the Correspondence of Mr. Arndell and other with your Excellency's, stating the Outrages committed by the Natives of the Hawkesbury, &c., and I am now to give my Opinion thereon, which I do with the greatest deference.

It is in vain to make it a Question from whence those excuses originated - from the inherent brutality of the Natives or from real or supposed Injuries they may have sustained from the Settlers. It becomes more the Object to consider of the best method to prevent it in future; and here two Paths naturally present themselves - that of rigor or lenity. If the first is pursued, can it be done legally? I mean, can it be done conformably to the existing laws? I think it cannot; for the evidence of Persons not bound by any moral or religious Tye can never be considered or construed as legal evidence. Your Excellency well knows that the Members of the Court of Criminal Judicature are sworn to give a true Verdict according to the Evidence; and however strong the necessity of making Public Examples of the Offending Natives may appear, can it supersede that Obligation on their (the Members) consciences? And should the Members of the Court apply to me for my opinion as Judge-Advocate, can I say it is legal, and according to Law? The Natives are within the Pale of H.M. protection; but how can a Native, when brought to Trial, plead Guilty to an Indictment, the meaning and tendency of which they must be totally ignorant of? Plead they must before Evidence can be adduced against them, and Penal Laws cannot be stretched to answer a particular exigency.

Under these conclusions, it may be asked, What remedy can be applied? In any other Country Arms would be put into the hands of such persons who might be the most likely to suffer, that they might materially protect each other; but this experiment might be subject in this Colony to great inconveniences, and it is what must be submitted to the Executive Government. It would have been a fortunate Circumstance had Villages been built for the residence of the Settlers, and their farms have radiated, as from a Center; (sic) but as it is, they must devise some means of protecting themselves by deducing part of their time to their mutual protection, and no doubt will received from Government all that assistance within its power to give.

Might not such Settlements most subject to the visits of the Natives be divided into Districts, and a certain number of its Inhabitants be daily employed in guarding that District?

Lenient measures with the Natives adjacent to the Hawkesbury I fear (from experience) will avail but little.

It appears that the Evidence of Henry Lamb and Richard Morgan goes very much in favour of Dunn; for therein it is stated that Dunn was only defending his own property from common Depredators, who, at the time he wounded one of them, were in the act of Stealing and carrying away that property, and resistance against them the Laws justified.205

205 In 1803 James Dunne was granted 60 acres on the right bank of river at Portland Reach, beside Chaseling (Chaseland). Questions were asked when he wounded an Aborigine, but his servant, Richard
Major Johnston's letter to Your Excellency states that Talloon, one of those who Murdered Mrs. McArthur's Stockmen, was shot by the Party.

Andrew Thompson's Letter of the 27th April to Mr. Arndell says that a considerable Number of them were killed by his party.

Ob. Ikin's letter states his party as having destroyed many of them.

It full appears from the above that a considerable number of them have fallen Sacrifices to their excesses. This may possibly (through fear) point out to the Survivors the necessity of regulating their future conduct by other means than those hitherto adopted; if not, self-defence will justify the most coercive measures being exercised against them.

The object of this letter is to impress the Idea that the Natives of this Country (generally speaking) are at present incapable of being brought before a Criminal Court, either as Criminals or as Evidences; that it would be a mocking of Judicial Proceedings and a Solecism in Law; and that the only mode at present, when they deserve it, is to pursue and inflict such punishment as they may merit.

As Your Excellency wished me to write fully on this subject, the above is submitted to Your Excellency's consideration by

Yours, &c.,

RD. ATKINS, J.A.

Sydney, July 8th, 1805. 206

4th August, 1805

‘Young Tedbury was set at liberty yesterday se’ennight, at the intreaty of the friendly natives who assisted in the capture of Musquito, each having pledged himself to bear every severity that any future mischief on the part of Tedbury should expose them to. The lenity extended to them at all times when the spirit of destruction ceases to predominate, must sooner or later have its natural operation in convincing them how little their safety depends upon their own ability, and consequently how much they are indebted to the liberal clemency of our Government.’ 207

Sunday, 11th August, 1805

Providence once more intervened to save a life. This time it was an infant of mixed parentage. Already abandoned by his white father his mother had been attacked with a tomahawk. As the child was four years old, when separated from his mother by Thomas

Morgan, and Henry Lamb defended his right to defend his land against common depredators. Dunne escaped the house burnings of 1805.


Rickerby and baptised John Pilot Rickerby by the Reverend Marsden, it is unlikely that
the mother’s offence was to give birth to a child of mixed parentage as asserted by the
*Gazette*. Nor does the *Gazette* provide proof that the attacker was Aboriginal.

‘Divine Service will be performed this day at Hawkesbury by the Rev. Mr. MARSDEN,
with the ceremony of holy Baptism to such children as shall be presented to receive the
sacred benefit; among the little candidates for which we are gratified in mentioning a
native boy three years old, rescued from a barbarous fate shortly after his birth by Mr.
Thomas Rickerby, in whose humanity it finds a benevolent asylum. The offence attributed
to the unhappy infant was its colour, and his mother's incontinence condemned, both to
destruction. She was barbarously mangled with a tomahawk, and left to expire of her
wounds, the faultless innocent, clinging to her breast, mercilessly abandoned to the
severe pangs of famine. The account of this horrible transaction accidentally reaching
the settlement, Mr. R. went to the spot, where he found them covered with flakes of bark,
to which the slaughterers in a returning paroxysm of resentment might possibly have set
fire. But providence interposing, the child was saved unhurt, and every care being paid to
the woman. She was removed to a place of security and medical aid restored.

During the night of Monday last two Natives confined in Parramatta gaol as the most
active in the late unprovoked barbarities attempted to break from custody, but were
prevented by a prisoner, who overhearing them alarmed the turnkey. They had
ingeniously contrived to loosen some of the stone work by the help of a spike nail, having
previously avowed a determination to set fire to the building, and destroy every white
man with in it. They attacked the man who had occasioned their disappointment: but
were secured without mischief; and in consideration of his good conduct in preventing
the escape of two criminals whose turpitude might have engendered new excesses, the
informers was set at liberty by order of the resident Magistrate.  

**Early September, 1805**

‘A Hawkesbury boat was attacked in the River at the beginning of last week by a banditti
of branch natives, but failed in their attempt to take the vessel, and were repelled with the
loss of Woglomigh; who was shot through the head; and there was much reason to
suppose Branch Jack shared a like fate.

**Monday 2nd September, 1805**

‘The assault made by the natives upon the Hawkesbury vessel, mentioned last week,
took place off Mangrove Point. There were five persons on board one of whom had set
out in a small boat for Mr. Thompson’s salt pans at Mullet Island; but being menaced by
the natives availed himself of the offer to go in the vessel. This man and Pendegrass, who
had charge of her, went down the after hatch, and the others the fore hatch to take an

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210 An index card in the Jeannie Scott collection at Windsor Library identifies the boat as belonging to James Webb. The source is identified as page 26, *Swancot, Ref. King Papers*.  

*Pondering the Abyss* 586 last updated 28/10/16
hour’s rest, being fatigued: the natives had been on board, but prevailed on by presents to leave the vessel. All were asleep but Pendergrass, and he, slumbering off, conjectured he heard a whisper upon deck; he started suddenly, and looking up the hatchway, beheld several natives with spears, the foremost of whom, Woglomigh, seized hold of him and the old man gaining the deck, maintained a struggle unheard by any of his companions. Giving way to superior strength, and numbers having now surrounded him, he was thrown across the fire-tub and received a wound in the hand from the jag of a spear he caught hold of as one of the assailants was about to thrust it into his breast. Another weapon was raised by Woglomigh himself, and upon the very point of being lunged into his body, when the salt boiler, who had been awakened by his cries, sprung upon deck with a pistol and applying its muzzle to the ear of the assassin, sent him to the Hades. A dismal yell alarmed the whole and overboard they leaped. The report of the pistol alarmed the men forward, who immediately went up to, the aid of their companions, but by this time their antagonists were overboard and swimming for the shore, where numbers of both sexes continued to howl & shriek. Among those that leaped overboard was Branch Jack, the leader and chief aggressor in the last barbarities exercised by the natives, and the villain that murdered the late unfortunate Llewellen. This wretch was thrice fired at in the water, as he rose to breathe, and to all appearance severely if not mortally wounded in the head. He gained the shore, however, but was unable to totter many paces before he threw himself on the ground, and in a languid tone declared himself in a dying state. His father was among; the shore party who went to his assistance; while several of the boarders were clinging to the stern of the little vessel’s boat supplicating quarter, which they obtained—as the ammunition was expended. A number of jagged spears were found in their canoes and destroyed; those that still conceived themselves in danger were permitted to paddle themselves on shore upon a promise of future amendment; and as an early proof of their contrition, exposed a jacket with some other articles they had stolen, at the same time inviting one of the people to come for them - with what design the menaces and imprecations that succeeded their disappointment was a sufficient testimony. Thus were the lives of five persons preserved by the merest accident that could possibly have been ordained by a protecting providence; and even after the danger was discovered, without arms their resistance might have availed but little. That the death of one of the most noxious and rancorous pests of that part of the river Hawkesbury, and probable death of another, may open a prospect of security is much to be hoped, but the survivors of their impetuous and daring tribe equally to be dreaded. To be vigilantly prepared and well guarded must therefore constitute the hope of future safety.\footnote{\textit{Sydney Gazette, Sunday 15\textsuperscript{th} September, 1805.} http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626907}

5\textsuperscript{th} December, 1805
The \textit{Gazette} reported another apparent attack by the “\textit{Branch Natives}” on the 8\textsuperscript{th} of December 1805. However, suspicions were aroused, and the \textit{Gazette}, on the 9\textsuperscript{th} of March 1806 reported that the wife and servant had been arrested for his murder.

'On Thursday a Coroner's Inquest assembled at Hawkesbury on the body of William Yardley, a settler down the River, whose death was occasioned by the following melancholy circumstances: A considerable time after himself and family were in bed Wednesday night, the house took fire, and burned with such rapidity as to render their escape difficult: he succeeded nevertheless, with his wife's assistance, in snatching his children from the flames, and then unhappily returned to save some little cloathing, but the roof falling in, he perished in the attempt. The body of the deceased presented a ghastly spectacle to the jurors, whose verdict was appropriate to the event. As the accident of the house taking fire was most unaccountable and mysterious, many people attributed it to the lightning, which was very vivid at the time; but it is a much more probable conjecture that the disaster originated in the rancour of the Branch natives, to whose excesses his activity was a constant curb, and whose hostile inclinations are as manifest as ever. So long as they content themselves with pillaging the settlers' grounds they experience civility and hospitable treatment: but tiring with this comparative moderation, they rush into acts of open and declared hostility; and it is much to be lamented that possibly from the want of sufficient caution, the first objects of their treachery have too frequently become its easy victims.'

22nd December, 1805

'The implacable spirit of the Branch natives suffers no opportunity of mischief to escape. Since the commencement of the harvest they have made repeated attempts to set fire to the wheat of different settlers, but from some fortunate accident their odious project has failed of success. In one instance they were detected with firebrands in a field of Thos. Duggan, who with assistance repelled them. Every effort has been made by the Magistrate, Gentlemen, and settlers throughout the district to tranquillize them, but to no effect. Mr. Thompson, chief constable has been repeatedly missioned to enquire into their grievances; and while they offer no subject of complaint, yet they admit the justice of accusation, and promise to desist; but their promises are known to be subject to caprice.

The Resource on her way from Hawkesbury was attacked at the first branch with a shower of stones, thrown under cover of the brush wood. The first missile salutation taking her hands unprepared, had nearly been attended with disagreeable consequences, as the fragments were weighty, and their velocity excessive.'

In 1805 there were no land grants made on the Hawkesbury.

1805: Conclusion

The extension of settlement to the Cow Pastures in 1805 may well have been the trigger for a Aboriginal alliance that stretched the length of the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers. Governor King’s General Orders, Andrew Thompson’s operations at Shaw’s Creek plus

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214 A small sailing vessel of unknown provenance.
215 Sydney Gazette, 22nd December 1805.
the peace overtures at Prospect brought hostilities to a close. A careful reading of the *Gazette* and the Governor’s despatches strongly suggests the authorities took nine Elders hostage as a means of breaking resistance. This led to the imprisonment of Musquito and Bull Dog and the subsequent release of Tedbury. Exactly why Musquito was so important is unclear from the records. My personal opinion is that Samuel Marsden was not unhappy at his imprisonment.

### 1806: An Overview

1806 was significant in that there was no violence surrounding the harvest. It is likely that the peace brokered in the previous year plus Aboriginal losses combined to bring about his result.

#### Sunday, 19th January, 1806

‘Last week a native informed Tarlington, a settler, that the skeleton of a white man, with a musket and tin kettle laying beside him, had been seen under the first ridge of the mountains. The settler accompanied the native, and found the skeleton, &c. as described; the bones of which being very long, leads to a more than probable conjecture, that the remains those of James Hughes, who absconded from Castle Hill the 15th of February, 1803, in company with 15 others, most of whom had recently arrived in the Hercules, on the ridiculous pretext of finding a road to China, but in reality to commit the most unheard of depredations: the consequences of which were, that the whole except Hughes were shortly apprehended, and 13 capitally convicted before a Criminal Court, of whom two were executed, and 11 pardoned.

Hughes was an able active man; well known in Ireland during the rebellion that existed in that country for his abominable depravities; and it is hoped his miserable end will warn the thoughtless, inexperienced, and depraved against an inclination to exchange the comfort and security derived from honest labour; to depart from which can only lead to the most fatal consequences!  

#### 15th March, 1806

‘King to Earl Camden

Referring to my recent communications respecting the behaviour of the natives, I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that about these settlements we continue on the most amicable footing since their last misconduct, nor is there a doubt that the banishment of two of the principals to Norfolk Island, as stated in a former letter, has had a great effect, and occasions the present good understanding that prevails between them and the white men. But I am sorry to observe that a small private Colonial vessel laden with sealskins, was stranded in Twofold Bay, near the south part of this coast. The natives in great numbers surrounded the few men belonging to the vessel, commencing their attack by setting the grass on the surrounding ground on fire, and throwing spears, which, according to report, rendered it necessary to fire on them, when some of the

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217 Governor King’s dispatch to Earl Camden of 20th July, 1805
natives were killed. However much the white men may be justified on the principle of self-defence, yet I have cause to think the natives have suffered some wrong from the worthless characters who are passing and repassing the different places on the coast, nor would they escape the punishment such conduct deserves if it could be proved.

I have, &c.,

PHILIP GIDLEY KING.\(^{218}\)

27\(^{th}\) July, 1806
The following despatch is one of the most significant so far examined. For the first time the apparent connection between the corn harvest and violence on the frontier had been broken. While many of the Aboriginal leaders had been killed, this occurrence must be seen as a Aboriginal commitment to honour the peace that had been brokered in the previous year.

‘King to Castlereagh
21. In continuation of My report respecting the peaceable demeanor of the Natives of this Country, I am gratified in assuring Your Lordship of their general good Conduct, which will induce me to recall the two who were sent from hence to Norfolk Island where they have behaved very quiet and orderly. It is singular that altho’ this is a Year of uncommon Scarcity, Yet none of the Natives' accustomed purloinment of Indian Corn /has happened this Year.\(^{219}\)

March, 1806: Flood
A flood peak of 14.47 metres was recorded at Windsor.

July, 1806
Sunday, 27 July, 1806
John Pilot Rickerby’s funeral is of particular interest, not only for his burial in the Green Hills burial ground, (immediately to the north of the South Creek/Wianamatta Creek Bridge and accessible to the public) but for the large number of settlers who attended.

‘On Sunday last died John Pilot Rickerby, a native boy 5 years of age, who was rescued from a barbarous death soon after his birth by Mr. Rickerby of Hawkesbury. On the 11th of August 1805, he received Christian baptism and was interred on Wednesday last at the burial ground on the Green Hills. The funeral presented a solemn spectacle and was attended by most of the surrounding settlers, whose children amounting to nearly 50 in number, all clothed in white, followed the procession.\(^{220}\)

August, 1806
A flood peak of 14.32 metres was recorded at Windsor.

In 1806 there were seven grants in the Hawkesbury totalling 345½ acres. Five grants totalling 215½ acres were made in January and two totalling 130 acres in August.

\(^{218}\) PAGE 42, HRNSW, VOLUME 6, Sydney, Government Printer, 1898.
1807: An Overview
The Sydney Gazette was suspended by the NSW Corps from 30th August, 1807 to 15th May 1808.

25th of May, 1807: Margaret Catchpole to Mrs Cobold
Margaret at this time had a close connection with the Pitt family who lived at Richmond.

‘The Natives are not so wicked as they wear, they are Gitten verey sivel But will not wok very little thay say the whit man worket and the were Black man patter. The word patter is to eat. They are Great Craturs to fit a monkest them selves with speers.’

Given the scale of his land grants along the Hawkesbury Governor King’s parting thoughts to the incoming Governor Bligh should be read with some scepticism.

‘Much has been said about the propriety of their being compelled to work as slaves, but as I have ever considered them to be the real Proprieters of the Soil, I have never suffered any restraint whatever on these lines, or suffered any injury to be done to their persons or property – and I should apprehend the best mode of punishment that could be inflicted on them would be expatriating them to some other settlements where they might be made to labour as in the case of the two sent to Norfolk in 1804.

In 1807 there were no land grants on the Hawkesbury.

1808: An Overview
There was one act of hostility on the Hawkesbury in 1808. Three Aboriginal men attempted to destroy a crop of hops. One was shot dead, the remainder wounded and a convict servant wounded in the exchange. The letters of A Woodman and the account of Tedbury’s visit to John MacArthur point once more that personal links cut right across divisions of racial identity.

27th of January, 1808
On the 25th of January 1808 John MacArthur senior, was briefly imprisoned by Bligh over his mercantile activities. Governor Bligh was arrested by the NSW Corps on the following day. On the 27th Tedbury came to Macarthur, threatening to kill the Governor. This account comes from A few Memoranda respecting the aboriginal (sic) natives, apparently written by John Macarthur, Junior, sometime between 1817 and his death in 1831. As young John was in England at the time and never returned, one can only assume that the story was recounted to him by his father in 1810 on his visit to England, or mistakenly attributed to young John. The account is important in showing the complex nature of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers.

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221 Page 134, Laurie, Chater Forth, Margaret Catchpole, Laurie P Forth, 2012.
222 Mitchell Library, King Papers, 2 C/189.
'On one occasion the day after the arrest of Governor Bligh, in 1808, he made his appearance in Sydney, armed with a bundle of spears. And on finding my father safe at his cottage, expressed his joy in the most extravagant manner, saying “Master they told me you were in gaol”. My father had been confined in the common gaol for a few hours the day previously. “Tjedboro, what has brought you here with your spears.” He replied with eyes flashing “to spear the Governor.”'223

**August – September, 1808**
The following two letters were probably written by George Caley, the botanist. The first provides an overview where he cleverly undermines the “*tabula rasa*” argument and denies the common assumption that the inland tribes were cannibals. His second letter provides the proof of his defence.

‘*To the Printer of the Sydney Gazette.*

Mr. Printer,

If, notwithstanding the little attention which we pay to the customs of the native inhabitants of this country, you may consider a few remarks upon such a subject worthy of insertion, I shall consider myself much gratified in your acceptance of the following:— Upon our first acquaintance with a people who have never enjoyed the advantages of civilization, we endeavour, as much as possible, to make our-selves acquainted with their manners, customs, and the means of subsistence with which nature has provided them. The civilized adventurer and the uncultivated barbarian discover in each other perhaps a universal difference, save only in the human shape; and what the one considers an improvement upon man’s condition, the other may reject as prejudicial to his native habits, or as contradictory to the nations which he first imbibed, and which are generally very difficult to efface. Even the Friendly Islanders themselves, who upon all occasions appear highly gratified with our intercourse, we have to regret, still retain their superstitions as infrangible, and still continue in the horrible persuasion that human sacrifices are essential to their insular prosperity.

The natives of this country appear to have benefitted as little as could possibly have been expected from their acquaintance with European customs. — Though willing to accept, yet they shew no inclination to procure by exertion any addition to the means which unassisted nature has pointed out for their support; and some of which would seem but little entitled to dream(?), if described. Truly they may be said to have inherited an unconquerable attachment to a state of nature, an insurmountable aversion to innovation, notwithstanding the flattering possibility of advantage from the change. — Acutely susceptible of every unfavorable change in the atmosphere, they are still too indolent to contrive a covering of any kind, though the skins of animals would amply supply their wants in this particular, with little recourse to ingenuity, which they so rarely call into action, as to be considered entirely destitute of. That they associate in tribes has been well ascertained; which may be attributed with respect to the islanders, to an utter dependence on the woods for their support and the inadequacy of any one spot to the sustenance of a large number. It is known also that those upon the sea coast subsist

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chiefly upon fish; but how those who are less fortunately situated procure a livelihood at all, must almost appear a mystery:—In this respect the natives of the interior exhibit much stronger proofs of ingenuity than the tribes upon the sea coast have occasion to exhibit as the latter depend more upon the dexterity of their women in their mode of fishing than upon any exertion of their own. This is I believe a fact with which most of us are acquainted; but the case is very different with the tribes of the interior, with whose resources against want, we are hitherto but partially acquainted. If, however, you consider these observations calculated for the attention of your readers, I shall as soon as they appear furnish you with their continuation, in which I will explain, as far as has come within my personal observation, the modes of life adhered to by the woodland tribes, which I believe have never yet appeared in print.

I remain, &c.
A Woodman.

18th of September, 1808

To the Printer of the Sydney Gazette.

SIR,

My occupation having imposed a temporary absence, I have not before had an opportunity of returning my information relative to the modes of life of necessity resorted to by the inland natives of this territory. In obedience to my promise, however, I transmit to you the following continuation of a subject, which, as I have previously observed, has hitherto escaped typographical attention.

As my remarks are chiefly the effect of personal observation, I shall have little to advance that some individuals are not as well acquainted with as myself; but as this knowledge I know to be very far from general. I am encouraged to proceed from a consciousness that I shall find a few vouchers for the authenticity of my report.

I have had frequent occasion to traverse the interior to a considerable distance, and finding the utility of a native guide, always made election of such as I found most tractable and obliging. On these excursions they never burthen themselves with any other luggage than a spear or two, and a short club, unless they have been fortunate enough to get possession of a tomahawk, which they very much prize. Unprovided with food of any kind, their dependence is on chance. Necessity has habituated them to a relish for whatsoever they can procure, that can at all be used a food, and worms almost of any kind they devour with a hearty relish. With an eye astonishingly acute they discern among the shrubbery as they pass the minutest trace of any object they are in search; which by a sort of mechanical instinct they immediately dart upon, and devour without any kind of cookery. A short white worm, weighing sometimes two ounces and perhaps more, they search after with avidity between the exterior and inner bark of the gum tree. At the distance of many paces they discern a slight protuberance occasioned by its residence, though scarcely if at all discernable to me upon a near approach. A single stroke with the club they carry, in general drags the reptile from its confinement, and in an instant it exists no more. Hence we must still acknowledge that Nature has been

bountiful to all her children; for although I could myself have submitted to death or famine rather than have partaken of a repast which upon a short experience sickened me to look at, yet he has providentially moulded their appetites to such subjects as he has provided them, and for which, I have no doubt, they would forego the nicest dainties, and give to the humble grub a decided preference to the costly calipee. The hive in its proper season, frequently affords to them a delicious solace; the bees which they contain are small but numerous; and so regardless are their captors of any future benefit that might be derived from the labours of the swarm, that few, if any, escape the general massacre. The hives are formed in the hollow branches of trees; near to the butts of which some traces are perceived which betray the devoted hive, though not at all perceptible to me, even when pointed out. By casting the eye with minute attention gradually upwards, keeping the tree between the sun and their own persons, they perfect the discovery, and then proceed to take possession of the hive, by lopping off the branch, if otherwise beyond their reach, and this sometimes is a work of patient labour, as they seldom are in possession of any implement better adapted to the purpose than a kind of axe formed from a piece of hard stone, ground to a sharp edge.

The hive brought within their reach, their next object is to secure the whole commonwealth; which they effectually accomplish by reducing all to a round mass, so that none escape; this performed, the festival commences, which of all others appears to gratify their appetites the most. This honey I have very often tasted of, and its flavour exquisite; but I could not be persuaded to try the flavour of the bee itself, which my accidental companies appeared to be highly delighted with.

I shall now venture to describe another delicacy, which perhaps will find but very few inclined to treat it otherwise than as fiction, though convinced I am that many at present in the colony have borne testimony to the fact. This is the ant feast, and not the least disgusting of their customs to a stranger. In the various parts of trees that are decayed, prodigious nests of ants are frequently to be found; and after these they search with unexampled assiduity. A glutinous substance, upon which I am inclined to think the ant itself subsists, oozes from the wood, and is sometimes hardened by exposure to the wind. Upon discovery of a nest, they carefully lay it open, and with a little trouble mould the gum, with perhaps whole millions of living subjects into one general mass. While some are thus employed, others are rending from the white gum tree the inner bark, which is remarkably fine; and having procured a sufficient quantity they beat and rub it through their hands until it is reduced to the softest state possible. This with the nest is seated in the center of the group, who indiscriminately separate small pieces from the coagulated lump, which carefully wrapped in bark, they hold in their mouths until divested of every particle of moisture. What portion of real nourishment they could derive from so unaccountable a process I am at a loss to imagine; but I nevertheless perceived, that they appeared as well satisfied with this repast, as any of the guests of Epicurus could have been at his most sumptuous entertainments.

With a repetition of my former promise

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Calipee is the cartilage of the turtle and an important ingredient in turtle soup.
25th of October, 1808

The *Sydney Gazette* reported an attack on William Singleton’s farm in which his servant was wounded by a tomahawk and one of the attackers shot dead by his sons, Ben and Joseph. Singleton and his children had two farms close to each other, one on the left bank of Lower Freeman’s Reach and another at Bushell’s Lagoon. The description of the attackers as “a few stragglers” signals that active Aboriginal resistance on the Hawkesbury had largely ceased after 1805. The incident is almost unique in that most fighting tended to be on the edge of settlement, not in relatively closely settled areas. As well, the attempted destruction of a hops crop is also unusual as most attacks appeared to have been on corn crops, or sheep and pigs. It is possible that the reason for the violence may not have been that which was reported. The disparaging tone of the passage may well have encouraged settler reprisals.

The second paragraph in the article is important in that it shows the increasing numbers of horses in the colony. Horses would give settlers greater mobility in dealing with hostile Aboriginal people.

‘On Monday last a servant on the Farm of W. Singleton at Hawkesbury observing Several natives wantonly destroying some hops growing near his master’s house, desired them to desist; at which they became enraged, and with a tomahawk wounded the man severely on the legs, so as to cripple him. The sons of Mr. Singleton, hearing his cries, came to his assistance; and on learning the cause of his disaster, with muskets pursued three of the assailants, whom they fired at; and, as we are informed, shot one dead:— the others made off, but were supposed to be wounded. We should be sorry to predict any further consequences from the above circumstances; but we know from experience that when these people are inclined to mischief, it becomes the settler’s duty to guard with every vigilance against them; and to be cautious of their intercourse, lest they be deceived by counterfeited familiarity designed to throw them off their guard, and then treacherously to take advantage of their presumed security. From their friendship we can gain nothing; but from their enmity we have much to apprehend. It is to be hoped, however, that from the above act of aggression of a few stragglers we are not to anticipate the revival of excesses, at the recollection of which the imagination shudders.

*On Monday last Mr. Matthew Lock, settler and district constable at Hawkesbury, had the misfortune to have his left leg broken, near to the ankle, by a fall from his horse.*

In 1808 there were no land grants in Mulgrave district and one grant of five hundred acres at Richmond Hill in July.

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1808: Conclusion
After 1805 there were no more gatherings of large numbers of Aboriginal warriors on the Hawkesbury. Whether this reflected the impact of the 1805 peace or declining numbers is unclear, however, the term, “stragglers”, and later correspondence points to the latter.

1809: An Overview
I have included Tedbury’s attacks on farms around George’s River and Powell’s farm at Canterbury as they have some relevance to events on the Hawkesbury and they support my contention that Aboriginal numbers on the Sydney Plain were slipping.

May, 1809: Flood
A flood peak of 14.63 metres was recorded at Windsor.

August, 1809
The following account of the 1809 flood, which peaked at 14.47 metres, is of interest in that four of the nine people on the roof of Samuel Terry’s farm were Asian and two Aboriginal, pointing again to the presence of Aboriginal people on the farms as well as the close links to the Asian mainland through the East India Company.

‘at the farm of Mr S. Terry nine persons viz Cooley, of Toongabbie; Munsey of Hawkesbury; Hodges, servant to a gentleman of Sydney; Mahomed an Asiatic, his wife And two children, and two blackmen – had endeavoured to secure themselves on the top of the barn which fell in about 5 on Monday evening; but as there were no other resource left, they continued upon the roof for about two hours after, when the wife of Mahomed fell through the thatch with one of her children in her arms and was no more seen.

Cooley endeavouring to save the other child, which clung to Mahomed, the father, slipped off with the infant, and in like manner disappeared; as did Munsey also.

Mahomed and the two black men saved themselves in trees, and Hodges swimming about in the dark at length got into the stream, by which he was carried between 5 and 6 miles before any impediment opposed his rapid course; when happily he found safety among the branches of a tree.

Sunday, 1st of October, 1809
Tedbury recommenced hostilities in late 1809. What caused the fighting, which was confined to the George’s River area is unclear.

‘On Tuesday last a number of natives assembled about the farm of Mr. Bond, at Georges River, and behaved in a very outrageous manner. They manifested an inclination to plunder, but were prevented by the determination that was shewn to resist them. They threw several spears, one of which grazed the ear of Mr. F. Meredith, who assisted in the defence of the place, which it was at length found necessary to abandon. Tedbury is said to have been one of the assailants.

9th - 12th of October, 1809

228 Edward Powell, a defendant in the 1799 murder trial, had moved to Canterbury.
229 Sydney Gazette, Sunday 6 August 1809
The following account of Aboriginal attacks is noteworthy for several reasons. The ambush of the horseman was a masterful use of surprise and seizing his stirrup was the first step in a classic move to dismount a mounted opponent. The fact that three horsemen later combined to pursue the assailants pointed to a new phase in warfare between Aboriginal people and settlers.

Tedbury’s attack on Edward Powell, who had been found guilty of the murders of Little Jemmy and Little George in 1799 may or may not have been fortuitous. In the attack Powell lost 34 sheep. Two of the sheep were found being cooked in an oven, which had been covered to conceal any smoke. The carcasses of twenty three others were found in a camp half a mile from the oven. Their wool had been singed off indicating that they too were destined for the oven. These details point to the difficulties Aboriginal people had in finding shelter away from white people and the impact of settlement on traditional food sources. As Tedbury and his men were now armed with muskets and several runaway whites were with him, the nature of warfare had changed. However, apart from alarming settlers this was to have no affect. The numbers had turned.

‘On Sunday last Mr. Davis, on his return from Parramatta was near the Half-way House surprised by the entreaties of a woman in distress to come to her assistance. He accordingly stopped his horse, at the time observing two armed natives at hand, one of whom immediately advanced upon him, and directed him to alight; but shewing a determination to resist the command, they rushed upon him, and he in order to intimidate them discharged a pistol; whereupon three others who had not before shewn themselves joined the assailants, and in plain English abused and threatened him, one of them seizing him by the right foot, and getting a fast hold of his stirrup; which fortunately snapped short, whereupon he galloped off, several spears being thrown at him which fortunately missed. By Mr. Davis’, prompt information and personal assistance the poor woman was shortly after rescued from their hands, but not before she had been robbed of a bundle containing tea, sugar, and other articles of comfort or necessity, with which they made off. Mr. Davis afterwards being joined by two other horse travellers, saw the same banditti several times, but could not approach near enough to distinguish who they actually were.

On Tuesday last three foot passengers were pursued a considerable distance on the Parramatta road by a gang of natives, who frequently called to them, and by alternate threats and promises endeavoured to prevail on them to stop; but their eloquence failed of its proposed end, and the travellers got safe away.

The same day a numerous banditti fell upon a flock of sheep the property of Mr. Edward Powell, between his house on the Parramatta road and Canterbury, and drove off 43 head 9 of which afterwards got away from them, and rejoined the flock. - They were soon afterwards pursued and traced as far as Cook's River, which is about two miles and a half from the place where the sheep were driven from; but a heavy rain setting in, the pursuers lost their track. On Wednesday forenoon Mr. Powell attended by four other persons, discovered a fire at which two of his sheep were roasting; several natives attending, who immediately ran towards their encampment, as it afterwards proved, to
give the alarm. This was about half a mile distant, whereat 23 carcases more were found, with the wool singed off, but all in a putrid state. Eleven others the robbers got clear away, so that the loss sustained by Mr. Powell amounts to 34 fine sheep.

In addition to the above heavy loss, three large pigs, belonging to Mr. Powell, were on Friday killed by a native dog, which was shot with his head in the belly of the last he killed; and in so mangled a condition were the carcases (sic) as to be wholly unfit for use. The mode in which the cookery of the sheep was performed was as follows: - A large hole was dug in the ground, in which a fire was kindled, and when the wood was reduced to charcoal, the carcases were quartered and laid upon it, then covered over with the bark of the tea tree, and the whole arched over to confine the smoke as much as possible, in order to avoid discovery; and all reports agree, that Tedbury, the son of Pemulwoy, is the chief director of the mischiefs.

The above atrocities are for the most part confined to the hordes about George's River. They have several muskets, and what is no less to be dreaded, several desperate offenders who from a preferment to idleness have deserted to the woods are suspected to have joined them. 231

Land grants on the Hawkesbury at this time were characterised by a decreasing number of grants and increased acreage in those grants that were made. Thus in 1809 at Richmond Hill there were 28 grants made totalling 3750 acres, made up of two grants totalling 800 acres in July, four grants totalling 290 acres in November and 22 grants totalling 2660 acres in December. Downstream at Mulgrave eleven grants totalling 1311 acres were made in 1809. One grant of 120 acres was made in April, two grants totalling 42 acres were made in May, two grants each of 200 acres were made in August, one grant of thirty acres was made in November and in December there were five grants totalling 1311 acres. The difference between Mulgrave and Richmond Hill reflected the availability of land. Mulgrave was largely settled by 1809.

1809: Conclusion
The technology of war changed in 1809. The settler’s worst fear, gun-armed Aboriginal people had come true. However, due to insufficient numbers they were never to be more than nuisance value. The use of horses by settlers to pursue Aboriginal people was, however, of far greater significance. For the first time settlers were able to match and surpass the mobility of Aboriginal people.

1810: An Overview
In 1810 Tedbury was shot and wounded on the Parramatta property of Edward Luttrell, by Luttrell’s son, also named Edward. I have included the transcript of Edward Luttrell’s trial for wounding Tedbury for several reasons. Firstly, Lisa Ford in her work, Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in Georgia and New South Wales 1788-1836, argues that Luttrell’s trial is evidence that the authorities had brokered a peace with Aboriginal people in 1805 and were keen to maintain that peace. Secondly, Edward Luttrell’s actions may have had bearing on the killing of his brother Robert in 1811.

Thirdly, it dispels some common misapprehensions that Tedbury was shot on the Lutrell’s Hobartville property at Richmond.

John Macarthur Junior, or one of the other Macarthurs, in *A few Memoranda respecting the Aboriginal Natives*, recorded Tedbury’s effective disappearance from the historical record in a grammatically incorrect sentence: “I have heard poor Tjedboro a year or two afterwards, from the effects of a gun-shot wound in the face which he received during an altercation into which his fiery spirit led him, with a young European, in the streets of Parramatta.”

Later in the year a correspondence in the *Gazette* began a mission to “civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales”, the legacy of which is still with us.

**13th of March, 1810**

Edward Luttrell’s argument that he shot Tedbury in defence of his sister largely depended upon the evidence of his family and servants. However, it was enough to secure his acquittal. That Tedbury was affected by alcohol and quarreling with his wife highlights the pernicious influence of alcohol on the disintegration of Aboriginal society.

'R. v. Luttrell

*In the fiftieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third of the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Ireland King, defender of the faith. New South Wales to wit.*

Be it remembered that Ellis Bent esq. Judge Advocate of our Sovereign Lord the King for the territory of New South Wales who [prosecuteth] for our said Sovereign Lord the King in his behalf, in his proper person, cometh here into the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction holden in Sydney in the said territory, for the trial of all and all manner of felonies and misdemeanors and other offences whatsoever on Monday the twelfth day of March in the fiftieth year aforesaid, and for our Lord the King, giveth the court here to understand and be informed that Edward Luttrell late of Parramatta in the territory aforesaid, gentleman, on the nineteenth day of February in the fiftieth year aforesaid, which force and arms at Parramatta aforesaid, in the territory aforesaid in and upon a certain native of the territory aforesaid, called or known by the name of Tidbury in the peace of God and our said Lord the King then and there being wilfully and violently did make an assault, and that the said Edward Luttrell with a certain gun then and there loaded and charged, with gun powder and one leaden bullet or a piece of lead, which gun the said Edward Luttrell in both his hands then and there had and held to, against, and upon, the said Tidbury then and there did wilfully maliciously shoot and discharge and that the said Edward Luttrell [66] with the leading bullet aforesaid out of the gun aforesaid then and there by force of the gunpowder, shot, and discharged as aforesaid, the aforesaid Tidbury in and upon the mouth of the said Tidbury wilfully and maliciously did strike penetrate and wound, by means whereof the said Tidbury became weak and distempered and continues so, weak and distempered for a long space of time, to wit, from thence, until the day of the taking this inquest, and other wrongs to the said Tidbury then and there violently and maliciously did, the great damage of the said Tidbury to the evil example of all others, the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.
Witnesses for the Crown
1. Hannah Conaway
2. George Kayley
3. James Wise
4. James Milham

Edward Luttrell brought before the court charged with an assault upon one Tidbury (a native) for wounding him by discharging a gun loaded with a leaden bullet at him.

Plea not guilty ...

Susannah Conway sworn, says she lives at Parramatta, is acquainted with Mr Luttrell by sight. Knows also one Tidbury by sight. That near six o'clock on the 19th February, she went into her garden and heard a noise towards the bushes, near Mr Luttrell’s. She looked and saw a black man and woman quarrelling. About ten minutes after she saw Tidbury come up to the garden where she was. That while she was talking to Tidbury and another black man, she saw Mr Luttrell standing about 60 yards off. He had a gun in his hand. He had it levelled towards the black. She saw him fire off the gun. She saw Tidbury fall and that afterwards he got up and ran away. Before the accident she heard one of the other Luttrells, for the father was there also, called out “damn your bloods do not fling your spears here”.

Questioned by the defendant. Says that she did not see Mr Edward Luttrell the defendant, and Tidbury at the same time that she saw Mr Edward Luttrell fire and looking immediately after saw Tidbury fall. She does not know anything that might have occurred between the defendant and Tidbury before the accident. Says that she never had quarrelled with defendant or his family and has no reason to bear any of them malice. Tidbury, she believes, had some spears in his hand when he came up to her garden.

George Kayley sworn, says he lives at Parramatta. That about an hour before sundown, on the afternoon of the 19th February, he saw Tidbury sitting down on the ground about 300 yards from his garden. He was bleeding and that his upper lip was perforated. Witness opened Tidbury’s mouth and observed it much lacerated. That he saw Tidbury after several efforts take out a ball, which was produced to the court.

Questioned by defendant. Say he had given the natives arms to go a shooting with.

[2] James Wise sworn, says he lives at Parramatta. That he knows Tidbury and his wife. Says in the same afternoon before the accident he saw Tidbury come out of Thomas Eccle’s house, next door to the witness, very much intoxicated. His wife he saw nearly in the same state. That Tidbury and his wife were quarrelling very much and he saw her run away. That Tidbury was left in the kitchen. That witness heard the report of a gun immediately after he saw defendant with the gun in his hand. That he then saw near Mr Luttrell some smoke about five minutes after witness saw Tidbury. Saw him led by one

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232 The botanist, better known as George Caley. Caley employed Aboriginal people to obtain animals for him, so giving Tedbury a gun was not untoward.
233 Better known as James Mileham.
Peter a black along the field and afterwards saw him sit down. That he was wounded in the upper lip. That he saw Tidbury take a ball from the inside of his mouth. Saw the ball. That in about ten minutes he assisted in taking Tidbury away to Kaley's house. Questioned by the defendant. In about half a minute after hearing the report of the gun, he saw Mr E. Luttrell.

Mr Mileham sworn, says he is Assistant Surgeon at the Hawkesbury. He believes he visited Tidbury a day after the accident. He saw the wound which appeared to him gun shot. It had punctuated the upper lip. That it appeared to him that it had been inflicted by a spent ball.

Mr Luttrell in his defence says that the day before he had heard that certain natives had threatened to assassinate some of his family. That on the 19th while he was at tea two persons called out that the natives had speared his sister. Upon that he rose and went out with his gun and shot Tidbury as he was running away.

Elizabeth Anstey sworn says that on the 19th February she gave the defendant the alarm that the natives had thrown a spear at his sister. That while she and the defendant's servant were in the garden speaking to a black woman at the bottom of it, Mr Luttrell's younger sister came out, and she saw Tidbury, who was coming up at the time with several spears, heave one very forcibly at Mr Luttrell's sister which went within an inch of her head. This spear fell in the yard. The spear produced which she swore to be the one thrown by Tidbury at defendant's sister.

Thomas Nugent sworn, says he is servant to the hospital at Parramatta. Says he was present when he saw Tidbury throw a spear at Mr Luttrell's sister.

[3] Louis Peter, a native of India and Roman Catholic, sworn says that he is servant to Mr Edward Luttrell. Says he was present in Mr Luttrell's garden on the 19th on the afternoon with Elizabeth Anstry. That when the child came out he saw Tidbury the black fling a spear at it. The spear shewn to him says it is the one thrown at the child.

Verdict – not guilty.

Note
[The native Tedbury had held animosity towards the colony for some time leading up to this trial (see Sydney Gazette, 19 May 1805 and 15 October 1809). Lisa Ford suggests that diplomatic considerations were critical in the trial. Tedbury, who had been repeatedly involved in raids, had been the object of diplomatic negotiations in the period – his release from custody had been brokered by local Aborigines in return for a promise of peace in 1805. Here again, we see provocation or self-defence successfully used as justification for violent acts against Aborigines. Ford observes that “the colony may have feared that unprovoked shooting could lead to further violence”. For other original material on this case, see Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Miscellaneous Criminal Papers, State Records N.S.W., 5/1152, pp 357 and 359; Sydney Gazette, 24 February 1810 (indictment) and 17 March 1810 (acquittal). See L. Ford,
31st of March, 1810
The Reverend Samuel Marsden refused to serve as the trustee of a turnpike trust which included Simeon Lord and Andrew Thompson. Marsden had been appointed to the position without consultation by Governor Macquarie. While not directly relevant to the Hawkesbury, it probably signalled the beginning of the deterioration of relations between Marsden and the Governor. It also well illustrated the position of those free settlers who increasingly identified themselves as exclusivists, though Marsden’s objections may also have been based upon Thompson’s marital relations. Around the same time Lieutenant Archibald Bell was offered magistracy in the Windsor District, but as Andrew Thompson had already been appointed a Windsor magistrate, Bell withdrew to his farm without positively declining the position.

7th of July, 1810
The following correspondence should be placed in the context of Governor Macquarie’s instructions of 9th May, 1809, which apart from some changes in punctuation were the same as those given to Governor Bligh. Essentially they also remained the same as those given to Phillip and Hunter.

‘6. And whereas we are desirous that some further information should be obtained at the several ports or harbours upon the coast and the islands contiguous thereto within the limits of your Government, you are, whenever any of our said ships can be conveniently spared for that purpose, to send one or more of them upon that service. You are to endeavour by every possible means to extend your intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of our subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offence. You will endeavour to procure from time to time accounts of the numbers of natives inhabiting the neighbourhood of our said settlement, and report your opinion to one of our Secretaries of State in what manner the intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage thereof.’

235 ‘Concerning the wife of Andrew Thompson the emancipist, there is much mystery. No satisfactory solution has yet been given as to who she was, when she died, etc. Some writers have affirmed to me that Andrew Thompson was a veritable Brigham Young, for the wide and large selection of wives which he is said to have employed at various establishments on the Hawkesbury.’
There are also those who opine that Marsden’s activities in New Zealand do not allow him to take the moral high ground on this matter.
In reading the following correspondence it is important to remember that the Governor’s instructions were “to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them”. His brief was not to “civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales”.

_Philanthropus_’s call to “civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales” must be placed in the context of the Anti Slavery Society and the Church Missionary Society, coalitions of evangelical Christians drawn from major and minor churches. William Wilberforce was an important figure in the movement. Wilberforce played a key role in the appointment of Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden to the infant colony. Samuel Marsden persuaded Robert Cartwright, 1771-1856, an ordained Church of England minister to come to Australia which he did in March 1810. In December 1810 Cartwright was appointed Chaplain to the Hawkesbury. In 1819 he was transferred to Liverpool. In October 1820 he accompanied Lachlan Macquarie in a tour of the south west where “the Revd. Mr. Cartwright performed Divine Worship, and gave us a very excellent appropriate Sermon, strongly impressing the justice, good Policy, and expediency of Civilizing the Aborigines, or Black Natives of the Country and Settling them in Townships.”

I think it is highly likely that Robert Cartwright was _Philanthropus_.

From the style, the anti-Aboriginal position and the length of _A friend to Civilization_’s reply, I suspect that _A friend to Civilization_ was Robert Howe. Similarly, _Amicus_ who wrote to the Gazette from 1803 to 1838, was also likely to have been the editor.

The letter of _A friend to Civilization_ is particularly relevant because it addresses the declining number of Aboriginal around Sydney.

“To the PRINTER of the SYDNEY GAZETTE.

SIR,

“The great Creator having made of One Blood all Nations of the Earth, and taking granted that the Natives of New South Wales are capable of instruction and civilization, I should be extremely obliged by the favor of an Answer to the following Query, either publicly through your Paper, or privately to be left at the Gazette Office.

Query. – “What plan can be adopted, what means used, or what steps taken, whereby we may most speedily and effectually civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales, local circumstances considered ?”

“I am Sir, your obedient servant,

“PHILANTHROPUS.””

14<sup>th</sup> of July, 1810

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The depletion of Aboriginal food supplies is well illustrated by the following classified advertisements. Whereas in the past kangaroos had been hunted for food, by 1810 they were hunted for their skins.

‘For Sale at Mr. Nichol’s warehouse, a number (3 to 400) fine fur seal, and kangaroo skins in prime condition Apply to Mr. Nichols.’

14th of July, 1810

‘To the PRINTER of the SYDNEY GAZETTE.
SIR, In answer to the Query of Philanthropus, I beg to communicate the following remarks, which, should they appear relevant to the design of your correspondent who has humanely suggested the idea of rescuing the Natives of New South Wales from their deplorable state of barbarism, I should be proud to recognize in one of your earliest columns.

My first observation must convey the painful notion, that those people appear to possess every quality that can tend to discourage the hope of their ever becoming civilised beings after they reach an adult state. That they are too indolent to provide for their common wants, their preference to a state of nakedness in lieu of the most trivial exertion to defend themselves from the weather, which they nevertheless acutely feel, is doubtless a demonstration; as is also that of their inattention to the culture of a single herb or plant, whence they are obliged to content themselves with whatsoever chance may contribute to the immediate calls of appetite, and indiscriminately devour the most loathsome insects, with the most nauseous filth, that can with the least trouble be obtained. This trait in their character is alone sufficient, in my opinion, to repel the prospect of civilizing the grown people without the use of force, to bring them first to industry, without which civilization would go back to barbarism, and barbarism consequently never can approach to civilization. If, therefore, they could be made industrious, their condition would be improved; a relish for the indulgencies which would thereby come within their reach would excite wants; these would beget exertion; and even the natives of New South Wales might in process of time derive honour and advantage from the invention of a pair of fashionable snuffers or a corkscrew, or of the most gaudy trinkets that the first European bijouterie could have furnished to decorate the persons of their fair country women. That they possess a genius, some instances have informed us; several that have been taken from their parents in a state of infancy have been taught to read, write, and converse with tolerable fluency; but they possess to (sic) little curiosity, or the wish of enquiry, that I may venture to affirm, that in the course of a twenty years observation of European manners, not one has yet attempted to build himself a hut, or by the slightest experiment, to alleviate the misery of his condition, if such he can at all conceive it.

It has heretofore entered the imagination, that by rearing a few of their children in the families of the European Settlers, the parents might eventually be guided by their precept and example; but this expectation has hitherto been foiled; for, as they advanced in growth, they flew to opposite extremes - either conceiving an utter abhorrence to the

society and language of their countrymen, or returning to their society and totally deserting that in which they had been reared; from which extraordinary contrast of course it follows, that those of the first description neither charmed by their example, nor took any pains to allure by their precepts; while less if possible could be expected from the latter, who had, by their example, sufficiently demonstrated an aversion to European manners, and were soon initiated in the barbarous habits of their forefathers.

Concluding then, as I am inclined to do, that the adults of our native tribes are beyond the present reach of civilisation, I shall beg leave, in compliance with the wish of the humane and charitable PHILANTHROPUS, to etch an outline of what, I consider likely to insure the attainment of his object, - which owing to the length of the Communication is reserved for the next week’s Gazette.  

‘TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are necessitated to apologize for the non-appearance of the remainder of the Answer to the Query of PHILANTHROPUS, which was promised early this day, but was not received at the Office until too late for insertion. - The communication concludes with the signature "A friend to Civilization," to the tardiness of whose messenger alone we can attribute the delay.

28th of July, 1810

‘ANSWER to the QUERY continued.

I have already observed that the expectation entertained of accelerating the civilization of the natives by rearing some of their children in European families had been foiled from different-causes, Namely, an aversion which some of them when at a riper age conceived to the manners and even the persons of their own tribes, while others, upon the contrary, conceived no less an aversion to the manners of Europeans, which they afterwards abandoned. Prejudices so excessively contrasted must have had their origin in certain causes to which they succeeded as a necessary consequence; -some being taken from their parents after they had attained to a sufficient age -to relish the habits they were born in, and, as first impressions in general are the strongest, it is not altogether wonderful their inclination afterwards should return to; while others, who were earlier withdrawn from the tribes, were impressed as they grew up with an aversion to the abject manners from which they had been rescued in their infancy, and unable to discriminate between men and manners, conceived an antipathy to both.

Formerly our intercourse with the natives was much greater than at present; they frequented the settlements in numbers, and performed their exercises, most of which were hostile to each other, frequently among us; they were then familiar, almost everyone was known as well by an European name, which he assumed, as by his native appellation: - but that intimacy has subsided ; for as the elders have fallen off, the younger, not receiving the encouragement of their parents met with upon our first acquittance, seldom come among us; and from hence it is that some of us entertain a notion that their

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race is upon the decline - merely because we are less accustomed to their visits than before. This growing distance between us is particularly mentioned, because it tends to embarrass the prospect of their civilization; for if nothing could be effected when we were honoured with their friendly intercourse, less can be expected until that intercourse is reestablished. To what, causes precisely to attribute their gradual renunciation of our acquaintance I cannot altogether judge; but I should rather consider that their repeated skirmishes with us, in which several have been killed, have rendered the rising generation timid, and here am I sorry to remark, that if these poorly-provided people be allowed an idea at all, their good opinion of us upon our first appearance, must have considerably declined, when they were given to understand, by our unseasonable and unfeeling interferences in their quarrels, that we had a relish for sanguinary cruelty, and that instead of evincing a superiority of mind by humane endeavours to prevent their conflicts, they found among their white spectators many who were debased by cruelty; who could wantonly endeavour to irritate and to provoke their rancour against each other, and who, by an unseasonable display of tempestuous mirth, seemed gratified at the infliction of a wound, which the difference of complexion could not divest of its torture.-

To these, among other causes may their present distance be attributed; and now that the novelty of their appearance and manners is worn off, few of us esteem them worthy the slightest notice or regard, and in a few years more we may expect them totally to withdraw themselves from this part of the coast.

Under such disadvantages, the civilization of these poor creatures must appear to be utterly impracticable until many obstacles are removed, which will occupy much time and attention; for in the first place, as I have already hinted, an intercourse must be re-established; by acts of kindness we must obtain their friendship; we must endeavour to learn their language, and teach ours to as many of them as possible, so as to enable us to converse with freedom, and to be perfectly understood to one another; and we must, in the whole of our conduct towards them, appear to take an interest in their welfare; but how, or in what space of time all this is to be accomplished, if it ever be at all, must be left to time itself. To lay down a plan which may escape the imputation of absurdity is all I at present aim at, and to that I shall proceed.

To the re-establishment of a friendly intercourse then, every one must assist, by encouraging their visits to the settlements, by acts of kindness. As many of their children as they can be prevailed on to part with, must at an early age be distributed among the families of sedate persons: - in learning the English tongue, they must not be allowed to forget their own, which may be prevented by their frequent meeting together, and conversing in both and as they will associate with our children each will acquire the language of the other. That they may be taught to read and write we have had several instances, but none so much entitled to remark as the boy reared and educated in the family of the Rev Mr. Marsden.243 Then of course it follows they should be sent to school,

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243 Despite the earnest enthusiasm of the letter writer for Mr. Marsden’s parenting and educational skills, these views were not shared by Marsden himself as shown by this extract from Marsden’s nephew’s hagiographic work. “Mr. Marsden's view of the native character may be gathered from the following statement, which he published in self-defence when charged with indifference as to their conversion. “More than twenty years ago, a native lived with me at Paramatta, (sic) and for a while I thought I could make
at which the teacher must be careful to prevent the white children from making any improper reflections on their colour, or treating them in any other way contemptuously. (To be concluded in our next.) 244

4th of August, 1810
'ANSWER to the QUERY continued.

"On the mode of rearing, as well as of educating those of the young natives who may offer to our adoption must much depend the length of time that may be occupied in their civilization. Decent and well-ordered bodily habits, joined to the inculcation of good principles, moral and religious, must, not for a moment be lost sight of; and yet, I am somewhat apprehensive that an indiscriminate intermixture with our own children, which in other respects would certainly be advisable, might tend to retard rather than accelerate their progress in either, as we have too feelingly to lament, that there are numbers in our own Community who affect to despise the character of a Heathen, and are yet too faulty in themselves to attend to the duties that characterize the Christian. Moral precept is but the theory, example the true practice of morality; Men must therefore be judged by their works, which are proofs substantial of a rectitude of mind, and not from words alone, which, however excellent in their tendency, yet lose considerably in their effect from a presumption of insincerity.

If to civilize, then, be to adapt men to the purposes of society, I must here observe, that before we can hope to reclaim others we should commence the practice upon ourselves;

something of him; but at length he got tired, and no inducement could prevail upon him to continue in my house; he took to the bush again, where he has continued ever since. One of my colleagues, the Rev. E. Johnstone, took two native girls into his house, for the express purpose of educating them; they were fed and clothed like Europeans; but in a short time they went into the woods again. Another native, named Daniel, was taken when a boy into the family of Mrs. C.; he was taken to England; mixed there with the best society, and could speak English well; but on his return from England he reverted to his former wild pursuits." In reply to the inquiries made by Mr. Marsden, who once met Daniel after he returned to his savage state, he said; "The natives universally prefer a free and independent life, with all its privations, to the least restraint." Without multiplying instances quoted by Mr. Marsden, the trial he made with an infant shows that his heart was not unfriendly towards these people.

"One of my boys, whom I attempted to civilize, was taken from its mother's breast, and brought up with my own children for twelve years; but he retained his instinctive taste for native food; and he wanted that attachment to me and my family that we had just reason to look for; and always seemed deficient in those feelings of affection which are the very bonds of social life." This boy ran away at Rio from Mr. Marsden, when returning from England in 1810, but was brought back to the colony by Captain Piper; and died in the Sydney hospital, exhibiting Christian faith and penitence.'


Annette Bremer has explored Tristan’s life through the letters of Mrs. Marsden (nee Tristan). A letter to Rowland Hassall, on 9th January, 1808, written from England contradicts Marsden’s biography. "Poor Tristan ran away at Rio three weeks before we sailed, and we could not hear of him—I was very sorry for him but we had a great deal of trouble with him Spirit was so cheap—that he was constantly tipsy—and his master punished him and he went off if he could be found Mr. Marsden directed him if opportunity offered to be sent out to New South Wales—and work at the Farm—I am greatly afraid he will never do any good for himself. " http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3687/is_200701/ai_n19434172/?tag=content:coll

that we should avoid errors which are conspicuous in those of our acquaintance; and
when, on the contrary, we can discern a quality worthy of attainment, we should esteem it
valuable, and endeavour to plant it as an exotic within our own minds that we should
prefer candour to duplicity, which once detected exposes its actor to contempt; that we
should divest our tongues of calumny, which is the assassin's meanest subterfuge, that we
should lay aside an unnecessary ostentation of manners, as derogatory to the human
species; that diligence and modesty should take place of arrogance and impudence; that
instead of contriving to evade we should assist in the enforcement of the laws by which
we are governed; that we should learn temperance, and obedience to our superiors; that
our religious duties should be more especially an object of regard, and that by a rational
intercourse among each other, we should charm the barbarian rather than disgust him
at our failings. By example worthy to be imitated, the first impression then made upon
their minds would be respect towards their benefactors, in which capacity every one must
be esteemed who assisted in the furtherance of the object suggested by the humane
PHILANHROPUS.

Supporting us in a fit state to undertake the arduous state of drawing these people from a
state of barbarism. I shall proceed without further digression to the means that may best
promise to be attended with ultimate success. That they have even degenerated from a
state of nature, a comparison with other newly discovered people must acquaint us; nor
by the most whimsical casuist can it be contended, that Nature, who has bestowed such
various faculties on man should originally have designed these for so abject a condition,
I may almost say of non-existence.

Inured to privations of almost every kind, they find in ease apparently (sic) their only
comfort. From habitual indolence they have become supine and slothful, their ideas
extending no further than the objects within their view; and from hence it follows that
their language, if original, must be very confined, as it can embrace little more than the
names of places, and of the animal and vegetable productions of the climate. To us it
would consequently be the easier to acquire, while ours would become as familiar to the
little pupils as their own. It may be nevertheless objected, that as they learn the one they
might forget the other, whereas I have already considered it essential that this should not
be permitted, because that upon an interchange of languages a great deal must depend.
Every such objection must, however, vanish when we consider that in European
seminaries several languages are taught to the learner at the same time, without any
danger of impairing their knowledge of their own, but which improves, in common with
every other object of retention, as the mind expands itself.

In their infancy they must be treated tenderly, in order that as they grow up they may look
back with aversion to the hardships of their primitive condition, and feel the more
sensibly their obligations to Providence, and to us as its immediate instrument, in
relieving them from a state of misery and want. Accustomed to ease, comfort, and
security, they would then be in as little danger of abandoning our society as we ourselves
at present should be inclined to join with theirs. They would then also feel, as we do, that
in the continuance of the comforts they enjoyed, something must be necessary, as nothing
could be obtained, without an endeavour to procure it. These endeavours, closely
connected, constitute a life of industry, to the measure of which, a short experience would acquaint them, those comforts would be proportioned, and industry, arising from necessity, would be as acceptable to them as to any other people.

* * * As an apology for carrying the conclusion of this Article to the next Paper, we beg leave to insert a note from the Correspondent, received by the Publisher this day.

"Sir,-It was not my design when I first undertook the task of replying to the Query of PHILANTHROPUS, to have gone to any considerable length; but I am unwarily, as it were, drawn into a theme, to conclude on which will require a few days longer. In your next you may safely promise the completion."

11th of August, 1810

'Answer to the Query - Concluded.

Having already occupied so great a portion of your Paper, I have now at length shaped myself to the determination of summing up my plan in a short sentence, and connecting my former observations with those that must necessarily follow.

I have urged the necessity of adopting as many of the native children as we can procure, and making them members of our own families; and although, perhaps, few parents, whatever be their colour, might upon a short correspondence be inclined to part with their young, yet a few in the first instance kindly treated and properly attended to might, and doubtless would, in the course of time beget a more general condition; and then, instead of parting with them with reluctance, they would be happy to consent to the alteration of their condition. Upon the other hand, few European families would readily undertake the nurture of a little alien, against whose complexion our prejudices in a manner are at war: but this second obstacle in time may also be surmounted, if humanity be allowed to plead in their behalf. They must he kindly treated, clothed, lodged, and supported in a comfortable manner: - as they learn our language they must be exercised in their own, which our children should acquire; - they must be educated, and instructed in light professions, or in any to which their inclinations lead; - they must be taught to honour their patents, to esteem their relatives, and, by counsel and example to contribute as much as possible to the general work of civilization. - As they ripened in years they would become more sensibly attached to their condition; industry would be no less pleasant than familiar; Religion would make as just an impression on their minds as upon that of any other people, and thus in the course of time should we be fraternized; theirs would be the more evident profit, and ours the enduring gratification of having in so great an instance performed our duty both as Men and Christians.

"I remain, &c.

"A FRIEND TO CIVILIZATION."

8th of September, 1810

'To CORRESPONDENTS.

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The Communication of Amicus, in answer to the Query of PHILANTHROPUS, on the most practicable mode of civilizing the Natives of this Country, is received; but as most of the hints closely correspond with those of another writer on the same subject, (vide Sydney Gazettes lately published), the only material point in which a difference is discernible bearing upon that part of the mode, already submitted to the Public, which treats of the maintenance and education of the native children that may offer to our adoption. The former, as upon reference to the Gazettes quoted will appear, urges their alienation from the native habits by their admission into European families of which they might in time become useful members, and thus repay the care bestowed upon their infancy, by means whereof the expense and loss of the time that would be necessary to the institution of an asylum at the public expense would be avoided. Amicus is however of the contrary opinion, as will appear from the following passage, which is precisely copied from the Article with which he has been kind enough to favour us.

"The children of the Natives ought not to be allowed a mixed intercourse with our own, but kept as a separate flock reserved for a particular purpose; because that if they be as carelessly attended to in their moral progress as our own children too commonly are, they will in all probability exchange ignorance for vice, one to be pitied, the other to be detested. Now it is not my wish to offend any one, Mr. Printer, by a severe conclusion nor do I think that what I have said upon this point will be taken as an offence, for two reasons; the one because those who do bestow proper attention upon the rearing of their children will feel great gratification in the knowledge that they do not incur the censure; and the other, because those of an opposite cast must be shielded by a want of natural feeling from any operation which a just rebuke ought to have upon the mind. But it is my idea, that the infant natives should have an impartial trial, or else they had better have none at all; for it certainly would be better that they should continue in an uncivilized state, than be polished merely to become corrupt.

"I consider, therefore, that by keeping them in a small society formed of their own body, be it great or small, they would avoid a great evil which it would be difficult to amend than in the first instance to provide against. To effect this would require a capital to defray the necessary charges, and this capital might be raised by voluntary contribution, so that all who chose might out of charity give what he pleaded, and the little creatures, independent of individual caprice, would be relieved from the fear of being turned out of doors at a minute's notice, which would be an act of extreme cruelty, as they would be forced to fly for support to the woods when as little able to endure such a life of misery as ourselves. With respect to the necessity of preserving the native language while these children acquired the English tongue, I think myself; it would forward the desired object; but I cannot consider at the same time that this end would be better accomplished by a mixed intercourse. No, from sedate persons appointed to direct and instruct them, they would be led forward in a proper and not in an irregular manner; whereas, were the black and white children promiscuously to mingle for the purpose of instructing one another in their different languages, little more could be expected than a jargon which taking root among the rising generation, might hereafter be as foreign to the mother tongue as is the case with many provincial dialects. From their preceptors they would acquire the English language, and by associating with each other they would retain their
own; and surely it may also with propriety be supposed, that if their language were likely to become an acquisition, we might with their assistance very soon become proficient."

The above being the only passage that conveys any new idea, we trust Amicus will excuse the omission of the remainder. 247

November – December, 1810
During November and December 1810 Governor Macquarie toured the outer districts and farms. This tour should be placed in the context of Macquarie’s orders that “in the case of any peculiarly Meritorious Settler, or well-deserving Emancipated Convict becoming a Settler as foresaid, that you shall be at liberty to enlarge the said Grants so respectively to be made to such Settler or Emancipated Convict as aforesaid, by the addition of such further number of acres to be granted to them respectively as you in your Discretion shall judge proper”. 248 These orders enabled Macquarie to negotiate the enormous log of land grants made by the NSW Corps to themselves and to meet the needs of newly arrived free settlers.

The following extract from his journal is important for several reasons. Firstly it describes the extent of settlement along the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers. Secondly it is possible to identify the Kurry-Jung-brush as the area around Kurmond and the Comleroy Road. Thirdly, Macquarie’s enthusiasm for William Wilberforce and his work is evident in his naming one of the five towns after him. Again it needs to be noted that in naming and planning the five towns Macquarie was enacting his orders to “lay out Townships of a convenient size and extent”. These instructions extended to the provision of fresh water, garrisons, town halls and churches in each. 249

Fourthly, Macquarie’s description of his tour provides an opportune moment to pause and examine the administrative, economic, geographical, military and political etymology of the language of settlement. Originally to “farm” was to collect a fixed payment. “Camp”, “route” and “town” have a military origin. “Survey” is an administrative term. A “village” is an administrative unit, smaller than a town. A “district” was a territory under the jurisdiction of a feudal lord. To take “possession” was to take and hold, irrespective of ownership. Macquarie’s use of “brush” and “forest” indicates how Aboriginal people used fire to modify the landscape. Macquarie used “brush” meaning “thicket” to describe the hills and valleys of what is now Grose Vale. However, he described the more open park like landscape of the broader ridge running up to Kurrajong Heights as a “forest”. Macquarie’s use of the word “forest” is interesting. Most officials, such as Collins described the Australian forest as “woods”. In Britain a forest was a royal hunting ground. Windsor Forest or the New Forest was the first such hunting preserve, created by

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William I. Woodlands was used to describe anything else. In Australia, with the cessation of Aboriginal fire practices, “bush” has supplanted both woods and forest.\textsuperscript{250}

Finally, his visit to the Hawkesbury was significant for the apparent lack of any contact with Aboriginal people. At the Cow Pastures “we met two or three small Parties of the Cow-Pastures Natives – the Chief of whom in this Part is named Koggie; who with his wife Nantz, and his friends Bootbarrie, Young Bundle, Billy, and their respective Wives”. On entering the mouth of the Burragorang Valley he was told by a Aboriginal man that the name of the river was Warragombie. At the Hawkesbury he met no Aboriginal people.

\textit{Friday 30th. Nov. —}

After Breakfast, at \(\frac{1}{2}\) past 10 O'Clock this morning, we broke up our Camp at Dr. Jamison's Farm, and set out to prosecute our Tour along the Farms situated further down the Rivers Nepean and Hawkesbury – our Servants & Baggage setting out at the same time by a more direct Route to our next resting Place or Ground of Encampment on the banks of the Hawkesbury; and Ens. Maclaine's Boat being sent back on a waggon to Parramatta. — Our pleasant facetious travelling companion Mr. Gregory Blaxland took his leave of us this morning and returned home to attend his own concerns. —

After leaving Doctor Jamison's Farm we passed through Cap. Woodriffe's and Mr. Chapman's, both on the Right Bank of the Nepean and which appeared a very fine rich Soil fit both for Tillage and Pasturage. — Thence we passed through a long extensive chain of Farms along the Nepean belonging to Appledore, Westmore, Collett, Stanyard, Pickering, Field, Stephen Smith, Jones, Cheshire, Harris, Guy, Wm. Cheshire, Landrine, Stockfish, Oldwright, Ryan, Griffith, Kennedy &c. &c. being the front line of Farms on this River.

These are all good Farms, good Soil, and well cultivated, but they are liable to be flooded in general when this River overflows its Banks, and consequently the Houses of the Settlers are very mean and paltry.

There was a tolerable good Road for the Carriage through the whole of these Farms. — On arriving at Donald Kennedy's Farm, which is beautifully Situated on a rising ground near the River, I quitted the carriage and mounted my Horse to view the back line of Farms, and explore the Ground intended to be laid out shortly for a Township and place of Security and retreat for the Settlers inhabiting this part of the Country; leaving Mrs. M. at Kennedy's Farm till my return. — I was accompanied by the Surveyors and the rest of the Party, and we rode over the High Grounds intended for the Township, and which appears a most eligible Situation for one and not more than 3 miles from the River. We returned by the back line of Farms to Kennedy's, where we rejoined Mrs. M. and thence pursued our Journey along the remaining parts of the Nepean District in the Carriage.

On arriving at M. Thompson's Farm of Agnes Bank, we were joined by M. Wm. Cox the Magistrate of these Districts. — From Agnes Bank we proceeded to view the Confluence of the Nepean and Grosse [sic] Rivers, which is within about two miles of that Farm. — We drove in the Carriage close to the spot of the junction of the two Rivers, which we went to view on foot, and were highly gratified with the sight. — From the confluence of these two Rivers, the noble River Hawkesbury commences; but here it is only an inconsiderable stream, and not navigable even for small Boats for three or four miles farther down. — From the confluence of the Nepean and Grosse [sic] Rivers we proceeded again in the Carriage along the front line of Farms on the Hawkesbury, till we arrived at the Yellow-Mundie-Lagoon, a noble lake of fine fresh water, at the North End of which we halted and Encamped for the Night; finding all our Servants and Baggage just arrived there only a few minutes before us. — Here M. Cox took his leave of us to go home to his own House as did M. Evans; promising to be with us again early in the morning.

Whilst our Tents were Pitching and our Dinner getting ready, M. M. and myself took a short ride on Horseback along the Banks of this beautiful Lagoon, returning again to our Tents in about an Hour; having first arrived at our ground of Encampment at ½ past 6 O’Clock, after a Journey of about 25 miles, besides my extra ride to the Township. — We did not dine till 2 past 8 O’Clock — and went soon afterwards to Bed.

Saturday 1st. Dec. 1811. [sic]

We Breakfasted at 9 O’Clock this morning, having been joined previous thereto by M. Cox, M. & Mrs. Evans, M. Forest and some other Visitors. — Having sent off our Servants & Baggage and Carriage by the direct Road to the Government Cottage at the Green Hills on the Right Bank of the Hawkesbury, we mounted our Horses to make an Excursion to Richmond Hill, the Kurry Jung Brush, and Richmond Terrace on the Left Bank of the Hawkesbury; setting out from the Yellow-Mundie Lagoon at 10,O’Clock, accompanied by M. Macquarie, the Gentlemen of our own Family, M. Cox & M. Evans, we crossed the Hawkesbury about a mile from our last Encampment, in a Boat to Richmond Hill, our Horses crossing the River by a bad Ford about half a mile higher up, and which we mounted again on landing at Richmond Hill. — We rode up the Hill to call on Mrs. Bell (the Wife of Lieut. Bell of the 102d. Reg.) who resides on her Farm on the summit of this beautiful Hill, from which there is a very fine commanding Prospect of the River Hawkesbury and adjacent Country. — We found Mrs. Bell and her Family at Home, and after sitting with them for about an hour, we again mounted our Horses to prosecute our Excursion, directing our course for the Kurry Jung Hill.

Soon after leaving Richmond Hill I discovered that my favorite horse Cato, which I had hitherto rode from the commencement of my Tour, was quite lame occasioned by a wrench he had got in crossing the River this morning at the deep bad Ford already alluded to. — In consequence of this accident I was obliged to send him back to go leisurely to the Green Hills, and to mount one of the Dragoon Horses during the rest of

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251 Macquarie was a year ahead of himself. It was still 1810. The same mistake was made on the following day.

252 It is likely that the name Richmond Hill centred on Archibald’s Belmont estate.
this day’s Excursion. — We rode through a fine open Forest and Hilly Country for about 5 miles to the Foot of the Curry [sic] Jung Hill, which is very long and steep to ascend, arriving on the summit of it at 12 O’Clock, and from whence we had a very grand noble Prospect of the low grounds on both Banks of the River Hawkesbury as far as the Green Hills. — Having feasted our Eyes with this fine prospect on the one hand, and with that of the Blue Mountains (here quite close to us) on the other, we began to descend the Hill on the opposite side to that we ascended it, and the descent was so very steep that we had great difficulty to sit our Horses. — We arrived, however, safe and without meeting with any accident at the bottom of the Hill, which from the Summit to the foot cannot be less than a mile long, excessively steep, and covered with thick Brush-wood; but through which Mr. Evans had had a small Passage or Road made some little time before, with the view to mark out the best Path to descend the Hill. — The Brush wood that covers the sides of this Hill is full of a small sort of Leech, which fasten on Horses Feet and annoy & fret them very much. — M... M. had two or three of them on her ankles at one time, and all our Horses were attacked by them, but they were soon shook off. — We found plenty of Wild Raspberries on the sides of this Hill, but they were without any flavour and not worth Eating.

On leaving the Kurry Jung Hill (named by the late Mr. Thompson “Mount Maurice” out of compliment to L. Col: O’Connell), we pursued our way through that District of Country called the Kurry-Jung-Brush, which is a fine range of Hill & Dale alternately, and admirably well calculated for Pasturage, being well watered and abounding in good grass and good shelter for both Black Cattle & Sheep. Several Farms having been located in this fine tract of Country to different Individuals in the time of the Usurped Government, I desired M. Meehan the Acting Surveyor to point them out to me as we rode along.

About 2. P.M. we quitted the Kurry-Jung Brush and arrived on what is called Richmond Terrace, running Parallel with the Hawkesbury for about 3 miles and commanding a very rich and beautiful prospect of the low grounds on each side of the River, now looking very rich, being covered with luxuriant Crops of Wheat ready for cutting down to repay the Industrious Husbandman for his Toil and Labour. — From the Terrace we gradually descended into the Plains and Back Line of Farms on the left Bank of the Hawkesbury, and rode through beautiful extensive Fields of Wheat for Six or Seven Miles after descending from the Terrace till our arrival on that part of the Bank of the River opposite to the Green Hills. Here we dismounted; and crossed the River ourselves in the late M. Thompson’s Barge, which was here waiting for us, whilst our Horses swam across the River, which is here about a quarter of a mile broad. At halfpast 5, O’Clock we arrived at the Ferry on the Left Bank of the River and at 6, O’Clock landed in the Government Garden on the Green Hills and took possession of the Government House – or, more properly speaking, – Government Cottage; most beautifully situated on the Summit of a very fine Bank or Terrace rising about Fifty feet above the level of the River; of which, and the adjacent Country, there is a very fine view from this sweet delightful Spot. — This day’s ride was a very long and fatiguing one for us all, but particularly so for my poor dear Elizabeth; who, however, bore it uncommonly well, notwithstanding she was at least
Seven Hours on Horseback, and rode not less than Thirty Miles during this Day's Excursion since we Breakfasted at Yellow-Mundie-Lagoon. —

Mrs. M. and myself were quite delighted with the beauty of this part of the Country; its great fertility, and its Picturesque appearance; and especially with the well-chosen and remarkable fine scite [sic] and situation of the Government Cottage and Garden on the Green Hills. — We dined soon after our arrival and after Dinner our Friend & Family physician Doctor Redfern took his departure for Sydney. —

Sunday 2. Dec. 1811. [sic] —
Mrs. M. and myself with the Gentlemen of our Family, attended Divine Service this forenoon at the temporary Church at the Green Hills, where the Rev. M. Robert Cartwright, the Chaplain of this District, gave us a most excellent Discourse and read Prayers extremely well indeed. — After church Mrs. Macquarie and myself attended by Cap. Antill, rode in the Carriage to the new Burying Ground, distant about a mile from Government House, to view the Tomb where the remains of our late worthy and highly esteemed good friend Mr. Andw. Thompson, late Chief Magistrate of this District, are deposited, and whose loss we both very sincerely lament and deplore, and from whose superior local knowledge and good sound sense and judicious advice, I once fondly flattered myself I should derive great benefit and advantage during my present Tour of Inspection through this Colony. — The Spot Mr. Thompson's remains are buried in is most beautiful and happily selected by his Executor Captain Antill; and the Situation of this new Burying Ground altogether is one of the most beautiful and convenient that can well be imagined. — Having remained there for near Half an Hour, we took our leave of our departed Friend's Tomb (— which we intend to improve and render more elegant & conspicuous as a tribute of regard and friendship for his memory —) and proceeded in the Carriage to see two of his Farms called West Hill (or Red House Farm) and Killarney, both very good ones, and both within the convenient distance of two miles of the town on the Green Hills. The Road to these Farms is very good, and we had a very pleasant Drive to and from them in the Carriage. Mr. Cox and Doctor Mileham dined with us today.

Monday 3. Dec.—
Immediately after Breakfast this morning I set out for the Richmond District, accompanied by the two Surveyors, Mr. Cox the Magistrate, the Rev. M. Cartwright, and the Gentlemen of my own Staff, in order to examine and survey the proper Grounds and Scite [sic] for a Town and Township in that District. We rode over the greater part of the Common formerly marked out in the time of Gov. King for the Richmond District, and afterwards over that part of it I deemed most eligible and convenient for erecting a Town and Township on, and which we at length fixed on at the extremity of the Common, near Pugh's Lagoon; intending to have the Church, School-House and Burying Ground on a very beautiful elevated Bank immediately above this fine basin [sic] of Fresh Water, and within about 200 yards of it. — After fixing on the situation of this Township I proceeded to view the different Farms of the Richmond District, first going along the Back-line as far as Cap. Forest's, and returning Home to the Green Hills by the Center and Front Line of Farms; the Soil of which in general is extremely good, and yield at this present time very fine Crops, but the Houses and Habitations of the Settlers are miserably bad,
and the front and center lines of Farms are liable to be flooded on any inundation of the Hawkesbury River. — This day's Ride was a very hot, long, and fatiguing one; having been Nine Hours on Horseback. — I set out from the Government House at 8 O'Clock in the morning and did not return Home till 5 O'Clock in the afternoon, having rode about 35 miles. — Mrs. M. remained at Home this day, being a good deal fatigued after her long ride on Saturday. — The Rev. M. Cartwright & his wife, M. Cox, and D. Mileham dined with us this day.

Tuesday 4th Dec. —
Wishing to explore the Hawkesbury River, down as far as Portland Head, and at the same time view the Front Farms on both Banks that far, I set out this morning between 5 and 6 O'Clock, accompanied by Mrs. Macquarie, M. Cartwright, M. Cox, M. Hassall, and the Gentlemen of our Family, in the late M. Thompson's Barge and another smaller Boat, on our Excursion to Portland Head. — We stopt [sic] at Gov. Bligh's Farm of Blighton, about six miles below the Green Hills on the Right Bank of the River, a very beautiful situation; and after walking about the grounds there for half an hour we proceeded on our Voyage down the River. — At 8 O'Clock we stopped at the New School-House recently erected by Subscription, on the left Bank of the River, a little below Caddye-Creek, but on the opposite side, where we had determined to Breakfast, which was accordingly prepared with all convenient haste within the New School-House, which is prettily situated on the Bank of the River. — Here Doctor Arndell came to pay us a visit from his Farm on Caddye Creek on the opposite side of the River, and Breakfasted with us. — After Breakfast we embarked again and prosecuted our voyage down the River, the Banks of which begin here to be very high and Rocky in most places. — The Farms on both Banks, especially those on the Left Bank, are rich and well cultivated, and make a pretty appearance from the water, being generally interspersed with extensive Orchards of Peaches and other Fruits. — We reached Portland Head, which is about twenty miles by the windings of the River from the Green Hills, about 12 O'Clock; and there being nothing of consequence to be seen lower down the River at this time, we retraced our steps back the same way we came till we arrived at Caddye Creek, where we quitted our Boat and landed at D. Arndell's Farm, where we had directed our Carriage & Horses to meet us, and where we found them accordingly waiting for us; the Boats proceeding Home with our Servants & Baggage.

We arrived at D. Arndell's House about 2, O'Clock, and having rested ourselves for about half an hour there, I set out on Horseback along with the Surveyors, M. Cox & M. Cartwright to survey and examine the Ground most eligible for a Town & Township in the Nelson District on the Common belonging to that District; M. Macquarie proceeding home in the Carriage. — Having rode over the Common in various directions, we at length determined upon the part of it most eligible and convenient for a Township, immediately in rear of the Back Line of Farms, and entirely out of the reach of the inundation of the River. — We then rode home and arrived at the Government Cottage at ½ past 6 O'Clock in the Evening. — M. M. had got Home long before us, and had Dinner ready prepared for us, which we enjoyed very much after our long water Excursion in the morning and fatiguing afternoon's ride. —
Wednesday 5th Dec. —
I accompanied Mrs. M. in the Carriage this morning to pay Visits, immediately after Breakfast, to Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Pitt, Mrs. Evans & Mrs. Forrest, all residing in different Parts of the Richmond District. — On our return Home we stopt [sic] for a short time to shew Mrs. M. the Ground intended to be marked out for a Town & Township in the Richmond District close to Pugh’s Lagoon, which she admired very much. — After my return Home I went to examine and view the inside of the Church, School-House and the Government Granaries and Provision Stores — all which I found in good order and repair; the Grain & Provisions being in excellent good condition. — M. Simeon Lord, and M. Moore from Sydney, and Dr. Arndell and his Daughters dined with us this day. —

Thursday 6th Dec. —
At 9 O’Clock this morning, as soon as we had Breakfasted, I set out, attended by the Surveyors, M. Cox, M. Fitzgerald, and the Gentlemen of my staff (— leaving M. M. at home) to visit the several Farms on the opposite side of the River, and to examine and survey the proper ground for a Town and Township for the Farms on the Left or North Bank of the River Hawkesbury liable to be flooded by the inundations. —

Having crossed the Ferry at the Green Hills to the North side of the River, we proceeded by the Front & Center line of Farms alternately as far down the River as Kershaw’s Farm, about 7 miles from the Green Hills; and thence returning by the Back Line of Farms passed over the Common in rear of them, where we looked for an eligible Spot for the intended Town & Township for the accommodation of the Settlers of the Phillip District and others inhabiting the Northern Bank of the River Hawkesbury, and after carefully surveying the different Parts of the Common we fixed on a very safe and convenient situation for the Town and Township in this part of the Country; which done we returned home and arrived at Government Cottage at ½ past 2 O’Clock. — Took some refreshment and walked out to survey the Grounds belonging to the Crown in and near the present village on the Green Hills, and also the adjoining Public Common marked out for this part of the Country in the time of Governor King; a convenient part of which it is now my intention to appropriate for a large Town and Township for the accommodation of the Settlers inhabiting the South side of the River Hawkesbury, whose Farms are liable to be flooded on any inundation of the River, and to connect the present Village on the Green Hills with the intended new Town and Township. — After viewing the ground and maturely considering the importance of the measure, the scite [sic] and situation of the new Town was at length fixed finally upon — the exact scite [sic] of the new Church and Great Square being particularly marked out, as well as the extent and situation of the new Burying Ground; the Acting Surveyor, M. Meehan, receiving orders to measure and make out a Plan of the whole. —

A large Party of Friends dined with us today, consisting in all of 21 Persons, including our own Family. — After Dinner I christened the new Townships, drinking a Bumper to the success of each. — I gave the name of Windsor to the Town intended to be erected in the District of the Green Hills, in continuation of the present Village, from the similarity of this situation to that of the same name in England; the Township in the Richmond District I have named Richmond, from its beautiful situation, and as corresponding with
that of its District; the Township for the Evan or Nepean District I have named Castlereagh in honor of Lord Viscount Castlereagh; the Township of the Nelson District I have named Pitt-Town in honor of the immortal memory of the late great William Pitt, the Minister who originally planned this Colony; and the Township for the Phillip District; on the North or left Bank of the Hawkesbury, I have named Wilberforce – in honor of and out of respect to the good and virtuous Wm. Wilberforce Esq. M.P. – a true Patriot and the real Friend of Mankind.

Having sufficiently celebrated this auspicious Day of christening the five Towns and Townships, intended to be erected and established for the security and accommodation of the Settlers and others inhabiting the Cultivated Country, on the Banks of the Rivers Hawkesbury and Nepean; I recommended to the Gentlemen present to exert their influence with the Settlers in stimulating them to lose no time in removing their Habitations, Flocks & Herds to these Places of safety and security, and thereby fulfil my intentions and plans in establishing them. —

As soon as we had broke up from Table, Captain Antill, accompanied by Messrs. Lord and Moore, who had dined with us, set out by water for Scotland Island, a part of the Estate of the late Mr. Thompson, in order to take an account of his Property there, the rest of our Party returning to their respective Homes, highly gratified with their entertainment. —

Friday 7th Dec. — I received and answered a great number of Petitions and Memorials from Settlers and others in the course of this morning. — I also received and answered a congratulatory address from the Principal Settlers & Inhabitants of the Hawkesbury and Nepean Districts, presented by Doctor Arndell, the oldest Settler in this Country (—having arrived in the Colony with Gov. Phillip in 1788 —) complimenting me on my administration, and first appearance in this part of the Colony; to which I made a suitable reply. —

In the afternoon I went to explore again the scite [sic] of the intended new Town of Windsor, accompanied by the two Surveyors, to whom I communicated my plans and final orders respecting the scite [sic] of the Church, Great Square in the new Town, and Small Square and Streets intended to be formed in the present Village, which is henceforth to form part of the Town of Windsor, and to be designated so accordingly. — I laid out several new Streets and gave directions for enlarging and improving the old ones, as well as respecting the size and descriptions of all future Houses that are permitted to be built in the Town of Windsor. —

M. Cox, D. Mileham, and M. Evans dined with us again today; my labours at Windsor being now ended. —

1810: Conclusion
The above correspondence changed forever relations between Aboriginal people and settlers. The proposal for Aboriginal children to be adopted in to the homes of “sedate persons” foundered quickly, however, the argument of “keeping them in a small society

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formed of their own body, be it great or small”, was to be the foundation for Governor MacQuarie’s Native Institute of 1814 and late state and federal assimilation policies.

1811: An Overview
In 1811 Mr. Michael Robinson gained immortality at the performance of two of his Odes at Government House celebrations of royal birthdays. On the Hawkesbury frontier an attack was made upon a farm on the MacDonald River and Robert Luttrell, gained immortality for bringing his death upon himself as a result of his unpleasant behaviour in an Aboriginal camp.

19th of January, 1811
The campaign to “speedily and effectually civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales” continued. A highlight of the birthday celebrations in Government House was a tableau showing Aboriginal people “earnestly anticipating the blessing of civilization”, and “the Christian Religion inviting them to happiness”. Mr. Robinson’s Ode managed to solve the Aboriginal problem by combining Evangelism and topical Enlightenment thought on barbarism.

‘Yesterday, being the Birth-Day of OUR MOST GRACIOUS QUEEN, was observed as a Holiday throughout the Colony. - The usual salutes were fired, and Presents made to the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the 73d Regiment, of half-a-pint of spirits and a pound of fresh beef a man; which latter complement was also extended to the prisoners, who were excused from attending to their usual avocations in honor of the day.

At 12 His EXCELLENCY appeared on the Parade, and inspected the 73d Regiment, who fired three vollies in honor of the day; His Excellency expressing the highest satisfaction at their appearance, and the precision with which the evolutions were performed; and afterwards returned to Government House.

At one o'clock His Excellency the GOVERNOR in CHIEF received the Compliments of the Officers Civil and Military, and other Gentlemen on the return of the auspicious season.-An Ode for the occasion (which we have the pleasure to offer to our Readers), was presented to His EXCELLENCY by Mr. Michael Robinson ; who, at His Excellency's desire, recited it in the presence and much to the gratification of the Assembly, who joined, in the warmest language of encomium, to compliment the Author on the excellence of his performance.

The Anniversary Ball given by His EXCELLENCY was very numerously attended. Government House was brilliantly lighted, and the apartments decorated in an exquisite style of taste and novelty.

In the center of the ballroom were the Royal Initials in chrystal, beautifully worked, suspended between festoons of leaves and flowers extending across the room, the north end of which was covered with a transparent painting (executed by Mr. Lewin in a highly finished style), the subject local, and the design peculiarly appropriate, being the representation of our native Race in their happy moments of festivity, contrasting in silent
admiration their amusements to the recitations of a polished Circle; and instead of expressing dissatisfaction at the humility of their condition, earnestly anticipating the blessing of civilization, while a striking full-sized figure, drawn in one of the most animated attitudes of the corroberi, pointed with his waddy at the Church of St. Philip, of which an accurate perspective view was given, as symbolical of the Christian Religion inviting them to happiness. Each of the portraits bore so accurate a resemblance to some familiar native as scarcely to leave a doubt that the representation was taken from the life, in whatever attitude the Artist considered best adapted to his subject; the whole of the scene receiving a warmth of colouring from the judicious representation of their fires and the softness of expression produced by the reflected rays of the rising moon. As this part of the preparation was unexpected the admiration was the more nervous, and none forebore the need of praise to the performance.

About nine commenced the 'airy dance'; which submitted not to interruption until the Company were requested to withdraw to the Supper Room, which furnished a new subject of delight to the admiring eye. The spacious new apartment prepared for the occasion resembled in its interior the center of a grove, with its boughs formed into bowers regularly arched, and ornamented with variegated lamps between the pillars; the fascinating effect of which could not do less than charm. The tables were formed into an oblong square, with an open end, and about one hundred persons sat down, among whom were all the principal Officers and Ladies of the Colony. After supper the dance resumed, and continued till a late hour, when His Excellency the Governor and MRS. MACQUARIE received the farewell compliments of the Company, much gratified in the testimonial of happiness that had universally been given on the Celebration of the happy Event.

‘ODE
For the Queen’s Birth Day 1811.
BY MR. M. ROBINSON.

OH, ALBION! If against thy Shore
The angry War-Whoop wildly roars;
If Discord, by Ambition hurl’d,
Still agitates the WESTERN WORLD;
If yon Usurper’s recreant Slaves
Bid human Carnage glut the purple Waves!
In vain their mimic Hosts combine,
For ARTS and COMMERCE still are thine;
And still thy Floating Bulwarks ride,
Tremendous o’er the briny Tide.
Still FREEDOM guards her fav’rite Isle,
And thy rich Plains with PLENTY smile;
Still SCIENCE boasts her Academic Bow’rs,
Where Classic Fancy culls her fairest Flowers!
Still round thy Heroes’ graceful Brows are seen
Thy native Oak, with Laurels ever green;
And still the Muses, on this hallow'd Day,
Strike the fond Lyre - and pour the grateful Lay.
Nor, on thy envied Shores alone
Shall FAME her Silver Trumpet sound:-
Where'er a Briton's Name is known,
Echo shall waft the Strain around;
And many a distant Land and Clime
Shall consecrate the fav'rite Lay;
To CHARLOTTE swell the Note sublime,
And greet with Pride HER NATAL DAY.
Zephyr! on thy balmy Wing,
Bear the earliest Gifts of Spring:-.
Summer's Sweets, from fragrant Vales,
Perfum'd like Arabia's Gales:-
Autumn's purple Tints combining,
Blooming Wreaths and Chaplets twining.
Lo! Nature wears a livelier Green,
To hail Augusta's peerless Queen;
And welcomes thro' the gladden'd Earth,
The Morn that gave TRANSCENDANT VIRTUE
Birth,
Oh! Power Supreme! Whilst thy benignant Hand
Dispenses Blessings o'er this grateful Land,
Bids cultur'd Hills and waving Valleys smile,
Rewards fair Industry, and sweetens Toil,
Bids rising Genius bend to Wisdom sage,
Whilst Learning opens her instructive Page,
May Reason muse and, In the solemn Pause,
Indulge a Sigh in suff'ring Nature's Cause.
- Not with presumptuous Thought thy Pow'rs to scan,
But urg'd by Kindred Ties from Man to, Man: -
With sympathetic Energy retrace,
The lorn Condition of yon sable Race255,
For Ages doom'd in Indolence to roam,
The Rocks their Refuge, and the Wilds their Home!
Lost to each social Interchange of Thought,
Their Youth neglected, and their Age untaught,
Unless with barb'rous Yell to wound the Ear,
And with grim Antick hurl the trembling Spear;
Unless the FINNY Victims to beguile,

255 This is the first usage of the word “sable” by the Gazette. The sable is a mammal hunted for its brown fur. In the fourteenth century the word sable entered the language of heraldry meaning black. The phrase “sable race” was used by Phyllis Wheatley, c.1753-1784 in her poem On Being Brought from Africa to America published in 1773 in London. Phyllis Wheatley was a slave at the time the poem was written.
and snatch Subsistence from the scanty Spoil!

Hap'ly, whilst calm Religion's genuine Voice
In other Climes bids other Tribes rejoice,
Pours into darken'd Minds her lucid Rays,
And bids the wondering Savage live to Praise,
'Ere many circling Years have onward roll'd,
May call these Wand'rers to the "promis'd Fold;"
And from the Dawn o' Reason's genial Ray,
Bid their Night yield - to intellectual Day.

Be such a Briton's Care, a Briton's Pride,
Nature the Precept, and fair Truth the Guide.
And THOU! whose firm and philanthropic Mind
Glows with warm Sympathy to all Mankind, -
To whom a grateful PEOPLE fondly bend,
At once their CHIEF, their PATRON, and
their FRIEND!
THINE be the Triumph in progressive Days,
To claim for Deeds like these, a NATION'S PRAISE!  

18th of January, 1811
The following meeting to eradicate native dogs again highlights the destruction of Aboriginal society. Once traditional Aboriginal life was destroyed the dogs would attack farms.

‘NOTICE,
AT a Meeting of the Principal Stock-holders of this settlement, held at Sydney, this 18th of January, 1811, to take into consideration some Plan for the Destruction of the native Dogs, and to establish a Fund for the purpose, IT was resolved, that One Gallon of Spirits, as soon as it can be purchased from a Ship, or One Pound Sterling be given to any Person producing the complete Skin of a full grown native Dog. - That Half a Gallon of Spirits, or Ten Shillings Sterling be given to every Person producing the complete Skin of a native Pup. - That the Rev. S. Marsden, Gregory Blaxland, Thomas Moore, and Wm. Cox, Esqrs. be requested to receive the Subscriptions, and pay for the same as they may be produced. That these resolutions continue in Force Six Months from this Date.
Amount subscribed this Day £80.
Sydney Jan. 18, 1811.  

8th of June, 1811
Mr. Robinson’s triumph is noteworthy not only for its concluding ambiguity in rolling together the King and Lachlan MacQuarie, but also for its treatment of Australia and the

Aboriginal people. His portrayal of the dreary darkness that gave way to Britain’s transforming light is a masterpiece of British triumphalism. The image, “their Footsteps press'd the yielding Sand”, redolent of feminine surrender, truly belongs to the Orientalist genre. Edward Said would have got his rocks off on that one.

‘ODE.
FOR the KING’s BIRTH-DAY.
BY MR. MICHAEL ROBINSON.

To trace the mystic Course of TIME
Thro’ each revolving Age,
The MUSE aspires, with Views sublime,
And, wondering, turns the Page! -
That Page, where History's treasur'd Lore
Legends unfolds of Days of yore,
When Rome her sov'reign Flag unfurl'd,
Rose the proud Mistress of the World,

And, rich in Arts, in Arms renown'd,
Aw'd the devoted Nations round;
Till LUXURY'S intemp'rate Trains
Spread Desolation o'er her Plains;
And INDUSTRY, with nerveless Hand,
Retir'd, dejected, from the Land:
Whilst rent by Faction's wily Spell,
Her Senates droop'd - her Fame and Freedom fell

Not so, yon ISLE, against whose sacred Shore
Bellona bids reluctant Thunders roar!
Not so, our ALBION, whose imperial Shield
Still waves triumphant in the tented Field!
Like the firm Oak her native Forests form,
She stands, undaunted, 'midst the mighty Storm:
Indignant hears the fraudulent Despot's boast,
And frowns Defiance on his venal Host;
Whilst PATRIOT Feelings with one Ardour, glow
Urge to chastise - yet pause to spare the Foe!

Time was - and long in ALBION'S Land
Shall Memory hail the Day,
That saw her fav'rite PRINCE'S Hand
Assume the sceptred, Sway:

When rob'd in Honour, Virtue, Truth
The Graces form'd His op'ning Youth;
And, what prophetic Bards, foretold,
And bade progressive Days unfold,
Time! - tho’ his iron Hand appears
To mark the Lapse of yielding Years,
Shall bid the faithful Trump of Fame y
To Ages yet unborn, proclaim,

Our Monarch’s mild and lengthen’d Sway
Appraising Worlds rever’d,
And, brilliant as his morning Ray,
His setting Sun appear’d:
Whilst cherish’d Millions liv’d to prove,
HIS PROUDEST EMPIRE WAS HIS PEOPLE’S LOVE!

Time was, when o’er this drear Expanse of Land,
No Trait appear’d of Culture’s fost’ring Hand;
And, as the wild Woods yielded to the Blast,
Nature scarce owned the unproductive Waste!
O’er rugged Cliffs fantastic Branches hung,
Round whose hoar Trunks the slender scions clung.
Impervious Mountains met the ling’ring Eye,
Whose cloud-cap’t Summits brav’d the sultry Sky.
Rocks, whose repulsive Frown Access defy’d,
And Bays, where idly ebb’d the slumber’ring Tide –
Unless some Straggler of the NATIVE Race,
In crank Canoe exposed his sooty Face;
With lazy Motion paddled o’er the Flood,
Snatch’d at the spear-struck Fish-and hugg’d his Food.

But, when Britannia’s Sons came forth, to brave
The dreary Perils of the lengthening Wave;
When her bold Barks, with swelling Sails unfurl’d,
Trac’d these rude Coasts, and hail’d a new-found World.

Soon as their Footsteps press’d the yielding Sand
A Sun more genial brighten’d on the Land;
Commerce and Arts enrich’d the social Soil,
Burst thro’ the Gloom, and bade all Nature smile.

Now, mark, where o’er the populated Plain
Blythe Labour moves, and calls her sturdy train
Whilst, nurs’d by clement Skies and genial Gales,
Abundant Harvests cloathe the fruitful Vales.
O'er the green Upland see new Hamlets spread,
The frugal Garden and the "straw-built Shed;"
The Cot, where Peace a smiling Aspect wears,
And the charm'd Husbandman forgets his Cares,
See, opening Towns with rival Skill display
The Structure bold - the Mart, and busy Quay:
Streets ably form'd by persevering Toil,
And Roads the Traveler's wearied Course beguile;
And, Hark! where mild Religion's heav'n born Strain
Courts meek Repentance to her hallow'd Fame;
Whence, as the transient breezes wander round
The cheerful (sic) Bells in lively Peals resound!

These are THY Trophies, Time! and these shall raise
A lasting Monument to BRITAIN's Praise:-
And Hist'ry's faithful Page shall fondly dwell,
And future Bards in Strains sublimer tell,
That Truth and Loyalty, by WISDOM led,
Bade Australasia raise her drooping Head,
Gave to the People's Wish a CHIEF approv'd,
A Man they honour'd – and a friend they lov'd. 258

13th of July, 1811
'Last week a horde of the Branch natives beset a herd of swine belonging to Mr. Dyke, settler at the first Branch of the River Hawkesbury; of which they drove away three large pigs, and wantonly speared two very large sows, both of which died immediately of their wounds. 259

16th of November, 1811
Interestingly the only record of Robert Luttrell's Inquest appears to be that recorded in the Gazette. Robert Luttrell died violently as the result of a blow to the head by a nulla nulla. An inquest found that he had brought his death upon himself by breaking the spears of Aboriginal men and taking their women. Whether there was any connection to the shooting of Tedbury by Robert's brother, Edward Luttrell, in the previous year is unknown.

Unfortunately the identity of witnesses is unknown. However, a close reading of the inquest, which was held at Parramatta, carries the implication that Robert was

accompanied by others when he was struck and that they were the witnesses. It would be logical to assume that they were mounted. The finding appears to have been another measured attempt to maintain the peace brokered in 1805. Certainly Robert’s reputation as a tear-away appears not to have hindered this finding. Whether his killing took place near the family property at Richmond or another property at Penrith is unclear. Material witnesses from the Hawkesbury point to a Hawkesbury location but *Mara Mara* was from Mulgoa, not the Hawkesbury.

‘Last Thursday, se’nights Mr. Robert Luttrill died of a blow on the head with a nulla nulla, inflicted by a native about a fortnight before. On Saturday the Coroner assembled an Inquest on the unhappy occasion, which owing to the residence at Hawkesbury of material witnesses, adjourned from Saturday to Monday; when the following verdict was returned; viz. "that the deceased came to his death by means of a blow from a native; which blow was given in consequence of the deceased breaking the spears of the native, and taking away their women."

During the pendency of the above investigation, numbers of natives awaited the issue with much visible anxiety, as they had been made acquainted that upon the opinion of Juries so assembled depended the safety of the person who had occasioned death; but so far from countenancing the author of the present unfortunate event, a chief of the name of *Mara Mara* had pledged himself to give up the offender, if demanded. As soon as the verdict was returned, intelligence was dispatched to the Magistrates at Windsor, where a number of natives had collected, but who immediately dispersed as soon as they were acquainted that they had nothing to apprehend on account of this affair.

1811: Conclusion
Peace had descended over much of the Hawkesbury. Robert Luttrell’s inquest was a civilised end to a violent and unpleasant affair. There was a new mood among the polished authorities, which, while it probably reassured them of their place in God’s firmament did not auger well for Aboriginal people.

1811: Postscript

260 ‘On Wednesday last about noon Mr. Luttrill had the misfortune to lose a very fine mare at the Falls where the Nepean and Grose form their junction. Mr. Robert Luttrill, and a younger brother aged about 13, were riding the mare across as the water was about breast high, when such was the rapidity of the current that the mare lost her feet, and the young gentlemen fell off; the eldest was entangled in one of the stirrups, and the youngest was carried along by the stream; but was happily obstructed in his course by a cluster of bushes projecting from the banks to a considerable distance. His brother seeing his distress had happily disentangled himself from his own perilous situation, & sprung to his aid, but was indeed scarce time enough to prevent a melancholy catastrophe. He conveyed him apparently lifeless to a bank, where he lay a considerable time without any symptom of remaining life; but at length evinced signs of resuscitation, and we are happy to add, lives to convey the most sensible gratification to his family. The mare had as it supposed got her foot entangled into the bridle, and unfortunately perished.’


In 1811 Edward Luttrell junior was lost at sea in the Indian Ocean from the *Governor Macquarie*.262

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262 [http://theluttrells.homestead.com/edwardluttrellborn1757.html](http://theluttrells.homestead.com/edwardluttrellborn1757.html)
1812 to 1831

1812-1831: A note on Structure
Because the period covered is so extensive this past of *Pondering the Abyss* is arranged somewhat differently from previous parts. The structure is:
- A Note on Sources
- 1812-1831: Overview
- A chronology of events 1812-1831
- Families, Farms, Floods and Droughts: 1812-1816
- Comings and Goings:1812-1816
- Interactions and the Development of a New Paradigm: 1812-1816
- Farms, Floods and Droughts: 1816-1831
- Comings and Goings:1816-1831

A Note on Sources
A study of various memorandum, payments and rewards, trial evidence and memoirs strongly suggest that Governor Macquarie’s journal, his despatches and the *Sydney Gazette*, provide only an incomplete picture for the period under study, particularly the declaration of martial law in the second half of 1816.

A number of memoirs and reminiscences have proven particularly valuable in illuminating official records. Despite some chronological and factual mistakes, James T Ryan, *Reminiscences of Australia*, 1894 Reprinted 1982, provides insights not covered in official sources. Samuel Boughton (1841-1910), under the nom-de-plume of Cooramill¹ published a series of recollections in the *Hawkesbury Herald* from 1903-1905 which also are valuable. Alfred Smith, 1831-1917, provided another viewpoint in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* around 1910.


1812-1831: Overview
The period 1812-1831 saw the emergence of a paradigm in the minds of settler society in which they, the settlers, had an active, interventionist role and the First Peoples of Australia had a passive and receptive role. The paradigm was shaped by the growing triumphalism of British victories over Napoleon, the combination of theology and classicism, the growth of evangelism; the influx of free settlers; and the resistance of First Peoples to the attractions of civilisation as the settlers saw it.

¹ Whilst I am unsure of the meaning of the word, Boughton used it as a name of his home at Mountain Lagoon.
The growth of settlement on the Nepean Hawkesbury valley shaped Governor Macquarie’s interventionist policies, prompting Macquarie to formalise the term Aborigines in an official way to describe the native people of NSW.²

Macquarie’s policies in 1814 towards Aboriginal people displayed a zealous endeavour to civilise and evangelise. His views were those of the paternalistic master: “it seems only to require the fostering Hand of Time, gentle Means, and Conciliatory Manners, to bring these poor Un-enlightened People into an important Degree of Civilization”³ However, by 1816 his thinking had shifted towards proscribing “certain Rules, Orders, and Regulations to be observed by the Natives, and rigidly enforced and carried into Effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales.”⁴ This shift in his thinking probably reflected not only an Aboriginal rejection of Macquarie’s paradigm of the relationship between settlers and Aboriginal people, but also the pressure of influential free settlers, in particular William Cox on the Nepean Hawkesbury.

Macquarie was not alone in his determination to control and engineer the lives of the First People of Australia. Whether it was Robert Howe calling for civilisation and evangelisation, Fidelis calling for extermination, or Saxe Bannister using the plight of the First People to justify the end of transportation; the voices from this period were uniform in their assertion of the right of the settlers to determine the fate of the First People of Australia in the pursuit of their ambitions. Macquarie’s intervention initiated nearly two centuries of deliberate social engineering.

This period also saw Hawkesbury properties become springboards for the original settlers and their families to expand beyond the County of Cumberland as exhausted soils, crop diseases, pests, floods and droughts reduced the Hawkesbury’s ability to meet the needs of an ever increasing population.

1812-1816: Families, farms, floods and droughts
By 1816 much of the Nepean Hawkesbury valley was settled. The Hawkesbury was closely settled, mainly with small holdings granted to convicts and soldiers. Many of these small holdings had been sold and consolidated. Robert Forrester⁵ by 1813 had lost his Cornwallis farm. Simon Freebody⁶ lost his farm at Cornwallis in 1818. Obadiah Aiken, the ex-soldier, sold his farm on the junction of the Nepean and Grose Rivers to Matthew Kearn in 1806. When it was rented to the Lewis’ in 1816 it was still known as Kearn’s Retreat – despite Kearn having been executed in 1813 for murder.

There were large holdings; Clarendon, a 400 acre grant in 1804 to William Cox’s children, was the base of his holdings. Cox was entrepreneur, property owner, magistrate and commander of the garrison. William Cox received 2,000 acres as a result of his road building

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² It appears to have been first used by Matthew Everingham in 1795, page 52, Ross, Valerie, The Everingham Letterbook, Anvil Press, 1985.
⁴ Sydney Gazette, 4th May 1816.
⁵ Robert Forrester was investigated in 1794 for the murder of an Aboriginal lad. His wife, Isabella, was a witness in the 1799 trial of five settlers for the murders of Little George and Little Jemmy.
⁶ Simon Freebody was one of the five men found guilty in 1799 of the murders of Little George and Little Jemmy.
activities. This was the first grant of land west of the Blue Mountains. Edward, George and Henry, the sons of William Cox received grants at Mulgoa between 1810 and 1816. Later they were involved in the settlement of the Mudgee district. George Cox also became a member of the Legislative Council. Archibald Bell was granted 1,500 acres at Richmond Hill in 1809. Eliza Bell, one of Archibald Bell’s daughters, married George, son of William Cox in 1822. John Brabyn, soldier and magistrate, had 1,100 acres by 1828, including Clifton Cottage, Richmond. His youngest daughter, Elizabeth, by a second marriage, married Charles, son of the Reverend Samuel Marsden⁷. His eldest daughter, Jennifer, by an earlier marriage, appears to have been unaware of her father’s holdings as she received only the cutlery on his death, the land going to his other daughters. The Reverend Samuel Marsden had numerous land holdings stretching along South Creek, from Mamre in the south to Creek farm which stretched into the town of modern Windsor. As the trustee of the estate of George Barrington who died in 1804, Samuel Marsden bought Barrington’s fifty acre farm on Freeman’s Reach.⁸ John Bowman was a free settler who arrived in 1798 with his wife Honor. He was given a 100 acre grant at Richmond which he called Archerfield; it was to become the base for extensive family landholdings. His eldest son, George, was an early settler on the Hunter. His youngest son, William, became a landholder on the western plains. Both William and George were members of the Legislative Council in the 1850s. Edward Lutterell/Luttrell, a surgeon with an impeccable background arrived in 1804 bringing his wife and eight children. Hungerford, his eldest son, who had twice sailed with Captain Withers, captain of the ship which brought the Lutterells to NSW, deserted in Sydney. Hungerford, a surgeon like his father died of a fever off the coast of Africa. One of Edward’s daughters eloped with Captain Withers. Further disappointment came with a four hundred acre land grant at Mulgrave that was inadequate for Lutterell’s needs. A naval appointment by Governor Bligh ended in ignominy. Macquarie was contemptuous of Lutterell’s behaviour and only helped Lutterell because of the size of his family. His second eldest son, Edward, who shot Tedbury at Parramatta, was lost at sea in 1811. Robert was killed by Aboriginal warriors, probably near Penrith in 1811. It was one of Edward’s younger sons who led a punitive party in 1816. In January 1816 Lutterell transferred to Hobart and died there in 1824. His fifth son, Oscar, was killed by Aboriginal people in 1838 near Melbourne.⁹

Hawkesbury families formed strong networks through marriage. Class and background appear to have had a strong influence on marriages. Some of these networks got on well with Aboriginal people. Others not so.

James Raworth Kennedy and his sister, Elizabeth Moore Kennedy, the children of a Kent clergyman, arrived on the Sovereign on the 5th of November 1795. Elizabeth Moore Kennedy

⁷ Marsden bought fifty acres on South Creek from Privates Thomas Westmore and William Anderson in the late 1790s. This property appears to have been downstream from Ann Blady’s farm and on the north side of the new bridge across South Creek. It was probably on this farm that Marsden encountered Musquito for the first time. Pages, 110-111, 149-150 and 283, Jan Barkley - Jack, Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed, Rosenberg, 2009.
¹⁰ In a letter written on the 21st of February 1821 to Commissioner Bigge, William Redfern wrote concerning the evidence of his assistant, Henry Cowper: "Mr. Luttrell when on duty at the Hospital, was much offended at My forbidding Henry to associate with his son, who was an idle, profligate boy, & and for whom I detected Henry taking sulphur & nitre to make Gun-powder." Page 198, John Ritchie, The Evidence to the Bigge Reports, Volume 2 The written evidence, Heinmann, Melbourne, 1971.
married Andrew Hume\textsuperscript{11} in 1796; Hamilton Hume, 1797-1873, the explorer, was their son. In 1825, Hamilton Hume married Elizabeth Dight, daughter of the surgeon, John Dight and his wife Hannah. The Dights were Hawkesbury settlers who resettled at Richmond after the loss of their property in the 1806 flood.

James Raworth Kennedy was the father of John, Jane, Eliza Charlotte and Louisa Sophia.

John Kennedy married Caroline Best in 1813 at Appin. At Appin they were neighbours to the Broughtons and Byrnes.


Jane Kennedy became John Howe’s second wife in 1811. Their son, James Howe, 1814-1861, married Ann Dight, the sister of Elizabeth Dight in 1847. James Howe’s sister, Sophia Howe, married Samuel Billingsby Dight in 1838; who, upon Sophia’s death, married her older sister Emma Howe.

Catherine Broughton Howe, another sister of James Howe, married Andrew Hastings Doyle, son of Cyrus Matthew Doyle and Frances Biggers, in 1837. Frances Jane Howe, another sister to James and Catherine, in 1832 married James George Doyle, son of Andrew Doyle and Isabella Norris.

Elizabeth Anne Moore Howe, another of James’ sisters married George Dight, brother to Samuel in 1841.

As well James Howe had two half sisters, Elizabeth Charlotte and Mary from John Howe’s first marriage to Frances Ward who died in 1802. Elizabeth Charlotte was Thomas Dargin’s first wife, dying in 1834. Mary had three husbands, George Loder, who she married in 1816, Thomas Dargin who she married in 1835 and Laban White who she married in 1846.

Thus in one generation, the families of Kennedy, Howe, Broughton, Hume, Dight, Doyle and Dargin were all related by marriage and became first cousins. These families spread across the Nepean, Hawkesbury and Hunter valleys.\textsuperscript{12} It is possible to speculate that the Broughton, Kennedy, Hume and Byrne family network had positive connections with the Aboriginal community around Appin in 1816.

Sarah, widow of Thomas Hodgkinson, gave birth to his son John Hoskisson, shortly after her husband had been killed in 1799. John Hoskisson married Sarah Freebody\textsuperscript{13} in 1818. John’s mother married again to Thomas Upton and their daughter, Lucy, probably born in 1802, married Henry Forrester, son of Robert and Isabella Forrester in 1819. Serjeant Fleming’s widow, Elizabeth, married Benjamin Jones and they farmed the 30 acre grant made to her

\textsuperscript{11} Andrew Hamilton Hume, 1762-1849, was another clergyman’s son. He was cashiered in 1786 after a duel with a superior officer. He came to NSW and took up various government positions which he appeared to have jepodised by his actions. He was a one time Hawkesbury settlers ruined by fire and the 1806 floods. Respectability came with land grants at Prospect and Appin, \textit{Australian Dictionary of Biography}. \url{http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hume-andrew-hamilton-2210}


\textsuperscript{13} daughter of Simon Freebody.
son, Henry Fleming, at Bardonarang. Elizabeth’s older daughter, Eleanor, married the constable, David Brown, 14 in 1800. Young Henry was a successful farmer. In 1810 he married Elizabeth Hall, daughter of George Hall, a Coromandal free settler. His first son, Joseph, born 1811 became the MLA for West Moreton. His third son, John Henry born 1816, led the Myall Creek massacre in 1838. Murder charges against John Henry did not appear to have hindered him from becoming a Justice of the Peace in later life. Richard Rouse gave his Berkshire Park estate on the west bank of South Creek to his daughter Mary on her marriage to Jonathon Hassall in 1819. William Faithfull had benefitted from the patronage of his old company commander, Captain Joseph Foveaux. In 1804 he married Susannah Pitt, again benefitting through land grants, as Susannah was related to both Prime Minister Pitt and Lord Nelson. William Faithfull’s third marriage was to one of Archibald Bell’s daughters. By 1828 he owned nearly 3,000 acres, most of it in the Hawkesbury. Two of his sons, William, born in 1806, and George, born in 1814, were involved in the Broken River massacre and subsequent punitive expedition near Benalla in April 1838.15 After a few months at Bontharambo they “abandoned their squabbage on account of the depredations by the blacks who murdered six of their men”; William retired to his father’s Springfield grant on the Goulburn Plains and George to Wangaratta. William later became a member of the Legislative Council. The Reverend Joseph Docker, curate of St. Matthews at Windsor, 1829-1833, resigned and bought John Brabyn’s Clifton at Clarendon before selling and moving south and settling in the Faithfull’s slab hut at Bontharambo. Unlike the Faithfulls, Docker got on well with the local Aboriginal people and prospered.16

Joseph Holt’s vision of the Hawkesbury being “finest land in the world” was narrow and ill-founded, but typical of the period, even as poor farming methods, pests, disease, floods,

14 David Brown had been speared in the throat in 1798.
15 On the 8th of September 1853, in a letter to Governor La Trobe, George Faithfull concluded a description of the retributive expedition by writing: “The fight I have described gave them a notion of what sort of stuff the white man was made, and my name was a terror to them ever after. I picked up a boy from under a log, took him home and tamed him, and he became very useful to me, and I think was the means of deterring his tribe from committing further wanton depredation upon my property; my neighbours, however, suffered much long after this.” http://www.voea.vic.edu.au/resources/curriculum/pioneerletter_georgefaithful.html
16 “In proof of his tact with, and sympathetic treatment of, the natives it is also recorded by Mr. F. G. Docker: — ‘At one time, a tribe of blacks numbering about three hundred, roamed over the country from Bontharambo down to the junction of the Murray and Ovens Rivers and on the south side of the Ovens River to Yarrawonga, but held their corroborees on a small island near our stables. Some of the early day squatters in the neighborhood took harsh measures to punish them, but my father, from the first, treated them kindly, and they never molested his employees or his stock. My father's humane treatment had good results, though no doubt he ran a considerable risk. The blacks, at a time when the shepherds absconded, took charge of the 7,800 sheep on Bontharambo, for a period of twelve or eighteen months, taking good care of them. They were perhaps expensive shepherds, as they ate as many of the sheep as they required for meat, but they also protected them from wild dogs and acted most faithfully, and they never molested the cattle or other stock. An incident occurred shortly after my father settled at Bontharambo which no doubt promoted the friendly relations between the natives and himself. The blacks were allowed to come about the homestead whenever they liked, sometimes chopping wood or rendering some other light service, but if they saw a horseman riding up to the homestead, they always hurried away and swam over a creek, fearing that the new arrivals might be mounted troopers, of whom they stood in awe. On one occasion a blackfellow was at the back of the hat and did not notice the arrival of two troopers in time to take the usual method of escape, so he rushed into the hut, and, hid himself under my mother's bed for about two hours until the troopers departed. My father and mother and sister knew that he was there, but did not betray him. No doubt this was talked about among the tribe and they had sufficient gratitude to do us no injury.’ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30th August 1929. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85925955
drought and soil exhaustion led to new frontiers to the north south and west. Hawkesbury families were in the forefront of that expansion.

*The Hawkesbury lies low under the Blue mountains and is the finest land in the world. It produces two crops a year and I lived in that part of the world thirteen years and thirteen years before I went there the land was in cultivation and it never got one pound of manure, nor did it want any. At my leaving the country, the farmers throws the dung in the rivers and burns the straw, to get it out of the way.*  

The harvest of 1812 appeared to have been the last good one for a number of years as drought set in during the year and was not broken till the floods of 1816.

*The accounts of the harvest are equally favorable in all the Settlements of the Territory. The work of reaping has almost every where subsided, and the nimble flail succeeds. The grain is, it may be said without exception, very fine and full; smut, blight, and other diseases that are incidental to this valuable grain have been less observable than at any former season, and the crops are in general said to be uncommonly productive.*  

On the 16th of August 1813, Hannibal Macarthur noted: “The season for the Stock is very unfavourable, a colder winter has never been remembered, and as the Frosts have been attended by a most astonishing Drought the grass is cut off and the cattle are starving throughout the Colony.”

Macquarie’s note in April 1814 that the “*seasons appear to have undergone a complete change in this climate within the last three years*” confirmed the Gazette’s observation of 22nd January 1814 that in the Hawkesbury “*the long succession of drought has been very severely felt indeed*.” The drought continued into December 1815 with no sign of abatement.

*The general appearance of the harvest is by no means gratifying. The best lands are not expected to yield 20 bushels of wheat, per acre, while others will be scarcely worth the reaping. The length of the droughts that have been so disastrous in their consequences is unprecedented, as we cannot recollect so totally uninterrupted a succession of dry weather to have ever before lasted beyond the middle or somewhat nearer the latter end of October.*

The effects of the drought were so bad that some settlers were given permission to take their stock across the Blue Mountains. Magistrate Robert Lowe received permission to do so in December 1815. It is likely that Cox and Hassall also shifted their flocks and herds across at this time.

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20 Governor Macquarie to Bathurst 7/10/14, Page 314, *HRA*.
As in previous years the drought coincided with expansion of settlement and outbreaks of violence: in 1814 on the Nepean; and in 1816 along the Nepean Hawkesbury Valley and across the Blue Mountains at the Government depot on the junction of the River Lett and the Cox River. The pattern was repeated in 1824 and 1838, but not in the Nepean Hawkesbury Valley. While the relationship is clear, the reasons are not. The paradigm, which continues to cloud our understanding of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers, is a dichotomous one developed initially by David Collins, in which Aboriginal people encroached upon the farms and had to be driven off. It may have been, however, that it was settlers who encroached upon Aboriginal people for food and water during times of drought. I do not believe that there is enough evidence to indicate why there was increased conflict in years of drought.

The drought broke in the last week of May 1816 with four days of heavy rain that caused flooding in the Nepean Hawkesbury Rivers in early June, sweeping away houses, crops and animals. At the end of the month there was another flood of similar intensity. The rough weather extended to sea and affected a number of boats operating out of the Hawkesbury. Floods may have been a greater challenge for hunter gatherers than drought.

1812-1816: Comings and Goings

23rd of May, 1812: Daniel Moowatty
Daniel Moowatty, the Aboriginal lad taken to England by George Caley returned to Sydney in May 1812. Despite his veneer of civilization he disappointed his mentors by taking to the bush, further reinforcing settler disappointment in their efforts.25

1st of January, 1814: will any white man or woman keep me company?
The editor’s contemplation of the impossibility of civilising “the native by bringing him into our way of life” in the following passage was framed within the conventional discourse of degenerate savagery. It reinforced, and vented the frustration of settlers at the resistance of Aboriginal people to the supposed attractions of civilisation. It was, however, quite unusual in that it reflected a conversation with a Aboriginal man who pointed out the contradiction in settler expectations of civilisation when no white woman would form a relationship with him. The fact that the Aboriginal man spoke English and had been to sea did not appear to have registered with the editor as being evidence of civilisation.

‘A well known native who has been many short voyages to sea, and always acquitted himself well, was a few days since asked why, upon his return to port, he should prefer rejoining his native acquaintances? His reply went no further than to oppose one interrogatory to another: "Will you, said he, keep me company: or will any white man or woman keep me company? white women will marry white men: but no white woman will have me; then why wish me to keep away from my own people, when no other will look upon me? Whether this was a rational argument or not let the civilized man enquire. It is in point the best reply that could have been urged to the presumed impracticability of their civilization: in support of which opinion, examples have been produced of some who have been reared from infancy among us, at length abandoning our customs for their own. But how did they live among us? not as equals, but as creatures not possibly to be associated with. If we admit that they possess ideas, would it be fair or rational to imagine that when the judgment forms itself, and the time arrives when man naturally looks forward to the pleasures of social life, a poor creature possessed of reflection and manly faculties could still submit to a state of abstraction from his

With habits so diametrically at variance we can as little hope to civilize the native by bringing him into our way of life, as he can hope to barbarize us by reversing the position; Desirable, therefore, as it may be, to give them a relish for improvement, yet under such contrasted prejudices it is scarcely to be hoped for a considerable length of time at least.

On 17th August 1814, Thomas Campbell, the colonial Secretary wrote to Lieutenant Governor Davey requesting that Mosquito be returned from Van Diemen’s Land. Phillip, Mosquito’s brother, sailed in the Kangaroo to bring Mosquito home. Davey did not return Mosquito. On Friday the 19th of August, 1814 “His Majesty’s brig Kangaroo, Captain Jeffries, sailed for the Derwent.”

1812-1815: Interaction

11th of January, 1812: Aboriginal complaints

The following passage is illuminating in that a group of Aboriginal people felt able to complain to Matthew Locke, the chief constable and he responded to their complaint. The outcome of the complaint remains unknown. The passage indicates that an ongoing negotiated truce was in place; in the past and indeed in the future, an offence against an Aboriginal was likely to be reciprocated in kind, as the author was aware of. The passage is also of importance in that it reinforces my contention that the authorities were determined to prevent the convict settlers taking the law into their own hands.

27 Colonial Secretaries’ Index, AONSW, Reel, 6004, page 251
29 The following observation by Francois Peron illustrates the control that the authorities exerted over the convicts. ‘A formidably strict chief of police resides in Sydney. He carries out the duties of his office in such a way as to make the boldest convict tremble: the slightest misdemeanours are punished by two or three hundred strokes of the cane, and it is rare for a day to pass without twenty or so such penalties being administered in the prison yard – without trial and on the simple order of a constable. Among people so profoundly depraved, it is not hard to find informers and spies. They are paid a small sum, and the government keeps great numbers of
'A few days ago a party of Natives went to the house of Mr. Locke, Chief Constable at Windsor, with a representation that one of their tribe had been fired at and supposed to be killed, at Richmond.

They appeared very positive in the truth of their information, and vehemently solicited an immediate cognizance of the complaint; with which Mr. L readily complied. Attended by a party of his subordinates, he went accordingly to the farm whereat the circumstance was alleged to have taken place, and as not traces were visible that could give colour to the information, the enquiry was extended to the surrounding hamlets; the consequence of which was, that a white man and woman were taken in to Windsor, where, as stated by the latest accounts from thence, they awaited an investigation of the challenge. Whether the Natives were correct in their information or otherwise a short period doubtless will developpe: that it may be unfounded we sincerely wish, as it is our undoubted duty to avoid every excitement to acts of hostility from these uninformed tribes, who, acting from momentary impulse upon all occasions, have it ever in their power to reek their vengeance upon the solitary unoffending settler, or the unguarded traveller. These considerations should restrain the civilized inhabitant even in cases where excessive provocarion might shelter him from the imputation of inhumanity; but should this be obvious, the aggression becomes an act of cruelty beyond the hope of palliative.'

31st of December, 1812: the killing of Richard Evans
The Gazette report and the inquest into the death of Richard Evans are, like many other primary sources of the period, informative, tantalising and obscure.

Richard Evans had been a serjeant in the NSW Corp and received a 150 acre grant in 1804 at the bend of what was then Sawyers and Boston Reaches and is now called Cambridge and Cumberland Reaches. He had formed a liaison with, or married Elizabeth Jackson, who had been married to or connected with John, eldest son of Thomas Arndell. John had drowned in 1805. One of Elizabeth’s sons, known variously as Samuel Evans and Samuel Arndell, had been promised land at the Branch, possibly the 30 acres which later became China Farm.

The killing took place on the Branch farm on the night of 31st December 1812. The inquest provided insights into relations between Aboriginal people and settlers. The farm produced pigs, poultry, wheat and corn. There was a hut on the farm. The farm obviously required regular attention. It was not like some farms where a crop was sown and then left till harvest. Despite hiding articles such as blankets to prevent them being stolen, relations between Aboriginal people and settlers appeared good. An Aboriginal man had helped Richard plant corn that day. Richard was apparently comfortable to spend the night alone with six Aboriginal people. What caused his killing is not clear. Dick – Coohairy, an Aboriginal man was prepared to go with Angelo Ferugo, a Maltese assigned servant, until his sister told him to stay as they had a long way to go, suggesting that there was no premeditation. Evans’ body was not mutilated suggesting that his killing was not motivated by revenge.

them, always ready to tell it of conspiracies that might be hatchted by the convicts. ’ Pages 398-399. Peron, François and Freyinceot, Louis, Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, Translated by Christine Cornell, The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2006.

30 This appears to be an archaic form of provocation. It was not unusual for Howe to show off his learning.


Other Aboriginal people were brought in to examine the body and were of the opinion that the injuries were inflicted by Aboriginal people and they vowed to either kill the perpetrators or bring them in. The inquest was held on Andrew Doyle’s farm on the opposite bank at what is now Dargle. Andrew was an educated man and somewhat of a leader in the district. A jury was formed of neighbours including Michael Lamb, William Knight and Benjamin Singleton, all of whom had previous encounters with Aboriginal people. It is logical to expect that viewing the body and hearing the evidence hardened their solidarity and their hostility towards Aboriginal people. It is also logical to draw the conclusion that any killing of a settler would not pass without retribution. There is no record of what, if anything, happened to “Guttermutting”, “Mary-Ann”, “Munningjoy”, “the unknown woman”, “Dick Coohairy” and “Yaring”.

‘An account has been received of the murder on Friday se’nnight of - Evans, a settler at or near Portland Head, and formerly a serjeant in the New South Wales Corps, now the 102d Regiment. The perpetration of the horrible offence is attributed to several natives, said to belong to the Lower Branch; but whether this supposition be accurate or not we have no present information. 33

I have maintained the spelling, grammar and layout of the inquest.

‘Cumberland
An Inquest taken at Sawyers Reach in the said County the 3rd day of January 1813. Upon the view of the body of Richard Evans then and there lying dead before Thomas Hobby Gentleman. Coroner and the jurors following. –

John Campbell - foreman
Michael Lamb
William Field
William Hubbard
William Knight
Charles Walker

Cyrus Doyle
Benjamin Singleton
John Dyke
John Hanson
William Leach
Thomas Riley

Evidence
Angelo Ferugo A Maltee sworn – Was at his masters-sons farm at the Branch on Thursday last 31st Decr. And was requested by his master to go to his own farm at Sawyers Reach for some seed Corn (a distance of about 7 miles) his master desired him first to get his dinner which he did; there were at the time 6 Natives on the farm 3 men named, Guttermutting, Munningjoy, and Dick Coohairy, and 3 women - Mary-Ann belonging to Gunnermutting, and Yaring belonging to Coohairy, the other he does not know her name. When at Dinner his master gave Dick Coohairy something to eat as he had been planting corn for him. He then got ready the boat and Dick – Coohairy and himself got into it, he proposing to go with Deponent to his masters farm for the corn; On Dick - Coohairys sister (Mary Ann) calling to him he objected going with Deponent saying he had a long way to go with her and the other natives. Deponents master then desired him to go by himself with the boat and to return in the morning, took the boat by himself to his Masters farm and remained there all night Started the following morning before sunrise In the event Ferugo went on his own in the boat to Sawyers Reach, stayed there the night and returned the following morning starting before sun rise with the seed corn and deceaseds son Saml. Evans. Both on foot and when opposite the farm which he had left his master at called, on receiving no answer both swam over Deponent taking part of the corn on his head and leaving other articles behind them intending to fetch them over at low water which they could then do without swimming. On reaching the opposite shore they searched but could not find the deceased,

but apprehending no harm they ground some wheat and had some breakfast, then going to search
for his blanket (as they knew where he usually hid it for fear of it being stolen by the natives) they
found his body, quite naked and covered with some bush and grass, his blanket and all the other
articles they usually hid were gone and some of the poultry. Both swam back immediately and
informed Deponent's mistress at the farm at Sawyers Reach, she called on some neighbours who
fetched him to his own farm.

Quest. by the jury Did you not find the house in that manner as to give you reason to think
somewhat particular had happened?
Anr. Did not take any notice till he had had his breakfast, then he went to look for the blanket as
before mentioned
(Signed) Angelo X Ferugo

Samuel Evans (a boy about 14 years of age, son of the deceased) stated that the last witness came
home on Thursday night last and on the following morning before sun rise, went with him, called
when opposite the farm and receiving no answer both swam over went to the hut and called but
received no answer, observed the straw in the hut which they lay upon tossed much, the meal sieve
out of its usual place and the knives missing, but considering his father was looking after the pigs,
clearing corn or doing something or other they got their breakfast went then to the place where his
father usually hid the blanket (at the instance of Angelo) where he found his father lying dead, strip’d
naked covered with bush and grass, both swam back and informed his mother who sent some
neighbours for the body
(signed) Samuel X Evans

Andrew Doyle Sworn on Friday 1st Inst was informed by the first witness, John Campbell & others, of
the death of Evans and went at their request to learn what particulars they could on the road (taken)
took some natives with them to the place where the deceased lay and from the blows on the head considered
he had been beat by an axe or a tomihawk; on account of the distance being so great and no person
on the farm they thought it prudent to bring the body to his own house;\textsuperscript{43} on asking the natives what
they thought of it they said they thought it was done by Natives and on their names being mentioned
that were left with the Deceased they promised to bring them in dead or alive the place the body was
found in was an aperture among the rocks about four rods from the hut.

(Signed) And w Doyle

Mr Surgeon Mileham states he examined the scull of the deceased and found it fractured in several
places but from the very putric state cannot say by what means

(Signed) James Mileham\textsuperscript{34}

Verdict Wilful murder against afore said Natives -.
Guttermutting, Mary-Ann
Munningjoy (woman name unknown)
Dick Coohairy Yaring\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34} James Mileham came free in 1797 as an Assistant Surgeon. He was sent to the Hawkesbury in 1808 and was
made Justice of the Peace and Magistrate at Castlereagh in June 1811. His daughter, Lucy, married Samuel Otoo
Hassall. Mileham died 28\textsuperscript{th} September 1824.

\textsuperscript{35} Source: Australian Archives of NSW: Reel 6021; 4/1819 pp.193-198
9th of January, 1813: Bennelong’s death

The Gazette’s report of Bennelong’s death served as a platform to condemn Aboriginal reactions to the benefits of civilisation. The final sentence widened the abyss of misunderstanding by separating Bennelong from mankind and portraying him as a “thorough savage, whose form and character” were given to him by “nature”. That Bennelong’s “propensity for drunkenness” was a response to “civilized life” does not appear to have occurred to Howe.

‘Bennelong died on Sunday morning last at Kissing Point. Of this veteran champion of the native tribe little favourable can be said. His voyage to, and benevolent treatment in Great Britain produced no change whatever in his manners and inclinations, which were naturally barbarous and ferocious. The principal Officers of Government had for many years endeavoured, by the kindest of usage to wean him from his original habits, and draw him into a relish for civilized life; but every effort was in vain exerted, and for the last few has been little noticed. His propensity to drunkenness was inordinate; and when in that state he was insolent, menacing and overbearing. In fact, he was a thorough savage, not to be warped from the form and character that nature gave him, by all the efforts that mankind could use.”

23rd of January, 1813: royal birthday celebrations

Royal birthday celebrations brought together at Government House one hundred and twenty government officials and landed property owners with many agendas. The combination of native flora and scenes of Aboriginal people in the decorations showed that the settlers bundled flora, fauna and Aboriginal people together in response to the unwillingness of Aboriginal people to embrace the wonders of civilisation. This legacy continues in many of our museums.

Michael Robinson, whose skill with his pen led to his transportation, was responsible for a number of Odes. His Odes of 1811 and 1813 shared a common theme of race. In 1811 he urged the benefits of civilisation on the “sable race”; however, in 1813 after Wellington’s Peninsula victories his focus was on Albion’s “illustrious race”, ignoring George’s Germanic origins and Queen Charlotte’s African ancestry.

While Governor Macquarie described Robinson as “the Poet Laureat”, it may be that Robinson’s position was more that of a bard to the fancy of a Highland chieftain.

‘Monday last the 18th, being the BIRTH-DAY of HER MAJESTY, was celebrated with the fullest demonstrations of duteous loyalty and respect. As Usual, the Royal Standard was displayed from Fort Phillip, whence it was an object of interesting admiration. The Union was hoisted at Dawes’s Battery: At twelve o’clock a Royal Salute was fired from the latter; and shortly afterwards three vollies proceeded from the 73d Regiment, who were paraded in Hyde Park, in honor of the Day. At one o’clock the GOVERNOR, having returned from the Park, received the congratulations of the Civil, Naval, and Military Officers, and of the Gentlemen, Residents of the Colony; as a proof of the general feelings of respect for Her

37 Mr. Robinson enjoyed a peculiarly exalted position in Macquarie’s world. “Saturday. 31. January 1818 This day gave an Order to Mr. Michl. Robinson to receive Two Cows from the Govt. Herds, as a Gift, & remuneration from Government, for his Services as the Poet Laureat (sic) of the Colony.”
Majesty we have to observe, that the Levee Was most numerous. All seemed alike disposed to mark their loyalty, and we did not miss a single person who could express his zeal by his attendance at the Levee. - During the Levee, an Ode (the production of a Gentleman whose poetic talents we have had repeatedly the pleasure to hear our small tribute, of praise to) was recited by the Author, Mr. M. Robinson. We refer our Readers to our present columns for the satisfaction which we anticipate their deriving from the perusal of the Poem itself.

The Ball and Supper Room in the evening at Government House surpassed by far any thing of the kind yet attempted in this Colony, and excited general admiration. The decorations of the Ball Room were composed of native shrubs and flowers, joined into festoons, and suspended from pillars erected for the purpose, which were lighted by transparent, lamps, representing the native inhabitants of the Colony in their different occupations and scenes of life, and the whole produced a novel and pleasing effect. - The Company consisted of 120 persons.

At ten o’clock the Supper Room was opened; to which succeeded a renewal of the sprightly Dance that continued till three o’clock in the morning when the Company retired highly gratified with the Entertainment of the Evening.  

‘ODE
FOR, THE QUEENS BIRTH-DAY,
1813.
By MR. MICHAEL ROBINSON.

RETIR’D within the silent Glen
Far from the busy Haunts of Men,
The Muse!-albeit her humble Lyre
Teems with no proud Pindarick Fire:
Yet borne on Fancy’s magic Wings,
Her wild Notes wake the trembling Strings;
And pleas’d to range the winding Vale,
The woodland Walk, and shelter’d Dale,
With sage Philosophy her Guide,
And Nature drest in rural Pride:—
No more the splendid Dome invites,
No more Ambition’s Charm delights;
Consign’d to solitary Toil,
O’er Books she wastes the midnight Oil;
From History gleans her genuine Lore,
And traces Deeds of Days of Yore:
But wheresoe’er she turns the Page,
She finds her ALBION great in ev’ry Age!
Finds fadeless Laurels crown the martial Strains
That sing of AGINCOURT’s and CRESSY’S Plains:-
Or, swelling high in Naval Glory, tell
Where Spain’s “invincible Armada” fell!
What Time pale Terror seiz’d their scatter’d Train,
And BRITAIN’S BULWARKS triumph’d on the MAIN!

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These are Themes of warlike Glory,
Chronicled in ancient Story:-
Modern Annals, crown'd by Fame,
More illustrious Trophies claim:-
Tho' PITY pleads a kindred Sigh
For suffering HUMANITY!
Tho' NATURE mourns, when from afar
Rude roars the angry Din of War!
Yet, when provok'd th' avenging Spear to wield,
ALBION commands, and Valour bears her Shield!

When Maida's Plains were crimson'd o'er
With vital Streams of human Gore:
When Legions of the despot Host
Swain'd on Corunna's ravaged Coast,
And vainly hop'd one Wreath to save,
To deck their toil-worn Warriors' Grave:-
When Talavera's Fate reveal'd
The Ruins of the carnag'd Field:-
Then ALBION bade her Thunders sound,
And CONQUEST came, with GLORY crown'd!
When Badajoz, that long had stood
The Pride of Guadiana's Flood,
Whose frowning Fort, and Tow'rs sublime
Seem'd to have brav'd the Wreck of Time,-
Beheld her shatter'd Ramparts, prostrate, laid,
And saw her - venerable Splendor fade:
Then, proudly deck'd with many a Hero's Name,
Rose a new Monument to BRITISH FAME!

Long, Oh long may Freedom's Smiles
Exalt our peerless QUEEN of ISLES,
And her MONARCHS, crown'd with Glory,
Swell the Page of future Story:-
Then shall GEORGE'S sacred Name
Stand pre-eminent in Fame:-
Then shall rise in native Grace,
The Pride of HIS LLUSTRIOUS RACE!
Then shall Memory fondly pay
A grateful Tribute to this hallow'd Day,
And each new Morn, with brighter Ray serene.
Return to hail the Birth of ALBION'S QUEEN!
To sound HER Virtues thro' remotest Climes,
And bear HER Meed of Praise to unborn Times!
New South Wales,
Jan. 18, 1813. 39

39 Sydney Gazette, 23rd January 1813
1814: Macquarie’s First Intervention

While the Gazette was keen to point out parallels with conflicts in the past that coincided with the harvest; there had been no such reports in the Gazette for a number of years. Drought was certainly a contributory factor in the fighting in 1814 as it had been in past years. The outbreak of fighting in 1814 on the Nepean River can be linked directly to the escalation of land grants to free settlers upstream of the Hawkesbury.

Settlement along South Creek and between the Georges and Nepean Rivers differed significantly from the Hawkesbury. Large grants were made to free settlers, clergy, officers and the families of Governors King and Bligh. These were large estates that stocked sheep and cattle rather than crops. Samuel Marsden bought 128 acres on South Creek, near St Marys in 1804. He called it Mamre and bred sheep there. In 1805 in the district of Evan, Governor King granted 1,300 acres to William Chapman, 1,000 acres to Captain Daniel Woodrffe (site of modern Penrith) and 1,000 acres to Thomas Jamison. To the south Governor King granted 880 acres to Darcy Wentworth at Bringelly in 1805. Governor King made grants to his family at Dunheved on South Creek in 1806 of over 2,000 acres. Governors King and Bligh reciprocated grants of land to each other’s families in 1806 and 1807. Settlement was forbidden on the west bank of the Nepean except for the farms of Macarthur, (Camden Park 1805) and Davidson (Belmont 1805). Macquarie continued the trend of large grants to free settlers, clergy and officers. Governor Macquarie either confirmed earlier grants or made new ones. O’Connell’s 2,500 acre Riverston Farm was an 1810 wedding gift made to the commander of the 73rd Regiment and his bride, Mary, the widowed daughter of Governor Bligh. John Oxley received Kirkham and Elderslie in 1810; by 1815 he had increased his holdings to 1,000 acres. John Campbell, Macquarie’s secretary, received Shancomore, a 1,550 acre grant, on the junction of Bringelly Creek and the Nepean River in 1811. The Luttrell family received 1,170 acres to the south of modern Penrith in 1811. Governor Macquarie granted 1,500 acres at Upper Minto to Charles Throsby, surgeon, which Throsby called Glenfield. William Broughton, the acting commissary, was granted 1,000 acres near Appin. Gregory Blaxland’s, Cubbady farm, (Governor Macquarie named the area Cobbdee, but it is now known as Cobbity) was granted in 1812. Robert Lowe, a free settler, was granted 1,000 acres at Bringelly in 1812. Wivenhoe was granted to the Reverend William Cowper in 1812. Macquarie Grove, 1812, was granted to the Reverend Rowland Hassall and passed on to his son Samuel Hassall. Denbigh was granted to Charles Hook in 1815. Freshfields was granted to James Hassall in 1816. He later bought Matavai which had been granted to his brother Jonathon.

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40 The Reverend Samuel Marsden appropriated to himself the role of God’s estate agent in New South Wales. In Genesis 18:1 the Lord appeared to Abraham “in the plains of Mamre” and promised a child to Abraham and his wife Sarah, despite their age and told Abraham that “all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him”. In 1822, Elizabeth Hawkins crossing the Blue Mountains encountered the Reverend Marsden who was returning from across the Blue Mountains. “Oh,” he said, “I congratulate you. You are all going to the Land of Goshen.” The Land of Goshen was the best land in the Egyptian delta and given by the Pharaoh to Joseph. (Page 117, George Mackenass, Fourteen Journeys Over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841, Howitz Publications and The Grahame Book Company, Sydney, 1965). James Hassall, writing about a sermon preached by his grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Marsden in St John’s at Parramatta, recalled, “A High pulpit stood in the middle of the church. I remember my grandfather preaching from it about the patriarchs and saying that Abraham was a squatter on Government ground.” (Page 11, James S. Hassall, In Old Australia, Records and Reminiscences from 1794, Originally printed 1902, Facsimile edition 1977).

41 Riverton Farm is now better known as Riverstone. John Powell, Place Names of the Greater Hawkesbury Region, Hawkesbury River Enterprises, 1994.
The fighting that broke out in 1814 according to Broughton was related to the killing of Botagallie’s wife and two of their children. In the attack Botagallie’s wife was scalped and an arm was cut off. When fighting broke out Governor Macquarie was sanguine about it, appreciating the retributive nature of Aboriginal attacks and in the latter half of the year made preparations for the opening of the Native Institute.

**2nd of February, 1814: the spearing of William Reardon**
The spearing of William Reardon well illustrates the difficulties of working with early records. I first came across his killing in the St Matthew’s Church of England burial records: “William Reardon aged 50 free, came as a prisoner, speared by natives, buried at Castlereagh.” At that time all births, marriages and deaths in the surrounding areas were recorded at St. Matthew’s. There is, however, a record of an inquest in the Papers of the NSW Colonial Secretary, which have been placed on line. The inquest reveals that William Reardon was a timber cutter on George Cox’s Fernhill estate. He was was probably speared in mistake for a settler who had accused some Aboriginal men on Fernhill, of ripping up his vegetable garden. There is a possibility that Reardon may have been taken as far as William Cox’s Claendon estate. Reardon died at Jamison’s Regentville Estate and was buried in the Castlereagh cemetery.

**March to September 1814: Croppy Beach and the Marramarra Creek middens**
The short and violent careers of Patrick Collins and Dennis Donovan as bushrangers throws an important light on relations between Aboriginal people and settlers on the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers in 1814. In February 1814 Patrick Collins and Dennis Donovan were transported to Newcastle. Shortly after they escaped and headed back to Sydney. They reached the Hawkesbury River and crossed at “Croppy Beach” by unknown means. Croppy Beach was, according to local Aboriginal people, the favoured spot for convict escapees to cross the river. The name Croppy Beach apparently came from the local Aboriginal people. The name indicates that Aboriginal people were aware of the lowly status of the convicts. The name Croppy comes apparently from the crop-headed haircut of the convicts.

The convict escapees Collins and Donovan appear to have made their way upstream on the right bank of the Hawkesbury where they came upon a Hawkesbury vessel moored at Maher Creek to the north of Berowra Creek. Maher Creek was an anglicised version of the Aboriginal name Marra Creek. It was also known as Mother Maher Creek, which was an approximation of its present name, Marramarra Creek. Marra apparently means fish, suggesting it was a good fishing spot.

The boat belonged to Joseph Mann and William Alder who shared a farm near the MacDonald River. They left Sydney on the 13th of March and reached Maher Creek about 14

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44 “Croppy Beach, which was near the place where the murders and robbery were effected, is named Croppy Beach by the natives, as a place which fugitives from Hunter’s River cannot avoid in their escape from that settlement.” Sydney Gazette, 2nd July, 1814. [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/628943](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/628943)
7th of May, 1814: killings on the Nepean

I have included accounts of trouble on the Nepean River in 1814 and 1816 in this work because it is relevant to the Hawkesbury. As well, some of these accounts come from letters written by literate free settlers, which both illuminate and contrast with events on the Hawkesbury where literacy levels were not as high among settlers with a convict background. Macquarie’s assessment of the hostilities that broke out in May 1814 was quite objective. William Reardon, who was buried in March 1814, may have been one of the “Europeans” killed. The soldier who was killed was probably Private Eustace. Macquarie’s description of the killing of the Aboriginal woman and two children differs significantly from the account in the Gazette of 14th May 1814.

7th of May, 1814: Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst

’Some Hostilities have been lately exhibited in the remote parts of this Settlement by the Natives, who have killed one Soldier and three other Europeans. In consequence of this Aggression, I dispatched a small military Party to the disturbed District, on whose approach the Natives retired without being attacked or Suffering in any degree for their Temerity. In course of this Business, I have caused enquiry to be made into the Motives that might have produced it, and from thence I have learned that Some idle and ill disposed Europeans had taken Liberties with their Women, and had also treacherously attacked and killed a Woman and her two children whilst Sleeping, and this unprovoked cruelty produced that retaliation whereby Persons perfectly innocent of the Crime lost their lives. Having had their Revenge in the way they always Seek for it, I am not at all apprehensive of their making any further attacks on the Settlers unless provoked, as before, by Insults and Cruelties.

I have, &c.,

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L. MACQUARIE.

The following accounts of attacks on the farms of Cox and Macquarie’s secretary, Campbell, suggest that the owners were absentee, leaving the management to overseers and convicts. It certainly was an early model for transferring the blame for trouble from the free settlers to their convict servants.

The mountain natives have lately become troublesome to the occupiers of remote grounds. Mr. Cox’s people at Mulgoa have been several times attacked within the last month, and compelled to defend themselves with their muskets, which the assailants seemed less in dread of than could possibly have been expected. On Sunday last Mr. Campbell’s servants at Shancomore were attacked by nearly 400; the overseer was speared through the shoulder, several pigs were killed, one of which, a very large one, was taken away, together with a quantity of corn, and other provisions; the overseer’s wearing apparel, and cooking utensils.

Similar outrages have been committed in other places; which it is to be hoped will cease without a necessity of our resorting to measures equally violent to suppress the outrages.

While the article described conflict in the Appin district it was important and relevant to the Hawkesbury for several reasons. It highlighted that the peace had endured for up to seven years. It showed that Aboriginal warriors had lost their fear of muskets and were becoming adept in fighting musket-armed soldiers and settlers. Private Eustace was killed while reloading his musket, the time in which he was most vulnerable to attack. Chopping his hand off was almost certainly designed to prevent him from using a musket in his next life. The difference between Governor Macquarie’s despatch and the Gazette’s account of the killing of the Aboriginal woman and her two children highlighted the unreliability of the Gazette. By placing the blame for the hostilities on the “wild temperament of fury natural to the savage state of Man” the Gazette continued its demonisation of Aboriginal people within the framework of the colonial discourse. The authoritative tone of “Repulsive measures we have had frequent necessity of resorting to, as the only means of self defence” strongly supports my contention that punitive expeditions, both official and unofficial were frequent and under-reported. That some “small tribes” who struggled in settled areas came in at this time strongly suggested that Aboriginal numbers were declining and resistance was not universal.

Our public duty once more lays us under the painful necessity of reporting violences between the natives and ourselves, which from the tranquillity and good understanding that for the last 5 or 6 years has subsisted we had entertained the flattering expectation were not again likely to occur. - It appears from information received, that on Saturday last three privates of the Veteran Company, in the district of Appin, fired on a large body of the natives who were plundering the corn fields of a settler, and refused to desist, at the same time making use of every term of provocation and defiance, and in token of a determined

49 The Gazette, of 25th February 1815 identified that Private Eustace was killed on 7th May.
50 The Veteran Company of the NSW Corps was formed in 1792 from marines who wished to stay in the colony. In 1806 the company was reinforced with 100 recruits from Britain’s 2nd and 4th Royal Veteran Battalions. When the NSW Corps became the 102nd Regiment, and was relieved by the 73rd Regiment, the Veteran Company was topped up with men from the 102nd who wished to stay. The Veteran Company was a supernumerary to Royal battalions in NSW till 1823 when the company was disbanded. Page 21, Leonard Barton, The Military History of Windsor NSW, Len Barton, 1994.
spirit, menacing with their spears. – A native boy was unfortunately killed, and the small party was immediately attacked with a promptitude that put it out of their power to re-load. They were compelled to fly: and two escaped: but the third, whose name was Isaac Eustace, was killed on the spot. This unhappy rencontre took place on the grounds of one Milehouse, contiguous to which lay the farm of a settler of the name of Bucher, which being also reported to be attacked, a party of 14 went thither to prevent injury, if possible, to the persons residing on it: The mangled body of the deceased Eustace had been previously found, stripped, and one of the hands taken from the wrist. The party fell in with a groupe (sic) of the natives, and fired upon them: - they fled, leaving a woman and two children behind them, dead. The next day they made an attack on a stock-keeper's hut belonging to Mrs. McArthur, when the stock-keeper, Wm Baker, and a woman named Mary Sullivan, generally called Hirburt, were both killed. Some other atrocities have this day been reported, but we have no present reason to treat them with any degree of confidence. - Without offering an opinion to which side the first act of aggression may justly be attributed, we feel confident in asserting that every effort will be used by Government in ascertaining the fact, and we have every hope that the measures judiciously acted upon will put a speedy termination to those evils to which the lonely settler is exposed from the predatory incursions of an enemy whose haunts are inaccessible, distant, and unknown, and who by surprise or stratagem accomplish every project they devise in a wild temperament of fury natural to the savage state of Man. The care of Government, and the general disposition of the inhabitants to preserve a friendly intercourse with them had in former years seldom been disturbed but at this identical season of the year, when the fields of ripened maize were open to their pillage. Without property, or a wish to obtain any thing by industry, they respected it not in others, and the slightest opposition they retorted with the bitterest hostility - which we may almost venture to affirm, was until within the last 6 or 7 years periodically repeated. Repulsive measures we have had frequent necessity of resorting to, as the only means of self defence, and we have always found a temporary banishment effect a speedy reconciliation, as those accustomed to live among us derived benefits from the intercourse which the woods of the interior could not replace: Those of the latter description, whose small tribes straggle about the part of the coast, are already coming in, as an evidence of their taking no part in the excesses of their brethren of the mountains; who, on the other hand, are reported to have wholly disappeared from the settlements of the interior which they visited, but whether with a view to their own security, or for the purpose of alarming the yet more distant inhabitants, seems doubtful. In the present state of things with them, it would be advisable for settlers and travellers to be well upon their guard; to be ready to give assistance in every case of alarm, and to be cautious at the same time not to provoke or irritate them by ill treatment, but endeavour on the contrary to soothe them into a better disposition than their present seems to be. - Travellers, and more especially those who are but little acquainted with their manners, should in the mean time be very wary, as they are liable in a moment to be surprised and surrounded from the sides of the roads, and subjected to very ill, most likely barbarous treatment.

While the following account from page 105, Old Times, May 1903, differs from the other accounts in some respects, e.g., Eustace becomes Hewitt, it provides additional insights. It locates the killing of the old soldier on Broughton’s farm. It shows that by burying the murdered woman and two children on his property, Kennedy maintained his good relationship with local Aboriginal people. It identifies another two men, Price and Noonan, whose deaths do not appear to have any other record. The account of the two Sykes children

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escaping death in two separate incidents strongly suggests that revenge was measured and directed, rather than haphazard as some would have. While it appears that the ninety year old recollections contain a possible anomaly by linking Captain Wallis’ 1816 expedition directly to these incidents, it is more likely that the story simply moves from 1814 to 1816 in the final paragraph. The reference to a government reward for decapitated heads receives no mention elsewhere in Australian records; however, the exactness of the government reward of thirty shillings and a gallon of rum for each of them suggests this happened. In 1820, Sir George Mackenzie published, Illustrations of Phrenology with engravings, London 1820. It contained an engraving of Carnimbeigle’s skull and an account of how the skull was collected by Lieutenant Parker, forwarded to Surgeon Patrick Hill, who in turn forwarded it to Edinburgh, where it came into the hands of Sir George Mackenzie. The book carried an advertisement for the sale of plaster casts of the skulls of Carnimbeigle and two others.  

Decapitation was not uncommon, but was not mentioned in official reports or records, showing that records were selective in what was recorded. 

I first found this story by an old settler in a genealogical site before sourcing the original in the State Library. 

“‘As a matter of fact,” said Mr. William Byrne, Sen., when the “OLD TIMES” representative expressed surprise at the excellence of his memory. “I can remember the events of seven and eighty years back better than more recent ones. My parents arrived in Sydney in 1798. My father was a member of the 102nd Regiment, or “condemned regiment,” as they were called. On January 26th, 1808, he took part in the celebrated arrest and deposition of Governor Bligh, in which Major Johnston was nominally the leader. While doing duty during these disturbances he caught a severe cold, which resulted in his death in the June following, and I was born on October 24th of the same year at Parramatta. 

“My earliest recollection is Howell’s mill, which was owned by the grandfather of Howell, the cricketer. 

“We left Parramatta in December 1812, when I was four years old. My mother had in the meantime married a Mr. Sykes, who had received a grant of land at Appin. We were the first settlers there, and I remember having our Christmas dinner in the barn before our house was built. After we arrived, there was considerable trouble with the blacks. This was largely due to the fault of the settlers themselves, who often treated the blacks with a great deal of
cruelty. Outrages by both blacks and whites extended over the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, up till 1816, when the settlers were granted military protection.

“Our neighbours were Commissary Broughton and Mr. John Kennedy, my brother-in-law. The latter treated the aboriginals very kindly, and was popular with them in consequence.

“The first murder of the blacks was by an old soldier named Hewett, who was a servant on the Broughton Estate, and saw some of them in the cornfields. He and two other men fired a volley in to them. The blacks showed fight. They killed Hewett, cut off his hands and went round to the settlers mockingly, asking them to place a piece of bread in the outstretched palm, which they worked by pulling the sinews.

“After this Mr. Broughton's men went into Campbelltown, and brought out a party of settlers, who fired into the blacks' camp and killed an inoffensive old lady, and two children. The blacks found out the names of these men — Price and Noonan — and lay in wait for them on the plantation. They killed Noonan on the spot, but Price, though he had several spears sticking into him, managed to run about two hundred yards, as far as Mr Kennedy’s gates, when a well directed spear went right through his heart. My eldest sister went past the body a few minutes later, but was unharmed. The fact that Mr Kennedy had buried the lubra and two piccaninnies mentioned above, and fenced the graves off on his ground, probably had something to do with this.

“After this the blacks expressed their determination of murdering a white woman and two children as a blood revenge. They were then under the leadership of a chief named Wallah, and one day surrounded my brother John. Things looked pretty queer for him till Wallah interfered and said, 'No; him mother (Mrs Sarah Sykes) given um bread; no kill.' Shortly after they crossed the river and killed an old man and his wife who lived in a hut by themselves. The Government then sent up a detachment of soldiers who ran a portion of the tribe into a drive and shot sixteen of them, and hanged three on McGee's Hill. They afterwards cut off their heads and brought them to Sydney, where the Government paid them thirty shillings and a gallon of rum for each of them. After this we had three soldiers billeted on each homestead, and things were fairly quiet after 1816, when they were removed back to Sydney’.

John Macarthur sent his nephew Hannibal Macarthur home in 1812 to manage his trading ventures. Hannibal, in a letter to his uncle of the 16th of May 1816, offered another insight into the killing of William Baker (this was not William Baker, the former marine in Tench’s Company, who had been the superintendent of government stores at Windsor). ‘The natives have become extremely troublesome and amongst others we have become sufferers in the Death of a Shepherd’s wife and your old favourite Wm. Baker who were inhumanly murdered at the Upper Camden Yards. This horrid event was represented to the Governor but he is so much taken up with a Parade of a garrison that he has “no means of Defence or Protection for those distant Establishments” so that the possession of Stock is rendered very precarious as in addition to the Natives numbers of convicts are roving uncontrolled through the country committing all kinds of depredations, and, I have every reason to believe some of them were concerned with the Natives in the attacks of our yards.’

55 Page 105 Old Times, Sydney, May 1903,
Hannibal’s letter is important in that it shows that remonstrations were made directly to the Governors when killings took place and that records of such requests for assistance were not often recorded. As well, it shows anger towards the Governor for his perceived inaction. In 1805 the killing of MacArthur’s stockmen appeared to have been the catalyst for Governor King’s General Orders. Consideration must be given to the incremental affect of such complaints upon the Governor.\footnote{However, in March 1816, Elizabeth Macarthur recorded in a letter to her friend Eliza Kingdon: “Yesterday the Governor was pleased to order a non-commissioned Officer and six soldiers out to protect our establishments from further injuries.” This was in response to attacks on her Cowpasture farm. Page 307, Sibella Macarthur Onslow, (ed), Some Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden, Angus and Robertson Ltd., Sydney, 1914.}

4th of June, 1814: Watch on the Nepean

On the 4\textsuperscript{th} Of June 1814 the Gazette printed an alarming report of a coalition of warriors poised to descend upon the Cowpastures. On the same date in his journal Governor Macquarie recorded the celebration of the King’s birthday. “\textit{I entertained 84 Officers Civil & Military, & other Gentlemen of the Colony at Din. at Government House on this occasion in honor of the Day. — Mrs. Macquarie also entertained the principal Ladies at Sydney, in the Evening at Gov. House, with Tea & Coffee, Cards & Music.”}\footnote{http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1814/1814june.html} There can be little doubt that the gentry pressed Macquarie for action at this gathering. Although the following passage is not set in the Hawkesbury it has relevance. The passage shows that, as in the Hawkesbury, the combination of a shifting frontier, drought and harvest precipitated hostilities. As in 1805, this conflict involved a coalition of warriors. As in the Hawkesbury, the more isolated settlers came in from the edge of the frontier. As in 1805, Aboriginal ranks were not solid. Cowgye, also known to us as Gogy, never one for half measures, abandoned his fellows, claiming the mountain tribes were cannibals. As revealed in Barrallier’s journal, the Gundungurra had a longstanding grievance with Cowgye/Gogy which was the real reason for his precipitate flight.

\textit{The hordes of Natives that shew themselves at a distance in the environs of the Cow Pasture Settlement, excite considerable alarm among the Settlers. Many of their wives and children have forsaken their dwelling; and sought shelter in securer places. The natives of Jarvis’s Bay are reported in good authority to have coalesced with the mountain tribes; they commit no depredations on the corn fields, but have declared a determination, that when the Moon shall become as large as the Sun, they will commence a work of desolation, and kill all the whites before them. —}

\textit{The full of the moon, which yesterday took place, was clearly understood to be the fixed period alluded to; and the settlers, in self defence, had formed a resolution to watch their respective farms by night, and by voice or gun communicating to each other any immediate danger of attack; in case of which all within the Settlement were to repair to the place of danger: But by the advice of Mr. Moore, the worthy Magistrate of Liverpool, this plan, however meritorious or excellently designed, underwent an alteration which seems to promise greater security. This was the constituting a regular corps-de-garde at the farm of Mr. Hume, which is nearest the Nepean in Appin, comprising 8 or 10 settlers of the district; who alternately keep a night watch, and are intent on making the best defence practicable, in case of attack; and if hard pressed by their assailants, who appear to have less dread of fire arms than formerly, they retire upon the district of Airds, which being more numerously settled, will be capable of affording them a shelter. The natives of Jarvis’s Bay have never
been otherwise than inimical to us; for small vessels have never touched there without experiencing their hostility in some degree or other. Small crews have been obliged to fire upon them (we should hope in self-defence alone), and these skirmishes may have strengthened their aversion, in which they have ever appeared determined. The mountaineers are a much more athletic and hardy race than those of this part of the sea coast. They are taller, lighter coloured, much more comely in their persons and features, and wear their hair tied in a bunch behind:59 but one circumstance is observable in their present encampments which seems to prognosticate that their designs are not so hostile as might have been feared (not by a body of armed men), but by the remote families who are most exposed to their attack: This is, a knowledge we have gained that the mountain natives, unlike those of the coast, go to war unattended by their women and children — who are now along with them. 60 Their chief, whose name is Cowgye, has wholly abandoned them, and gone to Broken Bay, from a personal wish to maintain a friendly footing with us.61 He calls the mountain tribes cannibals; but that they are so has never yet been known to us. As soon as the whole of the maize is gathered, we may hope they will retire; but we cannot before expect it, although it is certain they have not for the last fortnight committed any act of depredation whatever. We are happy to learn that the settlers have adopted the best possible measures for their own security, and the best calculated to prevent any further mischief. 62

14th June 1814: Elizabeth Wilberforce
Elizabeth Wilberforce was probably born on the 14th of June 1814 at Wilberforce. Her father was a “White man”, her mother an “Aboriginal native”. Elizabeth was baptised by the Reverend John Cross on the 10th of July 1825. Elizabeth was buried in the Wilberforce Cemetery on the 8th of January 1829.63 It is likely that Elizabeth died as a result of the 1828 influenza epidemic.

Elizabeth’s short life provides important insights into the complex relationships between Aboriginal people and settlers. It would appear that Elizabeth’s father was a convict assigned to Edward Reynolds. Edward Reynolds and his younger brother James were transported in 1791 and by 1820 were both quite prosperous. Edward was literate. Edward also apparently adopted James Thomas Levy, the son of Joseph Levy, a convict assigned to Edward and an Aboriginal woman.64 Elizabeth’s surname almost certainly came from the location of her birth. However, her Christian name, Elizabeth, may have come from, Elizabeth, daughter of William and Barbara Wilberforce. Elizabeth did not attend the Native Institution. John Pilot Rickerby, Elizabeth Wilberforce and Martha Everingham are the only people of Aboriginal

59 The report referenced Caley’s letter of 12th March 1804 to Banks in which he suggested that the mountain tribes were of a different race to those on the Sydney Plain and raised Polygenesis again. ‘I fell in with some natives who had never seen white men before. I should not have seen them had I not met with a native who knew some and gave me their history and he conducted me to the place where they were along with some others, who also knew me. On his shouting to his party they came running in a hurry towards him, and the strangers along with them, and were close upon me before they perceived me. They seemed to be quite of a different race to those that I am acquainted with. Not only by their features, but also in size; their hair was black, and in height they were about 5 foot 10 inches, and very stout made.’

60 The camp which was attacked and destroyed by Captain Wallis in 1816 consisted of men, women and children.

61 In describing Cowge as “Their chief” the Gazette is referring to the “Liverpool tribe” not the “Mountain tribe”.


63 Entry 32, Page 111, St. John’s C of E, Wilberforce parish records, Microfilm, Reel 15, Windsor Library.

64 http://familypedia.wikia.com/wiki/Richard_Beale_Reynolds_(1769-1837)
parentage that I have found, so far, buried in a Christian cemetery in the Hawkesbury. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify where in St. Johns Elizabeth was buried.65

18th of June, 1814: Macquarie’s Proclamation

The following article was an official order, reprinted on the 25th June 1814 and on the 2nd July 1814. It very much reflected Macquarie’s despatch of 7th May 1814 and sheeted the latest hostilities home to the actions of some settlers in killing an Aboriginal woman and two children. His order was important for several reasons. While Macquarie made it clear that he would not sanction settlers taking the law into their own hands; the killer of the woman and two children remained at large. For those settlers so inclined, the implication was clear – don’t get caught – leaving the historian again without adequate evidence of unsanctioned killings. Macquarie’s instruction that the order be read during Divine Service on two occasions indicates the strong links between these two pillars of authority. And while the order was objective and even handed, it was very much a line in the sand, suggesting that the free settlers had moved Macquarie in their discussions on the 4th of June.

‘The Governor and Commander in Chief feels much Regret in having to advert to the unhappy Conflicts which have lately taken place between the Settlers in the remote and the Natives of the Mountains adjoining those Districts; and He sincerely laments that any Cause should have been given on either Side for the sanguinary and cruel Acts which have been reciprocally perpetrated by each Party.

The number of Lives sacrificed, as well by the Settlers as the Natives, in Retaliation for real or supposed Injuries, but without due Regard either to previous Aggression on the Part of the unfortunate Sufferers, or to the Dictates of Humanity, have already given Rise to a legal Investigation before a Bench of Magistrates; and although it was not sufficiently clear and satisfactory to warrant the Institution of Criminal Prosecution, it was enough so as to convince any unprejudiced Man that the first personal Attacks were made on the part of the settlers and of their servants.

It appears, however, that the Natives have lately shewn a Disposition to help themselves to a Portion of the Maize and other Grain belonging to the Settlers in these District, in a Manner very different from their former habits; and the latter have of course just Grounds of Complaint for the Depredations committed upon them.

65 Cemeteries can provide evidence of discrimination in that Aboriginal burials used to be in a separate section. It is not possible to tell where Elizabeth was buried. While her burial was registered no records were kept of where she, or any other person, was buried. Burials in Wilberforce cemetery began on the Eastern side and moved progressively to the West. Most early burials were on the right or Northern side, however, there were also burials at this time against the Southern side of the cemetery. Sarah, Edward’s wife, died in 1828, but she does not appear to have a gravestone. She may have been buried with her first husband, Thomas Sibrey. Edward Reynolds died in 1830 following a fall from a horse. His grave does have a headstone, row 7, plot 24. Page 34, Lake Macquarie Family History Group Inc. St. Matthews Church of England Windsor NSW Parish Registers 1810 to 1856, Hawkesbury City Council, 2003; Parish of Wilberforce Burial Register. Sections 1-2, nos. 1-71; Wilberforce Cemetery Conservation Management Plan, 2008, http://www.hawkesbury.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/6303/Wilberforce_Cemetery.pdf and http://www.hawkesbury.net.au/cemetery/wilberforce/wwc590.html.

Stan Stevens on page 15, Hawkesbury Heritage, refers to “Jane, an Aboriginal, supposed 20, no service, the woman being unbaptised.” I have looked at the microfilm of the St Matthew’s parish records and, so far, have been unable to find any record of her. Being unbaptised, Jane was probably buried at the back of the cemetery.
But whilst it is to be regretted that the Natives have thus violated the Property of the Settlers, it has not appeared in the Examination of Witnesses that they have carried their Depredations to any alarming Extent, or even to the serious Prejudice of any one individual Settler.

From this Review of the past occurrences, the Governor desires to admonish the settlers from taking the law into their own Hands for the future, and to beware of wanton Acts of Oppression and Cruelty against the Natives, who are, in Like Manner with themselves, under, and entitled to the Protection of the British Laws, so long as they conduct themselves conformably to them. And it is a Duty which the Governor will be always prompt in the Performance of, mutually to restrain the Aggressions of the one and other Party, and to punish in the most exemplary Manner every Person, whether Settler or Native, who shall premeditately violate those Laws.

When it is taken into Consideration that several Years have elapsed since any thing like a Principle of Hostility has been acted upon, or even in the slightest Degree exhibited in the Conduct of the Natives, it must be evident that no deep rooted Prejudice exists in their Minds against British Subjects or white Men; indeed, the free and kindly Intercourses that have subsisted between them from the Foundation of the Colony (now upwards of 26 Years ago) to the present Time, with the Exception of a few slight Interruptions, prove beyond a Doubt that the Natives have no other Principle of Hostility to the Settlers than what arises from such casual Circumstances as the present may be attributed to.

In such Circumstances it will be highly becoming and praiseworthy in true British Settlers to exercise their Patience and Forbearance, and therein to shew the Superiority they possess over these unenlightened Natives by adopting a conciliatory Line of Conduct towards them, and returning to the Performance of those friendly Offices by which they have so long preserved a good Understanding with them. In acting thus, they will reflect Credit on themselves, and most effectually secure their own personal Safety; but should Outrages be then further committed by the Natives, on information being given to the Magistrate of the District, the most active Measures will be taken for the Apprehension and Punishment of the Aggressor, in like Manner as under similar Circumstances would take Place when British Subjects only were concerned. The Governor has lately taken much personal Pains to impress this Circumstance on the Minds of several of the Cowpasture and other Natives of the Interior, and to point out to them the absolute necessity for their desisting from all Acts of Depredation or Violence on the Property or Persons of the Settlers; and he has had strong Assurances from them, that if they be shot at, or wantonly attacked (as in the Case which occurred lately in Appin, wherein a Native Woman and two Children were in the dead Hour of Night, and whilst sleeping, inhumanly put to death), they will conduct themselves in the same peaceable Manner as they had done previous to the present Conflict; they have at the same Time the fullest Assurance from the Governor, that any Complaint they may be disposed to make to him will be duly attended to; and any Person who may be found to have treated them with Inhumanity or Cruelty will be punished according to the Measure of their Offences therein.

Some few sacrifices May be required; and it is hoped they will be cheerfully made by the settler, towards the Restoration of Peace; but should the Governor be disappointed in his Ardent Wish for the Reestablishment of Good Will between the Settlers and the Natives, minute Enquiries will be made into the Motives and Conduct of each Party, and the
Aggrieved will receive the fullest Protection, whilst the Formenters of those Hostilities will meet with the most exemplary Punishment.

This Order requiring the earliest and greatest Publicity, His Excellency the Governor desires that shall be read on Sunday the 26th Instant, and Sunday the 3rd of July next, during the Time of Divine Service, by the Chaplain, at their respective Churches or Places of Worship throughout the Colony; and the Magistrates are also directed to assemble the Settlers with all convenient Expedition in their respective Districts, and to impress fully on their Minds the Necessity for their prompt and implicit Obedience to this Order.

By Command of His Excellency
The Governor,
J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary

Tuesday, 15th of July, 1814: The killing of two Daly children
It is not possible to deduce whether this incident was related to earlier ones or was precipitated by a fearful woman firing at a group of Aboriginal people. The fact that two children were killed while the woman and infant were spared suggests that Bottagellie, who had lost his wife and two children, may have been involved. The recollections of the Sykes family that Wallah was the leader of a group determined on the killing of “a white woman and two children as a blood revenge” suggests that Wallah was also involved. Certainly Bottagellie and Wallah were identified in Macquarie’s subsequent orders to Warby and Jackson. The article reinforces my contentions that fear was an important and under-reported cause of settler hostility towards Aboriginal people; and that Aboriginal revenge was targeted and measured. The woman may have been spared because she was breastfeeding the infant. The article is also of interest because of gender bias. It was not only Aboriginal women who were invisible. The woman in this account was simply “the wife of a person named Daly”.

22nd of July, 1814: Warby and Jackson’s expedition
On 22 July 1814, Macquarie authorised John Warby and John Jackson to lead an armed party of twelve Europeans and four native guides to track down and capture five Aboriginal people; “Goondel, Bottagellie, Murrah, Yellamun, and Wallah”, who had been identified as being responsible for attacks on settlers. Apart from Warby and Jackson who were constables, the other Europeans were assigned servants. The party was provided with

67 Page 105, Old Times, May 1903.
provisions (salt pork, biscuit, rice, sugar, tea and tobacco) and weapons (twelve muskets, 144 rounds of ammunition and 24 lbs (?) of buckshot). They returned without making contact.

'To John Warby
And John Jackson,
Some of the wild Mountain Natives having lately committed most cruel and wanton acts of hostility and barbarity against the persons and property of several of the European peaceable settlers, their wives and children, particularly in recent instances in the District of Bringelly, and near the South Creek, having in the former district barbarously murdered two infant children, on the farm belonging to a man named Daley and there being good reason to suppose that the five following natives have been principal actors in, and formentors of all the late acts of Hostility and murders committed on the Europeans settlers and their families, namely Goondel, Bottagellie, Murrah, Yellamun, and Wallah; you are hereby authorised and directed, together with the ten armed Europeans and four friendly Native Guides, placed under your orders, to proceed forthwith in quest of the said five Hostile Natives and endeavour, if practicable to apprehend and take them alive, and bring them in Prisoners (sic) to Sydney, in order that they suffer the punishment due to their crimes. – In case, however, you may not find it practicable, to seize the said five natives alive by surprise or stratagem, you are authorised to use force in taking or compelling them to surrender at discretion, without making terms with them, or holding out to them any promise of pardon or indemnity for the various crimes they have committed; observing at the same time every possible precaution not to molest, kill or destroy any of the innocent Natives who may happen to be in company with those hostile ones when you come up with them. – Much however must be left to your own discretion and humanity, and I confidently trust and hope that the authority you are both thus invested with will not be abused and I feel confident you will both act with mutual cordiality and unanimity, in the execution of the very important service you are now engaged in and entrusted with as the two principal Conductors.

Given under my hand at Government House Sydney. New South Wales, this Friday the 22nd day of July 1814.
L. Macquarie

The Gazette, Saturday 6th August, 1814, recorded that the Governor allocated £24-0-0 to “Mr Lewin, John Warby, and John Jackson, as a remuneration for their trouble, whilst recently visiting the Native Tribes in the Interior of the Country.” The others who accompanied Warby and Jackson appeared to have received no reward. One of these men, Joseph Bridge ended up in irons again. His widow, Elizabeth, and their children took up a grant at Screech Owl Creek on the Hawkesbury. His son, Joseph, married Sarah Woodbury, daughter of a Hawkesbury constable.

In 1816 Bottagellie and Yellaman were protecting the farms of Kennedy and Broughton.

27th of August, 1814: Colebee and Joe Molgowy work for William Cox
Further evidence of the collaboration of settlers and Aboriginal people can be found in William Cox’s journal when building the road over the Blue Mountains. “Joe from Mulgoa was also known as “Joe Molgowy” and “Coley” was almost certainly Colebee, Yarramundi’s son. Colebee may well have been named after Colebee who visited

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70 The guides were Mary Mary, Budbury, Quayat (?) and Karrijong.
Yarramundi with Governor Phillip in April 1791. The fact that one of these men shot a kangaroo challenges stereotypes about relations between Aboriginal people and settlers.

‘August 8.
Timber and brush very heavy and thick from the ninth to tenth mile. Thos. Kendall ill, unable to work. Mr. Hobby, with R. Lewis, went forward with John Tye about four miles, and marked the trees. Two natives from Richmond joined us; one shot a kangaroo.

August 27.
Measured to the 16th mile, immediately after which the ground got very rocky, and in half-a-mile we came to a high mountain, which will cost much labour to make a road over. Got two natives, who promise to continue with us--Joe from Mulgoa and Coley from Richmond’.

7th of October, 1814: the first official use of the word Aborigines by Macquarie
While Matthew Everingham’s use of the word Aborigines in 1795 may have been its first recorded usage in New South Wales, the earliest evidence of the word being used officially with specific reference to the First People of Australia appears to have been by Macquarie in the following despatch. While the Historical Records of Australia have transcribed the word as Aborigines, he originally wrote Ab-origines in his proclamation of the Parramatta Native Institution on the 10th of December 1814. While it can be argued that his choice of words placed Aboriginal people within the mantle of God’s creation, it can also be argued that it placed Aboriginal people at the lowest level of humanity. In the following despatches Macquarie put forward a proposal to establish a native institute for Aboriginal children as the first step in their civilization.

7th of October, 1814: Macquarie to Earl Bathurst
‘I have great Pleasure in reporting to Your Lordship that this Country is at present in a State of perfect Peace and Tranquility. In My former Dispatch I had to Notice Some Sanguinary Acts on the part of the Natives, but since that Period they have Entirely discontinued their predatory Incursions and Savage Attacks on the Settlers. They have even Made such Advances towards a good Understanding for the future as to Make Submissions for the past. It has long been in Serious Contemplation with me to Endeavour to Civilize the Ab-origines of this Country so as to render them Industrious and Useful to the Government, and at the same time to Improve their own Condition. Having made some Arrangements for this purpose, I shall address a Separate Dispatch to Your Lordship on that Subject by the present Opportunity.’

8th of October, 1814: the next step to civilization

73 R. Lewis, a free settler who lived at Richmond and Cox’s Chief Superintendent for building the road across the Blue Mountains, 1814-15, was not the husband of the Mrs. Lewis killed at Grose Vale in 1816. George Bowman identified her as the wife of William Lewis. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks04/0400191.txt
74 Tye, or Tigh, was rewarded with land on the Hawkesbury.
77 Despatch of 7th May, 1814.
78 Despatch of 8th October, 1814.
GOVERNOR MACQUARIE TO EARL BATHURST.
My Lord, 8th October, 1814. I feel peculiar Pleasure in submitting to Your Lordship's Consideration some Reflections, which, in the Course of My government, have Occurred in My Mind in regard to the Character and General Habits of the Natives of this Country; by A Communication of Which, I trust I shall be enabled to Interest Your Lordship's humane and liberal Feelings in behalf of this Uncultivated Race.

Scarcely Emerged from the remotest State of rude and Uncivilized Nature, these People appear to possess some Qualities, which, if properly Cultivated and Encouraged, Might render them, not only less wretched and destitute by Reason of their Wild wandering and Unsettled Habits, but progressively Useful to the Country According to their Capabilities either as Labourers in Agricultural Employ or among the lower Class of Mechanics.

Those Natives, Who resort to the Cultivated Districts of this Settlement, Altho prone like other Savages to great Indolence and Indifference as to their future Means of Subsistence, Yet in General, are of free open and favorable Dispositions, honestly Inclined, and perfectly devoid of that designing Trick and Treachery, Which Characterize the Natives of New Zealand and those of the Generality of the Islands in the South Seas. The Natives of New South Wales have never been Cannibals. In fact they seem to have as great an Abhorrence of practices of that kind as if they had been reared in a Civilized State. The principal part of their Lives is Wasted in Wandering thro' their Native Woods, in Small Tribes of between 20 and 50, in Quest of the immediate Means of Subsistence, Making Opossums, Kangaroos, Grub Worms, and such Animals and Fish, as the Country and its Coasts Afford, the Objects of their Fare.

The Introduction of Herds and Flocks has not even Yet tempted them to Alter their Mode of living, Which is a Circumstance to be Calculated on as peculiarly fortunate; since, had they been Inclined to Make prey of them, it would have been a Matter of the Greatest Difficulty, if not altogether Impossible in the early state of the Colony, to have guarded against their Depredations, and the Consequence would have been that Instead of the Numerous and promising Herds and Flocks, which now extend over the face of the Country, very few would have been preserved, and the Supplies of Animal Food would not have been in any Degree equal to our Wants.

Those Natives, who dwell Near Sydney or the other principal Settlements, live in a State of perfect Peace, Friendliness, and Sociality With the Settlers, and even Shew a Willingness to Assist them Occasionally in their Labours; and it seems only to require the fostering Hand of Time, gentle Means, and Conciliatory Manners, to bring these poor Un-enlightened People into an important Degree of Civilization, and to Instil into their Minds, as they Gradually open to Reason and Reflection. A Sense of the Duties they owe their fellow Kindred and Society in general (to Which they Will then become United), and taught to reckon upon that Sense of Duty as the first and happiest Advance to a State of Comfort and Security.

80 This phrase “indolence and indifference” is used in A Treatise on Human Nature, David Hume, 1739.
81 The phrase “means of subsistence” was used by both Mathus and Ricardo.
82 Lord Kames used the phrase “degrees of civilization” in Sketches of the History of Man, 1778.
83 The phrase “reason and reflection” was used by John Locke in An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, 1690.
From Whatever Motives or Causes Some of these Natives have been Induced to Commit Acts of Hostility against the Settlers, it seems to bear a reasonable Inference that Provocation or Aggression from some Undiscovered or Unacknowledged Cause may have given Rise to them, Under an Impression of temporary Revenge; but when once Induced to forego this Vindictive Spirit, which Kindness and Encouragement and, Social Intercourses together Would Sooner or later bring about, their next Step towards Civilization would be rapid and easy, and they Would learn to Appreciate that Degree of Importance to Which they had thus progressively Attained.

From Considerations of this kind, Which in a great Measure have been Guided and Strengthened by My own personal Knowledge and Observation, I have determined to make an Experiment towards the Civilization of these Natives, Which is the Object I have in View by this Address, and trust it Will Meet Your Lordship’s benevolent Patronage. As a preliminary Measure I intend to establish an Institution at Parramatta, first on a Small Scale under the Direction of a Mr. William Shelley (formerly a Missionary), Whom I shall Appoint as Superintendent for Educating, and bringing up to Habits of Industry and Decency, the Youth of both Sexes, Commencing at the Outset with Six Boys and Six Girls. Mr. Shelley Appears to be Well Qualified for such an Undertaking, is a Moral, Well Meaning Man., and has Manifested great Zeal and Promptitude On this Occasion, Insomuch that I Consider him a very fit Person to be Entrusted for such a Purpose.

Herewith I do Myself the Honor to transmit Your Lordship Mr. Shelley's Plan and Estimate of the Annual Expence of such an Institution, and I trust they Will Meet Your Lordship's favorable Consideration and Approval. The Expence Appears high for so small a Number of Scholars, but it Will diminish in proportion to the Increase of Scholars to be expected. Whatever Degree of Doubt May Impend over An Attempt of this Nature, it Appears to Me to be Worth the Trial of two Years, and the Expences will be defrayed from the Colonial Fund.

I have it Also in Contemplation to Allot a piece of Land in Port Jackson bordering on the Sea Shore for a few of the Adult Natives, Who have promised to Settle there and Cultivate the

84 While the text refers to a grant made to Bungaree, the HRA note refers to a grant made to Colebee in the district of Bathurst, which lay between the Richmond and Windsor Roads across East Creek. The HRA note is anachronistic because Colebee was not promised the land till 1816. The HRA note is followed by a Gazette account of the grant to Bungaree.

Note 86. A Piece of Land Governor Macquarie made several attempts to civilize the aborigines (sic) and raise them to the level of the white races. An example of this policy is found in the issue of a land grant of thirty acres in the district of Bathurst to a native, name Colebee. This grant was dated 31st August, 1819.’

The Gazette provided an account of the grant to Bungaree.

On Tuesday last, at an early hour, His Excellency the GOVERNOR and Mrs. MACQUARIE, accompanied by a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen, proceeded in boats down' the Harbour to George's Head. The object of this excursion, we understand, was to form an establishment for a certain number of Natives who had shewn a desire to settle on some favourable spot of land, with a view to proceed to the cultivation of it. - The ground assigned them for this purpose (the peninsula of George’s Head) appears to have been judiciously chosen, as well from the fertility of the soil as from its requiring little exertions of labour to clear and cultivate; added to which, it possesses a peculiar advantage of situation; from being nearly surrounded on all sides by the sea; thereby affording its new possessors the constant opportunity of pursuing their favorite occupation of fishing, which has always furnished the principal source of their subsistence.

On this occasion, sixteen of the Natives, with their wives and families were assembled, and His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR, in consideration of the general wish previously expressed by them, appointed Boongaree (who
ground. Such an Example Cannot, I think, fail of Inviting and Encouraging other Natives to Settle on and Cultivate Lands, preferring the productive Effects of their own Labor and Industry to the Wild and precarious Pursuits of the Woods.

Whilst it is Well known that Considerable Sums of Money are Expended, by the Missionary Societies of London and other parts of England, in Attempting to Evangelize the Natives of New Zealand and Otaheite, it may be Allowed to be an Object favorable to the Interests of Humanity to see an Attempt of this kind made on a frugal and prudent Scale in the Territory of New South Wales, the Natives of Which Appear to Me to have peculiar and strong Claims to the philanthropic Protection of a British Government. I have, &c.,

L. MACQUARIE.

10th of December, 1814: Establishing the Parramatta Native Institute

On the 10th of December 1814, Governor Macquarie’s plans for the Native Institute were announced, echoing his earlier use of the word “Ab-origines”, though the Gazette changed it to “aborigines” in the lower case. The plan reflected the Governor’s determination not only to change Aboriginal people but to assert his right to do so. By using the word “Ab-origines” and asserting the colony had ‘never met with any serious or determined Hostility from them, but rather a Disposition to submit peaceably to such Establishments’ as were necessarily made on the Part of the British Government on the Formation of this Settlement’ the Gazette the Governor placed the First peoples of Australia on the lowest levels of creation to justify the taking of land, language and lives. Such a reductionist myth also enabled reprisals by magistrates, settlers and soldiers to escape scrutiny.

On 27th December the first annual feast was attended by about 60 Aboriginal people. Quite insightfully the Gazette attributed the paucity of numbers to Aboriginal fears “that they were to be forcibly deprived of their children, & themselves sent to labour”.

The Gazette of 31st December 1814 justified the Native Institution on the grounds that Aboriginal people were increasingly dependent upon the settlers because of the shortage of Kangaroos, possums and yams caused by the clearing of land for farming. While it is true that the infectious nature of influenza and tuberculosis was still unknown the editor’s claim that

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has been long known as one of the most friendly of this race, and well acquainted with our language, to be their Chief, at the same time presenting him with a badge distinguishing his quality as “Chief of the Broken Bay Tribe,” and the more effectually to promote the objects of this establishment, each of them was furnished with a full suit of slop cloathing, together with a variety of useful articles and implements of husbandry, by which they would be enabled to proceed in the necessary pursuits of agriculture: - A boat (called the Boongaree), was likewise presented them for the purpose of fishing.

About noon, after the foregoing ceremony had been concluded, HIS EXCELLENCY and party returned to Sydney, having left the Natives with their Chief in possession of their newly assigned settlement, evidently much please with it, and the kindness they experienced on the occasion.’


I have not included William Shelley’s proposal for the Native Institution. It can be found at pages 370ff., HRA, Volume VIII, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1916.

On the 4th of December 1815 Bathurst replied favourably to the proposal, providing “the Expence of the Establishment, which you deem adequate for making the Experiment, is not more than the Colonial funds, aided by private Subscriptions of individual”. Page 645, HRA, Volume VIII, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1916.

“in June, July and August, when the weather is cold, the woods afford them little or no food, and they become a prey to many loathsome diseases which poverty entails upon the human frame” was spurious. In this article Howe reinforced the paradigm of an active and caring role for the settlers and a passive one for Aboriginal people. It marked a shift in the discourse of settlement towards blaming anything but the act of settlement for declining Aboriginal numbers.

10th of December, 1814: rules and regulations for the Native Institute

Government House Sydney
Saturday 10th December 1814

Civil Department

His Excellency the Governor having long viewed with sentiments of Commiseration the very wretched State of the Ab-origines of this Country: and having resolved in his Mind the most probable and promising means of ameliorating their condition, has now taken the Resolution to adopt such measures as appear to him best calculated to effect that Object, and improve the Energies of this innocent, destitute and unoffending Race.

With this Anxiety to make one Experiment so interesting to the Feelings of Humanity, and to endeavour to ascertain how far the Condition of the Natives may be improved by the Application of such Means as are within his Power, His Excellency feels that he is making an Acknowledgement to which they are in some Degree entitled, when it is considered that the British Settlement in this Country, though necessarily excluding the Natives from many of the natural Advantages they had previously derived from the animal and other Productions of this Part of the Territory, has never met with any serious or determined Hostility from them, but rather a Disposition to submit peaceably to such Establishments as were necessarily made on the Part of the British Government on the Formation of this Settlement.

With a View, therefore, to effect the Civilization of the Ab-origines of New South Wales, and to render their Habits more domesticated and industrious His Excellency the Governor, as well from Motives of Humanity as of that Policy which affords a reasonable Hope of producing such an Improvement in their condition as may eventually contribute to render them not only more happy in themselves, but also in some Degree useful to the Community, has determined to institute a school for the Education of the Native Children of both sexes and to assign a Portion of land for the Occupancy and Cultivation of adult Natives, under such Rules and Regulations as appear to him likely to answer the desired Objects, and which are now published for general Information.

First, that there shall be a School for the Ab-origines of New South Wales, established in the Town of Parramatta: of which His Excellency the Governor is to be Patron and Mrs Macquarie, Patroness.

Secondly, That there shall be a Committee, consisting of seven Gentlemen, for conducting and directing the Institution; one of the Committee to act as Treasurer and Secretary.

Thirdly, That the Institution shall be placed under the immediate management and care of Mr William Shelly as Superintendent and Principal Instructor.

Fourthly, That the Main Object of the Institution shall be Civilization of the Ab-origines of both Sexes.
Fifthly, That the Expences of the Institution shall be defrayed for the first two years by Government, in such Manner as the Governor may deem expedient; but with a View to extend the Benefits of it after that Period, that Subscriptions shall be solicited and received from public Societies and private Individuals.

Sixthly, That this Institution shall be an Asylum for the Native Children of both sexes, but no child shall be admitted under four, or exceeding seven years of Age.

Seventhly, That the Number of Children to be admitted in the first Instance, shall not exceed six Boys and six Girls; which Numbers shall be afterwards increased according to circumstances.

Eighthly, That the Children of both sexes shall be instructed in common, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; That the Boys shall also be instructed in Agriculture, Mechanical Arts, and such common Manufactures as may best suit their Ages, and respective Dispositions; That the Girls Shall also be taught Needle-work. For all which Purposes, Instructors, properly qualified, will be employed.

Ninethly, That the Manager or Superintendant shall have the immediate Care of the Children, the Purchase of Provisions, and of the Materials for employing them, together with the Disposal of the Articles manufactured by the Children.

Tenthly, That a Portion of Land shall be Located for the use of adult Natives, which shall be invited and encouraged to cultivate it and that such Assistence shall be rendered them for that Purpose by Government, as may be deemed expedient: That the Management and Superintendance thereof shall be also vested in Mr Shelly; and under his immediate Inspection, subject to such Directions as he shall receive from the Committee.

Eleventhly, That the Committee shall meet Quarterly at the Town of Parramatta, on the first Wednesday in each succeeding Quarter, for the Purpose of inspecting and auditing the Quarterly Accounts of the Manager; and also of examining the Pupils as to their Progress in Civilization, Education, and Morals; and how far the necessary Attention has been paid to their Diet, Health, and Cleanliness.

-That the Committee (which shall at no time consist of less than five members) shall have Power to take cognizance of and correct any existing Abuses, and frame such additional Regulations as may appear necessary for the Improvement and benefit of the Institution.

Twelthly, That the Committee shall make a written Report of the Result of their Observations and Enquiries, at their Quarterly Meeting, to His Excellency the Governor, as a Patron of the Institution; and also of such Rules and Regulations as they may deem necessary to frame for the Benefit of the Institution; which must receive the Sanction of the Governor, previous to their being carried into Effect.

Thirteenthly, That the proposed Institution shall be opened for the Reception of the Prescribed Number of Children, on Wednesday the 18th Day of January next, being the auspicious Anniversary of the Birth of our Most Gracious Queen.

Fourteently, That no Child, after having been admitted into the Institution, shall be permitted to leave it, or be taken away by any Person whatever (whether Parents or other
Relatives) until such Time as the Boys shall have attained the Age of Sixteen Years, and the Girls Fourteen Years; at which Ages they shall be respectively discharged.

Fifteently, The undermentioned Gentlemen having expressed their Willingness to forward and promote the Objects of the proposed Institution, His Excellency is pleased to constitute and appoint them (with their own Concurrence) to be the Committee for Conducting and Directing All the Affairs connected therewith.

Committee
1. John Thomas Campbell, Esq
2. D'Arcy Wentworth, Esq
3. William Redfern, Esq
4. Hannibal McArthur, Esq
5. The Revd William Cowper
6. The Revd Henry Fulton
7. Mr Rowland Hassall

His Excellency is further pleased to appoint John Thomas Campbell, Esq. to be Secretary and Treasurer of the Institution.

By Command of His Excellency
The Governor,
(Signed) J T Campbell,
Secretary. **87**

‘THE Governor wishing to hold a public Conference with all those Tribes of the Natives of New South Wales who are in the Habit of resorting to the British Settlements established in this Colony, in order to make a personal Communication to them on the Subject of the Native School or Institution which His Excellency is now about to establish, requests that they will assemble and meet him at the Market Place, in the Town of Parramatta, at the Hour of Eleven o’Clock in the Forenoon of Wednesday, the 28th of the present Month of December, that being the next Day after full Moon.

All District Constables and other Peace Officers are hereby directed to make this Communication known to the Natives residing in, or resorting to their respective Districts, in due Time to enable them to attend and assemble accordingly. The Gentlemen of the Committee appointed to Conduct the Affairs of the Native Institution are requested to meet His Excellency the Governor, on this Occasion, at the Time and Place herein before mentioned.

By Command of His Excellency
The Governor,
J. T. Campbell, Secretary GOVERNMENT and GENERAL ORDERS.
Government House, Sydney, Saturday, 10th December, 1814. **88**

**31st of December, 1814: The first Annual Feast.**

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**88** [Sydney Gazette, 10th December 1814](http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/629022), NRS 1046 [SZ759, pages 11-14; Reel 6038]
'On Wednesday His Excellency the GOVERNOR went to Parramatta, for the purpose of seeing and conferring with the Natives, agreeably to the benevolent design intimated in the General Orders of the 10th instant. At one o'clock His Excellency, accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor, and a number of Officers Civil and Military, went to the Market-place, where the interview had been appointed to be held, and conversed with them for an hour, pointing out in an affable and familiar way the advantages they would necessarily derive from a change of manners, and an application to moderate industry. The whole number assembled, of all ages and sexes, did not exceed sixty, owing, as it was conjectured, to some false impressions which the more distant tribes had given way to, relative to the design of the convocation, suspiciously imagining that they were to be forcibly deprived of their children, & themselves sent to labour. Those who did attend gave information that numbers were in the neighbourhood, but unwilling to come forward, owing to their doubts, which they had in vain endeavoured to appease and satisfy - After a length of conversation, three children were yielded up to the benevolent purposes of the Institution: and after HIS EXCELLENCY, His Honor the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, and the accompanying Officers had bestowed every possible pains in producing a confidence necessary to the proposed ends, the natives were seated in a circle, and served with a fine dinner of roast beef, and a cheering jug of ale. At two o'clock His Excellency took leave of them, and returned to Sydney, accompanied by Mrs. MACQUARIE. During the afternoon their number increased, and the strangers were welcomed by Mr. Shelly, who continued the same hospitable treatment to all that arrived, from the remaining stock, which had been provided for a much greater number. Another child has since been offered, without solicitation or persuasion, and added to the list of candidates for civilization. That the proposed number will very shortly be obtained there can be no reason to doubt; while on the other hand it may readily be believed, that in the course of a very few months that number might, if required, be very considerably increased. The house preparing for their reception is near the Church of Parramatta, and will be inclosed only by a paling; one good effect of which will be, that they will be frequently in the view perhaps of their parents, as well as other persons; and when those become eyewitneses of the benefits accruing to their children from the change, it cannot be doubted they will feel thankful to the beneficence that projected and accomplished it. The plan that has been adopted must appear the best suited to the ends proposed. At a tender age it affords to the children an asylum against the distressing wants they feel, more especially in June, July and August, when the weather is cold, the woods afford them little or no food, and they become a prey to many loathsome diseases which poverty entails upon the human frame. The kangaroo has almost disappeared about the Settlements; the opossim, long substituted as their chief dependence, has at length become as scarce; the roots of the earth are by nature too sparingly administered to constitute any thing like a dependence to them; and the tribes of each district dare not incroach upon any other. In the summer those of the coast subsist by fishing; but in the winter, only for the occasional aid they derive from us, their situation would be equally miserable: -And whence have those evils originated, but in the clearing of the immense forests which formerly abounded in the wild animals they lived upon? This admission certainly gives them a claim upon the consideration of the British Settler; and we cannot imagine for a moment, that any one who bears that character will withhold any means that may fall within his power of forwarding the benevolent views of the Native Institution. 89

1815: Overview.
Despite the ongoing drought, relations between settlers and Aboriginal people remained relatively peaceful. The Native Institute was opened on 18th January 1815, and despite the parents taking half of the children away before the end of March, Governor Macquarie remained positive and received support for his initiative from the British government. However, the report of the 5th August 1815, of an attack on Hannibal Macarthur’s farm at Bringelly was a portent of things to come.

24th of March, 1815: Macquarie to Bathurst

'Macquarie to Bathurst
In pursuance of the Intention, I did myself the Honor of Communicating to Your Lordship in my Letter under date the 8th of October last, of establishing a Native Institution at Parramatta for Civilizing and Educating the Children of both Sexes, the School was opened on the 18th of January last, that day being Chosen for the purpose as being the Auspicious Anniversary of Her Gracious Majesty's Birth Day, when a few Children were voluntarily given up by their Parents and received into the Institution. Some others were afterwards brought in by their Parents, whereby the proposed Number of Six Boys and Girls were soon Completed, and in a Short time these Children Appeared to be perfectly happy and reconciled to their new Mode of Life. Some of their Parents, however, from an unaccountable Caprice, have since decoyed away their Children, and Six only remain now at the Institution instead of twelve. I have no doubt however of the Ultimate Success of the Institution, when the Elder Natives shall see and be Convinced that the few Children, who now remain in it, benefit so essentially from the Change in regard to their Health, Cleanliness and personal Appearance. The Natives, Naturally timid and suspicious, have not yet sufficient Confidence in Europeans to (believe that this Institution is solely Intended for their own Advantage and Improvement; but, by bearing with their Caprices patiently and Indulging them a little in their Prejudices, I have no Doubt but their Repugnance to Civilization will soon yield and be entirely Overcome. I have already succeeded in getting Sixteen Adult Natives of this part of the Colony to settle permanently on a small Farm* on the Northern Shore of the Harbor of Port Jackson about Six Miles from the Town of Sydney, where I have had Comfortable Huts built for them, and they and their families appear to be perfectly Contented. I established these Sixteen families on their New Farm on the 31st of January last, and furnished them with some Slops, Agricultural Tools, and a Boat for Fishing, of which latter Occupation they are very fond; they have already made Some little progress in Cultivating the Ground, and by giving them some trifling assistance now and then from Government in the way of Slops and Provisions, I doubt not they will become Industrious, and set a good Example to the other Native Tribes residing in the Vicinity of Port Jackson. 91

5th of August, 1815: Ongoing violence at Bringelly

‘On Sunday last in the afternoon a body of natives between 30 and 40 in number collected at the farm of H. McArth, Esq. at Bringelly, and went to the hut of the overseer (James Waxterd), who remonstrated with them on the misconduct of some among them who had a few days before stolen a blanket from one of the stockmen. The rebuke inclined them apparently

90 *Note 86. A Piece of Land
Governor Macquarie made several attempts to civilize the aborigines (sic) and raise them to the level of the white races. An example of this policy is found in the issue of a land grant of thirty acres in the district of Bathurst to a native, name Colebee. This grant was dated 31st August, 1819.’
to retire; until, as one of them had engaged the unfortunate man in a conversation, another
planted a barbed spear in his body, the point entering a little above the loins on one side, and
shelving itself in an oblique direction on the other side. His wife, who is a daughter of
Serjeant Johns, formerly of the 102d, was wounded in the foot with another spear, in the act
of attending her husband, but escaped from their further fury. They afterwards plundered the
hut of five or six bushels of wheat, a steel mill, a sieve, musket, and other property, with
which they went off; and to prevent the possibility of the unfortunate man’s deriving aid from
the labourers on the farm, then three in number, they were surprised and guarded by a large
party of the assailants, who, with their spears pointed at them, kept them in a constant state
of terror while their associates were more fatally employed. The wounded man was removed
with every expedition that his condition would permit to Parramatta Hospital, where he
remains with little hope of his surviving the extracting of the spear head. 92

4th of December, 1815

Bathurst’s reply to Macquarie’s despatch showed an approval of Macquarie’s efforts to
extend the benefits of civilisation to the natives. This was a significant change in attitude of
the home government that was to articulated in future instructions to governors.

Bathurst to Macquarie

‘I learnt with much pleasure, from your dispatch, No. 15,‡ that you had reason to entertain
a more favorable opinion of the General Character and Habits of the Natives of New
Holland, who were resident in the Vicinity of the Colony, than that which I has been hitherto
generally promulgated. Any project for extending to them the Benefits of Civilization and
Instruction was sure to meet with the cordial Approbation of The Prince Regent, and as the
Expence of the Establishment, which you deem adequate for making the Experiment, is not
more than the Colonial funds, aided by private Subscriptions of Individuals, can defray, no
Objection whatever can exist to immediately adopting the plan which you have suggested for
carrying it into effect. 94

1816-1831: Farms, floods and droughts

The drought broke in 1816 with a series of floods. Heavy rain in January further damaged
wheat crops already weakened by drought.

‘The late rains have spoiled a great proportion of the present wheat crop; and upon a
moderate estimate, has shortened the general production of the harvest, which was at best a
very poor one, at least one-sixth. 95

These rains resulted in a flood in February. In the same article the author noted that poor
farming methods and weeds may have been more damaging to the wheat crop than drought or
floods.

‘The heavy rains we have lately experienced, are by no means unusual to the season, though
they set in some week’s earlier than usual. The Hawkesbury River has several times shewn a
fresh during their continuance, but has never risen to any alarming height. Their much
further duration would be alarming, as most of the hollow grounds are filled, and all excess

93 ‡ note 156.
must naturally tend to inundate the country. The growing maize is for the most part strong enough to bear the wet, without being much injured; and will therefore prove a happy relief to the scarcity of wheat which it is more than probable we should otherwise have felt.

A settler of much experience attributes the general failure of the late wheat crops more to a neglect of the soil than to the droughts. ... From a want of proper attention to the destruction of the roots of weeds some farms exhibit an almost impenetrable scrub of wild oats.

31st of May, 1816: Breaking of the drought.
'It having rained incessantly and very heavily for these last four days including the present Day, there is reason to apprehend that we shall have a Flood, and that there will be a serious inundation of the Rivers Hawkesbury and Nepean and South Creek;
L. M. [97]

3rd of June, 1816: Flood
In June there was further flooding.

'At 3. P.[M]. this day I received an Express from Wm. Cox Esqr. Magistrate at Windsor, reporting to me, that, at the Hour of 12, O'Clock yesterday, the Waters began to subside, but had risen to immense Height the preceding Evening – being as high as the Flood which took place in 1806 – and which was the highest that ever took place since the original Establishment of the Colony in 1788 – having risen in some parts of the rivers Hawkesbury and Nepean to the enormous Height of Ninety-one feet!!! —

Mr. Cox’s Report states that all the late sown Wheat will be lost, and great part of the Early Wheat, now in the Ground, as well as a great part of the Maize still out.

I drew of this date on the Police Fund in favor of Wm. Tyson Constable in Appin for £5 Cury. as a reward for his late Services as a Guide with Capt. Wallis after the Hostile Natives. — [98]

29th of June, 1816: Flood
At the end of June there was another flood on the Hawkesbury.

'A second flood at Hawkesbury was occasioned by the succession of rains experienced the last fortnight. Last Thursday se’nnight the rise in the main river became rapidly perceptible, and in the course of the following day all land travelling was put a stop to, the water having attained nearly to as great a height as on the recent previous occasion. Great quantities of maize have been washed away, and it is feared the destruction of the whole of the wheat that had been sown is thoroughly compleated (sic).'[99]

16th of December 1816
In December there was more flooding.

'Not having received any well authenticated information of the extent of damage sustained by the various settlements from the late rains, we venture to give the following partial representations, received from persons who can have no interest in deceiving us: - The

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[97] [http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816may.html#may31](http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816may.html#may31)
Hawkesbury River, we are assured, did not overflow its banks generally, but a considerable influx took place from the Creeks. The low flat lands between Lapstone Hill and Howe Bridge were covered. The farms low down the River, at and in the vicinity of Portland Head, were considerable sufferers: we are informed by Mr. Burn, a settler there, that his crop was laid under water, and that Mr. Churchill lost entirely fifty acres of forward maize. The range of farms along the South Creek and Cow Pastures also suffered considerably, as did Bunbury Curran, and all low situations generally; but the chief damage which the Hawkesbury itself has sustained has been, as our information assures us, from the long continuance of the heavy beating rains; the laying down of the uncut wheat and its growing in the sheaf, as well as that that was cut. The unprecedented fall of rain at this season of the year happens the more unfortunately as the crops were mostly ready for reaping; but not being reaped, the owners lost the benefit of lodging them securely on the higher grounds allotted by HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR for that purpose. The fields of forward maize that have been lost, there is time to replant where the seed is, this being the best time for sowing maize on stubble ground of barley or wheat; a practice which has been much condemned when avoidable; on account of its wearing out the ground too quickly for the want of the necessary supply of manure. The effects of the rains, considering their vast inclemency, we do not understand, however, to be so much to be dreaded as was generally considered during their continuance; but as this is hazarding an opinion that proceeds much less from certainty than a zealous wish for the prosperity of our growers, we beg to advance it as an opinion that a frugality in the use of grain would appear to claim the attention of the heads of families.

15th of February, 1817

While only part of a lengthy article this extract well illustrates the problems of farming on the Hawkesbury. The floods of early 1817 spread the seeds of introduced weeds across the fields of farms, fouling the crops and turning farmland into wastelands. Combined with the effects of the last drought and the destruction of Aboriginal resistance in 1816 this was to be another factor leading to the search for new frontiers.

‘THE CROP.-We much regret the general understanding of a less productive harvest than from early appearances we had to flatter ourselves with; and therefore wish, by every aid we can obtain, to trace and detect the causes that have more especially led to a comparative failure in our late crops.

The principal cause has not only been the foulness of the sown land, which is in general so infected with the wild oat and tare, as not only to render difficult the process of reaping, but considerably to stunt the grain, and render its separation from the spontaneous growths in many instances impracticable. It happens unfortunately that after the wheat has sprung for some weeks the oat begins to rear its head; the tare frequently accompanies or soon after follows it, and both combine to give the sprouting field more the appearance of a bed of weeds than of a cultivated soil. The wild oat may possibly be indigenous, the profuse scattering of the tare throughout the Hawkesbury farms is attributed to a plantation of that seed which by way of experiment a gentleman put in practice 15 or 16 years ago near Windsor. The drake, which was once obnoxious to the Hawkesbury farmer, has of late years considerably declined, but finds a dangerous successor in the wild mustard seed, and in many

100 Howe’s bridge over South Creek.
places in the wild cotton bush, all or either of which, wherever they make their appearance, tend to the injury of the cultivated crop.102

15th March, 1817: Flood
The following extract from the Gazette well illustrated the ongoing impact of floods and more importantly, for this work, mentioned Branch Jack whom most readers of the Gazette assumed had been mortally wounded in 1805.

“The accounts of the Hawkesbury inundation are fraught with the most distressing picture of calamity. Besides a great number of wheat stacks being carried away, comprehending indeed almost the whole that were left on low grounds to the mercy of the chances, the maize, of which there was the promise of an abundant crop, that would have been ripe and fit for gathering in three weeks or a month, has been every where upon the river totally spoiled, and rotted on the stalk. The going off of the waters was observed to be almost as rapid as the rise. We have before mentioned its extreme height to have been observable on Wednesday the 26th ult. By the following morning, as we are credibly informed, it had gone down full 19 feet at the Nepean, though at Windsor the perceptible recession was not quite 4 feet, which will of course, be accounted for by the numerous head lands which the windings of the lower parts of the river present in opposition to its course. We are told of a father and son of the name of Duff saving their lives, the one in a washing tub, the other in a pig trough, to which the dreary approach of night, and the expectation of perishing if they remained where they were, compelled them to trust their safety, and fortunately the bark proved both sea-worthy. At midnight on Tuesday the roads liable to inundation were all impassable, the rising grounds were insulated, and could only be gained at the hazard of life; many families were at that dreadful juncture involved in perils not to be imagined. Without food, fire, or light of any kind, sadly listening to the howlings of the angry storm that threatened them with dissolution; then suddenly aroused to greater terrors by the Crashing of immense trees that carried all before them in their course; and at length driven to the extremity of climbing their own roofs, there to endure the rude combustion of discordant elements until the morning should bring to their relief some vehicle employed in the humane duty of saving the lives of the unfortunate.

At Mangrove, whither a Mr. R. Connor informs us he went on Friday morning, a native well known by the name of Branch Jack declared to him that he had seen a young man with a bluejacket & white trowsers sink under a pile of rubbish, and rise no more. Such piles of rubbish, which are frequently driven down with considerable force, often accumulate within a very short space of time, and are a compound of numerous floating substances, such as masses of corn stalks, weeds and grasses, trunks of trees, posts, pales, and whatsoever else the strength of the torrent forces towards the centre of the river, from whence they drive upon some head land, where they continue to augment, until the superior height and consequent rapidity of the flood forces them downwards to the sea, together with the stacks of grain; one of which latter was met by the Elizabeth Henrietta six miles at sea, with several dead pigs upon it, that had either famished or perished from the severity of the weather.103

1819
"...in 1819: "A respectable settler, in the neighbourhood of Parramatta, early one morning observed a chief of, of the name of Harry, and several of his tribe, passing with their fire rather too near his stacks of corn: the settler went to them, and remonstrated on the impropriety of, saying, the fire might easily be communicated to the loose straw, hence to the

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stacks: and, however unintentionally, cause the destruction of his property. The chief calmly replied, ‘You know we must have our fire; the country is ours, you must take care of your corn’.  

4th of October, 1822: Crop failure

“The caterpillar has been threatening destruction to the next year’s crop of wheat. About three weeks since the lands in the interior, particularly cultivated parts, became suddenly invaded with hosts of this devastating insect. A respectable farmer at Castlereagh has given us an account of the manner in which they take possession of a field; they extend to a great length in equal line, and thus in myriads regularly march forward, carrying all before them. The leaf is first devoured, and then the stem down to the surface of the ground. What is most astonishing in those destroying creatures is, that they disappear as suddenly as they come forth; they become buried in the earth, and of them no more is perceived. In about April 1810 the fields were ruined for some months; no herbage was left for the cattle; but, in that season of the year, the effects could not be so serious as is contemplated at this juncture; the mischief that may be done with the wheat, if we are not blessed with a few heavy showers, it is feared, will be incalculable.

In addition to the above, we have just learnt from Dr. Harris, of the South Creek, that the ravages of this terrible insect (a kind of grey grub) are deplorable. This Gentlemen informs us, as a specimen of the effects, that are likely to be apprehended, that 70 acres of promising wheat, upon the estate of Sir John Jamison, have been so far destroyed, as to remove even the expectancy of 20 bushels being saved.

1824: Drought

On the 16th of January 1824, William Macarthur wrote from Camden to his brother John in England concerning the effects of the latest drought: “This is the third successive dry season with which we have been visited and truly we agriculturists have good reason to complain of their disastrous effects. ... Every tree every shrub curling up its leaves, the fruit not a quarter its usual size, withering and dropping from the trees utterly unfit for use at the time when we usually enjoy it in perfection. The grass not displaying a vestige of verdure on the open grounds and scarcely any in the Forests. The Earth cracked in every direction with seams one and a half and two inches wide and several feet deep. The streams, the pond, all shrunk into insignificance and many completely dried up.”

The anonymous X. Y. Z. wrote a number of letters describing his journeys around the colony. This extract from an account of a journey to Bathurst is important in showing the transformation in the wealth of those settlers who were able to send their herds over the Blue Mountains. It is important in showing how the settlers attempted to emulate their English heritage.

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105 From H. Clark, *Field Sports &c. of the Native Inhabitants of New South Wales*, 1813. I have not yet tracked down the original source to check its veracity.
106 Shane Park.
'The south creek can boast of a number of rich and substantial settlers, who, making their farms home stations, have their large flocks and herds depasturing over the mountains—some in Argyle, and some at Hunter's River. The immense and certain profits of breeding stock in those fine countries, have raised to wealth and independence, many in this neighbourhood, who, but for their sheep and cattle, must have remained in their original obscurity. Now their houses are furnished with all good things in abundance, at whatever price, and two or three hundred pounds is not considered an object for the advantages of sending a son a voyage to England, for the benefit of a good education.'

1816-1831: Interactions

1816-1822: Macquarie’s second intervention – Overview

In 1814 Macquarie was quite sanguine about the hostilities as the settlers had largely provoked an Aboriginal response. However, in 1816 Macquarie unleashed a co-ordinated series of civil and military measures that were largely successful in their aim to permanently remove the threat of the “hostile natives.”

Drought was always an indicator of conflict. By 1816 the drought had lasted for approximately four years and came to an end with heavy rains in January and floods in February, June and December of 1816. Perhaps the floods only exacerbated relations as much as drought. Macquarie may have taken the lukewarm response of Aboriginal people to the Native Institution as a personal insult. Macquarie was also under pressure from the propertied free settlers who suffered from the loss of stock and by the threat posed by musket-armed Aboriginal people. Macquarie in 1816 was not a well man. From June to September he was racked by an inflammation of the bowels which coincided with the implementation of martial law in the Hawkesbury, Nepean and Grose River valleys. As well, Macquarie had to deal with enemies at his own table. W. C. Wentworth’s March 1816 doggerel only exacerbated the hostility of Colonel Molle and the officers of the 46th Regiment to Macquarie’s policies towards their position and emancipists. Samuel Marsden had lost no time in supporting Ellis Bent, the deputy judge advocate and his brother Jeffery, a judge, in their struggle against Macquarie. Bent and Marsden fanned the outrage prompted by Governor Macquarie’s order to flog three free men who were in the Domain illegally in April 1816. Macquarie was ill during much of 1816. The effectiveness of the campaign to get rid of Macquarie was apparent in a December 1816 letter from the exile in England, John Macarthur, to his wife Elizabeth, in New South Wales: “It is however generally understood that his removal has been determined upon as several persons have been named as candidates for the appointment. The one spoken of with greatest confidence is Sir Thomas Brisbane a very distinguished Officer of the highest character.” Macquarie did offer his resignation in 1817 and Brisbane did eventually succeed him.

The historical record of 1816 is confused, incomplete and inadequate. In large part this is due to the perfunctory reporting of the imposition of martial law in the second part of the year. As

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110 http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bent-ellis-1772
in 1805 and 1824, the paucity of reporting of operations under martial law in 1816 has impacted on the historical interpretation of this period.

As well, the scattered nature of Australian record keeping is a challenge all of its own. Few, if any, of those Australians who attended a school in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were taught Australian history.\textsuperscript{113} Their knowledge of their country’s past came from oral traditions and newspapers; most historical records were still in England. The centenary in 1888 and Federation in 1901 provided opportunities to explore and mythologise the past. These accounts celebrated the triumphs of free settlers and stigmatized convicts. The history of contact with First Peoples was characterised by silence, denial and distortion, particularly in regard to what was in effect martial law in 1816. Charles White, an early Australian historian wrote The Story of the Blacks. The Aborigines of Australia which was serialised in newspapers across the continent. The Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal, in the late 1880s and early 1890s included it in an Early Australian History series, dealing with the governors, Aboriginal people, convicts and bushrangers. White’s work appeared in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette in 1904. The section dealing with events on the Nepean Hawkesbury in 1814-16 typified the confusion and misinformation of these accounts. In dealing with the events of 1816 Charles White jumbled the events together, creating the erroneous impression that hostilities ended with the killing “of two of the most hostile of the natives, called Durelle and Conibigal”.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{113} Text books, such as Pinnock’s Comprehensive Grammar of History and Geography, 1827, were in short supply, published in Britain and focused on the northern hemisphere. One page of Pinnock’s 460 pages dealt with Australia. History was introduced into NSW public schools under the 1880 Education Act. In avoiding religious controversy the focus was on the succession of English monarchs and Australian explorers. Pages 36 and 118, Sydney and the Bush, NSW Department of Education, 1980.

For six or seven years preceding 1814 there was a period of comparative quiet between the colonists and the natives but the year mentioned was marked by the outbreak of fresh hostilities. The rapidly diminishing natural food supply, for which the Europeans were chiefly responsible, their encroachments on the one hand and their fishing and hunting excursions on the other, making fish and animals either shy or scarce, drove the natives to the verge of destitution and despair; and it was very natural that their anger towards the usurpers should find vent in deeds of robbery and violence. In the district of Appin, a body of natives marched into a field of ripe maize in the open day and began carrying off the corn when three of the military settlers advanced with firearms to defend their fields. But the blacks were not to be thus intimidated. Putting on a bold front, a party of them went to meet the settlers, and poised their spears in a threatening manner, while their companions continued to pluck the corn. The Europeans fired, and the blacks at once replied with a shower of spears, one of the settlers falling mortally wounded, and the others beating a retreat. Next day the settlers assembled in large force and pursued the aggressors into the bush, where a pitched battle was fought, lives being lost on both sides. This was the commencement of a sanguinary warfare which raged along the borders of the colony for several weeks. It is needless to say that the superiority of the whites made itself manifest and that many natives fell before the organised forces that were arrayed against them. Shortly after this Governor Macquarie, who recognized that the natives were entitled to a little consideration, set apart a tract of land at George’s Head, near Sydney exclusively for the use of those of them who resided in the neighbourhood. In order that they might be enabled to follow to greater advantage their favourite pursuit of fishing, he presented to them a boat with the necessary gear. The Governor and Lady Macquarie attended personally at the founding of the settlement, and caused to be distributed to the blacks a suit of clothes each, together with an assortment of implements of industry. The little community, all told, numbered only sixteen male adults, with their, wives and families, and one of the former, at the request of his companions was formally appointed chief. But the experiment was not so successful as the Governor expected it to be, and after a little time the blacks grew tired of the spot and wandered off in search of variety and entertainment. The habits of a lifetime could not so easily be changed by the adults, and it was not to be expected that the younger members of the community would take kindly to the spade and hoe without encouragement and example from their elders.

Early in 1816 several organized raids were made by the blacks on the settlers who had located on the banks of the Nepean. At Bringelly, twenty or thirty of the natives suddenly came from their retreats in the bush and plundered the farm of one of the wealthier settlers, carrying off large quantities of corn, as well as other effects. On the day following seven white men, well armed, crossed the river hoping to recover the stolen property and to punish
the robbers; but the blacks, in anticipation of such movement, had prepared themselves. No sooner had the Europeans crossed the water than the aborigines, rushing from their lurking places, surrounded the party, and before he knew what had happened every man of them was disarmed and powerless. Then commenced the work of murder. Their own muskets, as well as the spears and nulla-nullahs of the enemy turned against the whites, and four were killed outright, one was severely wounded, and two only escaped. Emboldened by their success, next day the blacks assembled in superior numbers, and again attacked the farms, carrying off everything they deemed of any value, and destroying what they did not take away. At the first alarm the settlers fled for their lives. In one of the farm houses the mistress, and a servant man alone remained, having no time to escape. These two took shelter in the upper story of the barn, fastening the door inside; but the blacks were not to be foiled in their murderous enterprise. They drove their spears through the crevices of the house, and as they could not thus reach the inmates, they proceeded to unroof the barn. The servant man now recognized one of the attacking party as a former acquaintance, and ventured to open the window and make himself known, at the same time urging the black to influence his companions in the direction of mercy. Recognizing the man as one who had been kind to him in the past, the black complied, and his companions conceded the mercy sought, and desisted, saying they would not "kill un this time," and they went away after calling out in chorus "good-bye." But another woman and her man-servant were not so fortunate, for they were murdered in cold blood by the natives, who further indulged by their savage ferocity mangling the bodies of their victims after death. Large numbers of blacks, never before seen within the limits of the settled districts, came in from the mountains and reinforced the frontier tribes. At Cow Pastures, they were exceedingly troublesome, and on the newly-formed Bathurst Road travellers on their way over the mountains to the new country were stopped and their drays plundered and their cattle killed. At Lane Cove, in the vicinity of Sydney Harbour, also at least one raid was made upon the settlers, a body of nearly a hundred aborigines making their appearance suddenly and committing various depredations - the Indian corn, which was then extensively grown, being the chief attraction, that being with them a favourite article of food.

The Story of the Blacks. The Aborigines of Australia. (Continued).

In order to intimidate the offending tribes, and check the outrages which were becomingly common, a detachment of the 46th Regiment, under Captain Shaw and Wallis, was sent out to make a circuit round the outstations.

At the same time a Government proclamation was issued, prohibiting any aboriginal from appearing armed within one mile of any town or village, and prohibiting even unarmed aboriginals from assembling in larger numbers than six. To the well disposed blacks who cared to provide themselves with such protection passports were given by the Government; and in the same proclamation, evidently moved by a desire to shew the natives that he was as anxious to promote their welfare as to check their outrages, the Governor made known that he would grant to such of them as desire to conform to the habits of civilized life, allotments

On the 2nd March 1816 Palmer’s farm was plundered. Four farm works were killed and one wounded on the following day when they crossed the Nepean in pursuit.

On Monday the 4th of March Aboriginal warriors plundered Captain Fowler’s farm, which was near Palmer’s farm. They spared Mrs Wright and a worker who were sheltering in the roof.


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of land in suitable localities, with provisions for six months for themselves and families, together with agricultural implements and seed, and a suit of clothes and a blanket for each person.

The congress of the aborigines of the colony in order to make this proclamation widely known, did not take place till the end of 1816!

In order to make this proclamation widely known, a congress of the aborigines of the colony was invited to be held at Parramatta. At this meeting; some hundreds of blacks were induced to attend, and the whole thing was explained to them. Shortly afterwards a school for young natives was established in Parramatta, and a considerable number of the children were handed over by their parents to be educated. This assembly of the blacks at Parramatta resolved itself into an annual affair, and was continued during a number of years. The school continued to be well attended until the near tribes from whom the fluctuating school roll was kept up had so far decayed that very few, either of young or old, remained within the then settled districts of the colony.

The military detachment sent out for the protection of the remote settlements returned after scouring the country, reporting that at a place called Airds they had encountered a large tribe of blacks, gave battle, and were not vanquished until fourteen of their number had been killed, and five taken prisoners. Numbers of others were also arrested and marched in chains to Sydney, where they were imprisoned for a time - as a warning to others not to disobey a proclamation the terms of which they could not understand, and the conditions of which they could not possibly fulfill. Ten of the most troublesome of the blacks were solemnly outlawed by name, and a reward of £10 each was offered by the authorities for their capture, alive or dead.

The proclamations that were issued by the Governor are unique as specimens of labored composition and grandiose sentences, and are well worth preserving among the curiosities of the early days of Australia. The preamble set out the various offences committed by the aborigines, and the lenity, humanity, forbearance, protection, assistance and indulgence shewn by His Excellency towards them in the effort to conciliate them to the British Government, followed by the sending out of a military force which had unavoidably killed and wounded several natives, including some few innocent ones; and then the proclamation ran as follows:

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The second instalment of the article is either deliberately or accidentally confusing. A detachment of the 46th under Captain Schaw marched out on the 10th of April 1816.

Captain Wallis was already in the field and destroyed a Aboriginal group on the 17th of April 1816, near Broughton’s farm at Airds.

Macquarie’s Proclamation was issued on the 4th of May about a week after he ordered the troops home on the 30th of April when it was obvious that the combined forces of Schaw, Wallis and Dawes were not going to deliver the anticipated victory.

The Proclamation of martial law on 4th May 1816 was not the order that sent Schaw and Wallis into action. It was a follow up.

The author then proceeded to quote the proclamation of 4th May 1816.

The author’s reference to the outlawing of ten men came from the proclamation of the 20th of July 1816.

The author jumped back in time to recount Wallis’ encounter of the 17th April 1816 near Broughton’s farm at Airds.


‘The proclamations that were issued are unique as specimens of laboured composition, and are well worth preserving among the curiosities of the earlier days.’
And whereas the more effectually to prevent a Recurrence of Murders, Robberies, and Depredations by the Natives, as well as to Protect the Lives and Properties of His Majesty's British Subjects residing in the several Settlements of this Territory, His Excellency the Governor deems it his Indispensable Duty to prescribe certain Rules, Orders and Regulations to be observed by the Natives, and rigidly enforced and carried into effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales, and which are as follows: -

First. - That from and after the Fourth Day of June next ensuing, that being the Birthday of His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Third, no Black Native or Body of Black Natives shall ever appear at or within one mile of any Town, Village, or Farm, occupied by or belonging to any British Subject, armed with any Warlike or Offensive Weapon or Weapons of any Description, such as Spears, Clubs, or Waddies, or Pain of being Deemed and Considered in a state of Aggression and Hostility and treated accordingly.

Second. - That no number of Natives exceeding in the whole six persons, being entirely unarmed, shall ever come to lurk or loiter about any Farm in the Interior, on Pain of being considered Enemies, and treated accordingly.

Third. - That the practice hitherto observed among the Native Tribes, of assembling in large Bodies or Parties armed, and of fighting and attacking each other on the plea of inflicting Punishment on Transgressors of their own Customs and Manners, at or near Sydney, and other Principal Towns and Settlements in the colony, shall be henceforth - wholly abolished as a barbarous custom, repugnant to the British Laws, and strongly militating against the Civilization of the Natives, which is an Object of the highest Importance to effect, if possible. Any armed Body of Natives, therefore, who shall assemble for the foregoing Purposes, either at Sydney or any of the other Settlements of this Colony after the said Fourth Day of June next, shall be considered as: Disturbers of the Public Peace and shall be apprehended and Punished in a summary manner accordingly. The Black Natives are therefore Hereby enjoined and commanded to discontinue this Barbarous Custom, not only at and near the British Settlements, but also in their own Wild and Remote Places of Resort.

Here is an exact copy, culled from the official Gazette of the time:- PROCLAMATION By his Excellency Lachlan Macquarie, Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies, &c., &c., &c. Whereas the Aborigines, or Black natives of this colony have for the last three years manifested a strong and sanguinary spirit of Animosity and Hostility towards the British Inhabitants residing in the Interior and Remote Parts of the Territory, and been recently guilty of most atrocious and Wanton Barbarities, in indiscriminately murdering Men, Women and Children, from whom they had received no Offence or Provocation; and also in Killing Cattle, and plundering and destroying the Grain and Property of every Description, belonging to the Settlers and persons residing on and near the Banks of the River Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury, and South Creek, to the great Terror, Loss and Distress of the Suffering Inhabitants - And whereas, notwithstanding that the Government has heretofore acted with the utmost Lenity and Humanity towards these Natives, in forbearing to punish such Wanton Cruelties and Depredations with their merited Severity, thereby hoping to reclaim them from their Barbarous Practices, and to conciliate them to the British Government, by affording them Protection, Assistance and indulgence, instead of subjecting them to the Retaliation of Injury, which their own wanton cruelties would have fully justified; yet they, have persevered to the present day in committing every species of sanguinary Outrage and Depredation on the Lives and Properties of the British Inhabitants, after having been repeatedly cautioned to beware of the Consequences that would result to themselves, by the continuance of such destructive and barbarous Courses - And whereas his Excellency the Governor was lately reluctantly compelled to resort to coercive and strong Measures to prevent the recurrence of such Crimes and Barbarities, and to bring to Condon punishment of the Perpetrators of them as could be found and apprehended; and with this view sent out a Military Force to drive away these hostile Tribes from the British Settlements in the remote parts of the Country and to take as many of them Prisoners as possible; in executing which services several Natives have been unavoidably, killed and wounded, in consequence of their not having surrendered themselves on being called to do so; amongst whom it may be considered fortunate, that some of the most guilty and atrocious of the Natives concerned in the late Murders and Robberies are numbered. And although it is to be apprehended that some few innocent Men, Women and Children may have fallen in these Conflicts, yet it is earnestly to be hoped that this Unavoidable Result, and the Severity which has attended it, will eventually strike Terror among the surviving Tribes, and deter them from the further commission of such sanguinary Outrages and Barbarities -

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Fourth. - That such of the Natives as may wish to be considered under the Protection of the British Government, and disposed to conduct themselves in a peaceable, inoffensive and honest manner, shall be furnished with Passports or Certificates to that Effect, signed by the Governor, on their making application for the same at the Secretary's Office, at Sydney, on the First Monday of every succeeding month; which Certificates they will find will protect them from being injured or molested by any Person, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably, inoffensively, and honestly, and do not carry or use offensive Weapons, contrary to the Tenor of this Proclamation.

The Governor, however, having thus fulfilled an imperious and necessary Public Duty, in prohibiting the Black Natives from carrying or using offensive Weapons, at least in as far as relates to their usual Intercourse with the British Inhabitants of these Settlements, considers it equally a Part of his Public Duty, as a Counter-Balance for the Restriction of not allowing them to go about the country armed, to afford the Black Natives such means as are within his power to enable them to obtain an honest and comfortable Subsistence, by their own Labour and Industry. His Excellency therefore hereby proclaims and makes known to them that he shall always be willing and ready to grant small Portions of Land in suitable and convenient Parts of the Colony, to such of them as are inclined to become regular Settlers, and such occasional Assistance from the Government as may enable them to cultivate their Farms, Namely: -

Firstly. - That they and their Families shall be victualled from the King's Stores for Six Months, from the time of their going to reside actually on their Farms.
Secondly. - That they shall be furnished with the necessary Agricultural Tools; and also with Wheat, Maize, and Potatoes for Seed;
Thirdly. - To each person of a Family, one Suit of Slops, and one Colonial Blanket from the King's Stores shall be given. But these indulgences will not be granted to any Native unless it shall appear that he is really inclined and fully resolved to become a Settler, and permanently to reside on such Farm as may be assigned to him for the purpose of cultivating the same for the support of himself and his Family.

His Excellency the Governor therefore earnestly exhorts, and thus publicly invites the Natives to relinquish their wandering, idle and predatory Habits of Life, and to become industrious and useful Members of a Community, where they will find Protection and Encouragement. To such as do not like to cultivate Farms of their own, but would prefer working as Laborers for those Persons :who may be disposed to employ them, there will always be found Masters among the Settlers who will hire them as Servants of this Description. And the Governor strongly recommends to the Settlers and other Persons, to accept such services as may be offered by the Industrious Natives desirous of engaging in their employ. And the Governor desires it to be understood that he will be happy to grant Land to the Natives in such Situations as may be agreeable to them selves and according to their own particular Choice, provided such Lands are disposabl

And, whereas his Excellency the Governor, from an anxious Wish to civilize the Aborigines of this Country, So as to make them useful to themselves and the Community, has established a Seminary or Institution at Parramatta, for the purpose or educating the Male and Female Children of those Natives who might be willing to place them in that Seminary;117 His

117 The Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal, 7th December 1889, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/de/article/62224222 included the following sentence which has been deleted from the Windsor and Richmond Gazette. "His Excellency now therefore earnestly calls upon such Natives as have
Excellency deems it expedient to invite a general Friendly Meeting of all the Natives residing in the Colony, to take place at the Town of Parramatta, on Saturday, the 28th December next, at Twelve O'clock Noon, at the Public Market Place there, for the purpose of more fully explaining and pointing out to them the Objects of the Institution referred to, as well as for Consulting with them on the best means of improving their present Condition. On this occasion and at this public general meeting of the Natives, the Governor will feel happy to reward such of them as have given proofs of Industry and an inclination to be Civilized.

And the Governor, wishing that this General Meeting, or Congress of the Friendly Natives should in future be held Annually, directs that, the 28th Day of December, in every succeeding year, shall be considered as fixed for this Purpose, excepting when that day happens to fall on a Sunday; when the following day is to considered as fixed for holding the said Congress.

And finally, His Excellency the Governor hereby orders and directs that on the Occasions of any Natives coming armed, or in a Hostile Manner without arms, or in unarmed parties exceeding Six in number, to any Farm belonging to or occupied by British Subjects in the Interior, such Natives are first to be desired in a civil manner to depart from the said farm, and if they persist in remaining thereon, or attempt to plunder, rob, or commit any kind of Depredation; they are then to be driven away by Force of Arms by the Settlers themselves; and in Case they are not able to do so; they are to apply to a Magistrate for aid from the nearest Military Station; and the Troops stationed there are hereby commanded to render their Assistance when so required. Given under my Hand at Government. House, Sydney, &c, LACHLAN MACQUARIE.
By Command of His Excellency,
J. T. Campbell, Secretary.
God Save the King!

The other Proclamation was issued by the Governor in July of the same year. It recited that the military parties had been sent to punish the "Banditti" or Tribes of Black Natives, for their "sanguinary disposition" and "wanton and barbarous murders;" and that an invitation had been given them in a previous proclamation to become peaceable and law-abiding citizens. And whereas since the issuing of the said proclamation (with which it is well known the said natives soon became fully acquainted) it has appeared that there are still among these People some individuals far more hostile and mischievous than the rest, who by taking the lead have lately instigated their deluded followers to commit several further atrocious Acts of Barbarity on the unoffending and unprotected Settlers and their Families:

And whereas the ten natives whose names are hereunder mentioned are well known to be the principal and most violent Instigators of the late Murders, namely –

1 Murrah
2 Myles
3 Wallah, alias Warren
4 Carbone Jack alias Kurringy
6 Bunduck
7 Kongate
8 Wottan
9 Rachel

Children to embrace so desirable and good an opportunity of providing for their helpless offspring, and of having them brought up, fed, clothed and educated in a Seminary established for such humane and desirable purposes. And in furtherance of this measure,"

Now it is hereby publicly proclaimed and declared that the said ten natives abovenamed, and each and every of them are deemed and considered to be in a State of Outlawry, and open and avowed enemies to the Peace and Good Order of Society, and therefore unworthy to receive any longer the Protection of the Government which they have so flagrantly revolted against and abused.

And all and every of His Majesty's Subjects, whether Free Men, Prisoners if the Crown, or Friendly Natives, are hereby authorised and enjoined to seize upon and secure the said ten outlawed Natives, or any of them, wheresoever they may be found, and to bring them up to the nearest Magistrate to be dealt with according to Justice. And in case the said Ten proscribed Hostile Natives cannot be apprehended and secured for that purpose, then each of His Majesty's Subjects hereinbefore described are and shall be at liberty by such Means as may be within their Power, to kill and utterly destroy them as Outlaws and Murderers as aforesaid; and with this view, and to encourage all His Majesty's said Subjects, whether White Man or Friendly Natives, to seize upon, secure, or destroy the said Outlaws, a Reward of Ten Pounds Sterling for each of the said ten proscribed Natives, will be paid by Government to any person or persons who shall under the circumstances bring in their persons, or produce satisfactory proof of their having killed or destroyed them within a period of Three Months from the Date hereof.

And the Settlers are further hereby strictly enjoined and commanded, on no Pretence whatever to receive, harbour, or conceal any of the outlawed Banditti, or afford them any countenance or assistance whatever; nor are they to furnish aid or provisions to any of the friendly natives who may visit their farms, but upon the express Condition of their engaging and promising to use their best endeavours to secure and bring in the said Ten Outlaws, and deliver them up to the nearest Magistrate, or lodge them in Prison; And these friendly Natives are to be given to understand that if they faithfully and earnestly exert themselves in apprehending and bringing in the said Outlaws, every reasonable Indulgence and Encouragement will be afforded them by the Government ; whilst, on the contrary, until this Object is attained, no Peace or Amnesty with the Natives at large in this Territory will be made or conceded ... With a view to overawe the hostile Natives generally, in those parts of the colony where they have committed the more flagrant and violent acts of Cruelty and Outrage, three separate Military Detachments will be forthwith stationed at convenient distances on the rivers Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury, to assist and afford protection to the Settlers whenever Occasion may require it, each Detachment to be provided with an European and also a Native guide."

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119 Carbone Jack, who had many variations on his name, was the father of Narrang Jack. While Louisa Atkinson’s account of how Nerang Jack ended up on a farm is suspect, it is important in highlighting the close interaction of setters and Aborigines."A man named Cobbon Jack, i.e. Big Jack, had a son which received the diminutive of Jackey Nerang (little or the less). This man’s gin was given to the practice of infanticide, which he objected to, and requested a lady to adopt his son should he die, and leave it to the heartless Jinny’s care. She promised to do so, and inquired by what name the child should call her, "nowar," (mother) queried Cobbon; on her assenting and repeating the word, he manifested great delight; little Jackey was henceforth called Garrida, from his birthplace ; the blacks explaining that he was going to be gentleman now, implying that a name emanating from landed possessions carried rank with it, as the Scotch lairds were called by the names of their estates. " The Sydney Morning Herald, 25th September 1863, [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13094036](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13094036)
A week later a notice appeared in the Gazette to the effect that several of the natives who were suspected to be the most atrocious actors in the late barbarities had been apprehended and placed in confinement. One of the natives, named Dewal, was banished by the Governor to a distance settlement, in order to strike alarm into the minds of others of the tribe. It was also stated that the proclamation prohibiting them travelling armed about the Settlements had proved effectual in stopping attacks upon travellers. Several of the ten natives named were either killed or captured, and the proclamation of their outlawry was annulled; but the natives were solemnly assured that if any further outrages occurred measures "more strong and effective" would be resorted to for the purpose of punishing the transgressors.

The first military “drive” was thus described in the Government organ, the Gazette of current date:—

"The three military detachments despatched on the 10th ultimo, under Captains Schaw and Wallis, and Lieut. Dawe, of the 46th Regiment, in pursuit of the hostile natives returned to Head Quarters on the 4th instant. In the performances of this service the military encountered many difficulties, and underwent considerable fatigue and privations, having to traverse a widely extended range of country on both sides of the River Nepean, from the Banks of the Grose, and the second ridge of the Blue Mountains on the North, to that tract of country on the Eastern Coast, called 'The Five Islands.' Captain Schaw, with his party, scoured the country on the banks of the Hawkesbury, making degressions East and West, but observing a general course to the Southward; whilst Captain Wallis proceeding by Liverpool to the districts of Aird and Appin, and thence into the Cow Pastures, made his degression East and West of the Nepean, taking his course generally Northwards, with a view either to fall in with the Natives or by forcing them to flight to drive them within the reach of the Central Party, under Lieutenant Dawe, stationed at Mrs. McArthur's farm in the Cow Pastures; or if they should elude his vigilance that they might fall in with Captain Schaw, who was advancing from the second ridge of the Blue Mountains, and the banks of the Grose. It appears that the party under Captain Wallis fell in with a number of the Natives on the 17th ultimo, near Mr. Broughton's farm, within Airds district, and killed fourteen of them, taking two women and three children prisoners. Amongst the killed were found the bodies of two of the most hostile of the natives, called Durelle and Conibigal. We are also informed that Lieutenant Dawe had on the 12th ultimo, nearly surprised a small encampment, but having been discovered the natives suddenly took to flight, leaving only a boy about 14 years old, whom he took prisoner, and there is every reason to believe that two of them had been mortally wounded. Without being enabled to trace more particularly the progress of the military parties on this expedition, we learn

The author then returned to Wallis’ action and made the claim that: Amongst the killed were found the bodies of two; of the most hostile of the natives, called Durelle and Conibigal, despite the names of these men not being among those outlawed.

The third article referred to Lieutenant Dawes’ encounter on the 12th of April, and finished by referring to the stopping of a government supply wagon on the road to Bathurst in March 1816.

In this article the author mocked both the editor of the Gazette and Aborigines. 


In quoting the report in the Gazette on the 3rd of August 1816 that several Aborigines had been placed in confinement and Dewall was banished, the author created the impression that the proclamation of 20th July 1816 was responsible for their capture. Dewall had been captured on the 22nd of April 1816.
generally that several of the natives were taken prisoners and have since been brought to Sydney and lodged in the goal. The humanity with which this necessary but unpleasant duty has been conducted throughout by the officers appointed to this command, claims our warmest commendations, and although the result has not been altogether so successful as might have been wished, yet there is little doubt but it will ultimately tend to restrain similar outrages, and a recurrence of those barbarities which the natives have of late so frequently committed on the unprotected Settlers and their Families."

In a subsequent number of the Gazette, the editor, after stating that a body of natives had stopped and robbed a cart belonging to Government carrying provisions for the supply of the persons stationed on the mountains, and that they demonstrated considerably less apprehension than formerly from the effects of firearms, thus sought to shew the natives how full of Christian charity he was. "In justice to those who do not engage in these mischievous acts," said he, "we should be at all times ready to receive corrected statements in favour of any whose names may have been erroneously reported as present on such occasions." The reader can imagine how gratified the innocent aborigines would have been at this display of generosity - if they had been able to read and understand the paragraph; and how many "corrected statements" they would have sent in to the editor - if they had been able to write. But, alas, for the darkness of the savage state, they were not able to do one or the other. ¹²¹

Charles White was not alone in misshaping our understandings of our past. A four thousand word article in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, ⁴th of January, 1896, extolling the virtues and achievements of Governor Macquarie, made only one enigmatic reference to Aboriginal people: “His action as to the aborigines seems peculiar, as seen in these days.”¹²² The *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1904 made the following fallacious comment: “It was a troublesome district between 1796 and 1816, for the settlers and blacks constantly waged war against each other, but Governor Macquarie quieted the feud, when, on December 28, 1816, he held the first annual friendly conference with the aborigines in the market place.”¹²³

20th of January, 1816
Queen Charlotte’s birthday was the subject of Mr. Robinson’s latest Ode. In it he managed to insert a tribute to Governor Macquarie, very much in keeping with the image that Macquarie liked to present – the visionary leader, dispenser of justice and mercy. It also probably explains why Mr. Robinson was the colony’s poet laureate and his occasional slips with a pen did not get him into too much trouble. Robinson’s Odes are significant because anniversaries and celebrations naturally lend themselves to the mythologizing of the past and the blurring of what actually happened.

‘A BRITISH CHIEF! Who, on Australia’s Shore,  
First cherish’d Arts, and bade young Science soar;  
Bade active Labour course the distant Soil,  
But sent bright Hope to animate their Toil;  
And when His Justice dealt the gracious Meed,  
MERCY- stood by - to consecrate the deed.

The Ode was largely indistinguishable from its predecessors, extolling Britain over other countries, celebrating the triumph of Britain bringing light into the darkness. The only originality in this work was its reference to cannibalism.

Apart from inserting some apostrophes, I have retained Mr. Robinson’s spelling and the Gazette’s layout.

‘ODE
FOR THE QUEEN’s BIRTHDAY, 1816
BY MR. MICHAEL ROBINSON.

WHEN Spain’s proud Genius saw COLUMBUS brave
The Western Course of the Atlantic Wave:
Saw his aspiring Mind, adventurous, soar
To trace the Bearings of an unknown Shore:
What Time Castilian Barks, with Sails unfurl’d
First wav’d their Banners to a wondering World,
O’er whose rude Race, by humble Nature led,
Proud Science yet no radiant Gleams had she:-
Tho’ Superstition saw her spell-bound Hand,
Form’d, to pervade an unenlightened Land
As round their Shrines, to Pagan Darkness giv’n,
Their Idol’s stood - the Passports to their Heav’n;
And, as the Sun thro’ Space empyreal rode,
Instinctive Impulse pointed to their GOD!
Till Time, maturing REASON’S dawning Ray,
Bade happier Prospects gild their brightling Day;
And Christian Faith, with heav’n taught Truths refin’d,
Rouse to new Energies the human Mind!
Hence Wisdom’s scientific Lore
Diffusive spread from Shore to Shore,
And patriot Worth, reserv’d for Glory,
Swell’d the proud Page of letter’d Story.
But, in Columbus’ wayward Days,
Envy deform’d his Meed of Praise,
And Slander, with envenom’d Breath,
Tarnish’d the living Hero's Wreath;
Yet grateful Sympathy surviv’d, to wave
The Cypress Laurel o'er his hallow’d Grave!

Far brighter Trophies ALBION’S Heroes bore,
When Glory call’d them to a distant Shore;
When, on the raging Bosom of the Deep,
They watch’d the giddy Mast’s impending Steep;
Heard the rude Howling of the swelling Gale,
And the wild Flapping of the shatter’d Sail,
Firm as the Oak that bound their Vessels' Sides,
They brav’d the Fury of contending Tides;
Trac’d desart Coasts, where prowling Natives Stood,
Eager to snatch their Feast of human Blood;
Eplor’d the length’ning Beach, the land lock’d Bay,
Where treach’rous Shelves in lurking Ambush lay;
Mark’d the lone Sea Bird, whose portentous Flight
Presag’d the brooding Horrors of the Night –
Left to encounter Danger’s varying Form,
As Billows stirr’d and ruthless burst the Storm;
Till, the dire Conflict past, bright Morning came,
Hope cheer’d the Dawn, and led the Course to Fame!

True to the great Example of their Sires,
Where Duty calls, and Ardour fires;- Advent’rous Britons still that Impulse feel,
Which prompts to Glory, and their Country’s Weal!
But not, alone, on Ocean’s vast Domain
They glean the Spoils his deep dark Caves contain,
Or where the Harpoon’s lengthen’d Line is hurl’d,
Grapple the Giants of the watery World -
Tracts of untravers’d EARTH their Toils explore,
And add new Triumphs to AUSTRALIA’S Shore!

Where yon Blue Mountains, with tremendous Brow,
Frown on the humbler Vales that wind below,
Where scarcely human Footsteps ever trac’d
The craggy Cliffs that guard the lingering Waste
O’er the wild Surface of the Western Plains,
- Erst the lorn Range of isolated Trains: -
Where, from the Birth of Time the slumbering Soil
Had borne no Traces of the Peasant’s Toil Behold,
where Industry’s encourag’d Hand
Has chang’d the lurid Aspect of the Land;
With Verdure cloath’d the solitary Hills,
And pour’d fresh Currents, from the limpid Rills;
Has shed o’er darken’d Glades a social Light,
AND BOUNDLESS REGIONS OPEN TO OUR SIGHT!

Ere yet their Tasks the sturdy Swains began,
Invaded Nature startlerted at the Plan;
With Wonder gaz’d, when human Art appear’d
To burst thro' Bounds in untrac'd Ages rear'd:
But when they brav'd the noon tide sultry Ray,
Scal'd the steep Cliff, and pierc'd the pathless Way,
Taught the reluctant stubborn Glebe to yield,
And in the Desart sprung the cultur'd Field –
She shar'd their Triumph, and, with liberal Smile,
Disclos'd the rich Resources of the Soil,
And pointed where th' ALMIGHTY Hand had giv'n
True balmy Manna, pure as Dew from Heav'n!
Trophies like these shall spread from Clime to Clime,
Shelter'd thro' Ages from the Spoils of Time;
And proud Posterity shall prize the Land
That owes its Culture to a BRITON'S HAND!
And, when some future Bard's historic Lays
Shall trace AUSTRALIA thro' progressive Days,
Describe the Plains, where first, to Reason led,
Their Sires were civiliz'd, their Hamlets spread;
When early Commerce, borne by fav'ring Gales,
First in the Offing loom'd with swelling Sails;
Here shall he Pause to venerate a Muse –
Virtue bequeath'd in sacred Charge to Fame;
A BRITISH CHIEF! Who, on Australia's Shore,
First cherish'd Arts, and bade young Science soar;
Bade active Labour course the distant Soil,
But sent bright Hope to animate their Toil;
And when His Justice dealt the gracious Meed,
MERCY- stood by - to consecrate the deed.

Here shall charm'd Fancy's glowing Tints retire
And Themes coeval wake "the living Lyre;"
Themes Science saw her Isis nurse with Pride,
And on CAM'S Margin swell her classic Tide;
And still, wherever cherish'd Genius smiles,
Or Britain's Sceptre guards her happier Isles,
The Muses, sacred to this festive Day,
Shall pour their earliest - their proudest Lay;
And Songs of Triumph hail th' auspicious Morn,
On which our Albion's Hope - her peerless QUEEN was born!
And tho' usurping Time's rude Hand appears
To mark the Lapse of CHARLOTTE'S silver'd Years
In calm Seclusion, midst Her WINDSOR'S Bow'rs,
Reflection gilds the retrospective Hours;
Brings to fond Mem'ry when her Bosom's Lord
Liv'd! (and still lives!) by grateful Worlds ador'd!
While his proud Navies aw'd the subject Main,
And new Discov'ries mark'd His glorious Reign:
Reviews the smiling Dawn of opening Youth,
When mutual Virtue pledg'd connubial Truth;
Whence graceful Scions, like the Olive Vine,
Branch'd, to perpetuate the BRUNSWICK Line -
And thro' succeeding Æras long shall prove Their EMPIRE'S GLORY, and their PEOPLE'S LOVE!
New South Wales, Jan. 18, 1816. 124

On the 2nd March 1816, 20 to 30 Aboriginal warriors plundered Palmer’s farm at Bringelly. 125
On the following day, seven workers crossed the Nepean in pursuit. In the fight that followed four of them were killed and one wounded. The incident is particularly noteworthy in that it was the first recorded use of muskets by Aboriginal warriors against settlers. On Monday 4th March, about sixty warriors plundered Wright’s Bringelly farm. Around the 12th March a stock keeper was killed at Cowpastures and an attack made on a government cart on the road to Bathurst, suggesting that Aboriginal unrest was widespread.

2nd of March, 1816
Bringelly District lay between the Nepean River and South Creek. Apart from the use of firearms by Aboriginal people, the account is important in that it signals a degree of co-ordination not previously recorded in Aboriginal attacks. The spearing of William Bagnell and Mrs. Wright is further evidence that Aboriginal violence was discriminate.

‘Unpleasant accounts are received from the farm of Captain Fowler, in the district of Bringelly, of the murder of several persons by the natives frequenting that quarter. The above farm was occupied by Mr. Edmund Wright; whose account of the transaction states that on Saturday last the Servants' dwellings of G. T. Palmer, Esq. at the Nepean, were plundered by a groupe of 20 or 30 of the natives. On Sunday four of Mr. Palmer's men, namely Edw Mackey, Patrick M'Hugh, John Lewis, and --- Farrel, accompanied by John Murray, servant of John Hagan, Dennis Hagan, stock keeper to Captain Brooks, and William Brazil, a youth in the employ of Mr. Edmund Wright, crossed the Nepean in the hope of recovering the property that had been taken away the day before, and getting into a marshy flat ground nearly opposite Mr. Fowler's farm, about 200 yards distance from the bank of the river, they were perceived and immediately encircled by a large body of natives, who closing rapidly

125 George Thomas Palmer was a free settler with a military background. He acted as Provost Marshall 1810-11 and Superintendent of Government Stock in 1813-1814. He received his grant of 700 acres at Bringley in 1812. His chief place of residence was Pemberton Grange near Parramatta. Palmer was also one of the earliest settlers west of the Blue Mountains, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/palmer-george-thomas-2532
upon them, disarmed those who carried muskets, and commenced a terrible attack, as well by a discharge of the arms they had captured, as by an innumerable shower of spears. M'Hugh, Dennis Hagan, John Lewis, and John Murray, fell in an instant, either from shot, or by the spear, and William Brazil received a spear in the back between the shoulders, which it is hoped and believed will not be fatal.

Some of the natives crossed the river over to Capt. Fowler's farm, and pursued the remaining white men up to the farm residence, but being few in number they retired, and re-crossing the river, kept away until the day following (Monday last), when at about ten o'clock in the forenoon a large, number, sixty it was imagined, crossed again, and commenced a work of desolation and atrocity by beginning to destroy the inclosures of the various yards. The house they completely stripped, and Mrs. Wright, with one of the farm labourers, having secreted herself in the loft in the hope of escaping the cruelty of the assailants, their concealment was suspected, and every possible endeavour made to murder them. Spears were darted through the roof from without, and through sheets of bark which were laid as a temporary ceiling, from which the two persons had repeated hair breadth escapes. William Bagnell, who was the person in the loft with Mrs. Wright, finding that their destruction was determined upon, at length threw open a window in the roof, and seeing a native known by the name of Daniel Badbury, begged for their lives; and received for answer, that "they should not be killed this time." After completely plundering the house, they recrossed the river, very dispassionately bidding Mrs. Wright and Bagnell a good bye! Mr. Wright's standing corn has been carried away in great quantity and all provisions whatever were also carried off. 126

16th of March, 1816

The following account of the spearing of a stock keeper at the Cowpastures and an attack on a cart on the western road confirms the widespread nature of Aboriginal hostility and the diminishing fear of firearms by Aboriginal people. The correction regarding the presence of Budbury in the attack on Wright's farm points to the complicated nature of the presence of Aboriginal people on the farms. Alienating Budbury risked making an enemy of a friend.

‘We have to regret the death of another white person, a stock keeper at the Cow Pastures; who was a few days since speared by three natives, who are reported to have come from the mountains in very alarming force, to join the nearer hordes in plundering the maize fields.— A body of them has stopped and robbed a cart belonging to Government on its road to Bathurst Plains with provisions for the supply of the persons stationed there, and demonstrate considerably less apprehension than formerly from the effect of fire arms. In justice to those who do not engage in these mischievous acts, we should be at all times happy to receive corrected statements in favor of any whose names may have been erroneously reported as present on those occasions. — The Gazette of last week stated from information that Budbury was present at the attack on Mrs. Edmond Wright and her servant; which we are now convinced must have been a mistake, as we are requested to declare, upon the most undoubted authority, that he was far from the scene, and is perfectly a friendly and well-disposed native towards us. The report, which originated from the mistake of his person, under the circumstances of alarm and terror, we feel it our duty to correct, as a bad name in such a case might be attended with the most unhappy result to an innocent person, and become even doubly fatal, in making an enemy of a friend, and giving him to a condition of extremity that might justify hostility in him, as palpably an act of self defence. Mistakes of so serious a nature should carefully be avoided, and individual offenders pointed out in such cases only where their identity is undoubted — for it would be even better that the guilty

should escape the rigors of a resentment they bring down upon themselves, than that the faultless should participate in those evils from which justice and humanity should alike defend them.  

March, 1816

In March 1816 Elizabeth Macarthur wrote to her friend Eliza: “Attempts have been made to civilise the natives of this country, but they are complete savages, and are as lawless and troublesome as when the Colony was first established. Our out settlements are constantly subjected to their depredations.”

James Hassall, grandson of the missionary Rowland Hassall included two letters in his memoirs dealing with Aboriginal attacks in March 1816. The first, written on 16th March 1816, was from his uncle, Samuel Otoo Hassall (married to Lucy, daughter of the Hawkesbury magistrate, James Mileham) to his brother the Reverend Thomas Hassall (married to Anne, daughter of Samuel Marsden). The second letter was from Henry Byrnes who was in charge of the Hassall property Macquarie Grove.

In the first letter Samuel described the arrival of a messenger at Macquarie Grove warning that warriors planned to attack the farms of Macarthur and Oxley and then move on to Macquarie Grove. Hassall went to the Magistrate, Mr. Lowe who gathered together troops and settlers and sent them to Macquarie Grove. On the following day, upon hearing that three of Macarthur’s stock keepers had been killed on the Upper Camden, Mr. Lowe led the settlers and soldiers out with some Aboriginal guides. The settlers approached the Aboriginal warriors who were stationed on a high rock. They displayed no fear of firearms, dropping to the ground when the weapons were fired. The warriors drove the settlers off with spears and stones. The settlers split. The majority went to Macarthur’s stockyard to defend three stock keepers there. Hassall and Scott returned to look after their women.

Mr. Henry Byrnes, from Macquarie Grove, of which place he seemed to be in charge; also wrote a letter about the same time to Samuel Hassall informing him of the death of the shepherd, Bromby, and the failure of Mr Oxley’s party to track down the killers.

Apart from a couple of ineffectual skirmishes reported by Watkins Tench the following two letters are to the best of my knowledge the only first-hand account of a military encounter between Aboriginal people and settlers from this period. They provide details such as Aboriginal warriors dancing in front of their enemies; diving to the ground when muskets were fired at them; and the confusion of the settlers in the face of a determined enemy. The most amazing aspect of the encounter described was that no one appeared to have been hurt.

16th March, 1816

It seems strange to us that as late as the year 1816, the settlers no farther than some forty miles from Sydney should have been in danger from attacks by the blacks. That they were so, the two following extracts shew very plainly indeed. The first is from a letter to my father,

129 He was made magistrate for Bringelly and Cooke districts in 1815 and in December of that year was allowed to take some of his stock across the Blue Mountains because of the drought on the County of Cumberland. Given that Lowe led the above expedition it is possible that the attack by Aboriginal warriors from the Cumberland Plain on stock at Glenroy on the Cox’s River later in 1816 was a payback for the expedition described in the letter.
written at Macquarie Grove, a farm on the Cowpasture River, near Camden, by my uncle, Samuel Hassall, on 16th March, 1816.

“... The departure of all my family ... took place on Monday last, with no small pleasure to some of them, as I have reason to believe they were very much alarmed on account of the desperate outrages of the natives, which are really awful.

“On last Lord’s Day, as I was in my little room, composing and committing to paper a Morning Prayer, about five in the afternoon, a messenger arrived with news that two natives had just informed him that the whole body of Cundorah natives\textsuperscript{130} intended to attack Mr. Macarthur’s farm, to plunder and murder all before them, and from thence to proceed down to Mr. Oxley’s to act with them in the same manner, and from thence to our farm, which you must judge gave me a severe alarm, on account of the little ones.

“I immediately proceeded to Mr. Lowe for protection, whom I found ready to afford every relief to assist. He immediately sent off the guard of soldiers stationed at his farm, also all the arms, with men, that he could raise, leaving his own farm unprotected. He also sent and pressed all the arms and ammunition in his district, with men to use them. When we assembled at this place on Monday morning, four or five women came with terrible tidings, saying that three of Mr. Macarthur’s servants were fallen victims to the dreadful hostilities of the savage natives at the Upper Camden, and that they were on their way to the Lower Camden, when we all fell in and distributed our ammunition ... but a small proportion to each man. We marched to Lower Camden, where we were joined by another party of men. ... We mustered about forty armed men, some with muskets, some with pistols, some with pitchforks, some with pikes, and others with nothing, from the Upper Camden, with an intent only to act on the defensive and if possible to take them prisoners, that being the Government orders.

“On our arrival there, we found that the most mischievous party of the natives were moved to the N.W. of that place, with an intent as before mentioned. We took from thence a small company of the more friendly natives, who informed us they could take our party to the camp of hose natives at the Upper Camden, and that they were on their way to the Lower Camden, when we all fell in and distributed our ammunition ... but a small proportion to each man. We marched to Lower Camden, where we were joined by another party of men. ... We mustered about forty armed men, some with muskets, some with pistols, some with pitchforks, some with pikes, and others with nothing, from the Upper Camden, with an intent only to act on the defensive and if possible to take them prisoners, that being the Government orders.

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“We immediately advanced towards them, when they threw a shower of spears among us. We commenced a fire, but to little effect, owing to the disorder of our men and the bad and dangerous situation we were in.

“They were posted on a high perpendicular rock and we underneath, where the spears and stones came in great abundance, which caused us to retract but ... in such a manner that I wonder a great number of us were not killed. Some even threw off their shoes to enable them to run fast; others, being weak and feeble, rolled down the hill, the natives still pressing hard. ...  

\textsuperscript{130} Now usually spelt Gundungurrah.

\textsuperscript{131} Contrast this sentence with the previous one about being on the defensive.
“They continued their retreat to the top of another very high hill, which my horse was scarcely able to ascend, but had scarce reached the top when they turned down again, and I could scarce keep up with some of them.

“At the same time, I must not forget to tell you, some of the party appeared to be too bold in their following them and firing, when the Natives would fall down as soon as the men would present their muskets at them, and then get up and dance. In a short time they disappeared, when we thought it most expedient to march to the stockyard, to save the lives of three men that had the care of Mr. Macarthur’s sheep there, as we had every reason to believe they were gone thither.

“Scott stated his fears of his wife and family’s coming home; that the natives might go and kill them all, and asked for one to go with him. I mentioned it to Mr. L., he objected, saying we had better not separate, lest we should be speared by natives. Feeling for the poor women and children, I rode with him myself, the distance being about four miles more or less.

“When we came to the place all was very quiet and still, the women and children just coming home from our farm. We told them they must return, that the natives had obliged us to retreat. They appeared quite distressed. One said she would not go till her husband went with her, or she would die with him. The others turned to the settlement.

“Our party soon arrived with the men, leaving their flocks behind to the mercy of the storm. Part of the men remained at Scott’s for the protection of his place and the remainder of the party went to Macquarie Grove, where we took quarters for the night, quite fatigued.

“The next morning we were all under arms, Mr. Lowe and his men just returning home, when Croneen came running to inform us, that the natives were at their yard and he feared, had killed one or more of the Government stockmen. We immediately collected all we could of the men just gone, and sent off a messenger to Mr. Lowe. He came immediately and brought all he could muster again, and lent me his horse to take Mother to his farm for the night.

“I returned about ten o’clock in the night, when to my very agreeable surprise, I found a reinforcement, Henry Byrnes, and ammunition.

“We kept watch all night, expecting an attack, my watch, with H. B., coming on at four o’clock in the morning, which gave us but three hours to rest. Nothing took place but marching to and from Mr. Oxley’s farm, Mr. B. being our commander, which I am sure would make you laugh, were you there to see the fun, provided you could hide yourself, as I am persuaded you would rather hide than fight. ...

We are in daily expectation of their paying us another visit. ...’

Mr. Henry Byrnes, who is referred to in the preceding letter, wrote to Mr. Hassall, informing him of the death of the shepherd, Brumby and the failure of Mr. Oxley’s party to track down the killers. Perhaps the most interesting part of his account occurs in its conclusion describing an encounter between one of Mr. Lowe’s men and five Aboriginal people who greeted him and passed on. This again strongly suggests that violence on the part of the Aboriginal people was personal and targeted.

132 Henry Byrnes.
‘With much regret I have to inform you of the Natives return to this quarter, and of the awful death of poor Bromby, one of your shepherds, who was cruelly murdered by them on Friday, between four and five o’clock in the evening.

“About an hour before the murder, Abraham Hearn came up on horseback to inform us that the Natives were then at the Shepherds’ Huts. We sent him to Mr. Oxley’s, in order to get the Soldiers, which he did, and in the meantime Mr. Bradley and I prepared to go and assist them. But before we had time to get off Geo. Ambridge arrived, stating that they had cast two spears at him. I gave him a musket and ammunition, and he ran back.

Mr. Bradley and I ran down As soon as possible, and on our arrival there we found Mr. Oxley and a few soldiers, together with a native guide, who was then searching for the tracks of the Murderers, but in vain.

Mr. O.\textsuperscript{133} told us that he had found a flock of sheep without a keeper, and wished some person to search for him. Accordingly, Mr. Bradley and I, accompanied by G. Ambridge, went round the Cut Hill in quest of the Body, but to no purpose. We at length got to the top of the hill, when we discovered a smoke in two places, one bearing about a mile and the other two miles to the west of us, but as the sun was then down, Mr. B. thought it useless for him and me to go over without the soldiers.

“On our return from the Hill, we met Hearn and his men, who informed us they had found the body of Bromby. We then took them up the Hill, but as it was too dark to see the smoke, we could only describe the place upon which we had seen it. Hearn said he had no doubt of its being the Natives, and promised to take the soldiers to the place that night, provided they would go with him.

“We then went to where the Body lay and there I saw an awful sight indeed. ... After we had extended the limbs and placed the Body as regular as we could, Mr. B. and I then returned home, it being too dark to remove the Body before morning.

“We went to inform Mr. Oxley of what we had seen and what Hearn said respecting the smoke. Mr. O. then requested the Soldiers to go with him that night in search of the offenders, but when they came to where we saw the smoke they could see no Natives, but their Native Guide soon got into their track and, it being Daylight, they followed the track until they came to a very high rock, on top of which was a thick Brush, where they soon discovered a Camp, as they supposed of Women and Children, and got so near under them as to hear a woman tell a child not to cry, for that his father was gone to kill white men.

“The party found that before they could get at the Camp they must go a round of three miles (by reason of the very high rock upon which the natives had encamped). They therefore went round, but before they could reach the place the Natives had fled, nor could they find their track for upwards of an hour. At length they found the track and soon discovered the Natives a short distance before them, along the river side, but in travelling over some rocks they again lost the track, as well as sight of the Natives.

\textsuperscript{133} Oxley
“Mr. Oxley and his party, being both weary and hungry, were obliged to return without doing any execution whatever.

“On Saturday one of Mr. Macarthur’s shepherds was chased from his flock over to the Government Stockyard by, as he said, upwards of two Hundred Natives, who retreated when they found the Man getting quite close to the Huts.

“Finding the Natives so near us, I rode over to inform Mr. Lowe. Lest he should be suddenly attacked. He informed me that on Thursday one of his men was going through the Bush from Mr. Oxley’s, and met five Natives, within a mile of his House. One of them wishing good morning, they passed on without taking further Notice. Mr. Lowe kindly offered to send his party to our assistance, at any hour we chose to send.

“If you can send us a little powder, it will be very acceptable as Mr. Sam’s left us rather short when he went away.”

18th of March, 1816: Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst

Governor Macquarie’s dispatch to Earl Bathurst is informative in a number of ways. It confirms that there had been a severe drought which had lasted for three years before being broken by rains in December 1815. This drought caused a heavy loss of stock. Governor Macquarie signaled his intention to take military action against Aboriginal people, who had in March 1816 killed “no less than five White Men”. Macquarie signaled his intention “to Inflict exemplary and Severe Punishments on the Mountain Tribes who have lately exhibited so Sanguinary a Spirit against the Settlers”. The killings on the Lewis farm and the attacks at Ryde in late March 1816 widened the scope of Macquarie’s planned military expedition. Whether the attacks on the Nepean were from “Mountain Tribes” and whether they were in any way related to the killings on the Lewis farm and the attacks at Ryde is a moot point.

'I have the Pleasure to report to Your Lordship that this Colony continues in a progressive State of Improvement. The Very Extraordinary and Unprecedented Droughts, We have Experienced for the last three Years, have, as might be Expected, Occasioned a very great Mortality amongst the Horned Cattle and Sheep throughout the Colony, as well as greatly Injured the Crops of Wheat, Maize, Oats, Barley and Potatoes; which Consequently occasioned a Considerable Rise in the price of Animal Food and Grain during that Period tho’ never Amounting to an Actual Scarcity. But as the last harvest promised to be a very indifferent one, I deemed it a necessary Measure of precaution to Commission One Hundred and fifty Tons of Wheat from Bengal for the Use of this government, and this Quantity together with a Supply of Sugar and Spirits at reasonable prices for the Use of the King’s Stores, Arrived here a few days Ago, Which proves a Very Seasonable Supply as it will be the Means of preventing Monopolizers from raising the Prices of those Articles on the poorer classes of the People. By the latest Accounts from the two settlements on Van Diemen’s Land, the Harvest there has promised to be a Most Abundant one; the Droughts We had here not extending to that Island, and besides the Soil being Infinitely Superior to that of the Settlements of Port Jackson excepting Immediately on the Banks of the Rivers Hawkesbury

134 This incident is significant in showing that from the Aboriginal perspective, conflict was individualised. The five Aboriginal men obviously had no quarrel with the stock keeper.
136 A phrase used by Adam Smith.
and Nepean Where the Lands Are Occasionally flooded and Consequently much enriched; there is now, I am happy to say, every Reason to expect that We shall have more favorable Seasons for the time to Come, as We have lately had Very Copious and Seasonable Falls of Rain throughout every part of the Colony, which were greatly Wanted, the Lands every Where being quite parched and burnt up, Affording Neither Grass nor Water for the poor famished Cattle, which Were dying in Hundreds 'till this favorable Change took place in December last. About the latter End of that Month, the Rain fell in such Torrents that We were threatened with a Flood, the River Hawkesbury having risen in the Course of a few Days No less than twenty two Feet above its Usual Level. The Rains however soon Moderated, and We are again relieved from the Apprehension of a Flood for this Season.

I much Concerned to be under the Necessity of Reporting to Your Lordship that the Native Blacks of this Country, Inhabiting the distant Interior parts, have lately broke out in Open hostility against the British Settlers residing on the Banks of the River Nepean near the Cow Pastures, and have Committed most daring Acts of Violence on their Persons and Depredations on their Property, in defending which no less than five White Men have been lately Killed by the Natives, who have not been known to act in such a ferocious Sanguinary Manner for many years past. I have Uniformly made it my Study since my first arrival in the Colony to do every thing in my power to Conciliate the Native Tribes by Shewing them on all Occasions much Kindness, and frequently Supplying them with Provisions and Slops. Indeed I had entertained Very Sanguine Hopes of being enabled to Civilize a great proportion of them in a few Years by the Establishment of the Native Institution and School at Parramatta for their Children, and Settling Some few Grown up Men and Women on Lands in the Neighbourhood of Sydney; but I begin to entertain a Fear that I shall find this a More Arduous Task than I at first Imagined, tho' I am Still determined to persevere in My Original Plan of endeavouring to domesticate and Civilize these Wild rude People. In the mean time it will be Absolutely Necessary to Inflict exemplary and Severe Punishments on the Mountain Tribes who have lately exhibited so Sanguinary a Spirit against the Settlers. With this view it is my Intention, as soon as I shall have Ascertained What Tribes* Committed the late Murders and Depredations, to send a Strong Detachment of Troops to drive them to a Distance from the Settlements of the White Men, and to Endeavour to take some of them Prisoners in order to be punished for their late atrocious Conduct, so as to Strike them with Terror against Committing Similar Acts of Violence in future. Many of the Settlers have entirely Abandoned their Farms in Consequence of the late Alarming Outrages. In Order, however, to Induce them to return to their Farms, I have sent some small Parties of Troops as Guards of Protection for those Farms which are Most exposed to the Incursions of the Natives; but these have of late become so very Serious that Nothing Short of Some Signal and Severe Examples being made will prevent their frequent Recurrence. However painful, this Measure is Now become Absolutely Necessary.

Unwilling hitherto to proceed to any Acts of Severity towards these People, and if possible to Conciliate and Keep on friendly Terms with them, I have forgiven or Overlooked Many of their Occasional Acts of Violence and Atrocity, exclusive of Numberless petty Thefts and Robberies Committed by them on the defenceless remote Settlers for the last three Years. **

23rd of March, 1816
On the 23rd of March a letter appeared in the Gazette; signed T.P, who, from other similarly signed letters was somewhat of a Francophile. A cynical reader with the benefit of hindsight

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would suspect that the letter was deliberately written to massage the minds of the reader. Dog whistling has a long history in Australian politics. The letter drew upon observations of differences between Aboriginal people of Van Diemen’s Land and New Holland. As well, the letter drew the attention of the reader to the “humane laws, and a mild and conciliating deportment towards the natives” displayed by British colonial governors.

I have not been able to identify T.P., the author of this letter who also wrote at least one other letter of a Francophile nature around this time. By extolling British colonial administrations the author was legitimating the British presence. By continuing the Gazette’s ongoing denigration of Aboriginal people T.P. was engaging in an early example of dog whistling, i.e., appealing to the baser nature of the populace. It was not uncommon for the Gazette to publish a letter critical of Aboriginal people in times of strife.

'To the EDITOR of the SYDNEY GAZETTE.

SIR,

Every thing connected with this Country, or illustrative of its physical or moral condition, cannot but be highly interesting to the intelligent part of the Colony: -- I have therefore quoted, for the perusal of your Readers, some remarks from a publication I saw in Gaglionnani’s library entitled “Voyage, des Decouvertes aux Terre Australes,” speaking of the inhabitants of Van Diemen. - Monsieur Peron says, they are a totally different race from those of New Holland. In size they resemble pretty much Europeans, but they differ from them by their singular conformation - with a large head, especially remarkable by the great length of the diameter from the chin to the sinciput. with broad well formed shoulders, well marked loins, and hips generally large, they have almost universally –weak extremities, of great length, and little muscularity, and a large, prominent, and as it were distended belly. - Without chiefs, laws, or any form of Government; without arts of any kind; without any idea of agriculture, the use of metals, or domestication of animals; without clothing, or any fixed abode, or any habitation, except a miserable shed of bark to protect them from the coldness of the south winds; without other arms than the club and sagay, always wandering in the middle of forests, or by the sea-shore. – The inhabitant of these regions undoubtedly unites all the characters of the savage – he is truly the child of nature. The inhabitants of New Holland are a distinct race from those of Diemen. - Their stature is nearly the same, but besides other characteristics, they differ from them in having long and smooth hair, in the colour of their skin, being much taller, and the remarkable configuration of the head, which, less bulky, is compressed in the back part, while that of the people of Van Diemen’s Land is elongated in the same direction. - The breast of the New Hollander is also developed, but there is the same disproportion between the limbs and the trunk, the same weakness, same slenderness of the limbs and often the tumefaction of the belly. In point of civilization they are but one step further advanced than the people of Diemen's Land, and have domesticated the dog alone. - In manual force the weakest Frenchman is equal to the strongest native of Van Diemen’s Land, and the weakest Englishman superior to the strongest New Hollander. - And in a commentary upon L'Abbé Banier’s production, entitled "Histoire Générale des Cérémonies, Mours et Coutumes Religieuses de lons les Peuples du Monde," will be seen the following observation, highly creditable to the British character: “the constituted authorities appointed from the Mother Country do not act like those sent from Spain to America : but, on, the contrary, by humane laws, and a mild and conciliating deportment towards the

139 The upper part of the head.
140 Sagay is a French Creole word, from the Seychelles, meaning spear.
natives, have been enabled to command their assistance, instead of being compelled to quell their commotions." - And in another work, by Le Chevalier Nollet, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, entitled "Histoire et Commette des Angloises, will be found the following remark; "that in the act of governing, the English laws are wisely and widely construed for the better administration of these dependencies; since the exigencies of the moment admit of a discretionary power in the, Viceroy's appointed; or otherwise, an Absolute adherence to the mere letter of the laws of the mother country would only endanger, and not secure her remote colonies." - Thus, Mr. Editor, it is evident from the authors cited, that this Colony has already excited the attention of the literati of Europe; and that it becomes every philosophical mind to improve the physical and promote the moral interests of this country, either by his conduct or talents. - If this slight research should at all encourage the well regarded scholar, in similar views, I shall be happy to renew my subject at some future period - and am, Sir, Your's, &c. T. P. 141

The Gazette on the 30th of March, reported that hostilities had moved downstream. An attack was made on the Lewis farm on the Grose River, probably around 25th March, and on farms at Lane Cove a few days later. Lewis’s farm, more widely known as Kearns’s Retreat was on the old junction of the Grose and Nepean Rivers. 142 It was Obadiah Aiken’s old farm and still on the edge of settlement. In the attack Mrs. Lewis was decapitated and the convict servant’s body mangled. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the mutilation of bodies was common when Aboriginal people had a grievance against a particular settler. It was also entirely possible that Mrs. Lewis was decapitated in response to the settler practice of decapitating Aboriginal people and sending their heads to phrenologists in Edinburgh.

Lieutenant Archibald Bell, 144 on 27th November 1819, threw additional light on the matter when he told Commissioner Bigge that some work had been done by Aboriginal people for some settlers and that the promised remuneration was refused with very rough usage. Bell focused on the way in which the settlers on the Lewis farm had brought their deaths upon themselves. However, he made no mention of the part he played in capturing and executing the Aboriginal men allegedly responsible.

George Bowman’s Memorandum to Mr Scott, clarified the location of the Lewis farm, highlighting the proximity of the killings to those of Cooling and Gallagher, servants to Mr. Crowley whose farm was only a short distance upstream of the Lewis’s. It suggests that the killings may have been related.

30th of March, 1816

‘At the beginning of the week an attack was made by a body of natives upon the farm of Lewis, at the Nepean, whose wife and man servant they cruelly murdered. The head of the unfortunate woman was sever’d from the body, and the man was dreadfully mangled with a tomahawk. The furious wretches afterwards plundered the house, and wantonly speared a number of pigs, the property of Lewis.

142 i.e., the old junction of the Grose and Nepean Rivers before the 1867 flood shifted the junction downstream.
143 Mrs Lewis was the wife of William Lewis.
144 Archibald Bell came to the colony in 1807 as an ensign in the NSW Corps. He was appointed magistrate in 1808, replacing Thomas Arndell (who never recovered the position). He received considerable land grants and lived at Belmont, Richmond Hill. He returned from the trial of Major Johnson in 1811 as a lieutenant in the New South Wales Royal Veterans Company. He commanded the military detachment at Windsor from 1812 to 1818.
A number of the natives, supposed 80 or 90 at the least, a few days since made their appearance at Lane Cove, and committed depredations on several farms. As these hordes are known to belong, mostly, if not all, to the more retired tribes, it is difficult to propose a remedy to their mischievous and truly horrible incursions; for while they attack in sufficient number to over power any force that a single settler can bring against them, they have the advantage of security by the distance of their accustomed places of resort, whether they may retire without the possibility of being pursued. - The necessity of settlers and others travelling in company as much as circumstances will permit has become generally obvious, and affords an effectual protection against the attacks of bush-rangers, as well as the natives, who are known never to attack a force capable of resisting or punishing their temerity. As soon as the maize is off the farms it is likely the present hordes of offenders will retire, but not before, as this is the only grain they can make use of, and it affords so strong a temptation to them that the plunder of the corn fields has in every instance furnished a prelude to their barbarities.¹⁴⁵

In explaining the violence of 1816 The Gazette focused on the horror of the killings and related them to the ripening corn crops. No mention was made of the affects of drought or the expansion of the frontier. However, Lieutenant Archibald Bell’s response on 27th November 1819 to Commissioner Bigge provided an entirely different reason for violence on the Hawkesbury. His response confirms my contention that many Aboriginal people and settlers on the Hawkesbury were finding ways to get on with each other and that Mrs Lewis and her assigned convict brought their deaths upon themselves, not in this case for breaking traditional law but for breaking a commercial transaction.

‘Have you or the Settlers around you [at Windsor] experienced any interruptions from the natives [Aborigines] of late?
   About 3 years since they were troublesome, the aggression was on the part of the Settlers. Some work had been done by the natives for some of the settlers under a promise of remuneration, which was refused when applied for with very rough usage; This caused retaliation on the part of the natives who killed a white woman near the Grose River.’¹⁴⁶

5th of April, 1816
Charles Throsby’s letter of the 5th of April 1816, to D’arcy Wentworth, the chief magistrate, Throsby expressed his concerns at the planned military offensive. While not directly relevant to the Hawkesbury, it throws light on the causes of previous conflict and informs our understanding of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers. Throsby expressed his concern that Governor Macquarie was contemplating action against Aboriginal people who were innocent of the accusations being made against them. In his letter he mentioned the fear that Warby and Jackson inspired in Boodbury and others. Read in isolation it suggests that Warby had threatened Boodbury, but when placed in the context of Warby’s later refusal to assist Captain Wallis it suggests that Warby did not threaten Boodbury but warned him of what was coming. It was not a letter that endeared Throsby to the Governor. On the 1st of December 1817 in a despatch to Lord Bathurst Macquarie identified Doctor Throsby as being “discontented”.

Dear Wentworth

Having been informed this morning that His Excellency the Governor is about taking some steps to punish the natives, I feel it necessary in consequence of my former information and having been at your farm with your son when we heard some of the most absurd assertions and obstinate threats of vengeance against several of the natives, whom I have every reason to suppose are perfectly innocent of any of the murders that have recently taken place; those I allude to are Bitugally; Duel; Yettooming; and some others, natives of the place where Mr. Oxley's stock are, for I am convinced had they been inclined to have committed such crimes they would most certainly have murdered some of that Gentleman's men, not that I mean to assert they were not assisting in the murders of the men on Mr Broughton's farm last year, but when the cause is considered it cannot be so much wondered that savage ferocity should seek revenge for the barbarity practised by our own countrymen on the persons of the wife and two children of the former and a child of the latter, which perhaps is not sufficiently known, that the people not content at shooting at them in the most treacherous manner in the dark, but actually cut the woman's arm off and stripped the scalp of her head over her eyes, and on going up to them and finding one of the children only wounded one of the fellows deliberately beat the infant's brains out with the butt end of his musket, the whole of the bodies then left in that state by the (brave) party unburied! as an example for the savages to view the following morning, therefore under these circumstances I hope I may be pardoned asserting that I do not wonder at the savages then seeking revenge in retaliation.

The whole of these men I have seen since that time, have been in the woods with some of them and have had much conversation with them, and as far as I can judge by the manners and dispositions of then natives I firmly believe they are now perfectly friendly towards the white people. With respect to Gogee and his family, with Nighgingall and his family, they have within my own knowledge been in this Neighbourhood and to and fro about my house for the last three months. Boodbury, Young Bundle, with their families and several others are now here - the whole of whom I also have heard threatened.

I have yesterday, the day before, and this morning, had much conversation with them, particularly as to the substance of the information I before gave you, who all, both collectively, and separately, confirm that statement, (which was given me by a native who is not with them) as fully and clearly as I can possibly understand them and further add they have come here for protection and that all the friendly natives have quitted those now collected on, and about the flat on the other side of the river from your farm, who are composed of the tribes I before mentioned, and if I understand them right are determined to be troublesome, from their information as well as what I have heard from various of the white people, I am of the opinion, under the circumstance of a party having run from them, that they would attack any party if not in appearance too formidable that might cross the river after them, provided they were not dressed as soldiers where they might be provided as they deserve, without the danger of injuring any friendly native for I am assured all those have left them, yet the spot they have chosen is situated, as to afford so many retreats into the

147 Private Eustace
rocks, &c that any party ought to act with caution, those natives who have been brought up amongst the white people being extremely cunning.

I am well aware that the fears and aversions of the ignorant part of white people will lead them to accuse the whole, indiscriminately. therefore it is to be hoped, steps will as much [as] possible be taken to prevent any friendly native being injured, lest the lives of some of our stockmen or others in remote unprotected situations may fall a sacrifice in retaliation.

Warby and Bush Jackson whom you know well was here the other day in search of Gogee, and I understand from Mr. Moore went afterwards to him stating they had been looking after him &c and had been at our place a quarter of an hour sooner they would have been enabled to have got him &c&c. The fact is he and several others was in my boat having gone down The river the day before with your son, fishing and which I told them, they was here again yesterday and took Boodbury and several others with them out of my yard. Boodbury and the others returned shortly afterwards, apparently under a considerable impression of fear, which I have as much as possible endeavoured to dissipate as has also Mr. Moore by a communication through me, I have no doubt they will remain in this neighbourhood some time, and will I am confident give every information in their power whenever required.

I remain

Dear Wentworth

To D. Wentworth Esqr

&c&c

Yours Truly

Chas. Throsby

Sydney

148

While Macquarie’s journal provided additional light on the orders he issued to the military on 9th April 1816, it also left some issues clouded. Macquarie’s insistence that Aboriginal people “manifested a strong and sanguinary hostile spirit” for “the last three years” was not consistent with previous entries or the historical record. Likewise his assurance that Aboriginal people had been treated with “the greatest kindness and forbearance by Government” was disingenuous and paternalistic. His use of the word “chastise” was also paternalistic and implied that Aboriginal people were childlike. Certainly this journal entry signified a change in attitude upon Macquarie’s part. It should also be placed in the context of his ill health at the time.

Macquarie planned a conventional military operation against Aboriginal people on the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers. He planned a co-ordinated combination of forces; with European and Aboriginal guides; which should have successfully surrounded and crushed a conventional enemy. Captain Schaw of the 46th Regiment was instructed to “apprehend and inflict exemplary punishment on such of the guilty natives” as he was able to take alive along the Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury Rivers. Whether “exemplary punishment” was ever a legal term is unclear. However, the intent for it to be the ultimate deterrent is implicit.

Macquarie gave Captain Schaw a list of hostile natives. They were Murrah, who speared Macarthur’s overseer, Wallah, Yellaman, Dewall, Bellagalle – Bidjeegurry, Daniel, Goggie and Mary – Mary who came from Mulgoa. It is likely that most of the others came

148 I originally found this in Michael Organ, Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, 1770-1850. University of Wollongong, 1990. The transcript in this work is taken from the original in Mitchell Library, D’Arcy Wentworth Correspondence, MLA752, CY699, pages 183-6.

149 This was not Daniel Moowattee who was executed for the rape of the daughter of a settler in August 1816.
from further upstream. Charles Throsby was adamant that Dewall was not hostile. Dewall had acted as a guide for Hamilton Hume. The Hume’s and Kennedy’s were related by marriage. Dewall surrendered on Kennedy’s farm. The mother and two children killed in 1814 were buried on Kennedy’s farm. Goggie was almost certainly not hostile, being more afraid of the Mountain tribes than the settlers.

Macquarie also arranged for a number of European and Aboriginal guides to support Captains Schaw and Wallis. Bidgee Bidgee and Harry were native guides ordered to accompany Schaw from Sydney. Harry may have been the Aboriginal boy brought up by John Macarthur. William Possum and Creek Jemmy, also known as Nurragingy, were to join Schaw at Windsor, suggesting they were locals. Creek Jemmy came from South Creek.

The European guides were John Warby, John Jackson, William Parson, Thomas Simpson, Joseph McLoughlin, Thomas Nobles and Henry McKudding. Tyson, Bundell, Colebee and Tindall were Aboriginal guides.

In his written instructions Macquarie ordered Captain Schaw to imprison all Aboriginal people that he may encounter as a means to maintain secrecy as well as minimising the loss of innocent lives. Aboriginal people who resisted or attempted to escape were to be fired upon compelling their surrender. The bodies of Aboriginal men who were killed were to be hung from a tree – which to a modern reader suggests that the element of surprise would be lost thereby. While Macquarie ordered Schaw to save “the Women and Children if possible”, his orders on this point were weaker than Governor Phillip’s orders of 13th December 1790 for a similar expedition whereby “Every possible attention is to be paid not to injure any women or children.”

In his journal Macquarie clarified that the prisoners were to be hostages until the guilty ones surrendered. In 1805 Samuel Marsden had employed the same strategy to break resistance. It is unclear whether “by clearing the Country of them entirely, and driving them across the mountains” he meant all Aboriginal people or only the hostiles.

Schaw was ordered to march to Windsor and consult with the magistrates. He was ordered to scour the Kurry Jong Brush and the banks of the Grose River. He was then to march south to the Bringelly district where he would join Captain Wallis’s and Lieutenant Dawe’s units. Hopefully, on his return he would bring twelve Aboriginal boys and girls to be enrolled in the Native Institution.

*9th of April, 1816: Punitive expeditions*

Macquarie’s orders to Captain Schaw were essentially to scour and clear the Nepean, Hawkesbury and Grose valleys. From a traditional military view the orders were sound, proposing a series of co-ordinated operations that would combine in the Cow Pastures. Schaw was, however, unable to make contact with his enemy.

*Instructions for Captain Schaw*

*Instructions for Capt. W.G.B. Schaw 46th Regt. Commanding a detachment of that Corps ordered on a particular service*

*Sir*
1. The Aborigines, or Black Natives of this Country, having for the last two years manifested a strong spirit of hostility against the Settlers and other White inhabitants residing in the Interior and remote parts of the Colony, and having recently been guilty of the most cruel and wanton outrages on the Persons and Properties of several of the Settlers and other White Inhabitants residing on and near the banks of the Rivers Nepean, Grose, and Hawkesbury, by committing many cruel and barbarous murders, and Robberies, to the great terror of the surviving inhabitants residing on the said Rivers, it now becomes indispensably necessary for the protection of the lives and properties of His Majesty’s Subjects residing in this Colony, to adopt such measures as may prevent a recurrence of such daring and sanguinary atrocities on the part of the Black Natives.

2. I have accordingly deemed it advisable to order out a detachment of Troops under your command, into the interior, for the purpose of apprehending and inflicting exemplary Punishments on such of the guilty Natives as you may be able to take alive; the names of those Natives who have committed the late atrocious murders, outrages, and Robberies, being pretty well known, you will herewith receive a list of them for your guidance and information, which guilty Natives will be pointed out to you, in case you should be able to apprehend the; by the friendly Native Guides who will accompany you. - In the execution of the Service you are thus ordered upon, you will be generally governed in your conduct by the following instruction; leaving you, however, at liberty, to act according to your own discretion and judgement in all cases and matters not particularly specified in these Instructions.

3. The great objects in view being to Punish the guilty with as little injury as possible to the innocent Natives, Secrecy and Dispatch must be particularly attended to, so as if possible to surprise and surround them in their lurking Places, before they have any information of your approach. - You will therefore do everything in your power to prevent any information of your approach and designs being made known to the Natives; and with this view it will be necessary to make Prisoners of all the Natives of both sexes whom you may see or fall in with on your route after you march from Sydney, and carry them with you to be lodged in places of security, at Parramatta and Windsor respectively until after the present Service is over, delivering them over in charge of the Magistrate at those two places.

4. You will march with the Detachment under your command from Sydney or Parramatta tomorrow morning at 7 o’clock, attended by the Guides specified in the margin and a light two Horse Cart for conveying the Bread and other Baggage of yourself and Party; it being intended that the Detachment shall be served with nominal Food at the several stations you have occasion to halt at, to save carriage, and order to this effect have been given to the Commissariat Department. - You are to halt at Parramatta tomorrow night, and set out from thence early the following morning for Windsor - where you will halt that night and also the whole of the day following, in order to afford you sufficient time to consult with the Magistrates at that station, and the Guides they are to furnish you with, relative to your future operations in the Districts of the Hawkesbury River. -

(N. B. ++ Those two Guides are to join Capt. Schaw’s detachment at Windsor.) Harry may have grown up with the Macarthurs or Marsdens
5. After consulting with the Magistrates at Windsor, and being supplied with the necessary
Guides, you will cross the Hawkesbury and commence your operations in that part of the
Country called the Kurry-Jong-Brush scouring the whole of it and Country adjacent as far as
the Second Ridge of the Blue Mountains, and taking all such Natives as you may meet or
fall in with in your route Prisoners. - On any occasion of seeing or falling in with the Natives,
either in bodies or singly, they are to be called on, by your friendly Native Guides, to
surrender themselves to you as Prisoners of War. - If they refuse to do so, make the least
show of resistance, or attempt to run away from you, you will fire upon and compel them to
surrender, breaking and destroying the spears, clubs, and waddies of all those you take
Prisoners. - Such Natives as happen to be killed on such occasions, if grown up men, are to
be hanged up on trees in conspicuous situations, to strike the Survivors with the greater
terror. - On all occasions of your being obliged to have recourse to offensive and coercive
measures, you will use every possible precaution to save the lives of the Native Women and
Children, but taking as many of them as you can Prisoners. - After scouring the Kurry-Jong-
Brush you will proceed by Lieut. Bell's Farm to the River Grose to examine the Country
along the right and left banks of it as far as the Second Ridge of Mountains, taking all such
Natives as you meet with in that march Prisoners, or destroying them if they run away or
refuse to surrender. Having completely explored the Kurry-Jong-Brush and all the suspected
parts of the Country to the Northward of the Hawkesbury and Grose Rivers, you will recross
the former at Richmond, halting there a sufficient time to enable you to send such Prisoners
as you may have taken to Windsor, where they are to be delivered to the Magistrates
and kept in a place of security till they receive my orders respecting their future disposal.

6. Having refreshed your Party at Richmond and received such supplies of Provisions as you
may require for your men from the King's Stores at Windsor, you will set out from the former
by such route as your Guides will point out, along the River Nepean, to M'. Secretary
Campbell's Farm in the Bringley District, travelling through Mulgoa and the other
intermediate Districts, between the Nepean and South Creek, generally frequented by the
Natives, taking all such as you may meet with in that march Prisoners. - In case of resistance
or running away, you are to fire on them and compel them to surrender, as is herein before
directed; hanging up such men as are killed on trees in the most open parts of the Forest,

near the River Nepean - or South Creek.

7. On your arrival at Mr. Secretary Campbell's Farm (called Shankomore) in the Bringley
District, you will be so good as to consult with that Gentleman and M'. Lowe the resident
Magistrate of the same District, as to your future operations, and obtain from them every
information you can relative to the hostile Natives generally frequenting that part of the
Country, and where they first commenced their recent outrages and Depredations. - In the
event of you having any Prisoners on your arrival at Bringley, you are to send them to
Parramatta under a small Escort of a couple of soldiers and some of the neighbouring
Settlers - to be delivered over to the Magistrates, and kept in a place of security till they
receive my orders relative to their future disposal. The Native Prisoners are always to be
hand-cuffed, or tied two and two together with ropes, on all these occasions to prevent their
running away. - After you have consulted with Messrs. Campbell and Lowe and explored all
the suspected parts of the Bringley and Cook Districts, you will cross the Nepean to the
Cow-Pasture side of it, as near the Western or Warragombie River as may be found
practicable. - Having once crossed the Nepean, you must be entirely governed by the

151 Southwards to the Grose River where it intersects the escarpment.
information of your Guides in your future operations in the Cow Pastures, - the whole of which however, from the Warragombie to the Mountains of Natai, including the tracts of Country called Winjee-Winjee-Karrabee, Bargo, Marrajan or Minikin (in which last place Mr. Oxley has his cattle grazing at present) and the whole of the Country in the vicinity of the Stone-Quarry-Creek,152 and southern parts of the banks of the River Nepean towards the District of Appin and the Five Islands. - As however it does not appear that any of the Five Islands Natives were concerned in the recent murders and outrages committed by the Cow Pasture and Mountain Natives, I do not wish them to be molested or injured in any way whatever, but, in case any of the guilty Hostile Natives should have taken refuge amongst those of the Five Islands, they must be called on to surrender and deliver them up to you.

8. It being my intention to detach Lieut. Dawe and Ten Privates of your Company to reinforce the Party of the 46th Regt. at present stationed in the Cow Pastures at Mr. McArthur's Farm, he will be instructed to cooperate with you on your arrival in the Cow Pastures, of which you are to apprise him immediately as soon as you have crossed the River Nepean. at the same time instructing him as to the measures he is to pursue in co-operating with you in the Operations to be carried on in the Cow Pastures; so as, if possible, to prevent the Hostile Natives residing there from making their escape to the Southward or across the Nepean to the Eastward of it., which may be prevented by a timely and judicious movement of Lieut. Dawe's Detachment, in a south easterly direction from Mr. McArthur's Farm, thereby cutting off the retreat of the Natives at the several Passes of the Nepean and Stone Quarry Creek, but such movements must be made with the greatest secrecy and celerity to insure their having the desired effect.

9. As the great Body of the Hostile Natives are known to reside chiefly in the Cow Pastures, the whole of that part of the Country between the Western River on the north, and the Bargo branch of the Nepean River on the south, must be completely explored and scoured; making Prisoners of all Natives, young and old, whom you may see and be able to apprehend in the course of your march through that Country. - In case they make the smallest resistance or attempt to run away after being ordered by the friendly Native Guides to surrender themselves as Prisoners, you are to fire upon them, saving the Women and Children if possible. - All such grown up men as may happen to be killed you will direct to be hanged on the highest trees and in the clearest parts of the Forest where they fall. Such Women and Children as may happen to be killed are to be interred wherever they may happen to fall. - The Prisoners taken - young and old - are to be brought in with you to Parramatta and delivered over there to the Magistrates, to be secured at that station till they receive my instructions respecting their future disposal. - Being desirous to procure Twelve Boys and Six Girls - from between four and six years of age - for the Native Institution at Parramatta, you will select and secure that number of fine healthy good - looking children from the whole of the Native Prisoners of War taken in the course of your operations, and direct them to be delivered to the Sup't of the Native Institution at Parramatta immediately on their arrival there.

10. Having completely explored the whole of the Districts herein named, and all other parts of the Country in which you may be informed there is a probability of apprehending any of the Hostile Natives, you will return with your Detachment and Prisoners to Parramatta and from thence to Sydney, leaving only a Corporal and three men of the 46th Regt. as a Guard of

152 Stone Quarry Creek runs into the Nepean from the west. It is upstream of Macarthur’s farm, also on the west bank of the Nepean and the site of modern Picton.
Protection at Mr. McArthur's Farm in the Cow Pastures, after your operations in that part of the Country have terminated. Lieut. Dawe, and the rest of the Party under his immediate orders, returning with you to Sydney and also bringing back the European and Native Guides with you to Head Quarters. - On your arrival at Sydney you will be pleased to make a written Report to me of your Proceedings, and of the measures you pursued in the execution of my instructions as herein detailed. - In all difficult or unforeseen exigencies, I have only once more to repeat that I leave you entirely at liberty to act according to your own discretion and judgement in which I have the fullest confidence.

I have the honor to be, 

Sir,

Government House 
Sydney, N.S.Wales 
Tuesday 9th April 
1816

Your most Obed. Serv.

L.M.
Gov't in Chief of 
N.S.Wales.

X The magistrates at Parramatta, Windsor, Bringelly and Liverpool, will be directed to afford every possible assistance in their power, in respect to information and guides to enable you the more promptly to carry these Instructions into execution, and you will therefore call upon them – for any assistance you may stand in need of, as often as you may find occasion for to bring.

The Depty. Comy. Genl. has received Instructions to furnished you with the necessary orders for victualling your detachment at your different Halting Places, whilst employed on this Service; and a quantity of Biscuit and Salt Pork will be sent along with the Detachment.

P.S. It having been deemed advisable to send another detachment of the 46th. Regt. Commanded by Cap't Wallis, into the District of Airds and Appin (where the Hostile Natives have recently assembled in considerable force.) for the purpose of Protecting the settlers and other inhabitants residing in those Districts from the Incursions of the Hostile Natives, and Clearing the Country of them, by making Prisoners of them or destroying them in the event of resistance; Cap't Wallis has been instructed to co-operate with you, and to afford you such support and assistance as you may have occasion to call for from him after your arrival in the Cow-Pastures of which you will of course give him the earliest intimation on commencing your operations in that quarter. —

Sydney 
9: Apr 1816

It is difficult to tell who had what lists of guides and hostiles because in the AONSW they follow on from Serjeant Murphy’s orders. They follow below in the AONSW order. The first list is from a letter by the Reverend Cartwright. Some of the names on the list, such as Bundook appear to be of men from the Hawkesbury. Hannibal Macarthur was probably informed by his managers and Aboriginal people on or around his property in compiling his list. The reference to Murrah “who threw spears at the soldiers at Cox’s River some time since” allows us to place the attack on the Government depot at Glenroy, on the junction of the River Lett and Cox’s River at some time in March 1816. Following that is a list of guides. The last list came from a letter by Doctor Throsby on the 24th of March 1816 to Doctor

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153 AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1734, pages 149-168
Wentworth. Throsby’s list is important in that seven of the eleven men on his list came from the Hawkesbury.

‘From Mr. Cartwright’s letter
1. Wootan
2. Corkey
3. Gerriang
4. Rachel
5. Narrang-Jack
6. Yarroway
7. Marro
8. Mongang
9. Marrow
10. Emray
11. Korial
12. Koongnang
13. Wootoooboy
14. Yarrangy
15. Bundock
16. Young Cummain
17. Joe
18. Retingoro.

Names of Hostile bad Natives! Mr. McArthur:
1. Murrah – very bad – x
2. Wallah - - d’
3. Yellaman - d’
4. Dewall –
5. Bettagallie

-------------
6. Daniel    All
7. Goggie    Suspects
8. Mary-Mary.  ------------

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X This is the same man who speared Mr. Mc.Arthur’s overseer, and who threw spears at the soldiers at Cox’s River some time since. -

List of Names of White and Black guides employed with Capts Schaw & Wallis viz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>John Warbey</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>John Jackson</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>William Parson</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Thomas Simpson</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Joseph McLoughlin</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Thomas Nobles</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Henry McKudding</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tyson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bidgee Bidgee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pondering the Abyss 701 last updated 28/10/16
Cogie
An elderly native belonging to the Richmond District.¹⁵⁴

Corriangii = D

Alias

Cobbon Jack

My-ill and

Yarranbii
Giles's of Richmond.¹⁵⁵ – The latter was brought up or lived a long time with a person called Old Mick at Freemans Reach.

Toongroii
Brothers belonging to or about Richmond the latter lives at or is

and

frequently at Benjamin Touse's (or some such name) close to

Worlorbii
Win. Bells at Richmond.

Donmorii
Belong to or about Richmond

Murraah
These four natives of the tribes of the Western River and as far up

Turriil
as Natti were the men who killed the Government stockmen in

Buriac
the Cowpastures, who with their tribes and the tribes between the

Nooringii
Western River and Richmond are the Natives no doubt who have

committed the late acts, as I think from their customs the natives

of the more distant parts dare not to go there. -

N.B. The foregoing List and memorandum was delivered to me by Doct'. Wentworth to whom it was sent by Doct'. Throsbey in a letter of 24th March 1816.

L.M.¹⁵⁶

Wednesday 10. April 1816: Macquarie's Journal.

The Aborigines, or Native Blacks of this Country, having for the last three years manifested a Strong and Sanguinary Hostile Spirit, in repeated instances of murders, outrages, and Depredations of all descriptions against the Settlers and other White Inhabitants residing in the Interior and more remote parts of the Colony, notwithstanding their having been frequently called upon and admonished to discontinue their hostile Incursions and treated on all these occasions with the greatest kindness and forbearance by Government; — and having nevertheless recently Committed several cruel and most barbarous murders on the Settlers and their Families and Servants, killed their Cattle, and Robbed them of their Grain and other Property to a considerable amount, it becomes absolutely necessary to put a stop to these outrages and disturbances, and to adopt the strongest and most coercive measures to prevent a recurrence of them, so as to protect the European Inhabitants in their Persons & Properties against these frequent and sudden hostile and sanguinary attacks from the Natives. — I therefore, tho, very unwillingly felt myself compelled, from a paramount Sense of Public Duty, to come to the painful resolution of chastising these hostile Tribes, and to inflict terrible and exemplary Punishments upon them without further loss of time; as, they might construe any further forbearance or lenity, on the part of this Government, into fear and cowardice.

¹⁵⁴ Cogie may have been Cocky who was hung by William Cox.
In pursuance of this resolution, and on the grounds of the most imperious necessity, arising from their own hostile, daring, outrageous, and sanguinary Proceedings, I have this Day ordered three Separate Military Detachments to march into the Interior and remote parts of the Colony, for the purpose of Punishing the Hostile Natives, by clearing the Country of them entirely, and driving them across the mountains; as well as if possible to apprehend the Natives who have committed the late murders and outrages, with the view of their being made dreadful and severe examples of, if taken alive. — I have directed as many Natives as possible to be made Prisoners, with the view of keeping them as Hostages until the real guilty ones have surrendered themselves, or have been given up by their Tribes to summary Justice. — In the event of the Natives making the smallest show of resistance — or refusing to surrender when called upon so to do — the officers Commanding the Military Parties have been authorized to fire on them to compel them to surrender; hanging up on Trees the Bodies of such Natives as may be killed on such occasions, in order to strike the greater terror into the Survivors. — These Military Detachments consist of the two Flank Companies of the 46th. Regt., Commanded severally by Capt. Schaw, Capt. Wallis, and Lieut. Dawe of the same Corps, and marched this forenoon from Sydney for Windsor, Liverpool, and the Cow Pastures respectively; furnished with proper Guides of Europeans and friendly Natives, Ammunition, Provisions &c. &c., the Officers Commanding these Detachments respectively being directed by their Instructions to commence their Operations at and from the several Points herein mentioned of Windsor, Liverpool, and the Cow Pastures; exploring and scouring the whole of the Country on the East side of the Blue Mountains from the Kurry-Jong Brush on the North side of the River Hawkesbury, to the Five Islands, alias Illawarra, on the South and Eastward of the Cow Pastures and River Nepean. — I have sent an Orderly Dragoon (mounted) — and a light Cart with each of the two large Detachments Commanded by Capts. Schaw and Wallis the Detachment commanded by Lieut. Dawe being intended to remain Stationary in the Cow Pastures for some time. — L. M. 157

10th of April, 1816: The troops march out.

'A detachment of the 46th Regiment marched on Wednesday for the protection of the out settlements against the violent and flagitious conduct of the hostile natives.' 158

On the 10th of April, Captain Wallis, who was already in the field, became aware that Gogy was with a group of nearby Aboriginal people and was keen to capture him. John Warby, his chief guide told him that the group was friendly and shortly afterwards Warby told Wallis that he would no longer take charge of the Aboriginal guides. When the nature of the military expedition became apparent to them, Bundle and his kinsman, Boothbarrie, 159 absconded on the night of the 11th of April. On the 15th, Wallis marched pointlessly to Dr. Redfern’s farm in response to a message from Redfern’s overseer, who summoned the troops apparently out of personal fear, or to scare Aboriginal people away from his master’s farm. On the 17th, on the advice of settlers, Captain Wallis, alerted by the cry of a child, found a Aboriginal encampment and killed fourteen Aboriginal people in a gully near Mr. Broughton’s farm in the Airds District. As the party contained women and children and were hiding there is a strong possibility that the camp was not hostile. He took five women and children prisoner. 160

157 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lemа/1816/1816april.html#apr10
159 Budburry?
160 Captain Wallis, AONSW, Reel 6045; 4/1735 pages 50-62.
Captain Wallis was later handsomely rewarded with the command of Newcastle. Lieutenant Dawes, on the advice of one of Mrs. Macarthur’s men, surprised an Aboriginal camp, killed at least one person and captured a fourteen year old boy. Lieutenant Dawes revealed a racist attitude in his report with the observation: “On Saturday the 13th I went in company with Jackson and Tindal to the top of Mount Hunter with a view of discovering by means of their fires if any natives infested the neighbourhood.”

Captain Schaw’s report clearly illustrated the difficulties conventional forces had in operating against irregular forces. He arrived at Windsor on the 11th of April and met with the magistrates. On the 12th, with constables, settlers and additional guides he marched to Bell’s farm at Richmond Hill. On the 13th, he marched up to the Grose River, followed it upstream before swinging north through the Kurry Jong Brush to Singleton’s Hill.

His Aboriginal guides pointed out tracks and led him to a camp that had been slept in on the 12th, but no contact was made. On the 14th, despite splitting his party, no tracks were seen. The reunited party slept that night at Howe’s farm. He returned to Windsor on the 15th and commenced his march south to Bringelly; but a summons from Doctor Arndell, informing him that farms around Cattai were being attacked saw him march north to Arndell’s Cattai farm. In the early hours of the 16th he failed to surprise an encampment and spent the rest of the morning pursuing fifteen warriors. After resting his men, who must have been exhausted, he came to Douglas’s farm and was told that a neighbouring farm had been plundered. Once more he attempted a surprise attack on a camp, sending out a detachment in the early morning of the 17th. However, after marching nine miles, the guide, a white stock man, declined to lead the party to the spot.

On the 18th Captain Schaw led his men south. Despite showing considerable skill and fortitude Captain Schaw failed to make contact with an elusive enemy. His account raises important issues. In scouring the Kurry Jong Brush he found one set of tracks, one camp and no Aboriginal people. On the other side of the river he pursued some fifteen warriors, attempted attacks on two camps, one of which was at least nine miles from Cattai. His account suggests that there was significantly less hostile activity and fewer Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury than in previous years.

On the 22nd April Lieutenant Parker marched to Mr. Woodhouse’s farm and took into custody Duall/Dewall and Quick, both of whom had been taken prisoner on Mr. Kennedy’s farm. Duall/Dewall was sent to Parramatta and Quick volunteered to guide the troops to the Aboriginal people that he belonged to. Tyson and Nobles went with Quick, but the group of Aboriginal people was too large to attack. Quick was sent to Liverpool with Noble. On the 3rd of May, Lieutenant Parker took nine Aboriginal people; mostly women and children and probably the family of Duall who had surrendered on Kennedy’s farm; into custody. He then marched north to Liverpool and Sydney with his prisoners.

161 Lieutenant Dawe, AONSW, Reel 6045; 4/1735 pages 29-32.
162 Benjamin Singleton built a mill on Little Wheeny Creek in 1811. It can be identified by Mill Road which crosses and runs alongside it. Singleton’s Hill is near the junction of modern Bell’s Line of Road and Comleroy Road. The area later became known as Rawlinson’s corner.
163 John Howe in 1805 had a 100 acre farm on the left bank of the Swallow Rock Reach.
164 On the 9th of May 1816 Lieutenant A G Parker's reported on his activities on the expedition. Archives: Reel 6045; 4/1735 pages50-62.
Also on the 22nd April, Serjeant Murphy was ordered to take a party of soldiers across the Blue Mountains to protect the government depot at Glenroy on the junction of the Rivers Cox and Lett, which had been attacked and plundered by Aboriginal people from the County of Cumberland. Murrah had been identified by Hannibal Macarthur as “the same man who speared Mr McArthur’s overseer, and who threw spears at the soldiers at Cox’s River some time since”. When combined with the attack on the government cart around the 12th of March and the killing of the soldier at Springwood it is logical to conclude that the rising of 1816 was far more widespread than records indicate and that it probably involved not just Aboriginal people from the Cumberland Plain but also those west of the Blue Mountains. Following Serjeant Murphy’s orders were several lists, some of which may or may not have formed part of Serjeant Murphy’s orders. I have included those that are relevant.

22nd of April, 1816

Instructions of Serjeant Jeremiah Murphy
Commanding a Detachment
of the 46th Regiment ordered on a particular Service. –

1st. A body of Hostile Natives having recently crossed the Blue or Western Mountains from this side to the New discovered Country, and attacked or plundered the Government Provision Depot established at Cox’s River in the said Country, and driven away from thence the Government Stock-Men as well as the Stock-men of Private Individuals who were attending their Masters herds in that Country; You are hereby directed to proceed in Command of the Detachment of the 46th Regiment, specified in the margin, to Cox’s River, - Marching from Sydney at 9. O’Clock tomorrow Morning by the way of Parramatta, Penrith (or 1st. Depôt), Emu Ford, Spring-Wood (or 2nd. Depôt), Jamison’s-Valley, Blackheath and Cox’s Pass, to Cox’s River; where you are to halt with your Party and remain stationed till further Orders, for the purpose of affording Protection to the Government Stockmen and Cattle and the Government Depôt of Provisions at that Station – as well as for keeping open the Communication between this part of the Country and Bathurst. –

2nd. You will halt with your party tomorrow night at Parramatta, and march from thence on the following Morning to Penrith. – At Parramatta you will be joined by an overseer and some stock-men proceeding to Cox’s River to take charge of the Government Cattle there; whom together with the provision carts attending them, and the Provision Cart for your own party, you are to remain with and escort safe to Cox’s River. – Biscuit, Sugar, and Salt for one Month, and a small allowance of Spirits, will be sent for the use of yourself and Party along with you; and you will be furnished with the usual rations of Fresh or Salt meat at Cox’s River. –

3rd. As long as you remain at Cox’s River you are to mount a regular Guard daily of a Lance. Corporal and 3 Privates, Posting One sentry both Night and Day over your Arms and the

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165 One was dated 10th of April, nearly a fortnight before Serjeant Murphy was ordered out.
166 The government camp was at the junction of the Cox’s River and the River Lett.
167 It is difficult to determine whose cattle this refers to. Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson were all granted land west of the Divide for their efforts, as was William Cox for his road building efforts. Marsden was granted land there in 1814 as a reward for his missionary activities in N.Z. Lawson was the first to drive his cattle over the Blue Mountains in December 1815. Page 28, C. J. King, An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales, Department of Agriculture, 1957.
168 1 Corporal and 15 Privates,
Provision- Depôt at that station; and as often as the Overseer of the Government Stock applies to you for assistance you are to furnish him with a couple of soldiers to protect the Stockmen when they go out with the Stock to graze, or to collect them when required to be brought home. –

On occasion of any Convoys of Provisions belong to Government going from hence to Bathurst, you are to furnish an Escort of three soldiers to escort the said Provisions thither; and also for any Herds of cattle belonging to Government that Mr. Hassall the Superintendent of Stock may think proper to order from Cox’s River to Bathurst; or from the former station to the 2nd. Depôt at Spring Wood, where you (sic) Escort will be relieved by the Guard at that Station.

4. In the event of any Natives coming to or near your Post at Cox’s River, armed with spears or other weapons, you are on no account to permit any of them to approach nearer than Sixty Yards to your Post – but to order them immediately away. – In case they refuse to go, and still remain near your post, you are to fire upon them and compel them to retire, or to take as many of them Prisoners as you can. – On taking any of them Prisoners, you are to have them handcuffed, or have their hands tied together with ropes – and send them on to the 2nd Depôt under an Escort, in Order to their being forwarded in the same manner from thence to Parramatta. – In case you should fall in with any Hostile Natives in the course of your march from Parramatta to Cox’s River, you are to attack them, and take as many Prisoners as you can – sending them back to Parramatta in the same manner as is herein already directed. – You are however, on all occasions of attacking the Hostile Natives, to save the Lives of their women and children if possible.

L. Macquarie
Gov. in Chief of N.S.Wales.

Government House,
Sydney, 22nd. April
1816

Saturday, 4th of May, 1816: The troops march in.
The three Separate Military Detachments belonging to the 46th. Regt., Commanded severally by Captains Schaw, Wallis, and Lieutenant Dawe, sent out on the 10th. of last month to scour the interior of the Country and drive the Natives from the Settlements of the White Inhabitants, returned this Day to Head Quarters, after having executed the several parts of their Instructions entirely to my satisfaction; having inflicted exemplary Punishments on the hostile Natives, and brought in a few of them as Prisoners to Sydney. —

L. M.

8th of May, 1816: Captain Schaw’s report
I have deleted from Captain Schaw’s report the latter section after he left the Hawkesbury as it has no particular relevance to this work; except to note that Colbee probably accompanied him as Captain Wallis’ journal entry for the 28th noted his detachment “by capt. Schaw from Wingee Carribee. Marched for about twelve miles along the course of the river. Tracked the natives for some miles, and guide Coloby informed us they were about two days before us.”

170 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816may.html#may4
171
‘Captain Schaw's Report

Sydney 8th May 1816

Sir

In obedience to Your Excellency’s commands I have the honour to Report the proceedings of the Detachment of the 46th Regt. under my command, ordered on a particular service, and enclose for Your Excellency’s information some extracts from the journal. In addition to which I beg leave to state that every individual competing on this Service evinced the utmost good and anxiety to forward the same as far as lay in their power, and underwent the fatigue and privations necessarily attendance and without uttering the least complaint.

It would be an act of injustice on my part were I to omit to mention on this occasion the very marked attention and assistance we experienced from the Windsor Magistrates while we remained in their District, as also from Mr. Secretary Campbell and Mr Oxley at their respective farms. The latter gentlemen accompanied the Detachment several days and rendered the most particular services.

I beg leave to observe that I have omitted in the journal to mention the particular services on which Captain Wallis and Lieut. Dawe were employed in co-operation with my Detachment. I am being in possession of the Reports of those officers.

It only remains for me to express my regret that it was not in my power to carry the instructions more fully into effect.

I have the honor to be.

Sir,
Your most obedt. Servt.
W. Schaw
Capt. 46th Regt.

Extracts
From the Journal of the Detachment of the 46th Regt.
under my Command on a particular Service

Wednesday 10th April
Marched from Sydney to Parramatta according to Orders, and halted for the night.

Thursday 11th
Marched for Windsor, and arrived there at 2 o’clock, communicated with the Magistrates according to Instructions, and not receiving any information of importance, halted for that night.

Friday 12th
In pursuance of a plan of co-operation arranged by the Magistrates, with some constables and Settlers, marched to Lieut. Bell’s Farm with additional Guides and two Constables. Halted for the night.

Saturday 13th
Marched from Lieut. Bell's Farm to the River Grose, and through the second ridge of Mountains, and Kurry Jong Brush. The Black Guides discovered the track of natives, which we followed to a Camp, that appeared to have been slept in the night before, left the tracks in the deep ravines, between the second and higher ridges, and proceeded to Singleton's Hill. Halted for the night.

Sunday 14th
Detach'd Lieut. Grant, with ten men to Flying Fox Valley, being informed that it was a likely place to find some natives. Proceeded with the rest of the Detachment along the Colo Ridge, and detached a Serjt. and five men to the left. The whole arrived at Mr. Howe's Farm in the evening, without having discovered any tracks of Natives, and halted for the night. 172

Monday 15th
Returned to Windsor & communicated with the Magistrates, who could not obtain any information. After refreshing the men, proceeded on the route pointed out in the instructions, but being followed by an express with a letter from Doctor Arundel, requesting immediate assistance, countermarched and arrived at Caddy's. 173 at nine o'clock that night.

Tuesday 16th
Marched at 3 o'clock in the morning to a place where it was supposed the Natives had retired after plundering some neighbouring Farms. A 7 o'clock fell in with their tracks, a party of about 15 men were seen at some distance, which we followed until 1/2 past 12, without being able to come up with them. Halted to refresh the men and again proceeded on the same track, when we came to a Farm belonging to a man of the name of Douglas where we were informed that the same Party had a short time before plundered a small Farm adjoining, and had made their escape. Returned to Dr Arundel's to wait for further information.

Wednesday 17th
Received information of an Encampment and detached Lieut. Grant, who was accompanied by Asst. Surgeon Bush. with a Party to surprise it at day light. They marched at 1/2 past 2 o'clock in the morning under the guidance of a White Stock Man, and after marching nine miles arrived at a place where the natives were said to be encamped; but the Guide thro' fear or some other reason, declined leading the Party to the spot, affecting to be ignorant of that part of the Country, in consequence of which the Detachment were unable to find the Encampment, and after fruitless search of many hours, returned, and joined me at Windsor, where we halted for the night.

Thursday 18th
Receiving no further information, marched to Col. O'Connell's Farm, near the Western Road, & halted for the night. 174

4th of May, 1816: Governor Macquarie's Proclamation
Governor Macquarie’s Proclamation of 4th May 1816 was made as the light and grenadier companies of the 46th regiment returned from the field. Choosing the 4th June 1816 as the
date for the proclamation to be enacted was a politically adroit move. It gave time for the proclamation to be circulated before being enacted; but more significantly it enabled Macquarie to neutralise any potential criticism from the gentlemen who would gather in Government House on the night of 4th June 1816 to celebrate the King’s birthday. It also gave the gentlemen time to digest and explore the implications of the proclamation.

The opening of Macquarie’s Proclamation reflected his journal entry of 10th April 1816, signalling that while his first attempt at a military solution had failed, his determination to end the Aboriginal threat by force had not changed.

In his Proclamation Macquarie banned the carrying of weapons by Aboriginal people within a mile of any farm or settlement. No more than six Aboriginal people could approach a settlement or farm together. Gatherings for ritual punishments were banned. Any Aboriginal person who wished to have government protection could apply monthly for a passport, at Sydney. Those Aboriginal people who wished to become civilised could apply for a small land grant. The governor established 28th December as the date for the annual feast at Parramatta. Settlers were empowered to drive off hostile natives; magistrates and troops at Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor were ordered to support settlers in this. The co-ordination of soldiers, settlers and magistrates under what was effectively Martial Law broadened the operations and minimised the potential of murder charges being laid for the killing of Aboriginal people. Insights into this proclamation can be gathered from Saxe Bannister, the Attorney-General, 1824-26, who was responsible for drafting Governor Brisbane’s declaration of Martial Law in 1824. While writing about Bathurst in 1824 his arguments were relevant to the County of Cumberland in 1816: “… it was perfectly clear that that the parties were those who had been living in familiarity amongst the settlers, and to a considerable extent mixed with them; so that war could not be declared as between nations. With the exception of a few, no accurate description could be obtained of their persons to satisfy the requisition of warrants, in the execution of which, if resisted, death would be justifiable. The difficulty was extreme, of catching them in the acts of violence or with the indicia of crime about their persons. General warrants were clearly illegal. The excellent law of Hue and Cry did not apply to the Colony in its then state, and easy as it is to say that Martial Law is too terrible an engine for such an occasion, I found it has been used before, and after much anxious research, I am convinced that, as the law stands, it is the sole means available for all the requisites in such a state of things.”

The crux of proclaiming Martial Law was found in Saxe Bannister’s opinion “… if the extreme interference of the troops be thought necessary to enforce the demand of certain individuals known to have committed murder, I am not aware that the soldiers can be indemnified in certain possible cases of mistake, without martial law being proclaimed in a limited district.” The authorities did not want another Mary Archer.

The unique position of Magistrate Cox, who, as a property owner, was to suffer in these attacks, and who was also the commander of the local garrison, did not auger well for Aboriginal people.

175 Pages 125-126, Saxe Bannister, Statements and Documents relating to proceedings in New South Wales in 1824, 1825 and 1826, Capetown, Printed by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht, 1827.

176 Pages 96-98, Saxe Bannister, Statements and Documents relating to proceedings in New South Wales in 1824, 1825 and 1826, Capetown, Printed by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht, 1827.
This Proclamation was a recognition of the failure of conventional forces to crush Aboriginal resistance. Macquarie's Proclamation in condemning Aboriginal people having “for the last three years manifested a strong and sanguinary Spirit of Animosity and Hostility” contradicted his earlier writings on the matter in 1814, reflecting the influence of the free settlers. As well his condemnation of the Aboriginal people did not recognise the impact of the drought on the outbreak of violence. It set up conditions and a timeframe that gave Aboriginal people little choice except to civilise or perish; and through the co-ordination of settlers, magistrates and military it legitimised the use of force at the local level to achieve this end.

"Proclamation
By his Excellency Lachlan Macquarie, esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas the Aborigines, or Black Natives of the Colony, have for the last three years manifested a strong and sanguinary Spirit of Animosity and Hostility towards the British Inhabitants residing in the Interior and remote Parts of the territory, and been recently guilty of most atrocious and wanton barbarities, in indiscriminately murdering Men, Women, and Children, from whom they had received no Offence or Provocation; and also in killing the Cattle, and plundering the grain and Property of every Description belonging to the Settlers and Persons residing on and near the Banks of the Rivers Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury, and South Creek, to the great Terror, Loss, and Distress of the suffering inhabitants.

And whereas, notwithstanding that the Government has heretofore acted with the utmost Lenity and humanity towards these Natives, in forbearing to punish such wanton Cruelties and Depredations with their merited Severity, thereby hoping to reclaim them from their barbarous Practices, and to conciliate them to the British Government, by affording them Protection, Assistance, and Indulgence, instead of subjecting them to the retaliation of Injury, which their own wanton Cruelties would have fully justified; yet they have persevered to the present day in committing every species of sanguinary Outrage and Depredation on the Lives and Properties of the British Inhabitants, after having been repeatedly cautioned to beware of the Consequences that would result to themselves by the Continuance of such destructive and barbarous Courses.

And whereas His Excellency the Governor was lately reluctantly compelled to resort to coercive and strong measures to prevent the Recurrence of such Crimes and Barbarities, and to bring to condign Punishment such of the Perpetrators of them as could be found and apprehended; and with this View sent out a Military Force to drive away these hostile Tribes from the British Settlements in the remote Parts of the Country, and to take as many of them Prisoners as possible, in executing which Service several Natives have been unavoidably killed and wounded in Consequence of their not having surrendered themselves on being called on to do so; amongst whom, it may be considered fortunate that some of the most guilty and atrocious of the Natives concerning in the late Murders and Robberies are numbered. And although it is to be apprehended that some few innocent Men, Woman, and Children may have fallen in these conflicts, yet it is earnestly hoped that this unavoidable Result, and the Severity which has attended it, will eventually strike Terror amongst the surviving Tribes, and deter them from the further Commission of such sanguinary Outrages and Barbarities.
And whereas the more effectually to prevent a recurrence of Murders, Robberies, and Depredations by the Natives, as well as to protect the Lives and Properties of His Majesty's British Subjects residing in the several settlements of this Territory, His Excellency the Governor deems it his indispensable Duty to prescribe certain Rules, Orders, and Regulations to be observed by the Natives, and rigidly enforced and carried into Effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales and which are as follows:

First, - That from and after the Fourth Day of June next ensuing, that being the Birth-Date of His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Third, no Black Native, or Body of Black Natives, shall ever appear at or within one Mile of any Town, Village, or Farm, occupied by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed with any warlike or offensive Weapon or Weapons of any Description, such as Spears, Clubs, or Waddies, on Pain of being deemed and considered in a State of Aggression and Hostility, and treated accordingly.

Second, - That no Number of Natives, exceeding the Whole Six Persons, being entirely unarmed, shall ever come to lurk or loiter about any Farm in the interior, on Pain of being considered Enemies, and treated accordingly.

Third - That the Practice hitherto observed among the Natives, of assembling in large Bodies or Parties armed, and of fighting and attacking each other on the Plea of inflicting Punishments on Transgressors of their own Customs and Manners, at or near Sydney, and other principal Towns and Settlements in the Colony, shall be henceforth wholly abolished, as a barbarous Customs, repugnant to the British Laws, and strongly Militating against the Civilisation of the Natives, which is an Object of the highest importance to effect, if possible. Any armed Body of Natives, therefore, who shall assemble for the foregoing Purposes, either at Sydney or any of the other Settlements of this Colony after the said Fourth Day of June next, shall be considered as Disturbers of the Public Peace, and shall be apprehended and punished in a summary Manner accordingly. The Black Natives are therefore hereby enjoined and commanded to discontinue this barbarous Custom, not only at and near the British Settlement, but also in their own wild and remote Places of Resort.

Fourth, - That such of the Natives as may wish to be considered under the Protection of the British Government, and disposed to conduct themselves in a peaceable, inoffensive, and honest Manner, shall be furnished with Passports or Certificates to that Effect, signed by the Governor, on their making Application for the same at the Secretary's Office, at Sydney, on the First Monday of every succeeding Month, which Certificates they will find will protect them from being injured or molested by any Person, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably, inoffensively, and honestly and do not carry or use offensive Weapons, contrary to the Tenor of this Proclamation.

The Governor, however, having thus fulfilled an imperious and necessary Public Duty, in prohibiting the Black Natives from carrying or using offensive Weapon, at least as far as relates to their usual intercourse with the British Inhabitants of these Settlements, considers it equally a Part of his Public Duty, as a Counterbalance for the Restriction of not allowing them to go about the Country armed, to afford the Black Natives such Means as are within his Power to enable them to obtain an honest and comfortable Subsistence by their own labour and Industry. His Excellency therefore hereby proclaims and makes known to them, that he shall always be ready to grant small Portions of Land in suitable and convenient Parts of the Colony, to such of them as are inclined to become regular Settlers, and such
occasional Assistance from Government as may enable them to cultivate their Farms: -
Namely:

First, That they and their Families shall be victualled from the King's Stores for Six Months,
from the Time of their going to reside actually on their farms.

Secondly, -That they shall be furnished with the necessary Agricultural Tools; and also with
Wheat, Maize, and Potatoes for Seed; and

Thirdly, - To each Person of a Family, one Suit of Slops, and one Colonial Blanket from the
King's Stores shall be given. But these Indulgences will not be granted to any Native, unless it
shall appear that he is really inclined, and fully resolved to become a Settler, and
permanently to reside on such Farm as may be assigned to him for the Purpose of cultivating
the same for the Support of himself and his Family.

His Excellency the Governor therefore earnestly exhorts, and thus publicly invites the Natives
to relinquish their wandering, idle, and predatory Habits of Life, and to become industrious
and useful Members of a Community where they will find Protection and Encouragement. To such as do not like to cultivate Farms of their own, but would prefer working as
Labourers for those Persons who may be disposed to employ them, there will always be
found Master's among the Settlers who will hire them as Servants of this description. And the Governor strongly recommends to the Settlers and other Persons, to accept such Services as
may be offered by the industrious Natives, desirous of engaging in their Employ. And the Governor desires it to be understood, that he will be happy to grant Lands to the Natives in
such Situations as may be agreeable to themselves, and according to their own particular
Choice, provided such Lands are disposable, and belong to the Crown.

And whereas His Excellency the Governor, from an anxious Wish to civilise the Aborigines of
this Country, so as to make them useful to themselves and the Community, has established a
Seminary or Institution at Parramatta, for the Purpose of educating the Male and Female
Children of those Natives who might be willing to place them in that Seminary: - His
Excellency therefore now earnestly calls upon such Natives as have children, to embrace so
desirable and good an Opportunity of providing for their helpless Offspring, and of having
them brought up, clothed, fed, and educated in a Seminary established for such humane and
desirable Purposes. And if furtherance of this Measure, His Excellency deems it expedient to
invite a general friendly Meeting of all the Natives residing in the Colony, to take Place at the
Town of Parramatta, on Saturday the 28th of December next, at Twelve o'clock at Noon, at
the Public Market Place there for the Purpose of more fully explaining and pointing out to
them the Objects of the Institution referred to as well as for Consulting with them on the best
Means of improving their present Condition.

On this Occasion and at this public general Meeting of the Natives, the Governor will feel
happy to Reward such of them as have given Proofs of Industry, and an Inclination to be
civilised.

And the Governor, wishing that this General Meeting, or Congress of the friendly natives
should in future be held annually, directs that the 28th Day of December in every succeeding

177 It is unknown whether any Aborigines took up the Governor’s offer.
Year shall be considered as fixed for this Purpose, excepting when the Day happens to fall on a Sunday; when the following Day is to be considered as fixed for holding the said Congress.

And finally, His Excellency the Governor hereby orders and directs, that on Occasions of any Natives coming armed, or in a hostile Manner without Arms, or in unarmed parties exceeding Six in Number, to any farm belonging to, or occupied by British Subjects in the Interior, such Natives are first to be desired in a civil Manner to depart from the said farm, and if they persist in remaining thereon, or attempt to plunder, rob, or commit any kind of Depredation, they are then to be driven away by Force of Arms by the Settlers themselves, and in case they are not able to do so they are to apply to a Magistrate for Aid from the nearest Military Station - and the Troops stationed there are hereby commanded to render their Assistance when so required. The Troops are also to afford Aid at the Towns of Sydney, Parramatta, and Windsor, respectively, when called on by the Magistrates or Police Officers at those Stations.

Given under my Hand, at Government House, Sydney, this 4th Day of May, In the Year of Our Lord 1816. God Save The King!

"LACHLAN MACQUARIE."
By Command of His Excellency,
J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary.

8th of May, 1816
On 8th May Governor Macquarie issued instructions for Serjeant Broadfoot179 of the 46th Regiment to take sixteen soldiers; Jackson, Powson, Creek Jemmy and Tindall as guides; and scour Bringelly and Cooke. If he encountered hostile natives his orders were to “attack them, and to compel them by force of arms to surrender themselves as prisoners of war, sparing the lives of all the women and children, if possible, when you have occasion to fire on the natives.” Serjeant Broadfoot made the sweep as ordered and reported on the 23rd of May 1816 that no contact had been made.180

Circa May, 1816
Toby Ryan’s account of a soldier being killed at the Springwood depot and 20 Aboriginal men, women and children being killed in retribution, near McCanns Island at Emu Plains is rejected by some historians because of chronological inconsistencies. He linked the incident with the building of Cox’s road across the mountains (1814-15) and 1817, the year of his birth. This is not an inconsistency as Cox was involved in maintenance work for a number of years after the initial building of the road. Toby was born at Bird’s Eye Corner, now the Castlereagh Lakes, and the story of the killings by Coolan, Gratten and Kibble was told to him by his parents. Coolan, one of the killers, may have been Thomas Cowling, who was a farmer at Castlereagh when Ryan’s parents were also living there, so it may have been common knowledge in the area.181 The spearing, at the Kurry Jong Brush, of a man called Cooling was reported in the Sydney Gazette of 29th June 1816 leaving the exact identity of

179 Serjeant Broadfoot appeared to be a most capable soldier. “In May 1815, Sergeant Robert Broadfoot and six privates, on detachment at Hobart Town in Van Dieman’s Land, received a bounty of one hundred pounds for the capture of the bushrangers Maguire and Burne, who were later executed.” Page 41, Leonard Barton, The Military History of Windsor NSW, Len Barton, 1994. Serjeant Broadfoot was the first depositor in the Bank of New South Wales.
180 Colonial Secretary’s Index, Reel 6045: 4/1735, pages 44-49, and 72-73.
181 http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/con329.htm
this man open. As yet, I have found no record of Gratten, spelt Gratton in Ryan’s index. The *Gazette* recorded a Kibble living at Fitzgerald’s Valley (now Sun Valley) in the 1830s and there was a record of a Kibble receiving a reward in 1820 for the capture of a bushranger.\(^{182}\) James McClelland recorded: “A soldier is murdered by natives at Springwood” in 1816, however, I have not yet identified his source.\(^{183}\) The military depot at Glenbrook Lagoon, established in 1815, was shifted to Springwood in 1816.\(^{184}\) The *Sydney Gazette* of 11\(^{185}\) May 1816 recorded William Cox being paid £225 for “erecting the new depot and other necessary buildings for Government, at Spring Wood”. It is likely that the killing of the soldier and the reprisal raid took place shortly afterwards and before the floods. Ryan’s account is accurate in describing the barracks being manned by three soldiers. Elizabeth Hawkins, who stayed there in an 1822 crossing of the Blue Mountains, described it as being “inhabited by a corporal and two soldiers”.\(^{185}\) As well, there were obviously settlers living in the area, which would not have been the case in 1814.

The extract is of interest for several reasons. Firstly it is only one of a few accounts of a massacre where the participants were named. As well, Kibble, Coolan and Gratten were according to Ryan old hands in this line of work. Secondly the quick response to the killing of the soldier which reinforces my contention that there were few killings that were not so responded to. Thirdly it raised the possibility that the Aboriginal guides in taking the settlers to the camp placed their own self interest above common cause with other Aboriginal people. It is possible to speculate on the identity of at least one of the guides.\(^{186}\) Fourthly the chopping off of the soldier’s hands, as happened to Private Eustace and others, clearly indicated that in his afterlife the dead soldier would not be able to harm Aboriginal people. Fifthly the attempt of the mother to climb a tree with her child demonstrated the still palpable Aboriginal fear of guns and the ease with which settlers could kill Aboriginal people in such circumstances. Sixthly when placed in the context of the raid on the government depot on the other side of the Blue Mountains this account suggests that there was an alliance between Aboriginal people on either side of the ranges. Finally, Ryan’s rejection of the assertion “that these men were in the pay of the Government” needs to be placed in the context of the payments made to settlers who acted as guides and the land grants made to Ralph Turnbull.

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\(^{182}\) “*Dunn, Kibble, & others, for apprehending 5 Bushrangers 5 0 0*” The *Sydney Gazette*, 11\(^{18}\) November 1820.


\(^{185}\) Page 74, Michael Duffy, *Crossing the Blue Mountains, Journeys through Two Centuries*, Duffy and Snellgrove, 1997.

\(^{186}\) It is possible to speculate about the identity of one of the trackers. Jean Renee Constant Quoy passed over the Blue Mountains in November 1819 and noted: “… it was in one of these pleasant retreats that we first saw any of the wretched inhabitants of these lofty regions; there were only two; one was a sick old man, lying on kangaroo skins, near a fire, and receiving the attention of a younger man. Mr Lawson recognised this old man as Karadra, supreme chief or king of that part of the mountains. No-one, according to him, had proved more dangerous to the English, many of whom had perished at his hand, without anyone being able to catch him in the act. For a long time, however, this man had been peacefully disposed towards the settlers; he even served them either in waring against inland aborigines when the latter wanted to approach the Nepean, or by warning the English depots of their approach, if he was not strong enough to repel them without outside help, or finally by acting as a guide to the English troops when hostile tribes were over-running the country to commit depredations. We asked the youngest of these natives to fetch us a gourd of water, which he art once did; we then left them after making them several presents.” Quoy, Rene Constant, Charles Gaudichaud and Alphonse Pellion 1950[1819], ‘Excursion to the Town of Bathurst, 1819’, in *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813–1841*, George Mackaness (ed), Australian Historical Monographs, Sydney: 7–12.
and William Stubbs by Macquarie in 1816 "for services rendered the colony in a serious conflict with the black natives." 187

'A Ferocious tribe occupied a very advantageous retreating ground from the Grose River via Bell's Line, and in the south via the Cox's River, and could reach any place beyond Bathurst at will." 188

Just after the penetration of the Blue Mountains a soldiers' barracks was erected at Springwood, only three soldiers occupying the building, two having to do duty daily a little further up the line, where a road party was making a pass over the mountains, under Captain Cox. The blacks watched their opportunity, killed the soldier stationed at the barracks, and robbed the place, taking the red coats with them, after cutting off the hands of the poor unfortunate victim, and when afterwards they were captured were found playing with the murdered man's hand.

There were three well known men then living. Kibble, of Windsor; Tom Coolan, and Gratton, 189 of Nepean, who were always foremost in the slaughter of the blacks. It has been stated that these men were in the pay of the Government, but there is no foundation for such an assertion.

It was quite evident that no trouble was taken to investigate this affair until many years subsequently.

On the occasion alluded to the three men, together with two black trackers, who took great delight in killing what they called wild blackfellow, "Murry mutong" (that is to say, very savage), went in pursuit. On the morning after the murder they were on their track, and followed on until they reached the camp of the night before, and then down McCann's Ridge leading on towards the river. 190 Here the pursuers received information that a mob of blacks had passed in sight, some wearing red coats.

They followed on the track the whole day, and just about nightfall the trackers got sight of the camp fires on the mountain side, south of the Grose River.

The trackers were sent to reconnoitre after the night got dark, and as the blacks had pitched their camp close under some cliffs of rock, they were able to get close up without being observed, and saw what was taking place.

Two of the black gins, wearing soldiers' coats, were sitting on a log, each having a hand of the murdered soldier and pulling the sinews together, at the same time singing "Soldier make a do-boy, a do-boy, a do-boy," thus making a song of this cruel and bloody deed.

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188 Bell's Line was unknown to settlers at this time.
189 Spelt Gratton in the index.
190 McCann received an early land grant at what is now Emu Heights. McCann's Island, in the bend of the Nepean River is the only reminder of his presence there. It is logical to identify McCann's Ridge as that on which Rusden Road, Mount Riverview, now runs. This theory is supported by the fact that the Aborigines were seen on their way to the river from Springwood. Early settlers in the Blue Mountains clung close to the road and Aboriginal people used Cox's Road.
The trackers returned and related what they had seen, and advised the party to wait till morning for the murderous attack.

At daybreak next morning they proceeded towards the blacks' camp, and coming stealthily in, they got close up to it when a little dog gave the alarm, and one of the blacks got up, but was shot down almost immediately. The gins and piccaninnies set up a scream, but many were shot before they could rise, others running here and there trying to escape from their pursuers. One of the gins, who climbed up a short bushy tree with her child in her net on her back (the usual mode of carrying children), was shot by Kibble, who also took the piccaninny and dashed its brains out against a tree near where its mother lay, saying as he did so, "Nits would come to lice." About one-half (numbering about 20) were slaughtered on that memorable morning by the three bloodthirsty wretches.

This was the last of Kibble in Cumberland. He soon after left for Bathurst, and subsequently he and a party went to a place now known as Rylestone and other places, committing similar atrocities.¹⁹¹

Ryan’s account may possibly be substantiated by J. C. L. Fitzpatrick, in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 9th September 1893, and chapter five of his 1900 work, The Good Old Days.

‘When a young man, I remember news came from the settlers that the Emu blacks were very troublesome, and had been spearing the settlers' cattle; and the soldiers quartered at Windsor were sent in pursuit to what is now known as Emu Plains, and caught some of the culprits red-handed, the spears sticking into some of the bullocks. Notwithstanding the fact that no opposition to their capture was made by the blacks, the soldiers shot several of the poor wretches down, and when I went over the place a day or two afterwards, I counted seventeen of them lying dead with in about four rods of ground.¹⁹²

Soon after the return of the expeditions there was a period of tidying up and social engineering. On the 7th of May Macquarie rewarded the soldiers and guides who took part in the punitive expedition.

In rewarding the guides it is noteworthy that John Warbey, who on 10th April refused to assist Captain Wallis in his duties, received the same amount as his colleagues.

Tuesday, 7th of May 1816: Pay
'I this day paid the following Sums of money – or granted Orders on the King's Stores for Liquor, Provisions, and Slops, to the undermentioned European and Native Guides, Constables, Carters &c. who accompanied the Military Detachments recently employed against the Natives: Vizt.

Remunerations in Cash —
To John Warbey – Guide £12. –. – Curcy.

¹⁹¹ Page 4-6, James T Ryan, Reminiscences of Australia, 1894 Reprinted 1982.
To Christopher Anderson – Carter £5. –. – do.
To Henry Mc. Kudding – Cart Hire &c. £9. 5. – do.

Total Cash Remunerations £80. 5. – Curcy.

The 5 first mentioned Guides received also from the Store each a Complete Suit of Slops including Shoes and Blankets – and also four Days Provisions. —
To each Noncomd. Officer & Soldier employed on the late Service, there were issued from the King’s Store one Pair of Shoes and Half a Pint of Spirits.

Remunerations to Native Guides: —
To Bidjee Bidjee
To Harry
To Bundell
To Tindall
To Colebee
To Creek-Jemmy – or Nurragingy

I also gave Orders on the Store to the undermentioned Commissioned Officers employed on the late Service against the Natives for the quantities of Spirits specified against their respective Names – as Donations from Government to defray in part their Extra Expences whilst Employed on the said Service: Viz.
To Captain Schaw 15 Gallons
To Captain Wallis 15 Gallons
To Lieut. Dawe 10 Gallons
To Lieut. Grant 10 Gallons
To Lieut. Parker 10 Gallons
To Asst. Surgeon Bush 10 Gallons

N.B. To each of the Noncomd. Officers & Soldiers of the 46th. Regt. left out on Duty in the Bush, the same indulgences are intended to be given on their return to Head Quarters as have been granted to their Brother Soldiers already come in. —

L. M. 193

8th of May 1816
Serjeant Broadfoot with a small body of troops was sent back by Governor Macquarie on the 8th of May to scour both banks of the Nepean River from Mulgoa to Bringelly with orders to kill or imprison hostile natives.

11th of May 1816: Public Report on Punitive Expeditions
A week after his proclamation Governor Macquarie made a public report on the punitive expeditions. The report detailed the movements that the three columns had made, their contacts with Aboriginal people and Aboriginal casualties. The report made no mention of Magistrate Lowe’s expedition with a party of the 46th or of Serjeant Broadfoot’s expedition.

193 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816may.html#may7
'11 May 1816: [Sydney Gazette] Report on retaliatory military expeditions against the Aborigines in areas west and south-west of Sydney:

The three military detachments, dispatched on the 10th ult. under Captains Schaw and Wallis, and Lieut. Dawe, of the 46th Regt. in pursuit of the hostile natives, returned to Head Quarters on the 4th inst. In the performance of this service the military encountered many difficulties, and underwent considerable fatigue and privations, having to traverse a widely extended range of Country on both sides of the River Nepean, from the Banks of the Grose, and the second Ridge of the Blue Mountains on the North, to that tract of Country on the Eastern Coast, called "The Five Islands".

Captain Schaw, with his party, scoured the Country on the Banks of the Hawkesbury, making digression East and West, but observing a general course to the Southward; whilst Captain Waills, proceeding by Liverpool to the Districts of Airds and Appin, and thence into the Cow Pastures; made his dispersions East and West of the Nepean, taking his course generally Northwards, with a view either to fall in with the Natives, or by forcing them to flight, to drive them within the reach of the central party under Lieut. Dawe, stationed at Mrs. McArthur's farm in the Cow Pastures, or if they should elude his vigilance, that they might fall in with Captain Schaw, who was advancing from the second Ridge of the Blue Mountains, and the Banks of the Grose.

It appears that the party under Capt. Wallis fell in with a number of the natives on the 17th ult, near Mr. Broughton's farm in the Airds District, and killed fourteen of them, taking two women and three children prisoners. Amongst the killed were found the bodies of two of the most hostile of the natives called Durelle and Conibigal.

We are also informed that Lieut. Dawe has on the 12th ultimo, nearly surprised a small encampment, but having been discovered, the natives suddenly took to flight, leaving only a boy about 14 years old, whom he took prisoner and there is every reason to believe that two of them had been mortally wounded.

Without being enabled to trace more particularly the progress of the military parties on this expedition we learn generally that several of the natives were taken prisoners and have since been brought to Sydney and lodged in the gaol.

The humanity with which this necessary but unpleasant duty has been conducted throughout, by the Officers appointed to this command, claims our warmest commendations and although the result has not been altogether so successful as might have been wished, yet there is little doubt but it will ultimately tend to restrain similar outrages, and a recurrence of those barbarities which the natives have of late so frequently committed on the unprotected Settlers and their Families.¹³⁹⁴

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"25th of May, 1816: Return of Serjeant Broadfoot’s expedition"

On 23rd May 1816, Serjeant Broadfoot reported to Governor Macquarie from John Blaxland’s Mulgoa farm. On the 12th he had met with Mr. Lowe, the magistrate, and a party of the 46th Regiment at Bent’s Basin. He left them, crossed the river and followed Aboriginal tracks for

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two days before losing them where cattle had crossed their path. He then swung north into Mulgoa before returning to Bringelly. He reported no contact.

On the 25th of May 1816 rewards were made to Serjeant Broadfoot’s guides. Nurragingy, also known as Creek Jenmy, was rewarded with a brass gorget naming him as chief of the South Creek tribe. The awarding of a brass gorget to Nurragingy drew upon earlier colonial experiences in North America and was part of Macquarie’s failed strategy to create a tribal hierarchy. Along with Colebee he was promised a land grant on South Creek. Despite announcing his intention to make the thirty acre grant on South Creek, the actual grant in 1819 was on marginal land at Bell’s Creek, on the Richmond Blacktown Road near the where the Native Institution was later relocated.

The two European Guides and three friendly Natives ones who lately accompanied Serjt. Broadfoot’s Detachment of the 46th. Regt. in pursuit of the hostile Natives having yesterday returned to Sydney after scouring the Parts of Interior the Natives were last seen in; I rewarded those White & Black Guides as follows: Viz—

To Wm. Pawson & Jno. Jackson White Guides, I gave £6 Curcy. each in money, 1 Pr. Shoes, 7 Days Provisions, and a quarter Pound of Tobacco.—

To each of the 3 Black Guides, Nurragingy, Colebee, and Tindall, I gave 7 Days Provisions, a quarter Pound of Tobacco, and a Blanket for each of their Gins.

On this occasion I invested Nurragingy, (alias Creek-Jemmy —) with my Order of Merit by presenting him with a handsome Brass Gorget or Breast Plate, having his Name inscribed thereon in full — as Chief of the South-Creek-Tribe. — I also promised him and his friend Colebee a Grant of 30 acres of Land on the South Creek between them, as an additional reward for their fidelity to Government and their recent good conduct.—

To William Pawson I have promised to give 80 acres of Land, and to John Jackson 50 acres — as additional rewards for their recent Services — with the usual indulgencies [sic] granted to Free Settlers.196

June 1816: Celebrations
On the 1st of June Captain Wallis was rewarded with the command of the Newcastle outpost for his “zealous exertions and strict attention to the fulfilling of the instructions”.197

Macquarie carefully stage managed the king’s birthday on the 4th of June with the enactment of his proclamation of the 8th of May and the release of fifteen Aboriginal men, women and children. The enactment of the proclamation on the King’s birthday allowed him to disarm criticism from the free settlers and engage them in the implementation of the proclamation. The release of the prisoners, with the exception of Dewall, whose detention may well have been punishment for Throsby, projected Macquarie’s military prowess and his humanity.

195 Gorgets, brass plates worn around the neck, were a largely anachronistic relic of feudal armies; worn by eighteenth century officers. Both the French and English gave them to Native American allies as part of a well established strategy of dividing and conquering.
196 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816may.html#may25
197 http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wallis-james-2770
This being the anniversary of the Birth of our most gracious sovereign, who this day completes the 78th year of his age, the same was observed as a Holiday throughout the Territory, and kept with the usual Demonstration of joy and respect. — I held a Levee at Government House at 1 O’Clock, and entertained the Gentlemen of the Colony and a few of the Ladies at Dinner — to which 78 Persons sat down; — 21 having excused themselves from the Country Districts on account of the badness of the Weather. Mrs. Macquarie entertained the Ladies of Sydney in the Evening with Tea Coffee, Cards, Music, and a little Dance: — all which went very well off.

In honor of the Day, I released all the Black Native Prisoners who were some time since taken and confined in Jail on suspicion of being concerned in the recent Hostilities, with the exception of Duail who is still retained in Prison; the remaining 15 Men, Women, & Children being allowed to return to their Friends. —

L. M. 199

Four children taken on the punitive expedition were placed in the Native Institution on the 6th of June. The fact that these children were older than the age limit of seven set by Macquarie for the school in 1814 suggests that his original plans for the native school were failing. On the same day Bidgee Bidgee was awarded with a brass gorget naming him chief of the Kissing Point Tribe. One of his first actions was to bring the arch survivor, Coggie, in to surrender to the Governor. Governor Macquarie was able to report to Earl Bathurst as to the success of his operations on the 8th of June 1816.

I sent two fine Boys named Nalour and Dooro – and two Girls named Mybah and Betty – Black Natives – all being about 8 years of age, lately taken Prisoners along with the Hostile Native Tribes, to the School or Native Institution some time since established at Parramatta for the Civilization of the Aborigines of this Country; these 4 Children having themselves expressed a wish to go to the Institution and to remain in it. — They were accordingly sent up thither this morning in the Passage Boat in charge of one of the Sydney Constables.

I this day appointed Bidgee-Bidgee Black-Native, to be the Chief of the Kissing Point Tribe, and invested formally with a Brass Gorget having his name and Title engraved thereon.

Bidgee Bidgee brought in Coggie, the late Chief of the Cow Pasture Tribe, who made his Submission, delivered up his arms, and promised to be friendly in future to all White People.

L. M. 200

Governor Macquarie's report to Earl Bathurst on the 8th of June 1816 is of interest in his claim that of the killed by Captain Wallis’s detachment “there is every reason to believe that Two of the most ferocious and sanguinary of the Natives were included.” If these two men were “Durelle and Conibigal”, as stated elsewhere, they were not on the list of “hostile natives”. An end note to this report provides more information on Wallis’s encounter. “This detachment had a moonlight skirmish” (full moon was on the 12th of April) 201 “with the natives near William Broughton’s farm in the Appin district. Fourteen of the natives were killed, and a considerable number were taken prisoners. The killed included several women

198 The bad weather he referred to were the drought-breaking rains.
201 http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/phase/phases1801.html
and children, who met their deaths by rushing in despair over precipices. The fear that firearms and soldiers had on Aboriginal people is well documented in *Pondering the Abyss*, however, the reference to women and children hurling themselves over cliffs is another example of Aboriginal people being made responsible for what happened to them, particularly in the case of women and children being killed in an encounter with the military.

His report is also of interest in the last sentence seeking Earl Bathurst’s approval for his actions. It strongly suggests that, like all good bureaucrats he was circumspect in his reporting.

‘Governor Macquarie’s Report to England
8 June 1816: Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst re measures to address Native unrest

In my dispatch No 7 of the present Year p’r H.M.C. Emu which sailed from hence on the 25th of March last, I had the honor to inform Your Lordship that, in consequence of the hostile and sanguinary disposition manifested for a considerable time past by the Aborigines of this country, I had determined to send out some military Detachments into the interior, either to apprehend or destroy them.

Pursuant to this determinations and in consequence of various subsequent acts of atrocity being committed by the natives in the remote parts of the Settlement, I found it necessary on the 10th of April to order three detachments of the 46th Regiment under the several commands of Captains Schaw and Wallis, and Lieutenant Dawes of that Corps, to proceed to those districts most infested and annoyed by them on the Banks and in the neighbourhood of the rivers Nepean, Hawkesbury and Grose, giving them instructions to make as many Prisoners as possible; this Service occupied a period of 23 days, during which time the Military Parties very rarely met with any hostile tribes; the occurrence of most importance which took place was under Captain Wallis's direction, who, having surprised one of the native encampments and meeting with some resistance, killed 14 of them and made 5 prisoners; amongst the killed there is every reason to believe that Two of the most ferocious and sanguinary of the Natives were included, some few other prisoners were taken in the course of this route and have been lodged in Gaol. This necessary but painful duty was conducted by the Officers in Command of the Detachments perfectly in conformity to the instructions I had furnished them.

Previous to the return of the Military Party, I issued a Proclamation dated the 4th Ult. a copy of which I do Myself the honor to transmit herewith for Your Lordship’s information, stating in the first instance the causes which had led to the necessity of resorting to Military Force, and holding out to the Natives various encouragement’s with a view to invite and induce them to relinquish their wandering predatory habits and to avail themselves of the indulgences offered to them as Settlers in degrees suitable to their circumstances and situations. It is scarcely possible to calculate with any degree of precision on the result that this Proclamation may eventually have on so rude and unenlightened a race; but it has already produced the good effect of bringing in some of the most troublesome of the Natives, who have promised to cease from their hostility and to avail themselves of the protection of this Government by becoming Settlers, or engaging themselves as Servants, as circumstances may suit; and upon the whole there is reason to hope that the examples, which have been made on

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the one hand, and the encouragement's held out on the other, will preserve the Colony from the further recurrence of such Cruelties. Under all these Considerations I trust Your Lordship will approve of the Measures I have taken.  

On Monday, 17th June 1816 Governor Macquarie “Granted an Order on the Police Fund for Five Pounds Currency drawn in favor of Thomas Acres (Son of a Settler in District of Airds) as a remuneration for Services rendered by him as a Guide to Capt. Wallis's Detachment when employed in pursuit of the Hostile Native. — L. M.”

June – July, 1816: Kurry-Jong Brush hostilities

Hostilities continued at the Kurry-Jong Brush. By June 1816 there were only about a dozen Aboriginal warriors actively resisting the settlers: “Miles, Warre, Carbone Jack (alias Curringie), Narang Jack, Bunduck, Congeatt (or Kangate), Wootten, Rachel, Cockey, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie”.

Two men, Cooling and Gallagher, assigned servants of a Mr. Crowley were killed on his Grose River farm on the 19th of June.

‘Last Thursday-se'nnight- the bodies of a man and a very fine youth, a native of the colony, were found in the Currajong Brush having been murdered a few days previously by the natives. A number of spears had entered the bodies of the unfortunate persons, one of which had penetrated the heart of the younger; whose name we are informed was Cooling; the other, Gallagher.”

On the 8th of July, Joseph Hobson was speared to death and his body mangled. Hobson was apparently the last settler left on a line of farms at Kurry Jong Brush, all the others having been driven off. It is difficult to determine what precipitated these killings. William Cox was of the opinion that Hobson had good relations with the Aboriginal people. While settlement was expanding this area had been settled for a number of years. Ben Singleton probably built his mill on the headwaters of Little Wheeny Creek in 1810. The Grain Road, now Kurmond Road, took Singleton’s flour down to Wilberforce where it was shipped to Sydney.

Joseph Hobson’s death is of particular interest as he appeared to be the last settler left in the area, all others having been driven off.

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204 John Akers was attacked and wounded on the Argyle Reach in September 1794. I do not know if it is the same family.
207 George Bowman wrote that the two men came from Mr Crowley’s farm which was a short distance up the Grose River from the Lewis farm. According to The Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 21st December 1889, “In 1816, Joseph Hobson was killed by blacks, where Richmond now stands.” I believe that this was a misunderstanding of what Bowman wrote. I believe that Bowman described the deaths of Hobson and another man at Richmond. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72561112 Cooramill caused even more confusion on page 87 in his Reminiscences when he recorded “A headstone erected to a Mr. Dobson, who was killed by the natives in 1817.”
Another murder was perpetrated by the natives on Monday last, at the Corrajong Brush - The victim to their barbarity was Joseph Hobson, who is stated to have been the only settler remaining on that line of farms, in consequence of the excesses lately committed. - He had left his house to go in quest of a calf; and when about 200 yards distant was speared through the heart. - The miscreants afterwards clove the head of the unfortunate sufferer, and brutally mangled the body. 208

11th of July, 1816: Cox’s report to Macquarie
Many of the documents relating to the punitive expeditions in the second half of 1816 are to be found in Sir William Dixson’s Documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853. Exactly how or why the correspondence between Governor Macquarie and Magistrate Cox became part of Sir William Dixson’s personal collection is unclear. The end result was that they were not readily available to the General Public. They are now available online at http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=446953. The correspondence, while illuminating, has many gaps. There is no report of any Aboriginal casualties under martial law in the second half of 1816 on the Hawkesbury despite the active efforts of parties of soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides. There are, however, a number of other comments that indicate the casualties were not officially reported.

William Cox’s report of the 11th of July 1816 to Governor Macquarie addressed a number of issues: billeting Serjeant Broadfoot’s party, flood relief, the road over the Blue Mountains, hostile natives and the killing of Joseph Hobson.

The report is illuminating for several reasons. It well illustrated the difficulties faced by regular troops attempting to bring irregular forces to battle in frontier warfare. William Cox in his capacity as magistrate and commander of the local garrison organised his forces well, but to no avail.

On the 23rd of May Serjeant Broadfoot was at Blaxland’s Mulgoa farm. One would imagine that William Cox would have been in Macquarie’s ear seeking assistance at the Royal Birthday celebrations on the 1st of June 1816 at Parramatta. Serjeant Broadfoot arrived in the Hawkesbury on the 6th of July and his party was lodged in a commanding position on the left bank of the Grose River, south of Bell’s Belmont property at Richmond Hill. 209 On Monday, the 8th of July Cox formed a party of eight settlers to meet two constables, Colebee and Creek Jemmy who were already at Crowleys on the Grose and to make a sweep to Singleton’s Hill on Little Wheeny Creek. The party was probably led by Alfred Luttrell 210 Luttrell’s party went to Bell’s that night on receiving word that Joseph Hobson had been killed on his Kurry jong Brush farm. On Tuesday morning Cox sent three veterans to the farm of Phillip Roberts to act as a guard before crossing the river to Bell’s farm. When he got there he found Luttrell’s party had already left for Hobson’s farm. Cox followed to Hobson’s farm, with Serjeant Broadfoot’s soldiers, some settlers and Aboriginal guides. Unable to follow any tracks they marched to Singleton’s mill on Little Wheeny Creek and left two soldiers there.

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209 Belmont may have been a pun on the family name and the original meaning of a lovely hill.
210 Edward Luttrell, the father had gone to Tasmania in January 1816. Robert had been killed in 1811 and Edward was lost at sea off the Governor Macquarie also in 1811. Alfred was 24 in 1816. It was unlikely to have been Oscar who was seventeen in 1816. Oscar was killed by Aborigines near Melbourne in 1838, http://theluttrells.homestead.com/edwardluttrellborn1757.html
Four warriors were finally seen by a stockmen but no contact was made which raises the question of how committed the guides were to the settlers.

Sir,

I have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencys Letters of the 1st and 6th Inst. and on Saturday last I went to Capt Forrests Farm to get a place for Sergt Broadfoots party to sleep in case they came that evening. They arrived there in about an hour after I left & crossed the River to examine Kearns premises but finding they afforded (sic) no shelter they went to the left Bank of the Grose and have now a position a little below Mr Bells in an empty House that commands the Ridge leading to the roads North and West as well as the Grose.

Your Excellencys Instructions with respect to distressed settlers being put on the store for payment till January next shall be duly attended to. It is an unpleasant task as I shall refuse many more than I can think of recommending for relief & which of course will be demanded by them. Hand on heart is best (?)

I never knew the Lands here dry so slowly after a flood, a Horse cannot yet work on my low lands. Nor have I yet been able to sow an item on them since the last Floods. The Lands on the front of the River are much dryer than those at the back, we got a few days drying winds when it rains again so as to keep it to wet to chip the seed in with Hoes.

The Timber Carriage I wish to remain at Sydney until I see if the chains on are Complete for it, after which if Your Excellency will send it to Parramatta I will take charge of it then, Lewis left this on Saturday last and I am not to expect his return for 3 or 4 weeks as he intends going to Bathurst before he returns, we have brought one of the Boats to the Fish River to get the Provisions cargo, and there are six of the Bathurst Men at Work on the Roads west of the Mountains.

I have now the Honor of Reporting to Your Excellency that I formed a party on Saturday last to go in quest of the Hostile Natives and sent two Constables & two friendly natives (Coleby & Creek Jemmie as guides cross the River to Crowleys on Sunday, and on Monday Morning they were joined by Mr Luttrell & seven other Men making 12 in number & I agreed to cross the River on Tuesday or Wednesday to meet them. On that day they proceeded by the track towards Singleton Hill and in the evening information was brought to Mr Bells that the Natives had been to Joseph Hobsons Farm and murdered him (it is the first farm in the range of the Curry John Brush ones) I received this information at one o’clock on Tuesday Morning and after directing Serjt Hays to send three veterans down the River to Philip Roberts the Constables Farm until further orders. I went across the River to Mr Bells, when I found Sergt Broadfoots party all ready for Marching. On Mr Luttrells party hearing of the murder of Hobson they returned to Mr Bells in the night and on Tuesday

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211 the 6th of July
212 Kearns premises was Obadiaeh Aikens old farm. It was where Mrs Lewis and her assigned servant would be killed.
213 Richard Lewis.
214 8th July 1816
215 On Little Wheeny Creek.
Morning two Hours before I got there they had again marched for Hobsons Farm to get the Track of the Natives. I went the same Road with the Sergt some soldiers, 2 young men knowing the country & a native to track them, the party had left the deceased’s Farm before we got there but as we could not learn whether they had crossed the Grose & gone up the River or taken the range of hills down the River I deemed it prudent to drop the pursuit & crossed the country to Singletons Hill who had not seen their own party or the Natives, we left two soldiers with Singleton & returned to Mr Bells before dusk. On Wednesday morning the Coroners Inquest sat on the body when I attended and explained Your Excellencys determination as to the four Natives by name and gave them direction who to give the alarm to in case they saw or heard of any Natives. I also settled my Plan with the Serjt who appears just the sort of man for such a Duty and crossed the River at 5 last evening, just as I was getting into the Boat a stockman gave information that 4 natives had crossed the river two hours before near Singletons Hill.

I immediately sent two young Men who I had ready (Carver & Blackmans sons) with a Native across the River to Mr Bells with directions for them to find the Serjt on the track where these 4 natives were seen at day light this morning and if they found it to pursue it.

The Natives here appear so determined on Mischief that very prompt Measures are necessary or the settlers & stock will get Murdered in detail and if neither of the parties now out are fortunate enough to fall in with them I will wait on Your Excellency on Monday or Tuesday night to make some other arrangements.

Hobson was a very Hard Working quiet Honest Man & was always on the best of terms with the Natives. His death wound was in the Heart and he was also stripped quite naked he had removed his family after the murder of the 2 stockman to the front of the River and went out Monday Morning to sow a little barley.

I have the Honor to Remain
Your Excellency’s
very obedient servant
Wm Cox.

To His Excellency Govn Macquarie
& & &
Sydney

Macquarie received Cox’s letter of the 11th of July and replied on Saturday the 13th July. There appears to be no record of Macquarie’s reply.

On the 15th of July 1816 Magistrate Cox wrote at least one and probably two memorandum to Governor Macquarie. Our record of these memorandum appear to be Governor Macquarie’s copies from the 19th of July 1816. One memorandum recommended stationing three military parties for some time at the Grose River, Windsor and Portland Head.
‘Memorandums
Friday 19 July 1816

1. Mr. Cox recommends that the 3 Military Parties intended to be stationed for some
time in the Districts of the Hawkesbury should be posted as follows, so as to afford security
to the Settlers (?)

First. - The 1st Party with the Serjt at the Grose.
Second. - The 2nd Party at the Town of Windsor.
Third. - The 3rd Party to be at Portland Head.

N.B. Each Party to consist of at least 1 Noncom. Offr. & Six Privates. 219

The other memorandum probably formed the basis for Governor Macquarie’s Proclamation
of the following day, the 20th of July 1816. The eight men named by Magistrate Cox were all
included in the Proclamation.

‘Memorandums
Rec.d from Mr. Cox Esq. –
J.P – on Frid. 19 July
1816

Firstly. It appears to us that no friendship or good points existing between the Natives
& settlers protect the latter from Revenge or Murder whenever the former are
insulted or find themselves aggrieved by any White people.

Secondly. That the determined spirit of Revenge they have lately championed in
committing so many murders call for a strong arm to suppress them & protect
the settlers.

Thirdly That the country between the Warrajambie and the lower branches of the
Hawkesbury a distance of at least fifty miles is so extremely mountainous and
broken that it is very difficult to track them and almost impossible to come up
with them unobtrusively.

Fourthly That it is our opinion the Natives from long habits cannot Subsist at this
season of the Year without getting Provisions from the settlers, and that they
chiefly live by plundering them of Maize, Pumkins &.

Fifthly. That to put a stop to such an Evil we think at least three parties of soldiers of
ten each should be stationed in the aforesaid tract of country with a constable
of local knowledge attached to each party, as also a friendly Native as a guide
to track the Hostile Tribes when found.

Sixthly. – That to strengthen the hands of this force we would propose that two parties of
six determined convicts having local knowledge of the country under the
direction of a Constable with a Native guide should scan the Country and for
their reward should receive an Emancipation for securing such Natives as
Your Excellency should proscribe by Name, and that a pecuniary reward
should be given to any Free Person taking or killing the proscribed Natives.

Seventhly. That the Natives should be officially informed of Your Excellencys

219 Page 182-183, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853
ML, reel CY2743;
DL Add 81, State Library of NSW
determination, and that no peace will be granted them, until such proscribed Natives are secured & given up to the civil power.

It is also necessary that some instructions should be adopted with regards to the friendly natives now at Windsor.

Also that no settler whatever should harbour or conceal any native or give him food until such proscribed Natives are given up under a severe penalty, but on seeing any of them give the earliest possible Notice to the nearest District Constable.220

The 4 Most Notorious offenders in the District are,
Miles
Warren
Carbone Jack (alias Curringie)
Narang Jack.

The following four Natives were also at the Murder of Lewis wife & the stockmen.
Bunduck
Congeatt (or Kangate)
Wootten
Rachel.

The four Natives who were killed are.
Cockey
Butta Butta
Jack Straw
Port Head Jamie.221

Windsor Mr Cox. J.P.
15 July Robt. Cartwright J.P.222
1816. J Mileham, JP 223

Fortunately for the historian there are a number of accounts of the capture and execution of Cockey, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie. While they vary in details, containing contradictions and mistakes; they tend to corroborate each other and provide far more information than given by Magistrate Cox. Alfed Smith, 1831-1917, was the foster son of George James.224

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220 Page 184-186, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853
ML, reel CY2743;
DL Add 81,
State Library of NSW

221 Probably short for Portland Head Jamie.

222 Robert Catwright was the chaplain of the Hawkesbury since 1810 and appointed by Macquarie to the magistracy.

223 Page 187, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853
ML, reel CY2743;
DL Add 81,
State Library of NSW

224 George James and “Daddy” Merrick were, according to Cooramill, the Hawkesbury’s first policemen.
“Speaking of the boys who used to help George James, Alf Smith was the first I remember. He was the old man’s foster son, and to his credit he still speaks of the old man with respect and affection. Jack Whoolemboy
first assigned to William Cox and later the Hawkesbury’s first policeman. George James was responsible for the capture of the alleged killers of Mrs Lewis and her servant. Alfred provided his version in the *Windsor Richmond Gazette*, 5th November, 1910, when he was nearly eighty. According to Smith there were four killers, there was a reward of 50 acres for the killers and that they were turned in by an Aboriginal man called Stevey and that “Mr Cox, of Clarendon, and Captain Brabyn, who then lived at Clifton” were involved in the capture and execution. Captain Brabyn was definitely not present. He returned to the colony in 1817, became a magistrate in 1818 and Clifton Cottage may not have been built until the 1820s. Then I knew old Stevey, a blackfellow. There was a widow murdered at the Grose by four blacks and a grant of 50 acres of land was offered to anyone who could catch these four blacks. Stevey knew their whereabouts and told Mr James, and he, with old William Carver, came on them early one morning while they were asleep. They sent Stevey away to let Mr Cox, of Clarendon, and Captain Brabyn, who then lived at Clifton (both magistrates and high officials then) know about it. Both these men went out, and the blacks were hung out there.

Samuel Boughton (1841-1910), under the nom-de-plume of Cooramill published a series of recollections in the *Hawkesbury Herald* from 1903-1905 when he was in his sixties. Boughton provided two accounts of the capture and execution: the first which supported that of Alfred Smith’s and the second which provided more detail, and differed in that he said there were three Aboriginal men and that they were turned in by a white man called Carr. Cooramill’s account included Bell as well as Cox and Brabyn. Cooramill was wrong about Bell serving in India; he had served as a yeomanry officer in England and he was a Lieutenant, not a Lieutenant-Colonel.

*was the other. I do not know where Jack came from, or what became of him. But I fancy I can remember the name in Kurrajong many years ago.*

*During James turn of office as policeman lawlessness was rife. The old man could tell of many adventures with the bushrangers. Grovenor (who was 6ft. 3in. high), Lynch, and Garey, Walmsley, Donohoe, Webber, Armstrong and a host of others he knew. And the encounters he had with the blacks!*

Page 272, S. Boughton (Cooramill), *Reminiscences of Richmond, From the Forties Down*, Cathy McHardy, 2010

*The Sydney Gazette*, 2nd September 1826 carried further information about Wool-loom-by, alias Bugle Jack, of Richmond.

William Cox arrived in 1800 as Lieutenant and paymaster of New South Wales Corps. Financial irregularities while paymaster led to the resignation of his commission in 1809. He was fortunate in being in India during the deposition of Governor Bligh and as his wife signed a petition in support of Governor Bligh from their Clarendon home, Governor Macquarie was probably quite glad to appoint him a magistrate in the Hawkesbury from 1810. He supervised construction of the road across the Blue Mountains 1814-1815. He owned land at Dundas, Windsor, Bathurst and Mulgoa. Lachlan Macquarie probably had little problems with Cox’s financial irregularities. As paymaster of the 77th Regiment in India at various times during the 1790s, Macquarie drew the regimental pay up to three months in advance, invested the money with Indian money lenders and kept the interest (£9000) for himself. Page 34, John Ritchie, *Lachlan Macquarie*, Melbourne University Press, 1986.

John Brabyn arrived as an ensign in 1796. He returned to England with the 102nd Regiment in 1810 and arrived back in New South Wales in 1811 to join the New South Wales Veteran Company. He left the colony in 1815 and returned on the transport *Larkins* in November 1817. He was a Magistrate at Windsor from January 1818. He owned land at Windsor and Prospect.


Whilst I am unsure of the meaning of the word, Boughton used it as a name of his home at Mountain Lagoon.
Despite these problems, which are not uncommon in recollections, particularly those that are second hand the different versions have common threads and are not inconsistent with events on the Hawkesbury. Local authorities were still caught in the dilemma of protecting both Aboriginal people and settlers. Governor King’s wish that the local commander had sorted out the problem of Aboriginal prisoners was still relatively fresh in the minds of local authorities. For authoritarian, self-made men of property with military and magisterial powers, swift rough justice discouraged both smaller settlers and Aboriginal people from taking the law into their own hands. Their ability to distribute rewards and favours ensured support and loyalty for such men. The accounts of the executions of the prisoners were not out of keeping with the reputed character of Bell, Cox or Brabyn.229

Combining the three accounts it is possible to draw further insights. Boughton’s account, which is quite reflective, highlights the harsh treatment afforded to Aboriginal people. Cockey’s desire to be hung rather than shot confirms my opinion that for Aboriginal people shooting may well have meant both physical and spiritual death. That four/three men were hung in a line across the Kurry Jong slope strongly suggests that their execution was designed to act as a deterrent and inspire terror. Boughton’s opinion that many Aboriginal people were “hung without trial”; again confirms my opinion that Aboriginal attacks were immediately responded to, often disproportionately and were rarely reported. Boughton’s style of writing is what Stephen Muecke calls a “romantic discourse”, i.e., one of doomed savagery.230

Boughton’s First account

‘First of all I will deal with my sable friends and fellow-countrymen. I said in a former paper that they did not quietly surrender their territory to the white intruder. To gain their end in view, their manners were cunning and treacherous. But they received scant justice from their enemies - they were slaughtered for the most trivial offence. I have been told of many being hung for stealing some trifle. Of course, they did not always stop at trifles. There were four hung one morning for murdering an old woman (Mrs. Lewis) up the Grose river. They were given up by members of their tribe. Old George James, of Richmond, with the assistance of Bill Carver, who was a sort of special constable, apprehended them. They were brought before Lieut.-Colonel Bell, Captain Cox, Cooramill gave some insights into Bell's character in his memoirs. “Mr. Bell has been spoken of by the old hands as being a hard master; but one must remember it was hard times, and he had hard characters to deal with. There not only the prisoners to keep in subjection, but there were the aboriginals, of whom there was a goodly number and with whom it was necessary to deal with firmly, for they very naturally did not submit quietly to the surrender of their territory to the white intruders and were ever in the alert to take advantage of the unwary.

Mr. Bell’s training as an officer in the imperial service in India, before he came to Australia, made him cautious, and thus perhaps severe.”

Pages 106-107, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010

Elsewhere in his memoirs Cooramill wrote: “I have already stated that some people gave Mr. Bell a hard name. Some went so far as to say he was cruel – so cruel that even dumb animals resented his cruelty, and refused to draw his remains to their last resting place. After horses were tried, even bullocks refused.”

Page 111, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010

Toby Ryan on page 19 of his Reminiscences of Australia, described John Brabyn as “one of the tyrannical demons of the aristocracy” and one “of the old military despots”.

229 Cooramill gave some insights into Bell's character in his memoirs. “Mr. Bell has been spoken of by the old hands as being a hard master; but one must remember it was hard times, and he had hard characters to deal with. There not only the prisoners to keep in subjection, but there were the aboriginals, of whom there was a goodly number and with whom it was necessary to deal with firmly, for they very naturally did not submit quietly to the surrender of their territory to the white intruders and were ever in the alert to take advantage of the unwary.

230 Stephen Muecke, Textual Spaces, The University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 1992
and Mr. Captain Brabyn, and sentenced to be hung. On their way to the tree they begged to have the execution put off until the tomorrow, but it was no use. Supplication was in vain; up they went.

Many were hung without trial, and so these wild, dark, and mysterious children of nature rapidly disappeared under what is called “the progress of civilization,” leaving nothing but the names bequeathed by their forefathers (which are sometimes euphonious and suggestive) and a few imprints on the stones which they made with their stone tomahawks.  

Boughton’s Second account

Rawlinson’s corner... “where the road diverges from Bells Line to Singleton, here things went pretty lively at times. There was the prisoners’ camp not far distant, with flogging often, and an occasional execution. It was here Cockey, the aboriginal was hanged for the murder of an old woman.

I have already referred to an outrage that had been committed on the Grose, and mentioned that the perpetrators were captured through members of their tribe informing on them. A more detailed account of the capture and execution (or executions, for there were three) under notice may be interesting, since it will show how summary miscreants were dealt with, especially when those miscreants were among our sable brethren.

There were three blacks wanted by the police for this crime, and the said police were very close on their tracks when an old man named Carr met them (the police), and informed them that the three “wanteds” were at the time waiting for him to go back to his hut (where he had left them) with milk for their hominy.

It appears the old man had been informed that these same three had threatened to take his life, and when he saw them nearing his hut he thought his time had come. But he still had hope. He thought of an expedient, and immediately placed a pot of hominy on the fire, and when they arrived at the door of his hut, he requested them to stir the hominy while he went with his bucket to milk the cow, in order, as he pretended, that they should have a good repast. But instead of going for the cow, he took a bee-line for the nearest neighbour, where he found the police, accompanied by a well-known terror to the blacks, in pursuit of the same three. They accordingly surrounded the hut, and effected a capture. Then, after binding them hand and feet, they commandeered a bullock team, and took them off at once to execution.

The first was Cockey, whom they hanged on a tree at Rawlinson’s corner. He begged of them not to shoot him, but to hang him, which they agreed to, the rope made of

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231 Page 109-110, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond, From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010
232 Rawlinson’s Corner was the junction of Bell’s Line of Road and Comleroy Road. At some early stage it was a convict camp. Rawlinson, the blacksmith, lived there in the 1830’s. Rawlinson’s Corner was the scene of several hangings. Pages 62-63, Vivienne Webb, Kurrajong, An Early History, Vivienne Webb, Sydney, 1980. Rawlinson’s Corner was downhill from Singleton’s Hill.
233 Hominy is a Native American word for maize. In this context hominy could refer to soup, bread, or dumplings.
234 I am not sure who the “well-known terror to the blacks” was. It may have been Alfred Luttrell, whose family seemed to be in perpetual conflict with the Aborigines.
stringy bark, being adjusted as he lay bound in the bullock-dray. The dray was driven from under him. That was the extent of the drop. But they did not altogether keep their promise, for they soon riddled his body with bullets, which was perhaps more merciful.

The second was taken to Thompson's Ridge, and there executed in the same manner; and the third on the scene of the outrage, where he received the penalty in a similar way.

Although the old man Carr escaped being killed by the blacks on this occasion, it was not long before he was done for by members of the same tribe at Putty.

The fourth and final account of the killings came from George Bowman, and was written in 1839. Bowman placed the incident within the context of Macquarie's proclamation of martial law in 1816. Bowman, born in 1795 may well have participated in the implementation of martial law in 1816. His account is better known for the final sentence: “The military did not attempt to take the Blacks and make prisoners of them but shot all they fell in with and received great praise from the Governor for so doing.” His account is also of interest because it linked an 1825 killing at Putty with the capture of Aboriginal people outlawed in 1816. This incident is consistent with Cooramill's second account.

Bowman's account is also of interest because he linked Aboriginal people “who had been bread up in European families from their infancy” with attacks on settlers, which adds support to my contention that much of the conflict originated on the farms where Aboriginal people and settlers were in close contact.

Bowman identifies four men being killed in June and July, i.e., Cooling, Gallagher, Hobson and an unknown man at Richmond.

Bowman also identified other attacks on the lower Hawkesbury and its branches.

‘Memorandum for Mr Scott
In the year 1816 or 17 the natives were troublesome nearly all over the distant parts of the County of Cumberland. They committed several murders – in the Cowpastures and Appin Dists, at Richmond, Mulgoa and down the Hawkesbury Rivers; at which time, the wife of Wm Lewis and his Govt servant was murdered at the farm called “Kearns Retreat” at the junction of the Nepean and Grose Rivers, a man or two of Mr Crowleys on the Nepean between Belmont and the Grose, and Joseph Obson or Hobson commonly called “Joe the Hatter” and a man was killed by the natives while at work on his farm near Richmond – about the same time various murders and depredations was committed by the natives on the lower Hawkesbury River and its Branches. About this time Gov’ Macquarie dispatched Military parties to various parts of the Colony some to the Cowpastures (now Camden)

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235 Cooramill’s use of the phrase bullock dray may have been anachronistic but the wagon used may have been that used by Benjamin Carver for transporting Baggage and Provisions of a Detachment of the 46th Regt. from Richmond to Sydney. Sydney Gazette, 17th of February 1817. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2177063
236 Thompson’s Ridge was an early name for the ridge upon which Gregg’s Road, Grose Vale now runs.
237 Kearns’s Retreat, was Obadiah Aiken’s old farm at the junction of the Grose and Nepean Rivers.
238 Pages 150-151, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010.
Appin, North Richmond, and down the Hawkesbury, and at the same time proclaimed Martial Law against the Blacks throughout the whole of the Colony and offered a reward for the capture of several of the ring leaders whose names were known whether taken dead or alive. Among the number named was two or three natives who had been bred up in European families from their infancy and became the most despicable murderers.

In 1825 a party of natives from Richmond and another from the Hunter met at Putty on the old Hunters River Road and killed one man and left the other as they supposed dead but who was found by Mr Bowman’s over seer and men when driving his sheep to the Hunter in a speechless state, his head crawling with Vermin in the wound received from the blacks.

This murder was supposed and believed to be true from Information rec’d from other natives, to have taken place through those two men, having been instrumentle in having some of the natives apprehended in 1816 or 17 whom Govr Macquarie offered the reward for and outlawed by his Proclamation. The natives were not allowed to carry out any spear like instrument within a certain distance of any white mans dwelling on pain of being dealt with according to martial law.

The military did not attempt to take the Blacks and make prisoners of them but shot all they fell in with and received great praise from the Governor for so doing.

All these occurrences can be found mentioned more particularly in the Sydney Gazette of those dates –

Archerfield
January 5th 1839

19th of July 1816: Munitions
On the 19th of July, Governor Macquarie replied to Magistrate Cox. He sent pouches, belts and ammunition for three armed constables. It would appear that Cox had employed three additional constables from the population of local free settlers. Twenty rounds per man was standard military practice at the time.

The memorandum is also important because it alerts us to Macquarie sending additional reinforcements to Serjeant Broadfoot who was already on the Grose.

‘Memorandum of Articles required by Mr. Cox Esq. J.P. Windsor, for the use of Armed Constables to be employed against the Hostile Natives, Viz. –
3 pouches with belts - for tying around the waist. –
60 rounds of Ball Cartridges.

As well as George Bowman’s account, Peter Cunningham also wrote a fuller account about the killing of Mr. Greig’s cousin and a convict servant on his Hunter property in October 1825. The killers then visited the Hawkesbury and returned via the Bulgar road, chasing some mounted settlers and stopped at a hut at Putty where there were three men known to them. One of the men was killed and the other badly beaten and the third escaped to Richmond. An armed party was sent out after them, and fell upon the camp of a “friendly tribe” which was scattered (Pages 197-198, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966). The three accounts suggest that Carr was the man killed at Putty.
N.B. The above mentioned articles are to be sent along with the soldiers to be sent to reinforce Serjeant Broadfoot’s Detachment at the Grose!

Sydney
19. July 1816

L.M.  

20th of July, 1816: Governor Macquarie’s Proclamation

Governor Macquarie’s Proclamation of the 20th of July 1816 was an escalation of previous responses to the hostilities. Like other proclamations, this one was repeated over the following weeks, 27th July and 3rd August, 1816. This proclamation extended that of 4th May by outlawing and placing rewards upon ten Aboriginal men. Of the ten men; only Murrah, Wallah, alias Warren, and Yellaman remained from the list given to Captain Schaw on 9th of April. Of the seven new additions; Miles, Carbone Jack, alias Kurringy, Narang Jack, Bunduck, Kongate, Woottan and Rachel; five were probably Hawkesbury men. Miles was probably the Myles who found a way across to the Hunter in 1819 and was described in the Sydney Gazette, 2nd September 1826 as being, chief of the “Richmond Tribe”. The same issue of the Gazette mentioned “Narang Jack of North Richmond”, and “Billy Congate of Richmond”. Carbone Jack, alias Kurriny, was probably Karingy Jack or Captain from Cattai, who may have gone sealing on the brig Elizabeth, 1821-22. Narang Jack of North Richmond “was probably his son. Bunduck may have been Boon-du-dullock, a native of Richmond Hill, who was sought by Marsden in 1805. As well, this proclamation had a particular focus on the Hawkesbury because military detachments were sent to the Nepean, Hawkesbury and Grose Rivers to protect settlers. Macquarie’s proclamation set a period of three months for the magistrates, soldiers and settlers to sort the matter out. It also signalled the control that Macquarie was determined to keep over the settlers.

In his description of “the sanguinary Disposition of certain BANDITTI, or TRIBES of the BLACK NATIVES, which had been for some Time manifested by their frequently committing the most wanton and barbarous MURDERS”, the Governor perpetuated the denigration and dispossession of Aboriginal people.

‘Proclamation,
By His Excellency LACHLAN MACQUARIE,
Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Territory of NEW South Wales and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS the sanguinary Disposition of certain BANDITTI, or TRIBES of the BLACK NATIVES, which had been for some Time manifested by their frequently committing the most wanton and barbarous MURDERS on several of His Majesty's Subjects residing in the remote Settlements, rendered it expedient and necessary to send Military Parties in pursuit of them, with a View by inflicting summary Punishment on some, to deter others from a Repetition of such atrocious and cruel Outrages: - And although this Measure was long

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240 Call No: DLDOC 132,
Digital Order No: a3057001
241 Apart from the following reference I have not yet been able to trace whether or not Captain, from Cattai, went to sea on the Elizabeth.
delayed, and at length reluctantly resorted to, the numerous Atrocities committed rendered it
indispensable, where by several of the most sanguinary and guilty of them met with and
suffered the Punishment due to their flagrant Enormities.

And whereas, by Proclamation under Date the 4th of May last, the GOVERNOR, after
expressing a Regret at the Necessity which recent Circumstances had placed him under of
proceeding to such Extremities against those hostile Natives; and anxious, if possible, to
avoid the Recurrence of such Atrocities, did earnestly invite and exhort the said Native
hostile Tribes to render Submission, and to return again to those peaceable and unoffending
Habits and Manners which had been formerly their best safeguard from Injury, by securing
them all the Protection of the most favored of His Majesty's Subjects.

And whereas, since the Issuing of the said Proclamation (with which it is well known the said
Natives soon became fully acquainted), it has appeared, that there are still among these
People some Individuals far more determinedly hostile and mischievous than the rest, who,
by taking the lead, have lately instigated their deluded Followers to commit several further
atrocious Acts of Barbarity on the unoffending and unprotected Settlers and their Families:

And whereas, the ten Natives whose Names are hereunder mentioned are well known to be
the principal and most violent Instigators of the late Murders; namely,

\[\begin{array}{c}
1 & Murrah \\
2 & Myles \\
3 & Wallah, alias Warren \\
4 & Carbone Jack, alias Kurningy \\
5 & Narrang Jack \\
6 & Bunduck \\
7 & Kongate \\
8 & Woottan \\
9 & Rachel \\
10 & Yallaman
\end{array}\]

Now it is hereby publicly proclaimed and declared, that the said ten Natives above named,
and each and every of them are deemed and considered to be in a State of Outlawry, and
open and avowed Enemies to the Peace and good Order of Society, and therefore unworthy
to receive any longer the Protection of that Government which they have so flagrantly
revolted against and abused. And all and every of His Majesty's Subjects, whether Free Men,
Prisoners of the Crown, or Friendly Natives, are hereby authorised and enjoind to seize
upon and secure the said ten outlawed Natives, or any of them, wheresoever they may be
found, and to bring them before, and deliver them up to the nearest Magistrate to be dealt
with according to Justice. And in Case the said proscribed ten hostile Natives cannot be
apprehended and secured for that Purpose; then such of His Majesty's Subjects hereinbefore
described, are and shall be at Liberty by such Means as may be within their Power, to kill
and utterly destroy them as Outlaws and Murderers as aforesaid; and with this View, and to
encourage all His Majesty's said Subjects, whether white Men or friendly Natives, to seize
upon, secure, or destroy the said Outlaws, a Reward of Ten Pounds Sterling for each of the
said ten proscribed Natives, will be paid by Government to any Person or Persons who shall
under such Circumstances bring in their Persons, or produce satisfactory Proof of their
having killed or destroyed them within the Period of three Months from the Date hereof.
Provided always, that nothing in this Proclamation contained is to be construed to extend to allow of Government Servants, of any Description, to depart from their Duty or Services, without the special Permission of those Persons to whom they may be assigned.

In Furtherance of the Object of this Proclamation, and of the Measures to be adopted pursuant thereto, the several District Magistrates are here by enjoined forthwith to assemble the Settlers, and other Persons dwelling within their respective Districts, at some convenient centrical Situation, and to point out to them the Necessity of forming themselves into Associations, along the Rivers Hawkesbury and Nepean, so as to be prepared to offer each other mutual Relief and Assistance on Occasions of any Attack or Incursions of the hostile Natives; and in Cases of any Outrages being attempted against them, their Families, or Property, they are to consider themselves authorised to repel such Attacks or Incursions by Force of Arms; at the same Time they are not wantonly or unprovokedly to commence any Aggressions, but only to guard against and resist the Depredations or Attacks of the hostile Natives, with a View to their own immediate Defence and Protection.

And the Settlers are further hereby strictly enjoined and commanded, on no Pretence whatever, to receive, harbour, or conceal any of the said outlawed Banditti, or afford them any Countenance or Assistance whatever; nor are they to furnish Aid or Provisions to any of the friendly Natives who may frequent their farms, but upon the express Condition of them engaging and promising to use their best Endeavours to secure and bring in the said Ten Outlaws, and deliver them up to the nearest Magistrate, or lodge them in Prison; - And those friendly Natives are to be given to understand, that if they faithfully and earnestly exert themselves in apprehending and bringing in the said Outlaws, every reasonable Indulgence and Encouragement will be afforded them by Government; whilst, on the contrary, until this Object is attained, no Peace or amnesty with the Natives at large in this Territory will be made or conceded.

It being impossible to station Military Detachments as Protection for every Farm in the disturbed or exposed Districts, the Governor is desirous of apprizing the Settlers in this public manner thereof, in Order that they may the more speedily and effectually adopt the best Means in their Power for their future Security: But with a View to overawe the hostile Natives generally, in those Parts of the Colony where they have committed the more flagrant and violent Acts of Cruelty and Outrage, three separate Military Detachments will be forthwith stationed at convenient Districts on the River Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury to be ready to assist and afford protection to the Settlers whenever Occasion may require it, when called upon by the nearest Magistrate, for that Purpose; each Detachment to be provided with an European and also a native Guide, which the District Magistrates are enjoined to furnish them with, carefully selecting them from the most intelligent and trustworthy Persons within their several Districts.

The Military Parties stationed at Parramatta, Liverpool, and Bringelly, will receive similar Instructions to those to be given to the three Military Detachments before mentioned.

And the several Magistrates throughout the Territory are hereby directed to give every possible Publicity and Effect to this Proclamation.

Given under my Hand, at Government House, Sydney, this Twentieth Day of July, One thousand eight hundred and sixteen,
"LACHLAN MACQUARIE."
By Command of His Excellency,
JOHN THOMAS CAMPBELL, Secretary.
GOD SAVE THE KING!''

On the 26th of July magistrates at Windsor, Parramatta, Castlereagh, Liverpool and Bringelly were sent copies of the Proclamation of the 20th of July “respecting the Sanguinary Disposition and outrages still manifested by the Black Natives of the Colony.”

3rd of August, 1816: Banishment of Dewall
On the 3rd of August Dewall’s banishment to Van Dieman’s Land was proclaimed. Dewall may have been banished, rather than executed, not just because of Atkins advice regarding the legal standing of Aboriginal people, but because he may not have been involved in the 1816 hostilities. Dewall was probably banished to reinforce the impact of the proclamation of the 20th of July 1816. As well, exiling Dewall was probably designed to put Throsby in his place. Charles Throsby secured Dewall’s pardon in 1819. Dewall accompanied Throsby on later exploring trips.

‘GOVERNMENT PUBLIC NOTICE AND ORDER.
CIVIL- DEPARTMENT.
WHEREAS a Native Black Man of this Colony, called and known by the Name Of Dewal, or Dual, was lately apprehended and lodged in His Majesty's Gaol at Sydney, in Consequence of having excited and encouraged, and been himself actually concerned with several of his Tribe in committing various atrocious Acts of Robbery, Depredation, and Barbarity, on the Property and Persons of His Majesty's loyal Subjects residing in the Interior of this Settlement. And whereas the said Dewal or Dual, as well by being a Leader among his own People, as by such flagrant and sanguinary Acts, is become dangerous to the Peace and good Order of the Community; it is therefore expedient and necessary, for the Security and Preservation thereof, that such Crimes and Offences as the said Dewal or Dual has been guilty of and personaly (sic) concerned in should meet with condign Punishment, in order to deter others from committing the like. By Virtue therefore of the Power vested in me, as Governor in Chief of this Territory, and moved with Compassion towards the said Criminal, in Consideration of his Ignorance of the Laws and Duties of civilized Nations, I do hereby remit the Punishment of Death, which his repeated Crimes and Offences had justly merited and incurred, and commute the same into Banishment from this Part of His Majesty's Territory of New South Wales to Port Dalrymple, in Van Diemen's Land, for the full Term of Seven Years, to commence and be computed from the Day of the Date hereof. And the said Dewal or Dual is accordingly hereby ordered to be forth with banished, for the said Term of Seven Years, to Port Dalrymple aforesaid; during which Period the said Dewal or Dual is under no Pretence whatever to reappear in this Part of the Territory of New South Wales, on Pain of suffering the Punishment of Death as a Felon.

And all His Majesty's Subjects within the said Territory and its Dependencies are hereby strictly charged and commanded not to aid, abet, or assist the said Black Native Dewal, or Dual, in any Attempt he may make to escape from the Place of his said Banishment, during the said Term of Seven Years, as they shall answer the same at their Peril.

243 26th July, Circular re Aboriginal activities reel 6005, 4/3494, p 55:
Given under my Hand, at Government House, Sydney, in New South Wales aforesaid, this Thirtieth Day of July, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixteen. "LACHLAN MACQUARIE." By Command of His Excellency, J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary.  

Another article in the same issue of the Gazette, 3rd August informed the reader that Governor Macquarie’s proclamation was beginning to have an effect upon the safety of travellers.

‘Several of the natives, who were suspected to be the most atrocious actors in the late barbarities, have been apprehended, and are in confinement.

The banishment of the native Dewal, or Dual, to a distant settlement, which mode of disposing of him is announced in His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR’S General Orders under date the 30th ult. may possibly produce a greater dread in the minds of his predatory associates than if he had been killed when in the act of plunder. The doubt of what may be his fate, when absent, is likely to excite a dread which may render them less liable to a similar treatment, the justness of which they cannot at the same time challenge, as they are sensible that the crimes of this offender were enormous. The Proclamation prohibiting their travelling armed about the Settlements has had the salutary effort of guarding the lonely traveller from their hostilities upon the public roads, as had often been before the case; and from the tenor of the regulations that have been adopted towards them generally, there can be little doubt that the hostile tribes must shortly retire, and that such as prefer a friendly intercourse with us will find a peaceable deportment the most conducive to their comfort.’

10th of August, 1816: Payments to guides
‘Mr. John Warby, and others, as Rewards for their Services in acting as Guides to the Military Detachments sent out in Pursuit of the hostile Native Tribes £99 - 5 - 0.

26th of August, 1816: Attack on Cox’s Mulgoa estate
The killing of one of Cox’s shepherds and the destruction of his sheep was responded to quickly. While there was conflict on the Hawkesbury, I can find no evidence to suggest that there were large bodies of warriors on the Hawkesbury. The available evidence appears to suggest quite the contrary. Whether there was an alliance of warriors, stretching north to the Hunter; or Aboriginal people reacted individually to incursions all along the frontier remains unclear. Certainly the Gazette article inflamed the situation.

‘The body of a shepherd belonging to the estate of Mulgoa, who had been recently murdered by some natives, was found on Monday last on a grazing ground near the farm, in a most mutilated and mangled state, having been perforated with spears in several parts, and otherwise most barbarously used. The flock in the charge of this unfortunate man consisted of upwards of 200 very fine sheep, most of which were thrown down an immense precipice by the savages, and the remainder, about 50 in number, were barbarously mangled and killed, many of the unoffending and defenceless creatures having had their eyes gored with spears, which were afterwards driven into the head. Parties went out in quest of the murderers as

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soon as the melancholy information reached the contiguous settlements; who will, it is to be hoped, fall in will this desperate horde of wanton assassins.

From the account of the deserters from Hunter's River who have been reduced to the necessity of returning to that Settlement for the preservation of their lives from the fury of the natives, it may evidently be implied that a connexion or correspondence must subsist between the hordes in our vicinity, and those considerably to the northward, and that all within this circle of communication are determined upon the destruction of every white person that may unhappily fall into their power. We have heretofore experienced their savage cruelty indiscriminately satiating itself on the mother and the infant. Pardon, amity, and every effort to reconciliation, which to all appearance they received with gladness, have been perverted to the ends of a vile and most malignant treachery, whenever an occasion offered for the exercise of their natural ferocity, which is the same on every part of the coast we are acquainted with. An unrelaxed spirit of hostility is the undeviating feature in their characteristic. If the exhausted mariner attempt to quench his thirst upon their inhospitable shores, he flies or falls beneath their sullen vengeance; while the nearer tribes, to whose incursions our settlements are exposed, are tendered formidable by the facility of retreat, and the difficulty of penetrating into their concealments. They no longer act in small predatory parties, as heretofore, but now carry the appearance of an extensive combination, in which all but the few who remain harmless in the settlements, are united, in a determination to do all the harm they can. In self defence we can alone find safety; and the vengeance they provoke, will, it may yet be hoped, however mildly it may be exerted, reduce them to the necessity of adopting less offensive habits.  

Sunday, 1st of September, 1816: Macquarie’s bowel inflammation
Whether Macquarie’s decision to withdraw from public life in early September 1816 was the result of something he ate or something that was happening on the Nepean Hawkesbury remains unknown.
'I was this morning forced to confine myself to the House, in consequence of a most severe and alarming Complaint in my Bowels – and with which I have for these last 3 months less or more [been] afflicted, and which I now begin to apprehend is an inflammation in my Bowels – from the fixed continued Pain in my Stomach for some time past. — I have therefore resolved on taking immediate medical advice – and confining myself to my Room in hopes of benefitting therefrom.'

Sunday 8th of September, 1816: The passing of Macquarie’s bowel inflammation
'My Medical attendants Doctors Wentworth, Redfern and Forster, having been most assiduously kind and attentive to me both Night [&] Day for this last Week, administering to me every medicine and Surgical application they thought most likely to remove my disease; I am happy to be able to say now that the Disease has at length yielded to their Skill and Prescriptions – and that I am now – thanks to my God! free from Danger and relieved from great Pain; being now in a progressive State of Convalescence. L. M.'

9th of September, 1816: Native Institution admissions from the Hawkesbury

On the 9th of September 1816 the second of two Aboriginal children from Dr Arndell’s Cattai farm were admitted to the Native Institution. It is possible to conjecture that they also had been orphaned in the military operations.

14th of September, 1816: Cox’s five parties
Magistrate Cox organised five parties of soldiers, settlers and native guides to sweep the Nepean Hawkesbury valley for a fortnight in September 1816. It would appear that one of the parties was disbanded following an accident on the Hawkesbury River. Magistrate Cox only had intermittent contact with these parties.

‘Distribution of parties 14th Sept 1816
Serj' Broadfoot. 5 privates, 3 White Guides, 2 Black Guides - - 11. this party takes the East side of the Hawkesbury River with a boat to attend them.

Corp. Milner. 5 privates, 3 White Guides, 2 Black guides - - - 11. this party take the West side of the River and cooperate with the Serj’s party between the Branches.

Corp. Wolstencroft 5 privates, 3 White Guides, 2 Black guides - - - 11. these [indecipherable] at Mr Bells to range the country between the Grose & Upper Branch.

Corp. Macanally 5 privates, 3 White Guides, 2 Black Guides - 11. this party [indecipherable] between Mr Coxs & Mr J. Blaxlands and range between Writings Farm, the Warragambi & down towards Sir John Jamiesons.250

Constable McLaughlin 3 constables, 6 White Men and 1 Black Man, tracing the Natives from the Grose, more to the N.W. than the Branches. - - 11.

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The Serj’s party & Milner. detached a fortnight, from the 13th Inst.
Corp. Wolstencroft’s party detached 14 Dy from the 14th Inst.
Corp. Macanally do do 14 Dy from the 17th.

Twelve Natives take this time of Duty, Vis.

28th of September, 1816: Parties still in field
After the fortnight elapsed Cox reported back to Macquarie. However, the parties did not come back, but stayed out for an indeterminate length of time. The memorandum below was received by Governor Macquarie on the 8th of October 1816.

28th Sept
All the parties returned three White Men, two soldiers and 2 Natives laid up from Accidents in Hawkesbury River. (?)

The five parties reduced to four from this point, the White Men with the soldiers parties filled up with those of Constable McLaughlins party.

Two of the four soldiers parties are under Serj' Broadfoots direction & it would be much more desirable if the other two had also a Serj' to command them, the officer or Magistrates would then only have to consult with the two sarjeants & a constable from each party once a fortnight or often if necessary. One Serj' & one corporal would make the four parties complete according to this plan. 253

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28th of September, 1816: Trial of Daniel Mow-watty
Daniel Mow-watty had been brought up with settlers and gone to England with Caley. On his return he took to the bush. He was tried on 28th September 1816 for the rape of a white girl about five or six miles northwest of Parramatta on 6th August; Marsden's evidence probably did Daniel little good given Marsden's detestation of Caley.

The Court wishing clearly to ascertain the prisoner's clear and conscious discrimination between good and evil, in the examination of the several witnesses were particularly attentive to this point. The Rev. Mr. Marsden spoke also to his knowledge of the prisoner, which had subsisted for nearly 20 years. He was reared in Parramatta “from his infancy, first in the family of Richard Partridge, and afterwards with Mr. Caley, botanist, who took him to England with him; where he resided about a twelvemonth, and then re turned to this Colony. He had met him since his return naked in the woods, at a considerable distance from the settlements; knows that he was in the service of Mr. Bellamy; had no doubt of his acquaintance, from long experience, with our manners and customs, and had a thorough discrimination between right and wrong; he had admitted the act for which he was then on trial to be wrong, and appeared to possess as strong an intellect as persons in general possess who have not the advantages of education.” 254 Daniel was found guilty and executed on 1st November 1816. 255

Wednesday, 30th of October, 1816: Payment to Cox for his expedition expenses
Note that Cox was paid in sterling rather than currency. The hiring of a boat almost certainly relates to Serjeant Broadfoot’s party.

“I this day drew on a Draft on the Police Fund in favor of Wm. Cox Esqr. J. P. for the Sum of £76.10.7 – Str., being the amount of Provisions, sundry necessaries and Boat-hire, incurred during the recent Warfare with the Hostile Natives, for the Military Parties & Guides under the direction of Mr. Cox.
L.M. ” 256

253 Call No. DL Add 81
Digital Order No. a1893191
State Library of New South Wales
254 http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/cases/case_index/1816/r_v_mowwatty/
255 For the trial of Daniel Mowwatting see Sydney Gazette, 28th September 1816,
Friday, 1st November, 1816: Daniel Mowwatting’s execution and the official end of hostilities

'This morning were executed, agreeably to their respective Sentences, the three Criminals under Sentence of Death – namely – Thomas Collins and Hugh Mc.Lair – for High-way Robbery – and Daniel Mowwatting (a Black Native of this Colony) for Rape and Robbery on a young Female White Woman a native of this Colony. — The three malefactors confessed their Crimes – and all Died Penitent. 257

'By his Excellency Lachlan Macquarie, Esquire, &c, &c., &c.
Whereas since the issuing of the Proclamation, bearing Date the 20th of July last, which it was deemed expedient to make in Consequence of the Murders and Depredations committed by certain of the Hostile Native Tribes in the Interior of these Settlements, several of those Natives have been either killed or taken Prisoners under the Authority of that Proclamation; and it being now hoped that the Punishments inflicted and Examples made have effected the desired Object of deterring them from any further Prosecution of such Acts of Violence and Depredation on the Persons and Property of the Settlers and their Families; and that the adoption of conciliatory Measures will produce in the said Native Tribes an Inclination and Resolution to avoid for the future a Repetition of those Barbarities and outrages: It is hereby publicly proclaimed, that such Part of the said Proclamation of the 20th of July last, as proscribed certain guilty Natives therein named, is hereby revoked and annulled; and that from and after the Eighth Day of the present Month of November, all hostile Operations, Military or other, against the said Native Tribes will cease and determine.

And whereas the following Ten Natives are those so proscribed in the said Proclamation of the 20th of July last; viz.:—
1. Murrah; 6. Bunduck;
2. Myles; 7. Kongate;
3. Wallah, alias Warren; 8. Woottan;
5. Narrang Jack; 10. Yallaman;

It is hereby proclaimed and made known, that such of the said Ten Natives as have not been killed or apprehended under the Authority of the said Proclamation, and who shall surrender and give themselves up to a Magistrate, on or before the 28th Day of the next Month of December, will be forgiven and pardoned for their past Offences, and taken under the Protection of the British Government in this Colony, in common with those peaceable and unoffending Natives who have so long enjoyed and are still under its Favour and Encouragement; but if the said proscribed Natives do not avail themselves of the Benefit of this Proclamation, by surrendering within the said limited Time, or shall henceforth commit any Act or Acts of Murder, Violence, or Depredation on the Persons or Property of the Settlers, then, and in such Case, Measures, more strong and effective than those hereby revoked, will be resorted to; and the most summary and condign Punishment inflicted on those who shall hereafter disturb the public peace.

3. And whereas in the Proclamation of the 4th of May last, a General Friendly Meeting of the Natives was proposed to be held at the Market Place in Parramatta, on Saturday the 28th Day of December next ensuing, at Ten o’clock in the Forenoon; in pursuance of such Proclamation, the said proposed General Friendly Meeting of the Natives is hereby invited at the Time and Place therein mentioned, at which Meeting His Excellency the Governor will confer and advise with them on the Plan of Life they may be inclined to adopt for their own

257 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816nov.html
Comfort and Happiness, and they are assured of being treated, on that Occasion, with plentiful Refreshments of Meat and Drink.

4. The Magistrates, and other Peace Officers throughout the Settlements, are hereby enjoined to give every possible Publicity to this Proclamation in their several Districts, and exert themselves to make it perfectly understood by the Natives to which it refers.

Given under my Hand, at Government House, Sydney, this first Day of November, 1816.

Lachlan Macquarie.

By Command of His Excellency,

John Thomas Campbell, Secretary.

God save the King!

Tuesday 5th of November, 1816: Macquarie visited Bungaree

This morning early I went by water in the Govt. Barge, accompanied by Mrs. M. Mr. & Mrs. Cowper, Capt. Gill, and my own Family, to visit the Native Farm at George's Head, on which occasion Mrs. Macquarie made Boongary the Chief a Present of a Breeding Sow & 7 Pigs – and also a Pair of Muscovy Ducks – together with Suits of Clothes for his wife & Daughter and Philip's Wife. — We afterwards crossed the Harbour to Vaucluse, breakfasted there – and afterwards visited the Tower building at South Head which is already Ten feet above the level of the Ground. — We reimbarked [sic] at Watson's Bay – and returned again to Sydney by Half past 1, O'Clock. —

L. M.

The following memorandum suggests that certain young men were recommended to receive rewards for their services. Certainly William Stubbs and Ralph Turnbull received land grants.

List of Six Free Men Guides.

- Johnston, son of Mr And" Johnston. Dist Constable Port Head
  Wm Carver – son of Mr Carver, Dist Constable Richmond.
  Wm Stubbs – son in Law of Mr Painter, Free Settler. Port Head
  Josb McLaughlin McLaughlin261 to receive 50 acres!
  Constables.
  Wm McFadden McFaddin to receive 90 acres!
  John Tye later a Constable. –

Windsor 6th Novr.
1816

Wm Cox

259 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816nov.html
260 William Stubbs, born in 1796, married Mary Ann Rogers in 1819. He had been brought up by James Painter who had married William’s widowed mother in 1806 after the drowning of her husband in 1805.

A court case was held on 28th June 1889 regarding “a Crown grant of 60 acres of land situate in the parish of Spencer, county of Northumberland, Hawkesbury River, commencing at the south east corner of Cleary’s 40 acres, promised by His Excellency Governor Macquarie to one William Stubbs in 1816 as his reward and remuneration for his prompt assistance to the police and aid in pursuit of the black natives at the time of the eruption and disturbance in 1816, who thereupon entered into possession of the same, ... A number of documents and petitions were tendered in evidence in support of the case, including a certificate from Captain Cox, formerly Magistrate at Windsor, under whom Wm. Stubbs served in the war that Stubbs was entitled to the grant; plan and survey and description of the land made by Mr. Surveyor Meehan. All went to show conclusively that the promise of a grant had been made by Governor Macquarie to Wm. Stubbs “


261 Joseph Mc Loughlin had been a guide in the earlier military expeditions.
The following letter is of particular concern because it appears to signal hostility from Aboriginal people on the Lower Hawkesbury and Kissing Point towards the activities of the South Creek Aboriginal people in acting as guides for the soldiers and settlers.

‘Clarendon
15 Nov. 1816.

Sir

The Constant rain we have had since Wednesday last has prevented the Natives going to Sydney. It appears taking up again & I am sending this to Mr Howe to direct him to send them down tomorrow so as to be with Your Excellency on Monday next, I have directed the two constables McFadden & McLoughlin who were white guides to go with them.

Mary-Mary told me yesterday if Your Excellency wished it he would send his young girl to the School. I told him it would please you & desired him to take it down. It is a half cast child and a very Interesting One, between 2 & 3 years of Age.

The Creek Natives seem to be under some apprehension of punishment from the Natives low down the River joined by some from towards Kissing Point. Should Your Excellency see Bidgee Bidgee while Creek Jamie is at Sydney it may be prevented as it should be if possible.

I have the Honor to Remain
Your Excellency’s
very obed. serv.

Wm Cox.

On Service
His Excellency
Gov’r Macquarie
& & &
Sydney

By Creek Jamie
a South Creek
Chief

Saturday 16th of November, 1816: Macquarie released five Aboriginal warriors

'I this day released from Jail Five Black Natives who have been confined there for some weeks past on account of their Depredations and hostile conduct towards the White Settlers in the interior where they had been apprehended by the Military Detachments in pursuit of

262 DL Add 81
Digital order No. a1893189
State Library of NSW

263 This is the earliest usage of the phrase “half-cast” in this work. It comes from the Latin word castus, meaning pure.

264 Bidgee Bidgee was awarded with a brass gorget naming him chief of the Kissing Point Tribe on the 6th of June 1816.

265 Pages 188-194, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853
ML, reel CY2743; DL Add 81, State Library of NSW
them. — The names of these Natives are Jemmy Monday, Kitten, Jack, Pamborah, and Pinboya. — I gave each of them a Blanket and three days Provisions to carry them Home, Pardoned all past crimes, and cautioned them against the serious Punishments that would certainly be inflicted upon them in the event of their ever manifesting any further hostility against the White Colonists.

I still retained in Jail Jubbingsguy — a Black Native — on account of his cruel and sanguinary character. —

L. M. 266

29th of November, 1816: A delayed memorial

The following memorial from the McDougall’s267 of the Upper Branch is of interest because it was written on the 19th of October, a date very close to the date set by Governor Macquarie for the cessation of hostilities. What is particular interesting is that Magistrate Cox appears not to have sent it to Governor Macquarie for another five weeks, suggesting that the delay was deliberate while he attended to the matter in anticipation of the Governor’s support.

‘To his Excellency, Lachlan Macquarie Esq’. Gov’—
N.S.W.

May it please Your Excellency

The Memorial of John – Andrew – and James M’. Dougall – I John Smith humbly sheweth

That Your Excellency’s memorialists have actually begun clearing their respective allotments of land on the upper branch of the Hawkesbury River – and are residing on them – But from the dread of the Natives are compell’d to reside and work alternately on each others farm having no men for a protection and assistance.

Therefore they humbly beg that Your Excellency would be pleased to take their uncomfortable situation into your most humane consideration and grant them such assistance and indulgence as Your Excellency may in your great goodness and wisdom think meet.

And Your Excellency’s memorialists

Will as in duty bound
Ever Pray
October 19th 1816

I certify to His Excellency the Governor that whatever assistance the memorialists are to have as settlers, it will be best to give it to them immediately on their going to reside on their farms at the Branch, it will enable them to protect each other and also be the means of their sooner getting their land under cultivation.

Wm Cox J.P.

266 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816nov.html
267 Whether it be Scotland, Canada or Australia the McDougall’s seem fond of building Ossian’s Hall. In the 1760’s the Scottish poet, James MacPherson, published a series of poems that he claimed were translations from the Scots Gaelic of Ossian. The most famous concerned the mythological hero Fingal. MacPherson’s work is thought to have been an inspiration for the Romantic Movement. It is now generally conceded that MacPherson’s work was largely a fabrication.
Clarendon
29th Nov. 1816.

NB The Memorialists has resided on their farms on the Upper Branch since September last and has with great difficulty cleared several acres of land which is now in a state of cultivation and planted with corn.268

21st of December, 1816: Annual feast announced for 28th December 1816.
Macquarie again used the word Aborigine in a government proclamation.
‘GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC NOTICE
SECRETARY’S OFFICE, SYDNEY. Saturday, 21st Dec. 1816

AGREEABLY to that Part of His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR’S Proclamation, bearing Date the first of November last, wherein His EXCELLENCY invited a general friendly Meeting of the NATIVES, they are now reminded of the same, and Notice is hereby given, that the said friendly Meeting of the Black Natives or Aborigines of this Colony, will be held at the Market Place in Parramatta, on Saturday next, the 28th of this present Month of December, at the Hour of Ten in the forenoon. - And the Natives are accordingly invited and requested to attend on that Occasion with their Families, under the Assurance of being kindly received, and plentifully furnished with Refreshments of Meat and Drink.

The Magistrates, Peace Officers, and Settlers throughout the Colony, will be pleased to acquaint the Natives residing in their respective Neighbourhoods, or occasionally resorting to thither, with the present Invitation for a general Meeting on the said 28th Day of December Instant.

And the Gentlemen composing the Committee of the Native Institution, are requested to assemble at Government House, Parramatta a little before the Hour of Ten in the Morning on the said 28th Instant.

By Command of His Excellency,
J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary269

Monday 16th of December, 1816: Serjeant Broadfoot’s reward
‘Drew a Draft of this date on the Police Fund, in favor of Serjt. Broadfoot of the 46th. Regt. for Fifteen Pounds Sterling (£15), as a reward from Government for his recent very active and useful Services in pursuit of the Hostile Tribes of Black Natives, along the Rivers Hawkesby, Nepean, and Grose. — 270

Memorandum for Cap’. Gill
Art‘. Engineer. – Sunday 22nd Dec’. 1816. -
I‘. To order Six Gorgets or Breast Plates with chains for Native Chiefs to be made immediately according to the former size and form. – Two of the said gorgets to have the following inscriptions engraved on them respectively: Viz’. On one Gorget

“Mary-Mary”
“Chief of the Mulgowy”

268 Colonial Secretary’s Index, (Reel 6046; 4/1736 pp.140-2).
270 http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816dec.html
“Native Tribe.”
1816

On the Gorget-
“Branch-Jack”
Chief of the Hawkesbury Upper Branch
Native Tribe
1816.

2\textsuperscript{d}. To order four small square Breast Plates (agreeably to the accompanying size and form) with chains to be made immediately – for meritorious Natives – and have the undermentioned names engraved thereon respectively.

\textit{Viz}:

1 Colebee
2 Pulpin
3 Mulgowy - Joe
4 Charley – Mulgrave

Each of the Plates for the above four natives to have the same inscription engraved on it as the accompanying Form with the alteration of the Name. –

L.M. \textsuperscript{271}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Saturday 28\textsuperscript{th} of December, 1816: Annual feast}
\end{center}

The two following accounts of the Annual Feast while containing much of the same information differ somewhat in their degree of effusion.

\begin{quotation}
\textit{Pursuant to Public Notice and Invitation, a number of friendly Natives or Aborigines of the Colony, amounting in all to 179 Men, Women, and Children, assembled at Parramatta in the forenoon of this day – and were most hospitably and plentifully regaled and entertained with Dinner and Punch at the expence of Government – in presence of myself and the Gentlemen of the Committee for the Civilization of the Natives; the Children (15 Boys & Girls) at the School or Institution, having been presented and shewn to their friends and Relatives now assembled – who were much pleased with their clean healthy appearance – and progress in Education.}

\textit{The Gentlemen of the Committee dined with me Afterwards at Government House. – L. M. \textsuperscript{272}}
\end{quotation}

The \textit{Gazette} provided a particularly unctuous account of this pioneering model of social engineering. The structure of the feast revolved around gender, hierarchies and a free meal. Aboriginal people, broken into subjects and chiefs, formed a passive foil to the Governor and his entourage. These divisions were reinforced with the awarding of brass plates to the “chiefs” and presents to the various guides. Mrs Macquarie played an appropriate second fiddle to her husband, arriving to see the Native Institution children paraded before the “chiefs”. The Governor and his wife were no doubt suitably touched by the tears of Aboriginal women “at seeing the infant and helpless offspring of their deceased friends, so happily sheltered and protected by British benevolence”.

\textsuperscript{271} Call No: DLDOC 132
Digital Order No: a3057004
\textsuperscript{272} http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816dec.html
This, like all subsequent interventions, soon fizzled out.

‘On Saturday last the 28th ult. the Town of Parramatta exhibited a novel and very interesting spectacle by the assembling of the Native Tribes there, pursuant to the GOVERNOR’S gracious invitation. — At 10 in the morning the Market-place was thrown open, and some Gentlemen who were appointed on the occasion took the management of the ceremonials. — The natives having seated themselves on the ground in a large circle, the chiefs were placed on chairs a little advanced in front, and to the right of their respective tribes. — in the centre of the circle thus formed, were placed large tables groaning under the weight of roast beef, potatoes, bread, &c. and a large cask of grog lent its exhilarating aid to promote the general festivity and good humour which so conspicuously shone through the sable visages of this delighted congress.

The GOVERNOR, attended by all the Members of the Native Institution, and by several of the Magistrates and Gentlemen in the neighbourhood, proceeded at half past ten to the Meeting, and having entered the circle passed round the whole of them, enquiring after, and making himself acquainted with the several tribes, their respective leaders, and residences. His EXCELLENCY then assembled the chiefs by themselves, and confirmed them in the ranks of chieftains to which their own tribes had exalted them, and conferred on them badges of distinction, whereon were engraved their names as chiefs, and those of their tribes. — He afterwards conferred badges of merit on some individuals, in acknowledgment of their steady and loyal conduct in the assistance they rendered the military party when lately sent out in pursuit of the refractory natives to the west and south of the Nepean. — By the time this ceremony was over Mrs. MACQUARIE arrived, and the children belonging to, and under the care of the Native Institution, 15 in number, preceded by their teacher, entered the circle and walked round it; the children appearing very clean, well clothed, and happy. — The chiefs were then again called together to observe the examination of the children as to their progress in learning, and to civilized habits of life. — Several of the little ones read, and it was grateful to the bosom of sensibility to trace the degrees of pleasure which the chiefs manifested on this occasion. — Some clapped the children on the head, and one in particular turning round towards the GOVERNOR, with extraordinary emotion, exclaimed "GOVERNOR,—that will make good Settler — that's my Pickaninn!"—and some of their females were observed to shed tears of sympathetic affection, at seeing the infant and helpless offspring of their deceased friends, so happily sheltered and protected by British benevolence. — The examinations being finished, the children returned to the Institution under the guidance of their venerable tutor; whose assiduity and attention to them merits every commendation.

The feasting then commenced, and the GOVERNOR retired amidst the long and reiterated acclamations and shouts of his sable and grateful congress. — The numbers of visitants (exclusive of the 15 children), amounted to 179; viz.—103 men, 53 women, and 21 children.

It is worthy of observation that 3 of the latter mentioned number of children (and the son of the memorable Ben-ni-long was one of them), were placed in the Native institution immediately on the breaking up of the congress on Saturday last, making the number of children, now in that establishment, altogether 18; and we may reasonably trust, that in a few years this benevolent Institution will amply reward the hopes and expectations of its liberal Patrons and Supporters, and answer the grand object intended, by providing a seminary for
the helpless offspring of the natives of this Country, and opening the path to their future civilization and improvement. 273

29th of December, 1816: Breastplates


Gorgets or Breast Plates to be made for the two undermentioned Native Chiefs: Viz'.

1 "Gogie – Chief of the George's River Native Tribe. 1816.
2 "Wowany"
   Chief of the Botany – Bay
   Native Tribe 1816.

Small Plates to be made and engraved for the two following natives Viz'.

1 Reward of Merit
   for
   "Harry"
   1816

2 "Rewards of Merit"
   For
   "Tindall!" 1816 274

Sunday 12th of January 1817: Nurragingy and Mary-Mary visit Macquarie

'This day Nurragingy (als. Creek Jemmy) the Chief of the South Creek, and Mary-Mary the Chief of the Mulgowy – Natives – with their respective Tribes amounting to 51 (men, women & children) Persons, paid me a visit at Parramatta – and were entertained in the Govt. Domain there by direction of Mrs. Macquarie with Breakfast and Dinner this Day; the 17 Native Children at the Institution having also been entertained with Fruit and presented to their Parents & Relatives belonging to those two Tribes. — Narrang Jack, 275 one of the hostile Natives some time outlawed, came in on this occasion and gave himself up – to take the benefit of the last Proclamation. —

L. M. 276

8th of February, 1817: Payments to William Cox and Serjeant Broadfoot

The following expenses were “for the quarter ending the 31st of December 1816”. 277 For Cox they were distinct from the payment of 30th October 1816.

Sergeant Broadfoot received yet another reward.

274 Call No: DLDOC 132
Digital order No: a 3057005/6
State Library of NSW
277 Australian Archives of NSW (Reel 6038; SZ759 p.313).
‘William Cox, Esq. for sundry Articles, Expenses and Rewards supplied and paid by him on account of Government, for the working parties employed in constructing the public roads in the new discovered County, and for Guides and Provisions, &c. furnished by sundry Settlers and other Persons, for the Military Detachments sent in pursuit of hostile Native Tribes. £179 – 8 - 1

Serjeant Broadfoot, of the 46th Regt, as a Donation from Government, for his, active and zealous exertions in the execution of the Public Service after the hostile Natives. £15 - 0 – 0. 278

4th of April, 1817: Macquarie to Bathurst

Macquarie’s report to Bathurst of his success in quelling Aboriginal resistance was a masterful bureaucratic document. He blamed the violence on “the hostile Spirit of Violence and Rapine, which the black Natives or Aborigines of this Country had for a Considerable time past Manifested against the White Inhabitants”. “Rapine” has largely disappeared from the English language; it means the violent seizure of property, not rape. His actions were expressed in terms of his proclamations of the 20th of July and 1st of November, 1816. Thus Macquarie wrote of his success in “disarming the Natives”. He wrote of his success in “outlawing some of the Most Violent and Atrocious Natives” particular Aboriginal people and offering an “indemnity to such as delivered themselves within a prescribed Period”. There was no mention of lives being lost. He was able to end with the hope that his Native Institution would “ultimately pave the way for the Civilization of a large Portion of the Aborigines of the Country”.

‘In my Dispatch P’r the Brig Alexander of date 8th June last, I had the Honor of Informing Your Lordship of the Measures, which I had deemed it adviseable to pursue in respect to Quelling and Subduing the hostile Spirit of Violence and Rapine, which the black Natives or Aborigines of this Country had for a Considerable time past Manifested against the White Inhabitants; and I have now much pleasure in reporting to Your Lordship that the Measures I had then and have Subsequently adopted have been attended with the desired Effect, and that all Hostility on both Sides has long since Ceased; the black Natives living now peaceably and quietly in every part of the Colony, Unmolested by the White Inhabitants. The Measure of disarming the Natives had an immediate good Effect upon them, and the Proclamations Issued Subsequently under dates, 20th of July, and 1st of November, 1816, the first outlawing some of the Most Violent and Atrocious Natives, and the Second holding out Indemnity to such as delivered themselves within a prescribed Period, made them at length fully Sensible of the Folly of their Conduct, and soon afterwards induced the Principal Chiefs to Come in at the Heads of their respective Tribes to sue for Peace and to deliver up their Arms in All due Form in Terms of the Proclamation of the 4th of May, 1816, a Copy of which accompanied My Dispatch under date 8th June last.

I now do myself the Honor to transmit for Your Lordship's further Information My Proclamation under dates 20th July and 1st November, 1816, relative to the Hostile Natives; a numerous friendly Meeting of whom took place at Parramatta on the 28th of December last, when I gave them a plentiful Treat of Meat and Drink; on which occasion 179 Men, Women and Children were assembled, being a greater Number than had been seen together at any one time for Several Years past; they All appeared happy and perfectly Satisfied at the Meeting, and some of them of their own free Will and Accord gave up their Children for the Native Institution, which I had established at Parramatta some time before; and this Institution, from the progress the Children have already made, gives great Hope that it will

ultimately pave the way for the Civilization of a large Portion of the Aborigines of the Country.  

3rd of May, 1817: Payment to Quartermaster McDonald
The payment to Quartermaster McDonald was probably for materials used by the various expeditions rather than for any expeditions led by him.

‘Quarter-Master M'Donald, of the 46th Regt, the amount of Necessaries, ordered to be issued as Donations from Government, to detachments of said Corps employed in pursuit of the hostile Native Tribes’

5th of October, 1818: Land grant to Ralph Turnbull as a reward for chasing the natives
In James Meehan’s Surveyor’s Notebooks 114 and 145 there is a record for “60 acres for Ralph Turnbull and 40 acres as a reward for chasing the Natives when hostile”. William Stubbs received a land grant “as a reward for chasing the Natives when hostile”.

From the records it is possible to assert that in 1816 Governor Macquarie authorised through the military and magistracy a number of well organised punitive expeditions involving soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides that aimed to clear the Nepean Hawkesbury Valley of hostile Aboriginal people. The similarity of Cox’s memorandum of the 19th of July and Macquarie’s proclamation of the 20th of July show the close relationship of free settlers and the Governor. The fact that Magistrate William Cox was not only a prominent property owner who had suffered from Aboriginal attacks, but also the commander of the Windsor garrison, further reinforced the link between property and the law.

Various combinations of soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides ranged across the Nepean Hawkesbury Valley from Wright’s Bringelly farm, across to the Mulgoa farms of John Blaxland and William Cox and downstream to the Hawkesbury, the Colo and McDonald Rivers. A significant difference between the military expeditions in the first half of the year and the expeditions under martial law was that of command. There were no commissioned officers in the field under martial law and Magistrate Cox commanded all the parties in the field under martial law in the Hawkesbury and probably well up the Nepean. Serjeant Broadfoot was the highest ranking soldier in the field. He was highly competent. He had already led one expedition in May in the districts of May and Cooke. Under martial law he was in the field from approximately July to November.

Cox’s memorandum and Macquarie’s proclamation both followed a policy of divide and conquer. Aboriginal people were not allowed on farms unless they helped in the capture of the ten hostiles. It was a policy that was open to abuse.

The official records were curiously coy about the numbers killed. Officially only four Aboriginal people were killed. Payments and land grants were invariably made for the “pursuit of the hostile natives”, not for killing them. However, it was likely that the authorities were pleased with the results. William Cox received one payment of “£76.10.7.”
On the 8th of February 1817, he received another payment of “£179 – 8 – 1”. Serjeant Broadfoot received a reward of “Fifteen Pounds Sterling”, on the 16th of December 1816. On the 8th of February 1817 “Serjeant Broadfoot, received another £15 - 0 – 0”. William Stubbs and Ralph Turnbull both received land grants on the river. Constable McLaughlin received his across the Richmond Road from Colebee and Creek Jemmy. I am not sure where McFadden received his.

The historical record strongly suggests that more than four warriors were killed under martial law in 1816. In 1805 there were several hundred Aboriginal warriors under arms. A handful of casualties were reported in despatches under martial law in 1805. There were approximately a dozen Aboriginal warriors under arms in 1816. Officially only four Aboriginal people were killed under martial law in 1816 and even that number did not make its way to England. Under martial law in 1824 on the other side of the Blue Mountains, during the drought there were no officially reported Aboriginal casualties.

The troubles on the other side of the Blue Mountains in 1824 throw light on the reporting of the events of 1816. On the 7th of June 1824, Elizabeth Macarthur wrote from Parramatta to her friend Eliza Kingdon in England regarding the troubles near Bathurst. “Last week we received some very alarming accounts from the settlement at Bathurst. The natives had barbarously put to death, a number of stockmen in the service of individuals settled in that neighbourhood – plundered the huts – set fire to them – killed numbers of sheep and cattle – spreading terror and devastation around. A young gentleman a proprietor at Bathurst called here on Saturday last. He had come from thence with several others to solicit the Governor for aid and assistance. He said he had seen the bodies of seven white men brought into the settlement in the morning he set off. I know not what measures will be resorted to, in order to check these barbarities, which upon the whole are a far more aggressive nature than any that have before taken place. Heretofore when guilty of these outrages the natives have not been checked by lenient measures, on the contrary emboldened by success they have proceeded to commit further atrocities, until at length it has been found necessary to send a military force to terrify them into submission and to prevent further acts of barbarity. It is now many years since so alarming a circumstance has taken place. Twice we have had our own stations molested, each time, two lives were taken, the huts plundered, and set fire to. This happened when Mr. Macarthur was in England. The military were obliged to interfere, to prevent the further effusion of innocent blood.”282 Mrs. Macarthur’s letter referenced killings in 1805 and 1816 that resulted in military intervention.

The “young gentleman” after visiting the Macarthurs probably went to William Cox. There is a written record of a meeting chaired by William Cox “of the stockholders of New South Wales held at the Sydney Hotel of on Thursday the 3rd. June 1824”. On behalf of the Memorialists Cox wrote to Governor Brisbane praying that “your Excellency will be pleased to afford them that prompt and effective assistance – which your memorialists feel confident they have only to solicit to obtain.”283 Cox’s confidence may well have been based on past experience.

Another meeting, at which Saxe Bannister was present, took place on the 16th of July 1824. Saxe Bannister wrote “Mr. – considered the present case at Bathurst to be one of open war, to which the black natives were urged by a desire of plunder only; and impossible to be duly

283 AONSW, Reel 6065, 4/1799, 10-11, (also recorded as 3I and No. 3I).

Pondering the Abyss 751
checked without a very large military force being sent thither, with orders to act in one extended line at once, and advancing over the whole country, so as to sweep and destroy the natives before them." While Saxe Bannister did not identify the gentleman as William Cox, the military action proposed by "Mr. – “ was consistent with that undertaken under Cox’s leadership in late 1816.

In July 1824 Lancelot Threlkeld was told by a magistrate, that “a gentleman (M’ Cox) of large property,” at a public meeting in Bathurst stated: “The best thing that can be done is shoot all the blacks and manure the ground with their carcasses. That is all they are fit for! It is also recommended that all the women and children be shot. That is the most certain way of getting rid of this most pestilent race.”

On the 6th of August 1824, William Cox appeared as a defence witness in the trial of five men charged with the manslaughter of three Aboriginal women, on the other side of the Blue Mountains. Governor Macquarie’s proclamation of the 4th of May 1816 was used in defence of the men. William Cox as a defence witness described how “In his situation as Magistrate, a military guard had been placed at his disposal. Parties went out in 1816 with the Magistrate at their head; and they always came to a Magistrate, except the soldiers under Captain Shaw, who received their instructions from Government; and the settlers did never attack the black natives alone without a Magistrate." There have been no depredations, by the natives, on this side the mountains, since the promulgation of that Regulation in 1816.

While I do not doubt Cox’s word, I have been unable to find any record of settlers acting independently of soldiers. One must assume that no records were kept of such parties.

In response to a request from Magistrate Scott, George Bowman (1795-1878) provided an account of the events of 1816. George was almost certainly an eyewitness to the events and may well have been involved in them. His account includes the oft quoted sentence: “The military did not attempt to take the Blacks and make prisoners of them but shot all they fell in with and received great praise from the Governor for so doing.”

Lancelot Threlkeld was enroute to the South Seas Islands as a missionary when he arrived in Sydney on 11th May 1817. He was invited to Dr. Arndell’s Cattai estate where he met Sarah, Arndell’s fourth daughter and who was to become Threlkeld’s second wife in 1824. It would have been in this visit that he was told of the killings of late 1816. Threlkeld left Sydney for the South Seas in September 1817. He returned in August 1824 after the death of his first wife. In this account reported in The Colonist, 27th October 1838 he recalled:

“When he came to this place about twenty-two years ago, he was astonished to hear a man boasting how many blacks he had killed upon his land. One instance he remembered, which struck him as marked with peculiar cruelty. A native was taken by a party of whites, and

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285 Whether this was the father or the son is unclear.
286 Pages 49, 74 and 128, Niel Gunson, Editor, Australian Reminiscences and papers of L. E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 2601.
287 The original charge was murder.
288 In his memorandum of the 8th of October 1816 Cox complained that he only saw the parties in the field intermittently.
made to ascend a tree with a rope round his neck; this he was directed to fasten to one of the limbs of the tree; when he had done so, he was fired at again and again; he was wounded and clung to the tree. A volley was then fired at him, he let go his hold, and was left suspended as a terror to others. Was it surprising, he asked, when they were tortured by such acts of cruelty, if they became apt scholars? If the natives did wrong, let them be punished; let them be punished on Christian principles; let not the innocent be punished for the guilty."

In the same issue the Reverend Dunmore Lang who held the “first communion service in Australia at Ebenezear, in accordance with Presbyterian forms” in 1814 was quoted as saying “The records of the colony – he meant those ascribed by the recording angel – contains many a history, dark, dismal and appalling. He had been shown places on the Hawkesbury, where the “commando” system had been carried on, and the natives literally hunted down and shot.”

Writing twenty years after the event, William Romaine Govett (1807-1848), who came to New South Wales as a surveyor in 1828, also recorded the combination of soldiers, settlers and Aboriginal guides in crushing resistance. His account is consistent with the parties operating under martial law in the second part of 1816. Govett's account was interesting for its simplistic and inaccurate reduction of relations to a muscular trial of strength.

“Throughout the county of Cumberland in 1816, and more lately at Bathurst, the most dreadful excesses were committed by them till hunted down by bodies of soldiers and settlers with the aid of other natives. Many, very many lives might have been saved had timely and efficient means been adopted; for it has been observed that the various tribes of savages have always one time or other essayed a trial of strength with the whites, and, when once fairly satisfied of their inferior power, live ever afterwards in perfect harmony with them.”

Similar arguments were found in a Memorial presented to Governor Gipps. The memorial had been signed by eighty-two “pioneers of civilization”, including Sir John Jamison, John Blaxland, Stuart Donaldson, W. H. Dutton, Thomas Icely, John Easles, Robert Lethbridge, William Sims Bell, Thomas Walker, H James McFarlane, William Hovell, Hamilton Hume, and Philip Gidley King. The Memorial was written in the context of the 1838 drought and the Myall Creek massacre and sought government intervention against Aboriginal people who were resisting expansion. The significance of the Memorial lay in its reference to acts of...
former Governments." Almost certainly the memorialists were referring to the imposition of martial law in 1805, 1816 and 1824.294

Sydney, 8th June 1838

"Your Memorialists are of opinion that these untutored savages not comprehending or appreciating the motives which actuate us attribute forbearance on our part solely to impotence or fear, and are thus rendered only more bold and sanguinary. This opinion founded on past experience will receive ample confirmation on reference to the history of this Colony and the acts of former Governments. It is undeniable that no district of the Colony has been settled without in the first instance suffering from the outrages of the Natives, and that these outrages continued, until put an end to be coercive measures. Conciliation was tried in the first instance but invariably failed in producing any good effect, and coercion was ultimately found unavoidably necessary, which, if earlier adopted would have saved much bloodshed on both sides. It is only when they have become experimentally acquainted with our power and determination to punish their aggressions that they have become orderly, peaceable, and been brought within the reach of civilization."295

Much later, in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 25th October 1890, Edward Charles Prosper Tuckerman, gave an account of the expedition based on his father’s recollections, in which he said: “Not less than 400 blacks were killed in that expedition”. Given his background his recollections are probably quite sound and not exaggerated. His father was Stephen Tuckerman, a Sackville farmer. His mother was Sarah, daughter of Charles Beasley, also of Sackville.296 Prosper was born in 1833 at Wilberforce. His future wife, Maria Fleming, was born at Wilberforce in 1836. She was the daughter of Joseph Fleming, the older brother of John Henry Fleming, who successfully evaded a murder warrant for his part in the Myall Creek massacre. John Henry and Charlotte Fleming were the god-parents of his four sons.297 His brother Stephen was a Hawkesbury magistrate.

The interviewer was probably John Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick, the founder and editor of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette. It was highly unlikely that Fitzpatrick was shocked by Tuckerman’s revelation. In the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 1st September 1888, the following appeared: “Out in the back country one generally manages to become acquainted with the use of fire-arms; game is abundant, and a good shot can pot any thing from a kangaroo to a nigger”. On 1st June 1889, in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, also appeared; “Once more the few remaining dusky natives of the colony have had their respective blankets doled out to them. Year by year they are growing beautifully less, and in a very short space of time it will be necessary to chronicle the demise of the last genuine aboriginal of the district.”

296 Prosper’s family background is not untypical of early Hawkesbury settler families. His grandmother, Elizabeth Crouch, a convict, had four men in her life, reflecting the challenges of a convict mother. The first, Captain Stephen Tuckerman, was lost at sea in 1802. She married William Addy who had been driven out of Sackville in 1796 by Aboriginal attacks. He died in 1812. Her next husband, Thomas Ivory died in 1815. Edward Churchill was a successful Sackville farmer and raised her son Stephen, which probably explains Thomas’ presence in the Tuckerman vault at St. Thomas’ cemetery, Sackville. (http://australianroyalty.net.au/individual.php?pid=I52308&ged=purnellmccord.ged)
It is possible to relate the events described by Mr. Tuckerman to 1816 from a comment elsewhere in the same paper where Mr. Tuckerman recalled “I could show you in the creek by the old homestead the cedar logs rolled there when the land was cleared in Waterloo year 1815, and as sound as the day they were felled”. It was impossible for a company to have been billeted on the Beasley farm. A full strength company at that time was one hundred men. More likely, it was Corporal Milner’s party. The readiness of the soldier to shoot the Aboriginal man in the tree strongly suggests that the soldiers had orders to shoot on sight, which makes Mr. Tuckerman’s estimate that “400 blacks were killed in that expedition” plausible, particularly as it was supported by the corroborating statements of Bowman and Cox. The fact that the Aboriginal man stayed with the family rather than return to the bush strongly suggests that he had no one to return to; that it was no longer possible to survive in the bush, and being Aboriginal was enough to place your life in danger.

‘The Hawkesbury in Early Days
Speaking to our friend, Smithurst, of the “Mudgee Independent,” recently, Mr. P. Tuckerman of Sackville Reach, gave a lot of information which will be found elsewhere. The “Independent” goes on to say:

Having exhausted local topics somewhat, the conversation drifted towards the Hawkesbury, and the old family home of the Tuckermans. The present members of the family are the second generation of colonials – the father having been born in the colony in 1802 – when Captain King was Governor. It seems a long time since Bonaparte was in the height of his power, and Nelson had bombarded Copenhagen and brought away the Danish fleet, but those were the events which occupied the mind of this pioneer colonist of the Hawkesbury and his sons. The grant of land at Sackville Reach was made by Governor Macquarie, and was cleared in the days when the blackfellow was still an element in Australian life, which had to be taken into account. “The Aborigines had grown troublesome in the valley,” said Mr. Charles Tuckerman, and a company of soldiers was sent from Sydney, and quartered in the house of the young lady who was afterwards to be my father’s wife. Not less than 400 blacks were killed in that expedition. One night my father then a lad was out with one of the redcoats, on the lookout for birds or opossums, when his companion exclaimed, “Hello! Here’s game of another sort,” pointing to a blackfellow up a tree. ‘I must bring him down.’ It was only by the use of all his powers of pleading that the lad could get the life of the poor fellow spared, on condition that he was kept in the home paddock until the troops were gone. He became a faithful and useful fellow, and when he died years afterwards, was buried by my father.

Certainly no-one protested Tuckerman’s figures.

Maria and the inquest into Nanny Cabbage’s murder
In June 1817 two soldiers of the 46th Regiment, Peter Watson and James Rattray met three Aboriginal girls, Nanny Cabbage, Norry and Currumburn, at Kent Street Sydney and offered them alcohol and money in return for sexual favours. They connected at Cockle Bay. Norry and Currumburn left. Later two or three men heard the screams of Nanny Cabbage and investigated. They found Nanny speechless, she had a stomach wound that nearly severed her leg from her body. The men did nothing and returned to their Kent Street homes. Nanny died

298 Mudgee Independent, 1875-1892.
299 Sackville Reach.
300 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 25th October 1890.
during the night. The inquest was conducted by John Lewin. Maria from the Native Institution, assisted as a translator for Norry and Currumburn. \(^{301}\) Maria had been admitted to the Native Institution in 1814 aged about six. In 1817 she would have been about nine years old. The significance of this incidence lies in Maria’s retention and knowledge of at least one and possibly more Aboriginal languages. It suggests that the children in the Native Institution were retaining and enriching their culture, not losing it.

**Demise of the Parramatta Native Institution**

The following account by the Reverend Walter Lawry of an encounter with Yellomundee on the 29th of October, 1818 is important because:

- it shows that that traditional Aboriginal life continued;
- it reveals Aboriginal fear of missionaries taking children away to the Native Institution;
- reinforces the argument that Yellomundee was the father of Maria; and
- it was the last contemporary reference to Yellomundee.

‘While in this district (Portland Head) I availed myself of an opportunity of speaking to a tribe of native blacks. They were preparing for a war with another tribe, making swords of timber, and womaras (a sort of club), and spears in great number for the combat; discovering this as I rode through the woods, I put my horse up at a settler’s house and walked towards them. As I approached, the women and children ran away; but the king (Yellowmunday), with several men, came to meet me. I enquired why the children were carried off; they replied that many of them had been taken away by men in black clothes, and put to school at Parramatta, and they feared I was come on that errand. After assuring them to the contrary, the King dispatched messengers after the absentees, who presently mustered them on the spot where I was conversing with their Chief. \(^{302}\)

**13th April 1819: school examinations**

Not only did George Howe report on a child from the Parramatta Native Institution coming first in the school examination in Parramatta but he reflected upon the progress of the children and signalled a change in attitude since the exchange between *Philanthropus* and *A Friend to Civilization* in the pages of the *Gazette* in 1810. Contrary to the general consensus, my personal opinion is that the girl who won first prize was probably not Maria, daughter of Yellomundee.

‘On Tuesday last an Anniversary School Examination took place at Parramatta, at which the children of the Native Institution were introduced, their numbers not exceeding twenty; those of the schools of the children of Europeans amounting nearly to a hundred. Prizes were prepared for distribution among such of the children as should be found to excel in the early rudiments of education, moral and religious; and it is not less strange than pleasing to remark, in answer to an erroneous opinion which had long prevailed with many, namely, that the Aborigines of this country were insusceptible to any mental improvement which could adapt them to the purposes of civilized association, that a black girl of fourteen years of age, between three and four years in the school, bore away the chief prize, with much satisfaction to their worthy adjudgers and auditors. Other prizes were designated to children of much desert; and it was declared generally that the attention paid to their instruction by their various instructors was entitled to much praise for their zeal in so good a cause, manifested

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\(^{301}\) I first came across this information in Peter Turbet’s *The First Frontier*. I have not yet investigated the source, AONSW, Judge Advocate’s reports 1796-1820, Reel 2232, pp.97-112.

in the improvement of their pupils. At the time His EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR MACQUARIE was pleased to institute and patronize the Institution for the maintenance and instruction of these poor children, it was considered by very few otherwise than as a benign wish to withdraw them from a condition which had no rank in the scale of human nature; but under this benign auspices, aided by the zealous exertions of the Gentlemen appointed to its Committee, we have already the happiness of contemplating in the infant bud the richness of the expanding flower. That they might have been for many years to come reserved for the contempt of the more enlightened world no doubt may be formed; but do not all late accounts inform us that the black natives of Africa are in the exercise of high offices in St Domingo; which they not only conduct with precision, but fill with a degree of urbanity (which may nevertheless be more confined to the reception of strangers than to common habit) and why then should we despair of the poor people being equally redeemable from their state of abjection, which was in itself but natural to persons whose only associates were the animals of the forest?

It is true, that repeated instances in our natives, have occasioned their adapting themselves in youth to European manners, and in the end retreated to the woods to rejoin their kindred: but in this there can be nothing to be wondered at: that state amongst the white population that was assigned to them was possibly little better than the one they had forsaken; the meanest offices of drudgerery (sic) always reflecting upon their minds a picture of debasement, a want of attention to their common wants, of which our very dogs and horses had not to complain.

Such treatment could not be considered a fair trial of their capacities or fixed inclinations. On the contrary, it was sufficient to disgust instead of withdrawing them from habit which at maturer age appeared to themselves to be even less intolerable. In a Gazette ten year ago we recollect ascribing to another cause their voluntary return to original habits. Man cannot be happy without society, for nature has enriched him with a mind which unfitts him to the state of solitude. A poor native boy in a kitchen was worse than in a state of solitude; for he had constantly, and the more so as he improved in faculty, to lament a debasement which nature alone had stamped upon him. There is an associate which man in every condition finds congenial to his wishes; the smallest bird has its mate; the untamed son of the forest defends his den, and protects his yet inoffensive family of yelping cubs; out of the woods the poor half civilized native had no chance of a mate; no chance of ever sharing in the tender feelings of a parent, which the very crocodile evinces. The doubt of their capacity and fairness of intellect must now wear off; and it will no more be doubted that this our infant Native Institution will prove eventually honorable to its earliest Patronage, and add additional honor to the Country whose benevolent efforts are sounded throughout all parts of the habitable world.

Opposition to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the Aborigines
The Reverend Richard Hill, 1782-1836, arrived in 1819 as an assistant to Reverend Cowper. An early indication of his humanitarian leanings was his establishment of the NSW Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the Aborigines. Founded in 1698 The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was the oldest Anglican mission.

303 In 1810, letters on this matter were dashed off by Philanthropus and A Friend to Civilization. It is likely that Philanthropus was the Reverend Cartwright and A Friend to Civilization was George Howe, the editor of the Gazette.
Hill’s proposal for the establishment of the NSW Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the Aboriginal people met with strong opposition from what would appear to be an unusual alliance of clergy and landowners on the frontier. The signatures of the clergy on the petition should be seen as an indicator of the internecine relations of the Sydney clergy. The landowners did not want any possibly embarrassing interference in their operations.

The petition to Governor Macquarie was cleverly constructed. It used Macquarie’s Native Institution as an argument against any other enterprise and used the costs of running the school as leverage. The petition was careful to explain that the degraded and very wretched state of the Aboriginal people was a result of land clearances. No mention was made of Macquarie’s Proclamations of 1816. Some of the signatories had been, or would be, involved in a different sort of clearance. Despite the author’s fondness of commas over full stops I have maintained the original grammar, or lack of grammar.

‘Windsor 24th August 1819

Sir,
We have the honour of addressing your Excellency on the subject of a printed advertisement, under date the 12th instant, and which lately came to our knowledge announcing to the public the establishment of a society for “Promoting Christian knowledge amongst the Aborigines of New South Wales and its dependencies,” signed by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, the judges and Clergymen of Sydney with your Excellency’s approval affixed thereto. –

From long experience, as Residents in the Interior of this Colony, we deeply face the justice and important necessity of doing something to raise the Natives from the degraded and very wretched state in which they still continue and on reverting to your Excellency’s Rules and Regulations of 1814, in founding and establishing the Native Institution we there perceive that it was founded not only on principles of justice but of humanity to the Natives, who most certainly have been deprived of parts of their means of subsistence by our clearing the lands of its timber, by which were cleared the greater part of the animal food etc.

This Institution has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of many of its admirers, as far as it has yet been carried into effect, for it proves that the Native Children are as capable of improvement as children in general. We therefore submit it to your Excellency’s consideration whether or not, had the inhabitants an opportunity of enacting and expressing their opinions on this very important subject, it would not be for the benefit of the original Institution, as every gentleman with whom we have conversed on this subject, would willingly come forward to support and extend, so highly approved and laudable an Institution as the one established by Your Excellency, especially as the children already in the School are arriving at an Age that will yet require such attention and expense to form and make them good and useful members of society.

We have the honour to be, Sir
Your most obedient
humble servants

James Mileham
M: Minchin

In: Jamison
Rob’. Cartwright
M’. Cox:

305 The Reverend Robert Cartwright, 1771-1856, was a Church of England minister in the Hawkesbury, who in 1819 transferred to Liverpool. He was an early advocate of Aboriginal welfare.
Tho$. Moore\textsuperscript{307} & Arch Bell  \\
Walter Lawry\textsuperscript{308} & John Youl\textsuperscript{309}  \\
Cha’ Throsby\textsuperscript{310} & Robert Lowe  \\
Thomas Carne\textsuperscript{310} & William Lawson  \\
M’. Howe & George Cox\textsuperscript{312}  \\
John Wood\textsuperscript{311} &  \\

A month later on the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of September 1819 Governor Macquarie appointed the following ten men to the Committee of the Native Institution:

\textit{The Honorable JUSTICE FIELD.}
Sir JOHN JAMISON, Knt.
Reverend RICHARD HILL, Assistant Chaplain, Sydney.
Captain H. C. ANTILL, Major of Brigade.
JOHN PIPER, Esquire, Sydney
JOHN HARRIS, Esquire, Sydney
JOHN OXLEY, Esquire, Sydney
FREDERICK GARLING,
Reverend ROBERT CARTWRIGHT, Chaplain
Lieut. ARCHIBALD BELL, R. V. Corps, Richmond.\textsuperscript{313}

The Reverend Richard Hill was ensconced firmly within the tent and Jamison, Cartwright and Bell, signatories to the petition opposing Hill’s initiative, would keep him firmly in place. The “\textit{NSW Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Among the Aborigines}” appears to have had a short existence.

**Compilation of Parramatta Native Institution Admission List: 1814 to 1820**

\textit{‘Names of the Children of the Aborigines received into the Native Institution Parramatta, since its foundation, 10 Jan\textsuperscript{2}, 1814\textsuperscript{314}}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date of Admission</th>
<th>Names.</th>
<th>Supposed ages.</th>
<th>State of learning</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Not now in school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>28 Dec 1814</td>
<td>Maria\textsuperscript{315}</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Spells four syllables in the Bible &amp; reads</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>Kitty</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Reads &amp; writes well</td>
<td>Prospect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>Fanny</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Beginning to read and spell</td>
<td>Cattai Creek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Reads &amp; writes well</td>
<td>Portland Head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{306} William Minchin had been a NSW Corps officer who left the colony in 1810 before returning in 1818. In 1819 he was given a 1000 acre grant by Macquarie which is compassed in the modern Minchinbury estate.

\textsuperscript{307} Thomas Moore, 1762-1840, sailor, master boat builder, settler and Georges River magistrate in 1819.

\textsuperscript{308} Walter Lawry, 1793-1859, was a Methodist missionary who arrived in 1818. He served in NSW and the South Seas and is buried in Parramatta.

\textsuperscript{309} John Youl, 1773-1827, was an Independent missionary and Church of England minister best known for his service at the Ebenezer church.

\textsuperscript{310} Thomas Carne, an 1818 free settler with land at Cabramatta.

\textsuperscript{311} John Wood was a free settler who arrived in 1818 and had land grants in the Bringelly area.

\textsuperscript{312} Colonial Secretary’s Index, 24\textsuperscript{th} August, 1824, reel 6048, 4/1743, pages 166-8.

\textsuperscript{313} The Sydney Gazette, 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 1819, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/dp/ndp/article/2179006}

\textsuperscript{314} The date is incorrect on the original document. It should be 1815.

\textsuperscript{315} Maria was the daughter of Yellomundee. Maria married Robert Lock on the 26\textsuperscript{th} of January 1824. Maria’s death certificate showed that she was born in 1794. It was more likely she was born in 1808. Page 250, J. Brooks and J.L. Cohen, The Parramatta Native Institute and the Black Town, University of New South Wales Press, 1991.
the grand object intended, by providing a seminary for the helpless offspring of this benevolent Institution will amply reward the hopes and expectations of its liberal Patrons and Supporters, and answer the purpose for the wants of the natives of this Country, and opening the way to their future civilization and improvement."


‘On Friday night last, THOMAS WALKER COKE an aboriginal native, and son to the renowned Bennelong, departed this life, at the Wesleyan Aboriginal Mission house, in the vicinity of Parramatta after a rather short illness. It is an especial duty, we conceive, to record the demise of this interesting youth: his age was somewhere about 20. When the Rev. Mr. WALKER first came in the Colony he adopted the deceased as his own son, in the benign view not only of feeding and clothing him, but also to instill into his mind the saving principles of Christianity. A single aberration excepted, the once voor friendless black-boy amply compensated his master-friend-and-brother, for the sedulous attention that was paid to his interest. Three or four months since, he was publicly baptized, being honored with the distinguished and humanizing name of the immortal Dr. COKE. A few weeks since he was married to a native girl, who had been some considerable time previously maternally treated in the family of Mrs. Hassall, of Parramatta: her name is Maria. Up to the period of his death he gave satisfactory evidence of his acceptance with his Maker, leaving his Pastor a firm hope of his eternal happiness. He ever seemed greatly interested in the present unenviable condition of his hapless race, and often fervently prayed that their case should never be allowed to droop.’ Sydney Gazette, 6th February, 1823, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/articles/2181620

316 Nalour and Doors were apparently captured on the Punitive expedition. Page 69, Ibid.
317 Betty Cox was married on the 19th July 1821 to an Aboriginal man called Johnny who took her surname. Page 84, Ibid.
318 Married on the 19th of July 1821. Page 84, Ibid.
319 Betty Fulton married Creek Jenny’s son Bobby, on the 14th of March 1821 and moved to the Richmond Blacktown Road. Page 83, Ibid.
320 10th of October, 1821. Page 84, Ibid.
321 ‘It is worthy of observation that 3 of the latter mentioned number of children (and the son of the memorable Ben-nilong was one of them), were placed in the Native institution immediately on the breaking up of the congress on Saturday last, making the number of children, now in that establishment, altogether 18: and we may reasonably trust, that in a few years this benevolent Institution will amply reward the hopes and expectations of its liberal Patrons and Supporters, and answer the great object intended, by providing a seminary for the helpless offspring of the natives of this Country, and opening the path to their future civilization and improvement.’

Pondering the Abyss 760 last updated 28/10/16
In the seven months June to December 1816, fifteen children were admitted to the Parramatta Native Institution. Two of the fifteen, Amy and Nancy, came from Botany Bay. Charlotte probably also came from Botany Bay. Four children, Nalour, Doors, Nilbah and Betty Fulton came the Cowpastures and Wallis’ expedition. Peter and Pendergrass may also come from the south. Three, Betty Cox, Tommy and John came from the Hawkesbury. Dicky came from Kissing Point, Judith from Mulgoa and Davis from places unknown.

The demise of the Parramatta Native Institution was due to the complexities of colonial society as much as anything else. Certainly disease-related deaths necessitated a move. In October 1821 eight children died or were removed from the Native Institution. Thirteen Maori children died in Marsden’s New Zealand Seminary at Parramatta at the same time.

The governorship officially changed on the 1st December 1821 from Governor Macquarie to Governor Brisbane. The Reverend Samuel Marsden, became chair of the Native Institution Committee a fortnight later on the 14th of December 1821. His enthusiasm for the position may not have been come from his concern for the children, but from religious rivalry. The Reverend Samuel Leigh, the first Wesleyan minister to come to Australia in 1815, petitioned the London Wesleyan Missionary Committee to appoint a missionary to the black natives of New South Wales and the Reverend William Walker was appointed to this position, arriving in April 1821. Walker was impressed by Nurrangingy’s settlement at Bell’s Creek, Rooty Hill and conceived a plan to build an agricultural community around it. A fortnight after Marsden’s appointment the Committee recommended that the Native Institution be shifted out of Parramatta and across from Nurrangingy’s land grant on what is now the junction of Richmond Road and Rooty Hill Road North. This idea was originally William Walker’s, but in the process, he was cut out of any involvement. The running of the Institution was now in the hands of the Church Missionary Society. Given Henry Lamb’s previous relations with Aboriginal people, his appointment as supervisor on the 1st of February 1822 of what was now the Bethel Settlement may not have been in the best interests of the children. In 1825 Governor Brisbane closed the Native Institution. The children were moved around to various institutions and the site was reused for a number of years before being sold into private ownership.328

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325 Page 84, Ibid.
326 Polly was married on the 14th of March 1821 to Michael Yarrinnguy, a constable at Richmond and moved to the Richmond Blacktown Road. Page 83, Ibid.
327 Maria and Martha ran away in the first part of 1821. Page 83, Ibid. It was this Maria who lived with the Hassalls and married Dicky.
328 NSW Heritage has an excellent coverage of the site’s history at http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/07_subnav_02_2.cfm?itemid=5051312
Several reasonably contemporary writings illuminate the failure of the Native Institution.

On the 11th of June 1838, the Reverend William Cowper wrote to Justice Burton, mainly about the Wellington Mission. The following extract is about the Parramatta Native Institution. While written long after the event Cowper’s letter is most telling in its account of how hostility and neglect destroyed “attempts made to ameliorate the condition of the aborigines in New South Wales.”

‘1814 - 1823

At Parramatta an establishment was commenced for the institution and maintenance of the aborigines’ Children. This Institution succeeded as well as could be expected, & indeed beyond the anticipations of many. Several of the Boys and Girls made a fair progress in reading, writing, arithmetic and religious knowledge. The Colonial Secretary, however, did not like the Institution, and he desired measures for its abolition. - about 1822, I think, the Children were all removed from Parramatta to someplace near Prospect, called the ” Black Town “ - this change was a precursor to the final and complete extinction of the "Native Institution", in 1823, or 1824.

On 31 January 1815 an attempt was made to induce a number of the adult Blacks to locate and settle themselves at "Georges Head" there were Huts erected, and small patches of Garden Ground were prepared for them; and our Boat was given to them. A European man was appointed to assist the natives, but this plan was not attended with success. But the European, feeling a little, if any, interest in the welfare of the natives, did not protect the property thus appropriated for them, and in a short period the Huts and Gardens, &c were destroyed, and the boat was lost, and this attempt failed.

About 1820, or 1821 another plan was devised on the half of a different Tribe at Elizabeth Bay. Huts were erected, and some Ground was prepared for their cultivation. But this place was too near to Sydney for while there was none to protect the property, there were many to destroy. - in these attempts to settle and civilize the adult Natives there was no Missionary employed to instruct them, nor any person of rank, intelligence, or influence, or of integrity, to encourage them in their new condition, or to show them by his own example the advantages of Christianity.

William Cowper

Robert Campbell was a merchant, land holder and friend of the ecclesiastical community. His letter to Justice Burton, also written in 1838 provided valuable insights into contemporary thought. He repeated contemporary prejudice as though it was true – there is no evidence to sustain his claim that lust was the strongest passion of Aboriginal people. He failed to appreciate why the very fine and remarkably docile boy at my sheep Establishment would leave to marry a Aboriginal woman. He failed to appreciate that the unwillingness of Aboriginal people to surrender their lifestyle represented a failure of the settlers to convince Aboriginal people of the superiority of their ways. While his claim of ignorance of any harm done by settlers seems disingenuous, it must be noted that he was a frequent visitor to England and trade was his major occupation. His letter is also important in drawing attention to the impact of venereal disease upon Aboriginal people.


330 The case of Daniel Moo wattye as the only record of rape of a European by an Aborigine.
Mr Campbell to Mr Justice Burton on the habits of the blacks
Sydney, 22 June 1838
My dear Sir,
I wish sincerely that it were in my power to afford you "much useful information" on the subject which you have at present under consideration - I regret to be obliged to confess that I have very little indeed to impart of which you are not already in possession.

I do not remember at this moment any attempt on the part of Government to civilize the Aboriginal natives of this country; or to communicate to them the knowledge of the Gospel, previously to the administration of General Macquarie. His predecessors were very kind, personally to the poor creatures - one or two of their chiefs having occasionally dined at Government House- and in this respect our early Governors were imitated by the respectable Inhabitants, as I recollect observing, on my arrival in this Colony, numbers of natives about the dwelling of Mr Commissary Palmer and other Gentlemen. But I think that the first attempt to locate any one of the Tribes in a particular spot and to encourage them to apply themselves to agriculture and fishing with a view to supplying their wants by the produce of their own labour - and at the same time to institute schools for the education of their children - was made during the administration of General Macquarie.

Several children were collected and fed clothed and instructed by a Mr. Hall in a house erected for the purpose by the Governor on the Richmond Road; small portions of land were likewise cleared in the vicinity and huts built thereon, in which a few of the natives were coaxed to reside for a short time. About the same time huts were constructed at Elizabeth Bay and Mrs. Macquarie zealously endeavoured to prevail upon the Port Jackson Tribe to settle there, furnishing their Chief Bongaree with boats to enable them to obtain fish, for which they could always find a market in Sydney. I think that from the Revd. Messrs Cartwright and Cowper you could in all probability collect the most accurate information relative to the details of either plan; and to the apparent causes of the failure in both instances of General Macquarie’s scheme for the amelioration of the condition in which he found the Aborigines. The true cause is to be found, perhaps, in their invincible aversion to labour and to abiding in one place more than a few days together. I know that it was the opinion of my late friend, the Revd. Samuel Marsden, that they will neither be converted nor civilized until a Missionary be found possessed of sufficient self denial to live amongst them, adopting their vagrant habits until such time as he shall have acquired their full confidence. It comes within my own knowledge that it is generally impossible to prevent their children, although trained amongst white people, from joining their Tribes on attaining the age of puberty, and their resembling thenceforth their savage Countrymen in all respects would lead us to infer that they had derived no benefit either from our instruction or example. I had a very fine and remarkably docile boy at my sheep Establishment, who could reap, drive oxen, heavy[?] plough as well as a white man. This boy would kneel and repeat the prayers which he heard white men uttering - and remained in my service some years. But when he wished to marry he rejoined his Countrymen, resumed the savage practices which I supposed he had for ever abandoned; and was I have learned, ultimately killed in one of the Conflicts. I ought to have mentioned that Governor Macquarie instituted an Annual Feast to which the tribes resorted from a considerable distance - and on this occasion a number of blankets were usually distributed amongst them.

I believe that any outrage on their part (with the exception of rape which I am told they will attempt whenever a defenceless white woman is thrown in their way - lust being their
strongest passion:) committed on Europeans may be ascribed to a thirst for retaliation. It is true that I am not aware of any instance of their having been wantonly injured by the Settlers - but as we wield[?] our possessions their game - on which they depend for subsistence - is destroyed - and our convict servants excite their jealousy by forming connexions with their women.

The present condition of this degraded race is unquestionably most wretched in the vicinity of Sydney , - but throughout the Territory their intercourse with the lower class of Convicts has undoubtedly been extremely prejudicial to them. They have become [LINE OBSCURED] of which aided by the Venereal Disease, has very much reduced their numbers already, in our more settled districts, and it is to be feared, will ere long completely destroy the race.

I remain, my dear Sir, Yours truly,
Rob Campbell
22nd June 1838 331

George Reeves on Lachlan Macquarie
George Reeves, who was not an admirer of Lachlan Macquarie, wrote an insightful account of Macquarie’s final land grants on his departure. Colbee and his brother both received land grants in the middle of what is now Windsor. I have not been able to find in the Historical Records of Australia a record of a grant to Colebee and his brother. 332 The relevant document (pages 560-566, HRA, Vol. 10, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917) deals only with grants over 100 acres.

‘Before finishing with Lachlan Macquarie, I wish to refer to the scandal of his administration in the matter of grants of land. A. long list in 1821 contains 822 names who received additional grants for grazing lands. The total area alienated amounted to 74,920 acres. The Secretary of State was responsible for a large number of recommendations. Edward Riley received 1500 acres through being a long resident. Hannibal McArthur got 1000 acres through having numerous stock, and James and William Mc Arthur, on their father’s recommendation, received 1000 acres each. Charles McArthur, for services rendered, received 800 acres. One person, James Daley, of Windsor, had a grant of 50 acres additional, through having met with misfortune. William Douglass, of Windsor, received an additional grant through a loss by fire. William Cox, Esq., of Richmond, received 10,000 acres, 20 miles on the west side of Bathurst, through having a large increase of stock. Robert Fitz, of Windsor, got 300 acres additional through, having a large family. On the 31st October, 1821, an aboriginal native, named Colebee, of Windsor, whose English name is listed as Edward Hore, had a small area grant of land at the old town; also his brother, John Hore. Both these small pieces of land were bounded by George, Brabyn, and Macquarie streets, and they are still vacant and unoccupied. They are situated at the corner of George and Brabyn streets opposite the Benevolent Society’s Home for old Hawkesbury people in bad circumstances. Both Hores (Colebee and his brother) were attached to the police quarters, at Windsor as blacktrackers, and as grooms for the mounted men. In my opinion,

331 Mr. Campbell to Mr. Justice Burton - habits and manners of the Blacks
No 71,
332 The Sydney Gazette, 24th February, 1821, carried a reference to “Colebee (a black native)” receiving a land

Pondering the Abyss 764 last updated 28/10/16
for the areas of grants from 100 acres of land downwards, there was ample justification, but not so in the excessively large grants to ex-military officers such as Captain William Cox, the McArthur's and others of that caste. It will be seen that Macquarie, as a soldier, was nothing more nor less than a looter, and despoiler of Indian potentates, relieving them of their wealth in order that he and his friends at the English Court should possess a great wealth of gold and silver ornaments and precious stones. Macquarie, having acquired the habit of dispossessing natives of India, it was quite easy for him as Governor-in-Chief in New South Wales to grant large areas of the best lands in the State to his military favorites.

27th of July, 1822: Lachlan Macquarie to Earl Bathurst on his achievements

In regard to recounting his achievements in civilising the “poor Black Natives or Aborigines of the Colony” Macquarie’s despatch was a masterpiece of bureaucratic reporting.

Macquarie cast himself as an enlightened ruler by recycling Banks’ mistaken view that Aboriginal people only lived on the coast. By doing this Macquarie was able to absolve the British government and himself, of any responsibility for taking Aboriginal land in the interior.

His achievements: the Native Institution, the Annual Congress and settling the Aboriginal people were all largely dismantled within a decade.

He made no mention of the military operations that took place in 1816.

‘20. Considering the poor Black Natives or Aborigines of the Colony entitled to the peculiar protection of the British Government, on account of their being driven from the Sea Coast by our settling thereon, and subsequently occupying their best Hunting Grounds in the Interior, I deemed it an act of justice, as well as of Humanity, to make at least an attempt to ameliorate their condition and to endeavour to civilize them in as far as their wandering habits would admit of.

21. With this view, I called a general meeting or Congress of the Natives inhabiting the Country lying between the Blue Mountains and Port Jackson. This Meeting took place accordingly at the Town of Parramatta on the 28th of December, 1814, when several propositions were made to the Natives in respect to their discontinuing their present wandering predatory habits and becoming regular Settlers.

22. It was also proposed to them to send their Children to School, at a Seminary I intended to establish immediately for that express purpose.

23. Many of the Natives agreed to take Lands and settle permanently on them, and they all seemed highly pleased with the idea of sending their children to school. It was therefore determined to establish and open the Native Institution for Educating and Civilizing the Children of the Aborigines on the 18th of the ensuing Month of January, when several of the Natives promised to bring in their children, which they did; and the Institution was accordingly established on the day above mentioned under the superintendence of Mr. William Shelly, a pious, sober and steady good man, who had come out originally as one of the Church Missionary Society.

24. This Institution has fully answered the purpose for which it was established, it having proved that the children of the Natives have as good and ready an aptitude for learning as those of Europeans, and that they are also susceptible of being completely civilized.

25. I limited the number of children to be received into the Institution to Twenty four, as the expense of maintaining a greater number at one time would be very considerable, one half of whom to be male, and the other female. The progress, these Black Children have made in their Education, has been a subject of astonishment to every one, who has ever visited the Institution. It has also had the good effect of completely conciliating the good will and friendship of all the native tribes to the British Government, and of securing the most friendly and social intercourse with them. Three Girls, educated at the Native Institution, have already been married from thence to Native Youths, who have become Settlers.

26. The Adults, however, are naturally very indolent and averse to labor, and I had consequently great difficulty in prevailing on any of them to become regular Settlers. But determined to persevere in my endeavours to civilize these poor inoffensive Human Beings, I at length prevailed on Five different Tribes to become Settlers, giving them their choice of situations. Three of the Tribes chose to settle on the Shores of Port Jackson in the vicinity of Sydney, on account of the conveniency of fishing, for which purpose I furnished them with Boats and Fishing Tackle. The other two Tribes preferred taking their Farms in the Interior, from the produce of which they now maintain themselves, and appear much pleased with their change of condition; and their good example I hope will in due time reconcile many of the other adult Native Blacks to become Settlers. I appointed the 28th of December of each year for a general Meeting or Congress of all the Natives, which they have regularly attended, upwards of 300 having been present at the last Annual Congress at Parramatta.  

Curiously, W. C. Wentworth in his 1823 poem Australasia, penned a somewhat similar idea of Aboriginal people retreating before the settlers.

‘... the mournful genius of the plain
Driv’n from his primal solitary reign
Has backward fled, and fix’d his drowsy throne
In untold wilds, to muse and brood alone. ’

1824-25: Drought and conflict
In the drought of 1824-25 there was violence on the Hawkesbury at Putty and the Lower Hawkesbury, confirming my theory that violence tended to be on the edges of settlement.

A Aboriginal warrior known as both Bumblefoot, because of a foot deformity, and Devil Devil attacked and nearly decapitated the convict Jeremiah Buffey, on September 19, 1824, in the Newcastle area. Bumblefoot then appeared to have made his way to the Lower Hawkesbury. Valerie Ross has put together a picture of his activities there. In early October he knocked a settler senseless and took his food and clothes. Other Aboriginal people told Richard Woodbury, special constable and local farmer at Laughtondale, that

Bumblefoot had a gun. Richard Woodbury captured Bumblefoot and took him by rowboat to Windsor where he was charged with murder. The *Sydney Gazette*, of the 11th of November 1824 carried a report of the attack. *On Saturday, the 30th ult. Devil-Devil, an able-bodied aboriginal native, with a cloven foot, was brought before a Bench of Magistrates at Windsor, by Woodbury, a Portland-head constable, charged with murdering a servant of Mr. Dickson's in the bush, by severing the poor man's head from his body with a tomahawk, while in the while in the act of stooping down to the ground. The sable criminal was remanded for further examination.*  

On the 26th of January 1825 Bumblefoot appeared before the Sydney Courts, on an unstated charge; however, because he could not speak English and a translator was not available he was remanded. On the 23rd of June 1825 he was charged with a violent assault upon Jeremiah Buffey. The outcome of this case is unknown.\(^{338}\) The Reverend Lancelot Threlkeld later wrote that Bumblefoot had spent a considerable time in gaol for this offence. Bumblefoot threatened to kill him because Threlkeld had told him to return to his home, Mangrove, forty miles distant from Newcastle. According to Mr Amos Douglas of Upper Mangrove, he was killed by other Aboriginal people at Bumble Hills, between Mangrove and Yarramalong.\(^{339}\) Bumblefoot’s movements between the Hunter and the Hawkesbury supports my contention that Aboriginal people travelled widely and concealed from settlers their knowledge of surrounding country.\(^{340}\)

Valerie Ross recorded that in 1825 Thomas Dillon, a first Branch settler, had to “fly with eight young children in a most distressed state from blacks and bushrangers to the district of Appin”. I have not been able to locate Dillon’s letter in the AONSW.\(^{341}\)

**Obituary: Keturah Woods**

Keturah Woods was born in 24 May 1824. Her father was Thomas Woods and her mother, Sarah Mary, was the eldest daughter of Sarah Stubbs, who as a widow had married James Painter/Paynter in 1806. Keturah claimed that when she was born her parents lived on Clink’s farm, opposite Dillon’s at Wiseman’s Ferry. In 1835 the Wood’s moved downstream from Sally’s Vale and almost opposite Woodbury’s.\(^{342}\) While it is possible that Keturah may have witnessed the events described, they may have dated from the time she was born and entered into her memory as a personal experience.

'OBITUARY.

AN EARLY COLONIST.

There passed away recently at her daughter’s residence; in Leichhardt, Mrs. Keturah Butterworth, a very old colonist, who was born 81 years ago upon a point of the Hawkesbury known as Klink's Farm, near Wiseman’s Ferry. Mrs. Butterworth was the relict of the late James Butterworth, of Balmain, to whom she was married at the Hawkesbury sixty-two years ago. She had been a widow at the time of her death for 23 years, and was the mother of nine


\(^{338}\) *Sydney Gazette*, 3rd February 1825 and 3rd June 1825.


Valerie Ross also mentioned John Brown of ‘Flat Rock’, Lower Portland who reputedly feared the Aborigines and had set aside a portion of his land for them. This John Brown who died around 1840 was apparently an old soldier, but should not be confused with David Brown who was speared in 1799. I have not yet been able to trace Valerie Ross’ source for this information.

\(^{340}\) a letter of John Brabyn, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, Reel 6068; 4/1812 p.11, suggested that Bumblefoot was at Broken Bay.


children (seven girls and two boys), many grandchildren, and five great grand-
grandchildren. She herself was one of a large family, her parents, whose name was Woods, 
having been among those, who emigrated from England at the beginning of last century. The 
picturesque Hawkesbury was settled by a sturdy and courageous class, and the first residents 
did splendid pioneering work, which has been continued by their descendants, in spite of 
occasional periods of adversity, or even of disasters, such as recurring floods, of which the 
greatest was the memorable flood of 1867. Mrs. Butterworth had many recollections of such 
events. Again and again she had seen the heavy rains from the Blue Mountains pour down 
the Hawkesbury Valley, the waters sweeping before them the haystacks, outbuildings, and 
roofs, live poultry and pigs, the furniture, and even the cottages of residents, and bearing 
them swiftly down to the Pacific Ocean. Sometimes the people themselves were drowned, and 
whole farms were swept out of, existence. Another trouble that the early settlers experienced 
was from the blacks, who, especially when the male members of a household were absent, 
were very Aggressive and persistent in their demands, obtaining tobacco, sugar, etc., by 
terrorising the women and children. Often they went further, bearing and carrying away stock, or even firing crops and houses.

Mrs. Butterworth has frequently told of times when, as a child, she and others barricaded 
themselves in their house, and watched the natives spearing their pigs and fowls. After her 
marrige, in 1843, she remained for some years on the Hawkesbury, her husband carrying 
on farming operations. In 1851, James Butterworth was seized with the gold fever, and he 
got to the Turon, but not finding the streets of Sofala paved with loose gold, and 
remembering that his heavy maize crop was ready to be harvested, he soon abandoned the 
pick and Shovel and dish, and sought prosperity in the surer field of agriculture. At that time 
as much as £20 was paid for a load of hay, delivered in Sydney, and other produce was 
realising equally high prices.

After living for some years in Pitt Town, Mrs. Butterworth moved to Box Hill, then to 
Bathurst, and afterwards to Trunkey. Thirty-three years ago she and her husband settled in 
Balmain, and she spent the rest of her days in the metropolitan district. Until a year ago, 
when her sight failed, Mrs. Butterworth retained all her faculties, and her memory for dates, 
up till the day of her death, November 19 last, is described as wonderful. Her birthday was 
May 24, coinciding, with that of the late Queen Victoria:  

Land Exploration: 1817-1819
In September 1817 Benjamin Singleton mounted a small expedition to explore the country 
between the Colo and MacDonald Rivers. He was accompanied by an Aboriginal man, who 
may have been Miles. Somewhere around Putty he turned back.  

Between October – November 1817 Thomas William Parr accompanied by Benjamin 
Singleton undertook a journey to Putty and the west of Mt. Yengo. Singleton left the party 
and returned early. Parr’s party reached the headwaters of the MacDonald River before 
making his way back. At Wheelbarrow Ridge they met a party of Aboriginal people, some of 
whom came from Richmond, and they were guided to McDougal’s farm on the Colo.  

343 Australian Town and Country Journal, 3rd January 1906  
344 Page 26, Andy MacQueen, Somewhat Perilous, Andy MacQueen, 2004.  
345 Pages 35-57, Andy MacQueen, Somewhat Perilous, Andy MacQueen, 2004.
In April 1818 Benjamin Singleton set off again with four settlers and an Aboriginal man. On the tenth night out they camped at the foot of a mountain and during the night they were “Disturbed by the Voice of Natives Cracking of Sticks an Rolling By with stones down towards us every man of us arose an fled from the fire secreting ourselves behind trees with our guns an ammunition”. On the following day at Mount Monundilla he encountered “upwards of two hundred Natives who Had Never seen a White Man before except one the name of Mawby who could speak a little English.” Mawby advised Singleton that he would find a tidal river two days to the north east. Not believing that this was the Hunter and fearing attack, Singleton returned. 346

John Howe, with five settlers and two Aboriginal men, one of whom was Miles, set out in late October 1819 in search of a route to the Hunter River. On the 1st of November at Burrowell Creek (to the east of Putty) they “fell in with a Natives Camp in N about 60 many of which had never seen a white man and more had never seen a Horse many young ones ran away, and others got up trees for fear - Stopt to dinner and distributed about 7nor 8 doz biscuits among them”. On the 4th of November the Aboriginal guides from Burrowell pointed to “Coomer Roy” (Kamileroi country). “Coomer Roy” survives today as Comleroy Road which for many years was the only way to cross the Colo River. Howe reached the Hunter River in thirteen days, but he did not believe he had found it, thinking he had found a river that flowed further north into Port Stephens. The route Howe had found was not, however, suitable for waggons. 347

On 27th November 1819 Commissioner Bell questioned Lieutenant Archibald Bell, about his son William, who had followed John Howe’s northwards explorations to the Hunter. “Boottie” is a reference to Putty. Bell’s claim that “some of them have expressed a wish that My son would come to reside at Boottie” was more opportunistic than optimistic. Andy Macqueen, in Somewhat Perilous, 2004, examined the expeditions from the Hawkesbury into the Hunter and showed that the role of the Bells in exploring the area was slighter than what Lieutenant Bell claimed.

“You do not apprehend the natives would oppose any settlement that might be made in the district your son has discovered?
I do not; several of them have expressed a wish that My son would come to reside at Boottie the name they give to the district. 348
Do they shew a great facility in acquiring the English Language?
A Wonderful facility, & they have very great imitative powers particularly in ridiculing peculiarities of persons. 349

346 Pages 81-88, Andy MacQueen, Somewhat Perilous, Andy MacQueen, 2004.
348 Bigge’s partiality to Bell is revealed by the following record “… the chief constable of Windsor, Mr. Howe, had been employed to explore the country from the lower branch of the river Hawkesbury, in a northern direction, to Hunter’s River, or the Coal River. This tract of country had also been examined at a more recent period by a son of Lieutenant Bell, and was found to contain a long and stony ridge, covered with stunted shrubs, and occasional small tracts of good pasturage. At a place that is called by the natives Boottee, several vallies were found inclosed by rocky hills, passable for cattle. Proceeding further to the north, there was an alternation nearly of the same kind, but an improvement in the soil, which continued as far as Comorri, upon the banks of a branch of Hunter’s River, where it was the intention of Mr. Bell to make a temporary establishment for his cattle.” Page 9, The Bigge Report, Australiana Facsimile Editions, No. 70, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, 1966.
Louis de Freycinet led an expedition in *L’Uranie* to the South Seas and NSW in 1817-1820. Part of his orders were “to add new particulars to the history of savage nations”. Freycinet who had been here in 1802 arrived in November, 1819 and left shortly afterwards. During his stay he spent time with Piper, Judge Field, and the Macarthurs. He spent a fortnight travelling to Bathurst via Prospect and Regentville.

Jaques Arago, the ship’s artist, stayed at John Oxley’s Kirkham property, which adjoined the Macarthurs where he saw Aboriginal people. In *Souvenir d’un aveugle: Voyage autour du monde, Hortet et Ozanne*, Paris, 1839, Arago described his observations of the natives including a conversation with John Oxley which was particularly illuminating regarding his comments on declining Aboriginal numbers and his use of the word conquest.

“I don’t want you to leave my home without making some acquaintance with the men who roam these solitudes, and who are disappearing little by little, especially since our fire-arms deprive them of resources they used to have before our conquest.”

The artist Alphonse Pellion sketched two Aboriginal men, Tara and Peroa, at their camp on the Nepean. Both men were wearing coats, but not pants. Significantly these men were portrayed in a dignified manner. Neither displayed the drunkenness or degradation that the English were commenting on at this time.

In December 1819 Myles went back and was shown a better route by local Aboriginal people to the Hunter. Myles later took Howe over the route.

In 1821 the Reverend George Augustus Middleton and John de Marquett Blaxland undertook first cattle drive to the Hunter. Middleton was going to take up clerical duties in the Hunter where he had a 400 acre glebe grant. Blaxland was to expand his family’s cattle holdings into the Hunter. The Bell’s took up land at Patrick’s Plains in 1821 and George Bowman was granted Arrowfield and Archerfield in 1824 on the Hunter. Trouble broke out in 1825 when the early Hawkesbury settler Joseph Onus’s station on Wollombi Brook was plundered.

**1823: Confusing evidence - Bell’s Line of Road**

The first printed account of Archibald Bell junior’s crossing of the Blue Mountains appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*, Thursday 9th of October 1823. It has only passing resemblance to modern understandings of the crossing.

“We are happy to announce that Mr Archibald Bell, jun of Richmond Hill, has, after one unsuccessful attempt, at last effected a passage from that part of the country to Cox’s River (on the other side of the Blue Mountains), which as the pass across these mountains tends so much to the northward, will not only be the readiest route from the Hawkesbury and Hunter’s River, but will be as near from Paramatta, as the old road over the mountains by way of Emu

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ford, and infinitely less difficult and sterile. Mr. Bell is entitled to the sole merit of this discovery; and is now gone to repeat and survey the route accompanied by a gentleman from the surveyor general’s office, and with government men and horses.”

Barron Field essentially plagiarised the Gazette in his account of 1825.

‘Since this was written, Mr. Archibald Bell, jun. of Richmond Hill, has, after one unsuccessful attempt, effected a passage from that part of the country to Cox’s River, which as the pass across the mountains trends so much to the northward, will not only be the readiest route from the Hawkesbury and Hunter’s River, but will be as near from Paramatta, as the old road over the mountains by way of Emu ford, and infinitely less difficult and sterile. Mr. Bell is entitled to the sole merit of this discovery, and the route has since been surveyed by a gentleman from the surveyor general’s office’. 354

Modern understandings of Archibald Bell Jnr.’s crossing of the Blue Mountains have been largely shaped by Cooramill, Hawkesbury Herald, 15th January 1904, and Alfred Smith, Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 8th January 1910. Their accounts share in common a story of half a dozen to a dozen Aboriginal women of the Belmont mob being kidnapped by warriors from over the Blue Mountains. One of the women escaped and returned via what is now Bell’s Line of Road which led to young Archibald discovering the new route. The story of the kidnapped woman has become firmly cemented into the Hawkesbury consciousness; despite the inherent improbabilities of there even being six to ten Aboriginal women at Belmont at that time; let alone that any of them would have revealed the route to a settler.

Cooramill’s account like Smith’s was recorded many years after the events. It is unclear what his source was. (I have excluded a few sentences which are irrelevant from the account.)

‘When speaking of the blacks in a former paper, I mentioned the Belmont tribe as being numerous. They and the Piper’s Flat tribe often came into contact. It appeared that their battle were principally to rob each other of their gins. The Piper’ Flat blacks would come over the mountains by way of Springwood, cross the Grose River, and surprise the Belmont tribe. It was, I think, the last battle between these two tribes that was the cause of Bell’s line of road being opened.

…

As I before stated, it was through the last battle between the Belmont and Piper’s Flat blacks the road was opened. It appears the latter were victorious, and carried away six of the Belmont gins, and in about six days one of the gins returned alone, but from a different direction than by the way she was taken off; and when questioned she pointed to the Big Hill (Kurrajong Heights),355 saying, “that feller.” This event caused some surprise, not only to the Bells, but to the blacks also, as it was thought there was no other way of getting over the mountains than by Springwood. Mr. Bell, after a little term, organized a party, taking the gin with them, and blazed a track through to what is now Lithgow, for which Mr. Bell was amply rewarded by the authorities. Hence Bell’s line of road.356

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355 The escarpment, or Kurrajong Heights, appeared to have been known as Tabarag ridge or Talbaraga ridge according to Major Mitchell in 1833 (Page 34, Meredyth Hungerford, Bilpin the Apple Country, Meredyth Hungerford, 1995.
356 Pages 106-107, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010.
Alfred Smith, 1831-1917, was brought up by George James, one of the Hawkesbury’s earliest police officers. Smith may have got account from James. While it was possible that there may have been two Aboriginal men called Cockey on Bell’s farm it is unlikely. Cockey was certainly killed in 1816.\(^{357}\) It is also highly unlikely that there were even nine or ten gins at Belmont let alone that number being taken away in 1823.

“Belmont” in the early days was a great place for blacks. Some blacks belonging to Piper’s Flat came over and took away about nine or ten gins while the Belmont blacks were away. Some little time later, after one of the gins turned up at Belmont on a Sunday. They were all surprised to see her come back by herself. The whites asked her which way she came, and she pointed up to the present Kurrajong Heights. She told them she came that way over the mountain, and a man could get that way on horseback. Mr. Archibald Bell, son of the old man Bell took two men with him (old William McAlpin was one) and two blackfellows, “Cocky” and “Emery” and a couple of pack horses.\(^{358}\) They went as far as Lithgow (Brown’s Swamp in those days). Mr Bell found out that a bridle track could be made to bring stock over. He reported it to the proper authorities and was sent back to mark a line. I believe he got something like 400 pounds for doing it. That is how it came to be called Bell’s Line.\(^{359}\)

Sarah Louise Matthew, wife of Felton Mathew, accompanied her husband on his surveying expeditions in 1833-34. Her journal came to the National Library of Australia in 1938 and was published by the Royal Australian Historical Society in 1943. Young Archie accompanied the Mathews on a river journey from Windsor to Wiseman’s in February 1833 before leaving them to go to his Hunter River estate. His crossing of the Blue Mountains would have been a topic of conversation.\(^{360}\) In March 1834 the Mathews visited Belmont before journeying up Bell’s Line of Road, camping “at Bilpen a farm of Mr. Howell’s about four miles from the cut rock”.\(^{361}\) In describing Archibald’s road she recounted that the “track was shown by a native to Mr. Archie Bell, and he explored it as a road to Bathurst, at the time when a new route thither was being sought”.\(^{362}\)

Archibald Bell’s diary of the crossing did not come into the possession of the State Library till 1977. A transcription was published by R. Else-Mitchell in the 1981 Journal of the Royal Historical Society. Bell’s diary makes no mention of an Aboriginal girl. It does, however, show that Bell followed the traditional settler discourse of ascribing an active role for settlers and a passive role for Aboriginal people. If one rejects this model and assumes an active role for the Aboriginal people then it becomes clear that Bell was deliberately led astray without his knowledge. On the 3rd of August Bell followed a road, which he noted that was completely overrun with Brush and that on four times our Native Guides were forced to

\(^{357}\) The fact that Cockey was mentioned at all, reinforces my contention that many of the Aborigines who we know were killed had frequent contact with the settlers.

\(^{358}\) Emery, alias the Lawyer, was still alive in 1826. Sydney Gazette, 2\(^{nd}\) September 1826.

\(^{359}\) Page 27, Alfred Smith, Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite, Nepean Family Historical Society, 1991. These recollections were originally printed by Robert Farlow in the Windsor Richmond Gazette, 1909-1910.


\(^{361}\) The cut rock was the earliest road to descend from Kurrajong Heights to the Bilpin ridge. Page 233, Olive Harvard, Mrs Felton Matthew’s Journal, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Volume 29, 1943.

\(^{362}\) Mrs Mathew here puts up an entirely different version of Bell’s discovery, i.e., that he was shown the route. The descent of Cox’s Road down the western escarpment of the Blue Mountains was problematic. Various attempts were made during the 1820s to address the issue culminating in the completion of Victoria Pass in 1832. Pages 231-3, Mrs Felton Matthew’s Journal,
ascend a tree to look for the road. There can be little doubt that the Aboriginal people hugely enjoyed their role of misguiding Archibald.

‘found a very level Ridge the land appears generally excellent for cultivation on this we headed Big Venne' the Road is completely overrun with Brush that we found it impossible to travel more than Six Miles in a Straight Direction this Day. And four times this Day our Native Guides were forced to ascend a tree to look for the road. We this Night found ourselves within 4 miles of the foot of a mountain Distinguished by the Natives by the name of Tomah Which is a Round Hill plainly seen to the Right of the Weather-Boarded-hut. All this way we found Plenty of excellent Water on both sides of the Road’.

There can be little doubt that when Bell attempted a crossing of Mount Tomah on the 5th of August his guides had deliberately directed him away from the “road”.

‘We this Day began Compass the back of the mountain which we found so Steep and Slippery that in many places our Horses Slipped Down some Yards and as we Descended we found it continue to get Worse. We returned back and made various attempts at Different Places but still found ourselves more perplexed at every attempt the Natives themselves had told us from the time we Started that this Hill would put them out though they thought they could find a good passage Down it.’

Bell came back in September 1823 and found the saddle between Mount Tomah and Mount Bell. When the road was made the descent was so steep it became known as “Jacob’s Ladder”.

His diary also throws some light upon the confusion of settlers attempting to transcribe Aboriginal words. On the 1st of August 1823 Archibald Bell Jr. “Left Currajong Mills about 1 O’Clock and crossed two blind creeks onto the main Ridge and Stopped that Night at a place called by the Natives Coolematta”. On the 2nd of August he recorded travelling on a Remarkable Level Ridge Called by the Natives Bulcamatta. On the 5th of August he reached “the top of Coolmatta”. “Coolematta”, “Bulcamatta” and “Coolmatta” were almost certainly the same ridge. By the time G. M. C. Bowen took up his grant at Berambing in 1829 it had become “Bulgamatta”.

Some of the more interesting pieces of confusion concerning the Bell’s crossing of the Blue Mountains can be found in the Wikipedia entries for Bilpin and Archibald Bell, Jr. According to the Bilpin website “The town was originally named after Archibald Bell, Jr., - Bilpin = "Bell’s Pin", (pin as in pinnacle) an adventurous man who crossed the Blue Mountains at the age of nineteen in 1823”. The “Archibald Bell, Jr.” website states that Archibald Bell Jr., gave his name to “Mount Bell, Bell Range, the town of Bell, Bell’s Line of

363 Big Wheeney Creek.

364 Cox’s “weather-boarded-hut” was at what is now Wentworth Falls. This is an important reference, indicating that the settlers were looking across from places such as the “weather-boarded-hut” to the northern side of the Grose Valley and contemplating a possible route.


366 Conrad Martens made a sketch of Jacob’s Ladder in 1876.

367 Benjamin Singelton’s mills on the north side of Bell’s Line of Road near Comleroy Road.


369 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilpin,_New_South_Wales

Road and Bilpin was originally named ‘Belpin’. As yet I have not found any evidence of Bell coining the word “Belpin”. A collection of early variations on the name can be found in Meredyth Hungerford’s work on Bilpin. James Raymond, author of The New South Wales Calender and Directory recorded “Belpin” in 1823. Mrs. Felton Mathews recorded “Bilpen” in 1834. However, “Pulpin” was one of the native guides of 1816 who was rewarded with a breastplate by Governor Macquarie; and “Bilpin” was recognised as an Aboriginal word in the Hawkesbury Advocate, 20th April 1900 suggesting the linking of Bell to Bilpin is tenuous.

1817-1831: Disease

Interpreting historical records of disease among Aboriginal people in this period is difficult. Firstly, references to disease among Aboriginal people were often as an addendum to outbreaks among Europeans. Secondly, there are only a few direct references to the Hawkesbury. While one can extrapolate from the records that what was happening in one part of the County of Cumberland was also happening in another; it was not necessarily so, e.g., in the case of small pox a carrier could entirely miss a small isolated group on the move. Thirdly, contemporary understanding of the causes, nature and treatment of disease in the early nineteenth century were extremely limited. Thus the relationship between declining Aboriginal birth rates and gonorrhoea was largely unnoticed because knowledge of differences between sexually transmitted diseases and their effects was little understood.

Measles, whooping cough and scarlet fever were unknown among Aboriginal children. There may have been a measles outbreak in newly settled districts in the 1830’s.

Judy Campbell has noted that colds and influenza (catarrh) led to Tuberculosis (consumption), another disease unknown to Aboriginal people that appeared in Sydney in the 1790’s. In 1820 the Russian Antarctic explorer, Captain Bellingshausen, called into Sydney on the way to Antarctica and commented upon consumption and dysentery among Aboriginal people. Settlers often attributed to the presence of these diseases among Aboriginal people to their poor resistance to cold weather.

August 1820: Influenza

‘A cough has pervaded for the last month, which would require men of the first science to dip into its etymology. From the state of the atmosphere we may be allowed considerably to

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372 Call No: DL Add 81
Digital Order No: a1893188
State Library of New South Wales
373 Call No: DLDOC 132
Digital Order No: a3057004
377 By 1850 it was estimated that half the British population had consumption, or TB. Page 16, Judy Campbell, Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
378 I have not been able to locate the primary source and must rely upon, Pages 336 352, Frank Debenham, The voyage of Captain Bellingshausen, vol 2., Hakluyt Society, London, 1945.
judge; and yet so universal has been the disorder, that it has visited us more in the shape of influenza than in the ordinary visitation of colds and coughs. From the medical gentlemen of the Colony we should have expected something upon this head. We should have happily recorded anything from them upon the subject; but, having received nothing of the kind, we are necessarily compelled to notice that which receives notice from no other quarter. For the last month a cold has been gradually growing and in the last fortnight it has been terribly confirmed. Scarcely a family in Sydney has escaped; men, women, and children have fallen under the same disaster; coughs and colds run through every family; and it is only to be accounted for from the state of the atmosphere. - Now we have watched the atmosphere; and find westerly winds, inclining to the southward, have been extremely prevalent. Whether the sudden changes of the wind from west to south may be the cause we know not. We know that our blights come from the north-west; and how to account for this blighting: cold, which seems to have almost affected everybody, and many dangerously, it is impossible to make out. - It has all the appearance of a specific contagion, not proceeding from a weak and relaxed habit of body, but from a humid state of the atmosphere. We do not hear that it has been attended by any considerable degree of inflammation. The pulsation has been considerably altered, but without circumstances indicating gangrene; the breath has been altered; hoarseness has ensued; the loss of voice has in many places almost taken place; and in children, who have not the means of complaining, their parents and nurses ought indeed to be particularly attentive to them. Doctor Hooper recommends gentle acids, termed subacids. The cough is met with a phlegm, and the patient, however young, should be incited to expectorate, that is to persons who do not understand the word to throw off the phlegm as fast as they conceive it, and a free expectoration, that is, a total throwing off the phlegm from the stomach, will relieve it; and children ought to be particularly instructed in this habit. It is difficult, and little children are not capable of attending to the advice of their parents and guardians, but considerable care should be used. The fever of Batavia, that sweeps so many off every year, cannot be compared to anything worse than the distemper now predominating here, whether called influenza or febris malignatae. Water gruel is its chiefest cure; a dark room, total tenderness of deportment, and gentle acids, such as weak lemonade, which will cool, heal, and prevent the painful cough.

“A letter from a Medical Gentleman of Bunbury Curran,” gives an interesting account of the mortal efficacy of the late influenza that raged throughout the Colony for many weeks with increased violence, and particularly among the scattered tribes of natives. After giving the account of his own confinement by a severe visitation of the malady, and his lady being on the verge of suffering under the like disaster, the letter proceeds to state that the natives of the interior had suffered excessively from the same cause, which had produced a great mortality; and that many young stout and robust people among them had become its victims, during the winter. In one severe instance a father, a very stout man, not exceeding forty years of age, with the mother and two daughters, and the infant of one of them, had all been carried off within the space of a month, leaving but one alive, a male about three year old, very distressed, until taken into protection by a European inhabitant of the settlement. Some cases, this Gentleman observes, appeared to him to have terminated in inflammation of the lungs; and that they had for the most part quitted the thinly wooded and more open tracts of the interior, and betaken themselves to the sea-coast, and brushy and broken country, where were quantities of honey, and where they would undoubtedly remain until the return of summer. That these poor people should suffer intensely under every such contagion is not to

379 Sydney Gazette, 19th August 1820
380 Midway between modern Liverpool and Campbelltown.
be wondered at, when their state of privation from all comforts of life is considered; and that when prevented by bodily ailment from seeking their precarious means of sustenance, they are likely to become victims to famine, as unhappily from distemper. Thirty years ago a prodigious mortality was spread among them by a contagious distemper resembling the small pox, of which the indented marks remained on many till very lately; and which, had it continued to rage any longer, would probably have left but few alive in our vicinity.

The natives of Broken Bay, and other tribes, not very distant from Sydney, reported that the calamity had proved fatal to many of them; and one, who was considerably intelligent, being enquired of the cause, gave it as his firm and unalterable opinion that it was owing to the putrescence of a whale that had gone on shore to expire on a neighbouring part of the coast, which, as is reported of the Upas in the island of Java, had communicated its direful effluvia to a great distance, and if imbibed among living subjects, would there as well as here spread a contagion, only that the Upas killed so suddenly, that those who were affected never lived to join in the community they had left; and, however indescribable, however undiscernable the causes that had operated with us, yet the opinion of this native would appear to have been somewhat held out by the knowledge that some months ago a whale was fastened on by a boat, headed by Mr. Murray, of South Head, and escaped although so severely wounded as to deny the supposition of its long surviving. Its spreading throughout whole and many families would appear to denote that it was communicative from person to person, and that if contracted by any one, the whole in the same close connexion were liable to receive the contagion. Many have witnessed the effects, but we have not heard that its causes have been as yet defined.

The death of Rowland Hassall from influenza in August 1820 saw a passing reference to its impact on Aboriginal people, ‘the first visitation of influenza: The complaint was general, many of the inhabitants were consigned to the grave in a few days, from the violence and fury of the attack, and some few have to this day the remains of the visitation still as a painful companion. Great numbers of the poor aborigines fell victim to this novel and severe distemper. Mr. Rowland Hassall, a gentleman universally loved as a pious, benevolent, and valuable member of society, and who had been a resident in the Colony for over twenty years, died August 30th, 1820.’

Aboriginal numbers on the Sydney Plain were declining. William Walker, the missionary noted on “a visit to Windsor in November 1821 he did not see any Aboriginal people.”

June 1822: Tuberculosis
Another Russian traveller, A.P. Shabel'sky, in June 1822 noticed the impact of tuberculosis, attributing its causes to drunkenness and the climate.

‘But nothing is comparable to the pitiful life that they lead in the bush. The hollow of a large tree serves them as a house, and in it they have only the warmth of their own body as protection against the cold of night. In the summertime they feed on meat and

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381 There is a general consensus now that small pox came with the First Fleet. While the author may be avoiding that admission, the difference between small pox and chicken pox was only established in the mid 19th Century.
382 A poisonous tree on the island of Java.
thereby contract a skin disease (a kind of scurvy), of which they cure themselves as soon as they begin to eat plants instead. Those of the natives who settled in proximity to the English colonies became infected with smallpox. They died by thousands, and whole generations vanished. The survivors of that awful time now abandon themselves to drunkenness which, in conjunction with the rapid changes of temperature typical of the climate of Cumberland County, makes consumption quite common amongst them. 386

1824: catarrh and consumption
The French naval surgeon René Lesson, “reported that measles and scarlet fever were absent in Sydney in 1824, but most Aborigines had chronic cattarah and some women had consumption.” 387

John Macarthur, junior: A few Memoranda
John Macarthur, junior, 1794-1831, theoretically wrote A few Memoranda respecting the aboriginal (sic) natives sometime between his return from England in 1817 and his death in 1831. 388 However, as he did not return to New South Wales after leaving in 1801 he could not have written the document. It is more likely that the document was written by James or William who returned with their father in 1817. The observation on returning from England in 1817 that “I was greatly surprised to observe how much the natives were thinned in their number” related not only to the imposition of martial law in 1816 but the impact of disease. It is likely that this extract was written in the mid to late 1820’s. 389 It is an important primary source for its stylistic construction which through the phrase “when the savage comes in contact with civilized man”, which turns the Aboriginal people into the initiators of contact and “civilized man” into the passive recipient of their attentions. It is this reversal of roles that allows the young Macarthur to deny any oppression or ill-treatment and again in a masterful neutralisation and removal of an Aboriginal presence to assert that they “have melted away”. This was somewhat contrived.

However, apart from its stylistic manouvring the extract is important for its details of the impact of disease. Influenza, tuberculosis and gonorrhoea were sweeping through the Aboriginal populations. Differences in venereal diseases were little understood in late eighteenth century Europe. They were known collectively as lues venereal. Early observers of the presence of the disease, such as Collins and Malaspina have to be read with caution when describing these diseases, particularly when it appears that endemic syphilis, which was present in Aboriginal communities, presented symptoms similar to syphilis. Whether Collins and Malaspina saw venereal syphilis, endemic syphilis, or both, is unclear. Malaspina’s observation that Aboriginal people had “thighs and calves short, slender and bowed”, suggests that he was seeing the effects of endemic syphilis. 390 Peter Cunningham, a naval

386 Page 54, Glynn Barratt, The Russians at Port Jackson, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1981
389 If the Harry referred to by Barron Field in his Memoirs, published in 1825, is the same Harry referred to in the Memoranda, then the Memoranda was written in the late 1820’s.
390 ‘The venereal disease also had got among them; but I fear our people have to answer for that; for though I believe none of our women had connection with then, yet there is no doubt but that several of the black women had not scrupled to connect themselves with the white men. ... It was by no means ascertained whether the lues venerea had been among them before they knew us, or whether our people had to answer for having introduced that devouring plague. Thus far is certain, however, that they gave it a name, Goo-bah-rong; a circumstance that seems rather to imply a pre-knowledge of its dreadful effects.’
surgeon and superintendent-surgeon on four convict ships between 1819 and 1828; and a Hunter Valley settler between 1825-6 displayed in the following record a knowledge of the symptoms of gonorrhoea, an ignorance of its causes and a not uncommon willingness to blame its spread upon Aboriginal women. “From their natural filthiness, the women soon became diseased with gonorrhoea, and propagate this infectious malady amongst the convict-servants who cohabit with them.”

Campbell estimates that ten percent of Europe’s population had syphilis at this time. Probably more had gonorrhoea. Gonorrhoea, which unlike syphilis is not lethal, was more common, probably because it has a longer infectious period than syphilis. Left untreated it can result in sterility among females, which would explain Macarthur's comments about falling Aboriginal birth rates, which he related to tuberculosis. Hospital records in 1820’s suggest that gonorrhoea was more present among patients than syphilis.

‘Early in 1809, I accompanied my father and brother to England, - when we returned to the colony, late in 1817, I was greatly surprised to observe how much the natives were thinned in their number. For some days we saw none. ...

Of the numerous tribes I remember during my boyhood belonging to Parramatta, South Creek, Pennant Hills, not one native now remains. They have melted away, not the victims of oppression or illtreatment or from any diminuation in their means of obtaining food, but as another instance of a result; I believe must ever take place when the savage comes in contact with civilized man. They acquire a taste for our luxuries, smoke and drink to excess, when they can obtain the means, lose their manly independent bearing, will rarely take the trouble to seek, their food as they used to do in the woods, - and with their constitutions impaired by bad habits and excessive sloth, they are swept off in numbers by every epidemic. The influenza is always very fatal. They appear to suffer much under any cattarrhal affliction. – The women producing few or no children, there are none growing up to supply the places of those carried off by disease.

1828: influenza
In a circular to the London Missionary Society, 8th October 1828, Threlkeld wrote: “In the past year, death has under the form of influenza, made sad havoc amongst the Aboriginal tribes, nor have Europeans much better escaped; Our men, our children, my wife, and myself were all at one time severely laid up with this pestilence.”

1828-32: small pox and chicken pox
Another small pox epidemic was noted in South-East Australia in 1828-1832. Regimental surgeons, Imlay and Mair, of the 39th Foot, saw smallpox among Aboriginal people in

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391 Page 202, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966. On Page 95 of the same work, Cunningham confidently assured his readers that “gonorrhoea is exceedingly common, and very virulent while it lasts, though always yielding readily to low diet, rest, and frequent ablutions.”
393 Page 99, Neil Gunson,
394 Macarthur Papers, 1823-97, A4360, CY2378, Mitchell Library.
Bathurst in 1831 and later in the same year on the east coast.\textsuperscript{396} It was reported in the \textit{Sydney Gazette} as being at Bathurst. It did not appear to be in the Hawkesbury in 1831, however, chicken pox apparently was.\textsuperscript{397}

**Peter Cunningham: Two Years in New South Wales**

Peter Cunningham, 1789-1864, travelled between Australia and Britain a number of times as a surgeon on the convict ships. He was a settler in the Hunter for several years. In his work \textit{Two Years in New South Wales}, Edited by David S. Macmillan, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966, he clearly articulated colonial perceptions about Aboriginal people. They were “debased”; their hands were “paws”; they “aped” their superiors; they paraded \textit{the streets of Sydney in natural costume}. There was a strong sexual frisson in the following passage. Despite all the apparent evidence of their savagery, Cunningham, like Wentworth and Field before him noted that: “\textit{All the natives around Sydney understand English well, and speak it too, so as to be understood by residents}”.

The women every where, that I have seen, wrap themselves in some species of cloak made of opossum skins, or else in a blanket, but the men walk carelessly about quite naked, without betraying the least shame; even many at this day parading the streets of Sydney in natural costume, or with a pair of breeches probably dangling around their necks, which the modest-meaning donor intended to be applied elsewhere. It is amusing to see the consequential swagger of some of these dingy dandies, as they pace lordly up our streets, with a waddie twirling in their black paws. No Bond-Street exquisite could ape the great man better, for none are better mimicks of their superiors; our colonial climatised females mincing it past these undrapered beaux, or talking with them carelessly face to face, as if unconscious of their nudity; while the modest new-comers will giggle, blush, cover their eyes with their fingers, and hurry confusedly by.

\textit{All the natives around Sydney understand English well, and speak it too, so as to be understood by residents}.\textsuperscript{398}

The following passage combines not only elements of Enlightenment thinking that can be traced back to the “\textit{tabula rasa}” but also brings together various contemporary observations from settlers. His account of the failure of the various civilising efforts and the references to the 1816 campaign very much reflect the writings of Saxe Bannister. Towards the end of the extract Cunningham clearly articulates the classic attitudes of “\textit{Other}”.

Towards the Hawkesbury and Cow-pasture, the aborigines are not so near debased as around Sydney, and most of them will live in huts if they are built for them. Many of these too will work at harvest, and attend to other matters around the farm, having been brought up from infancy among the farming whites; but their working is only by fits and starts, little dependence being to be placed thereon. Several are employed and paid as constables, and many now retained on clothes and rations, in pursuance of Governor Darling’s admirable regulations, for tracking thieves and bush-rangers.\textsuperscript{399}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{396} Page14, Judy Campbell, \textit{Invisible Invaders, Smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880}, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
  \item \textsuperscript{397} Page 54, ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{398} Page 186, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., \textit{Two Years in New South Wales}, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.
  \item \textsuperscript{399} Page 188, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., \textit{Two Years in New South Wales}, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.
\end{itemize}
They are excellent marksmen when accustomed to the musket, and dangerous and subtle enemies when at variance with the whites, as, from their quickness of sight, they can detect instantly the smallest object moving in the woods, and track readily almost every animal that perambulates the forests. Therefore, it is quite impossible to surprise them, at any time except early in the morning, through the assistance of a native guide: while they can always steal in upon the whites, by gliding from tree to tree; for even when you do see them it is no easy matter to distinguish them from a burnt stick. They are fearful to attack the whites, though ever so few in number, if armed with muskets, knowing the unerring destructiveness of these weapons; and the best way of retreating safely is by only pointing the musket at them, to keep them at bay, as the moment it is fired they rush in and spear their victim.

During the harassing warfare with them in 1816, a stockman told me, that while watching his cattle, and amusing himself in carving a walking-stick, with a fine kangaroo dog beside him, he was startled several times by the loud snorting, snuffing and restlessness of the herd, betokening somewhat disagreeable to them at hand; but altogether examining carefully with his eye every object around he could perceive no cause for their alarm, till a sudden whizz pointed out his cunning enemy, the spear passing him, and pricking his canine companion to the ground. The savages, who had closed upon him in a semicircle, as in their usual way, gave a tremendous shout and let fly a shower of spears, which he evaded by crouching behind a tree, and seizing his musket, he kept them from closing, retreating slowly toward home, till he saw a fair chance for a race, when bolting off, with the savages yelling at his heels, he gained a river, and crossed it by swimming, in defiance of them all. ...

In common with almost all savages, revenge with them is never satiated till quenched in the blood of an adversary. Like the Chinese, they are not particular about the person; but if a white injures them they generally satisfy their rage upon the first of that colour they can conveniently meet with. They know not, in their wild state, what it is either to forget or forgive; and when once they murder a white, always expect to be retaliated upon for it, whatever appearances of friendship the other whites may put on, still believing they are yet to suffer, and that only fear or want of opportunity prevents a reprisal. Hence, until some of the tribe are killed by the whites, they never conceive themselves safe, and usually continue their murderings until, in retaliation, blood is expiated by blood.

Throughout the county of Cumberland in 1816, and more lately at Bathurst, the most dreadful excesses were committed by them till hunted down by bodies of soldiers and settlers with the aid of other natives. Many, very many lives might have been saved had timely and efficient means been adopted; for it has been observed that the various tribes of savages have always one time or other essayed a trial of strength with the whites, and, when once fairly satisfied of their inferior power, live ever afterwards in perfect harmony with them.

They had often, no doubt, just cause of hostility in the misconduct of the convict stockmen, but as the innocent suffered equally with the guilty in their murderous assaults, and it was known that forbearance only rendered matters worse, determined means ought to have been instantly adopted to crush the hostile confederacy.  

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The mode of their government, however, is I think by far the most insuperable bar to their civilisation; and I know of no savages living in the same state, who have as yet readily been exalted above the debased condition in which they were originally found. The first symptom of advancement in a savage body is the establishment of chiefs, either elected or hereditary, to whom all pay submission, and to whose protection they trust their persons and properties. But here no such institution exists; might alone constitutes right; and as, consequently the weak and industrious have no protection for their property against the strong and lawless, they have no inducement to accumulate that which may draw down violence upon their persons.

In primitive communities, generally speaking, the chiefs must be hereditary, and must have acquired power to control the others, before much improvement can take place; when, if these chiefs exercise their power with justice, and secure the inviolability of persons and property, industry will soon be encouraged, and various useful arts originated. If, in this state of embryo advancement, a chief of ability starts up who employs the resources of his mind in the amelioration of his people, the society he governs will proceed far more rapidly....

A degree of force we find to be absolutely necessary to urge man toward civilisation, in his primitive debased state, and cause him to break up those habits he had acquired. It is only when the mind is more enlightened, and reason supersedes animal instinct, that civilisation will steadily advance among the community by the exertions of individual members. In countries, therefore, where absolute hereditary chiefs exist, you have only to gain them over to forward your views; but in countries differently circumstanced you must absolutely secure the young, wean them from parental influence, and infuse into them new ideas and opinions before you can make much progress.

We had an institution here, in Governor Macquarie's time, where the native children were educated, and turned out of it at the age of puberty good readers and good writers; but being all associated together, and their native instincts and ideas still remaining paramount, they took to their old habits again as soon as freed from thraldom. Major Goulburn saw the defects of this system when he had the direction of colonial affairs, and wisely broke up this institution, quartering the boys in the Male and the girls in the Female Orphan Asylum, where, mixing with a numerous population of white children, they will gradually imbibe their ideas, and manners and customs too; and if care is only taken to provide them with humane masters, no doubt good effects will result.

I have seen some native youths who made very tolerable servants for knife-cleaning and such-like, even although taken into the house after being grown up; but fixed occupations will probably never answer, for the first and second generations of these young savages, at least; the wild feeling inherent in them must have time to wear out.

X.Y.Z: A Ride to Bathurst, 1827
X.Y.Z.’s observations of the effects of gonorrhoea display all the ignorance of the times and not unusually blamed Aboriginal people for the spread of the disease. A close reading of the

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401 Major Goulburn replaced John Campbell to become the first official Colonial Secretary in February 1821.
402 Pages 204-205, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966. 
last sentence raises the question of whether the greater temperature range produced by extensive land-clearing on the Cumberland Plain had affected Aboriginal health.

The black race is visibly declining in numerical strength every year... For want of white female companions the distant stock-keepers are eaten up with disease, the result of their connection with the black women. The contagion is going through the natives with the most fatal ravages, and will more certainly put an end to them, more certainly than sword or musket. But it is astonishing how long they linger under it, the cause of which can only be discovered in that extreme rigour of life, of cold, hunger, and nakedness, in which they pass many of the winter months. 403

17th of August, 1831: looming extinction
On 17th August 1831 Captain Cyrille Laplace visited Sydney. During his stay Laplace visited Sir John Jamison’s property at Regentville where he witnessed the obligatory display of Aboriginal tree climbing. Laplace left in September 1831, later he reflected, "'Not long ago,' concluded Laplace, echoing his earlier compatriots, 'one encountered plentiful tribes of natives around Sidney. Today one scarcely discovers but a few families, and soon the immoderate consumption of alcohol and epidemic illness brought from the Old World will have wiped them out... The government of Sidney has done everything possible to tame this unfortunate race [cette malheureuse race]... but these attempts have not succeeded.'" 404

Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury 1817-1831

1819-22: Aboriginal sailors
The youth of the Thomas Chaseland who found fame in New Zealand is largely unknown. During his life he appears to have been known variously as Thomas Chaseling, Thomas Chaselin and Thomas Chaseland. This confusion well illustrates the difficulties of working with primary sources in attempting to untangle the complexities of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers on the Hawkesbury.

I am of the opinion that the only document that connects the adult Thomas Chaseland with the Hawkesbury can be found on page 31 of the Ship Musters 1816-21. 405 The sixth crew member of the brig “Jupiter of Calcutta” “bound for the Derwent in V D Land” on the 5th of August 1817 was “Thos Chaseling son of a settler at Windsor by a native woman”. His father would appear to have been Thomas Chaseland, who was transported in 1791 and received in 1803 a land grant at Mud Island, Portland Reach. By 1816 he had changed his name to Thomas Chaseling. 406 The phrasing of Tom’s parentage in the muster suggests that his mother was an Aboriginal woman of the Hawkesbury.

Page 121, Crossing the Blue Mountains; Duffy and Snellgrove, 1997.
405 Ships Musters, 1816-21, hard copy of 4/4771, COD/420, AONSW, Kingswood, NSW.
406 Thomas Chaseland arrived as a convict in 1792 and formed a union with Margaret McMahon, another convict. They had six children in the period 1798-1811. Bobbie Hardy, pages 84-86, Early Hawkesbury Settlers, Kangaroo Press, 1985, confused one of the six, Tom, with his older half-brother, also a Tom, in claiming that the young Tom was off on a sealing voyage “at ten years old”. The earliest reference to Thomas Chaseland in
Thereafter, the historical record is clouded by several men of the same name. The Sydney Gazette, 20th December 1817, recorded that Mr. and Mrs. Scully, accompanied by their servant, Thomas Chaseland, were leaving the colony on the ship Frederick, indicating that at least two Thomas Chaselands left the colony in 1817.

Another Thomas Chaseland/Chaselin appeared in 1819. The Sydney Gazette, 7th of August 1819, identified “Thomas Chaseland” as being a crewman on the Governor Macquarie. On page 172 of the Ship Muster 1816-21, “Tho Chaselin free by birth in N S Wales” was recorded on the 10th of August 1819 as the ninth crew member of the brig “Governor Macquarie ... bound for New Zealand and Otahiti”.

It is highly unlikely that the Thomas Chaseland/Chaselin, “free by birth in N S Wales” who sailed on the Governor Macquarie on the 20th of August 1819 for New Zealand and Otahiti was the Tom – “from the Branch” who was on the Glory of Richmond, in September 1819.407

On 27th September 1819, the brig Glory of Richmond, built and captained by Jonathon Griffith left Richmond on her maiden voyage for Sydney, Tasmania and Kangaroo Island. On board were three Aboriginal men, Colebee, Tom – “from the Branch” and Jack Richmond. I have included a photograph of that part of the Ship’s Muster because of a claim that the Ship’s Muster shows that Jack Richmond came from the Branch. The fact that the names of the three men are numbered clearly shows that it was “Tom” who was “from the Branch”.408 Whether “Tom” who was “from the Branch” was Thomas Chaseling/Chaseland is another matter.

The background of Tom Chaseland has generated considerable interest and discussion, particularly as Tom Chaseland became a famous whaler and ended up in New Zealand. He has a chapter in Keith Vincent Smith, Mari Nawi, Aboriginal Oddessys, Rosenberg, 2010 and http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/events/exhibitions/2010/mari_nawi/docs/marinawi_captions.pdf. There were a number of sailors called Tom at this time, however, they are all identified by their place of origin. While possible, there is no particular evidence to suggest that “Tom – from the Branch” was Tommy Chaseland. In a 2008 article, entitled A New Holland Half-Caste” (http://journals.publishing.monash.edu/ojs/index.php/ha/article/view/272/285 ) Lynette Russell tentatively argues that the young Aboriginal girl taken by Henry Lamb was Tommy Chaseland’s mother. I find this argument unlikely. Dr. Geoff E. Ford, in his MA thesis, Darkinung Recognition, http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/7745, argues that Aboriginal Tommy Chaseland was born in 1797 to a Botany Bay mother as his father was in Port Jackson at this time. This would have implications for Tom Chaseland’s Aboriginal identity. In a New Zealand marriage Registry Tommy Chaseland, the son, was

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407 Sydney Gazette, 28th August 1819.
408 The background of Tom Chaseland has generated considerable interest and discussion, particularly as Tom Chaseland became a famous whaler and ended up in New Zealand. He has a chapter in Keith Vincent Smith, Mari Nawi, Aboriginal Oddessys, Rosenberg, 2010 and http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/events/exhibitions/2010/mari_nawi/docs/marinawi_captions.pdf. There were a number of sailors called Tom at this time, however, they are all identified by their place of origin. While possible, there is no particular evidence to suggest that “Tom – from the Branch” was Tommy Chaseland. In a 2008 article, entitled A New Holland Half-Caste” (http://journals.publishing.monash.edu/ojs/index.php/ha/article/view/272/285 ) Lynette Russell tentatively argues that the young Aboriginal girl taken by Henry Lamb was Tommy Chaseland’s mother. I find this argument unlikely. Dr. Geoff E. Ford, in his MA thesis, Darkinung Recognition, http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/7745, argues that Aboriginal Tommy Chaseland was born in 1797 to a Botany Bay mother as his father was in Port Jackson at this time. This would have implications for Tom Chaseland’s Aboriginal identity. In a New Zealand marriage Registry Tommy Chaseland, the son, was
A year later, on 3\textsuperscript{rd} of October 1820 the \textit{Glory of Richmond} sailed for Port Dalrymple. One of the crew was: “\textit{Tho\' Chaseland free by birth in NS Wales age 23}”. Which Thomas Chaseland was on board is uncertain, but the descriptor would suggest it was the sailor from the \textit{Governor Macquarie}; not the “\textit{son of a settler at Windsor by a native woman}”.\footnote{Page 263, Ship Muster 1816-21}

Thomas Chaseland, “\textit{son of a Settler at Windsor by a native Woman}”, went on to found a dynasty in New Zealand, marrying twice into Maori families.

Keith Vincent Smith identified “\textit{Captain}” or “\textit{Black Captain}” as “\textit{Corriangee, Corriangii, Karingy, Kurringy Kurrigan, Carbone Jack}” and “\textit{Cobbon Jack}” (this is a matter which I will explore at a later date). Captain (Karingy Jack) from Cattai went sealing on John Grono’s brig \textit{Elizabeth} 1821-22.\footnote{http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/events/exhibitions/2010/mari_nawi/docs/marinawi_captions.pdf} In 1831 John Grono who had known Captain since his childhood was responsible for a petition to the Governor for a boat for Captain.

\begin{quote}
\textit{To His Excellency}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Sir George Gipps Knight Captain General Governor and Commander in Chief of the Territory of New South Wales &c &c &c}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
The humble Petition of Captain, Native Chief of the Caddie Tribe, most humbly setteth forth
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Your Petitioner begs with humble submission to state that he was in the Reign of His Excellency the late Governor Macquarie made a Chief of the Caddie Tribe and as such has ever since remained.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Your Petitioner begs also to state he has being two Voyages at sea in the Brig Elizabeth John Grono Master for the purpose of obtaining seal skins but in consequence of the difference of climate did not agree with him and was obliged to relinquish it.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Your Petitioner begs further to state that he has been chiefly employed by the inhabitants of Pitt Town but their (sic) being no employment for him at the present moment is under the necessity of obtaining a very scanty livelihood in the best manner possible in an honest manner.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Your Petitioner on hearing of your Excellency’s bountiful goodness in giving Boats to those Aborigines whose intentions are to gain their living in an honest and upright manner.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Your Petitioner most fervently prays your Excellency will take his case into your humane consideration and to grant him the same indulgence and as a proof of his Character the House and Land holders have on the other side recommended him to your Excellency’s consideration.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
And your Petitioner
Will in duty bound
Ever pray
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
Captain Chief of the Caddie Tribe
\end{quote}

\footnote{http://journals.publishing.monash.edu/ojs/index.php/ha/article/view/272/285.}

We the undersigned Land and House holders of the District of Pitt Town have known Petitioner many years as an honest and Industrious Character and humbly beg to recommend him to your Excellency’s favourable consideration.

Petitioner has been known to me from his childhood and I have always considered him to be honest and rather more industrious than the generality of his fellow countrymen. He labours hard during the harvest and I have known him in times past to act as a Shepherd. He was at sea three years in my employ during which time he conducted himself with propriety and submission and in one instance at New Zealand when a white Man was washed from the rocks by a surf and twelve Europeans standing by afraid or unable to render any assistance to the drowning man, Petitioner at the risk of his own life, plunged into the sea and rescued him from a watery grave.

John Grono.

Petitioner I have known for twenty years and always found him an honest an industrious man
Caddie June 23

Thos. Arndell

Petitioner I have known for Twenty years and always considered him a well Behaved Man.
Pitt Town June 24

William Hall

I beg lief to State that Petitioner as been none (known) to me for a number of years and believe him to be worthy of anything with regard to an indulgence that his Excellency the Governor may be please to stow on him.

Joseph Smith, Jnr.

Petitioner I have known for twenty years and always found him a most worthy man. Caddie 26 June.

David Roberts
Richard Roberts

Memorilist. - Black Captain, as been known to me Twenty Years and upwards, and at one time he had charge of a Flock of Sheep, he was considered our best and carefulllest shepherd. I believe him to be honest and industrious, and well worthy of the Prayer in the Petition.
Pitt Town, 26th June 1839. [indecipherable] McDonald

John Harris, 1754-1838, first came to New South Wales in 1790 as a surgeon. He left in 1809 and returned as a free settler in 1814. Harris had extensive land holdings, reflected in the suburbs of Ultimo, Harris Park and Park. Shane Park was an extensive land grant on the east bank of South Creek. Harris resumed his duties as a magistrate in 1819. The following extract is from a letter to Frederick Goulbourn, 1788-1838, the Colonial Secretary. The extract is a request by Harris to replace Coleby, as a “Black Constable” with Simeon. It is not difficult to see through Harris’ rising anger the unrealistic nature of relations between Aboriginal people and settlers. Harris wanted Coleby on the Native Institution site (at the junction of what is

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[411] Pages 99-101, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853
DL Add 81 Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW
now the Blacktown Road and Rooty Hill Road North). No doubt Harris and “House the Head Constable”, wanted Coleby there as an intermediary and supervisor. Harris’ complaints that Coleby was “constantly away with the Natives” and prone to “drunkenness and violent conduct” reveal the archetypical characteristics of survivor guilt as an eyewitness to the destruction of his world. Harris’ reference to Simeon as “a much more intelligent fellow”, rather than as a man, suggests that Harris, like many of his contemporaries saw Aboriginal people as being still at the level of brute creation. The rest of the letter, which I have not included deals with a request for firearms, the threat coming not from Aboriginal people but “Bush Rangers”.

‘Shanes Park South Creek June 24th 1822

I beg to state for your information that House the Head Constable yesterday complained to me that Coleby, the Black Constable is seldom or never seen at the Black Town, but constantly away with the Natives and is of no use there as a constable –

I have had frequent complaints of him before from Windsor for drunkenness and violent conduct and did before write to the Rev’ Mr Hill on the subject. Indeed it is a Robbery on Government keeping him in that situation if he is wished to be of use. I never see him – should you think that a Black Constable should be retained for tracing delinquents Simeon is a much more intelligent fellow and would suit better in my opinion. I will feel thankful for your advice on this matter. –

1824: Drought and the Putty killing
As well as George Bowman's account, we know about the killing of Mr. Greig's cousin and a convict servant on his Hunter property in October 1825 through Peter Cunningham. After the killing the killers visited the Hawkesbury and returned via the Bulgar road, chasing some mounted settlers and stopped at a hut at Putty where there were three men known to them. One of the men was killed and the other badly beaten and the third escaped to Richmond. An armed party was sent out after them, and fell upon the camp of a “friendly tribe” which was scattered. 413 The three accounts suggest that Carr was the man killed at Putty.

2nd of June, 1825: trackers
The Australian 22nd September 1825 reported that “some native blacks” assisted the district constable William Douglass, in investigating a robbery at Elizabeth Fleming's shop on the 2nd of June 1825. 414

25th of March, 1825: trackers
The following extract from an account of the capture of three bushrangers near Richmond is important for several reasons. It shows the threat posed by runaway convicts, that settlers were armed and ready to work together when threatened and the co-operation of Aboriginal

412 AONSW, Reel 6055; 4/1760, page 139.
413 Pages 197-198, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., Two Years in New South Wales, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966.
men in tracking offenders. Richmond may have been the same “John Richmond, a black native of the Colony” who received an 1816 land grant.\textsuperscript{415}

Mrs Crawley, “wife of Mr. John Crawley, a settler of Richmond, was returning from Sydney market with a cart, containing little sundries for domestic purposes, she was accosted by three men on the Richmond-road, about 4 miles from the town of Windsor. They stopped the cart, and demanded her money--- one placed himself at the horse’s head, a second stood on the side of the cart, and the third leaped into the cart, who handed out the property to him that was nearest. Mrs. Crawley had only one of her children with her at the time, a boy of years old (sic). As soon as they rifled the cart of its contents, Mrs. C. drove off at full speed, exclaiming she would have them yet; when one of the villains replied in the usual blasphemous manner. She reached home about sun-set, and informed her husband of all the circumstances attending the robbery. Upon a conference with some of the neighbours, they agreed to go in quest of the plunderers, with Crawley, and proceeded to arm themselves accordingly. At the hour of 3 on the following morning (Saturday), Crawley, Asbury, two Australians (the young Eatons), and a black native, named Richmond, set out; and, on their way, called on another settler, named Robert Hall, who also equipped himself with arms, and joined the party.\textsuperscript{416}

22\textsuperscript{nd} of October, 1825
Despite Magistrate Harris’s 1822 complaint, Colebee replaced Yurraroomoo as a constable in 1825. “In the District of Windsor -. Colebee, a Black Native, to be a Constable, from the 15th Instant, in the Room of Yurraroomoo, absent without Leave.”\textsuperscript{417}

Sometime in 1825
The following extract well illustrates the continuity of Aboriginal life despite the impact of settlement. As well it shows that there was ongoing communication between different groups. The ritual punishment was not held and Threlkeld speculated that it may have been because of the song that the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people brought with them.

‘It was on a Lord’s day 1825 that delegates were sent to the different tribes from our tribe, requesting them to meet in order to punish a black who had killed another one some time before. The flat, in which we resided near Newcastle, was the spot chosen for the place of punishment being a plain clear of trees. The tribes from the Hawkesbury had delivered up the culprit to our tribe, who was in his parole of honour, until the appointed time. The messengers accompan(y)ing him brought a new song as a present from the muses, to enchant the hearts of the judges and soften their rigor in regard to the criminal.\textsuperscript{418}

It is difficult to determine exactly the nature of the gathering described in the following article from the Sydney Gazette. However, the article is important in identifying Aboriginal people around the Hawkesbury. The presence of “Crodjie Jack, the Doctor” indicates that

\textsuperscript{415} On the 16\textsuperscript{th} of January 1816, John, Richmond, a “Black Native of the Colony; of Richmond was on a list of persons to receive grants of land … at Pitt Town”. Archives: Fiche 3266; 9/2652 p26.
\textsuperscript{416} Sydney Gazette, 31st March 1825
\textsuperscript{417} Sydney Gazette, 22\textsuperscript{nd} October 1825, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2184584

A memorial by his sister, Maria Lock, contained a reference to Colebee dying before March 1831.
\textsuperscript{418} Page 58, Niel Gunson, Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L. E. Threlkeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974.
traditional culture was still being maintained. The article clearly demonstrated that racist humour had a long history in New South Wales.

2nd of September, 1826
'To The Editor of the Sydney Gazette
SIR,
A Meeting was this day convened, by the Magistrates of these districts, for the purpose of ascertaining to what beneficial effect the Aborigines could be employed in the Police Department, and for other motives on the bent of good order and amicable feeling: if you conceive it will amuse give it publicity.

I am, Sir,
your faithful
CORRESPONDENT.

PUBLIC MEETING.—One of the most useful and truly interesting Meetings ever recorded in New South Wales, was held at the Court-house, Windsor, on Monday last, August 28th, 1826. It was a truly awful assemblage convened for the most profound purposes. Notice had not been published in the Gazette, and a veil of darkness covered the whole; nevertheless the OBJECTS OF THE MEETING shone with a resplendence, which made clear the truly MUNIFICENT INTENTIONS of the FOUNDER!—

Present.-- COLEY, IN THE CHAIR :---
Stewards.

MILES, Chief of Richmond Tribe.
MIRANGI, or Creek Jemmy, a Chief.

BILL JEBINGE, a Chief of Portland Head Tribe.
GILL-MA-BOO JACK, a Chief.

Davy, of the Curry Jong.
Wool-loom-by, alias Bugle Jack, of Richmond.
Stephy, of Curry-Jong.
Ba-raa by, of Richmond.
Symon, of Black Town.
Runaway Jack, of Portland Head.
Penny Royal Jack, of Windsor.
Bobby, son of Creek Jemmy.

And,
Narang Jack, of North Richmond.
Warren, of South Creek.\(^419\)
Crodjie Jack, the Doctor.
Ben Bungra, of Pitt Town.
Creek Jemmy, or Niraugi,\(^420\) of South Creek
Jonquay, of Wilberforce.\(^421\)
Iron-bark Jack, of South Creek
Billy Congate of Richmond.
Emery, alias the Lawyer.

Coleby (a-rose before the Meeting) and opened the business of the day; he hoped the cloud which had so long been visible in the horizon, would pass away, never to shroud the visage of day from this period; he came prepared at once to read the intentions of the Meeting, and to return thanks to his friend "EMERY, the lawyer;" but should the experience of "CRODJIE

\(^419\) Warren was one of the men listed by Cox in his memorandum of the 19th of July 1816 and outlawed by Macquarie the following day.

\(^420\) This was probably an error on the typesetter’s part. It probably should be Nirangi.

\(^421\) Jonquay may have been Jubbinguy who was captured with Jemmy Monday, Kitten, Jack, Pamborah, and Pinboya in early November 1816.
JACK, the doctor,” lead him to propose any altercation, that he would speak from the impulse of the moment: —
Resolved --- That the dark deeds of mankind be looked into by men of spotless character.
Resolved - That the stranger of the desert be taken in.
Resolved --- That cruelty to animals be prevented by the strictest watchfulness o'er the flocks and herds in these districts.
Resolved --- That these districts embrace Black Town and the Blue Mountains.
Resolved --- That breaches of the peace be subdued by men of choler.
Resolved---That the company of good men he courted, and that men of solitude shall be always acceptable.
Resolved-That the rivers be protected to the most insignificant jet.
Resolved---That the constabulary be aided on the darkest night.
Resolved---That the sable tribes be not deemed more estimable in our eyes, than those we should esteem for our comforts.
Resolved---That all trespasses be represented in the fairest manner.

"CRODJIE JACK, the doctor,” blushed to disturb the company, but it appeared to him that consequences were shrouded in mystery, therefore he would propose,
Resolved---That ardent spirits be conducive to disorder; and that no Member of this Meeting covet his neighbour's gin!
Resolved---That strangulation be considered an obstinate disease; and that its Symptoms are an altered countenance and loss of appetite.
Resolved---That the Curry-Jong Brush be hereafter considered an exotic!
Resolved---That "black" beer, or "pale" ale, be drank in future in lieu of rum, without choice or distinction.
The Court adjourned till the next Full Moon, to enable all mankind to embrace one object by the light of heaven; 422

The 1828 census was the first official record of Aboriginal numbers in the County of Cumberland. The tribes referred to were a western construct. The 1828 census contains to the best of my current knowledge the first and the last reference to the “Mangroo Tribe”. It was probably a transcription error for Mangrove Creek. Nothing in the census distinguished Maria Lock’s Aboriginal ancestry.

### 1828 Census

Abstract showing the Number of Aborigines, who have been recommended by the magistrates of the several Districts in which they reside, to receive Blankets and slops: - distinguishing the several Tribes, and the Number of Men, Women, and Children, belonging to each tribe respectively – As requested by the Colonial Secretary’s Circular Letter dated 31st March 1827, N° 19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe and District in which they reside</th>
<th>Number of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parramatta - Broken Bay Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same census there were 4454 settlers living in “Windsor Town and District”.423

29th August 1833: The Hawkesbury Races

Toby Ryan’s memory was at fault in some details of his account of the Hawkesbury races. His younger sister, Eliza Jane was born in 1829. While there was a Hawkesbury race on 29th of August 1833, it was not the first Hawkesbury race, nor is there any record of “Bennelong, Chancellor” or “Black Lock” having raced at the Hawkesbury on that date. However, “Scratch”, on which Toby won money, did win a race on September 1831.424

Despite these confusions in an old man’s memory, the chapter is of value for showing that relations between settlers and Aboriginal people were often founded upon individual and complex dynamics, such as with Mulgoa Joe. “Black Simon playing the tambourine” was probably the Simeon who escorted Backhouse and Walker from Marsden’s South Creek property in 1835. Ryan uses the phrase “native-born” to describe settlers.

The extract is also important for its description of the men who would become known as “cornstalks”. Ryan was correct in his recollection that Kable was there in 1833. The Sydney Herald 22nd August 1833425 reported that “Kable, intends coming to the scratch during the Windsor Races, with a slashing fighter from Pitt-town”. However, Kable and Chalker did not fight on the 29th, as Chalker was seconding his brother in a fight near Parramatta on that date.426 Kable and Chalker did fight together, but it was for £100 somewhere on the Hawkesbury Road in 1832.

‘The first Killarney Races took place on the 29th day of August, 1833, and are remembered well by us from the fact of having a sister born that morning before leaving for the races.

It was a lovely spring morning as George whose name has been frequently mentioned in these pages, and "Toby" wended their way from South Creek, near Dunheved to Killarney, two miles east of Windsor, via South Creek, through Shane's Park, Clydesdale, and Jericho, and along the creek where the wild duck flapped its wings on our approach, and the curlew and spurwing plower were to be seen in myriads. On the way they pulled up at Marsden's old estate (the tumble-down barn) now belonging to Mr. B. Richards, where their grandfather and mother, uncles and aunts resided at the time of the great August flood, and who were rescued from the barn loft, where they had taken refuge for three days and nights, by that heroine, Margaret Catchpole. They then crossed the bush via Mulgrave, and arrived at the racecourse about eleven o'clock. This was the first race meeting of any

427 Shane’s Park was one of Chief Surgeon John Harris’ properties on the east bank of South Creek. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanes_Park,_New_South_Wales](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanes_Park,_New_South_Wales)
428 Clydesdale was Walter Lang’s 1813 grant of 700 acres on the east bank of South Creek. [http://riverstonehistoricalsociety.org.au/history.html](http://riverstonehistoricalsociety.org.au/history.html)
429 Jericho House was built by Richard Rouse for his son George on a 347 acre land purchase across the Richmond Road from his Berkshire Park estate. Jericho was on the west side of South Creek. It was named after the Rouse Home in England. [http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/AUS-NSW-PENRITH/2009-06/1245713984](http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/AUS-NSW-PENRITH/2009-06/1245713984)
430 The Tumble-down barn was on the east bank of South Creek near the junction with Eastern Creek. While Margaret Catchpole was involved in the 1806 and 1809 floods there is no evidence that she rescued anyone. Page 145, Laurie Chater Forth, *Margaret Catchpole*, Laurie P. Forth, 2012.
431 The *Sydney Gazette* in 1809-11 carried several references to a race course which was probably located around Box Hill. It is mentioned in reference to Copenhagen Farm and Second Ponds. It was located alongside the farms of Robert Fitz and William Boughton. The *Sydney Gazette* on 18th August 1810 reported the existence of a race course near lands known as the Riverstone property. This may refer to either race course. Early journals report race meetings on a straight course on Andrew Thompson’s Killarney property adjoining Nelson Common before 1809. Killarney was the name given to part of Andrew Thompson’s land grant by one of his workers. Edmund Redmond, who later acquired the Killarney property, built Clare House for his daughter and her husband John Scarvill as a wedding present. Ian Jack, in *Exploring the Hawkesbury*, argues that an 1814 building was incorporated into Clare House. Clare House is on Clare Crescent across from Arndell Anglican College. Clare House is also known as Killarney House to locals. The first reference that I can find to horse racing on the Killarney property was the announcement of a two day race meeting on 22nd and 24th July 1829 in the *Sydney Gazette*. The race committee that organised the race was made up of local worthies. John Scarvill was a steward for that first race. I believe that the local gentry seized upon the coincidence of the first race meeting in 1827 of the Killarney Race Course in Ireland to form their own race club. Being round, the Killarney race course was almost certainly not Andrew Thompson’s old straight track. “It measures about a mile and a quarter round and is nearly a dead level”, The *Australian*, 2nd September, 1831. [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36867203](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36867203). However, it may have been built over Andrew Thompsons old course, just as that, may have been built over the “race ground”, which I think may have been a ceremonial ground. An advertisement in the *Sydney Herald*, 13th January 1834 [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12848506](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12848506), for the sale of “two valuable Farms of rich land, containing 25 acres each, granted from the Crown, during the administration of the late Governor Hunter in 1798, to John Powell and William Marsden” (these farms were on the southern bank of McKenzie’s Creek and the western bank of Killarney Chain of Ponds); “bounded on the South by the Windsor Race Course, the property of Captain Scarvell, and contiguous to the extensive agricultural establishment of John Macdonald, Esq. The high-road from Windsor to Pitt-town passes through these grants and a ring fence encloses them”, points to the race course as being south of the current Wolseley Road. The *Sydney Herald*, 25th July 1831, [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12843328](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12843328), described the Hawkesbury races as being “at Killarney, about two miles from Windsor”. The 1867 flood waters broke “over McGrath’s Hill down the Parramatta Road on Friday, flooding the whole of Killarney. Mrs Scarvell and family were taken from the top of their house yesterday, and narrowly escaped drowning.” Reports in the same article that “The houses on the top of McGrath’s Hill are under water” and “The Grandstand on the Killarney Racecourse has been full of people all night, and some have not been taken off” indicates that the race course was higher than Clare House (Sydney Morning Herald, 25th June 1867, [http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13142886](http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13142886)). Mr. Geoff Huxley was quite definite that the “old Killarney race course was where the first galloping course was made. It started from Mulgrave railway station, straight down past the sale yards, through the school yard, across the Blue Road (i.e.,
importance outside the metropolis, and so received much patronage from all classes. There were about twelve booths, a grand-stand and a weighing yard, also a military band. The sporting aristocracy of the day were present. The booths consisted of every kind of shelter, bushes, bark and tarpaulin, and were filled with people. Blind Loftus, a very ugly man was dancing, and Black Simon playing the tambourine, at G. Freeman's booth. Every kind of amusement imaginable was going on, nine pins, poppet shows, the devil among the tailors, with lollypop and cake stalls in the front at the back, skittles and gambling of every description, with an occasional fight through the day. The racehorses were scattered about under the shady clumps of trees. “Black Scratch,” with his master, John White, and the jockey, Johnnie Price, of Parramatta, was the first they saw. Price said he would win the two big races, and as they knew him they placed confidence in what he said. The first race was a Maiden Plate, and was won by Otto Baldwin's “Betsy,” by "Hector." Then the Town Plate, two mile heats, for which five fine animals started, viz., "Scratch" (Price up), "Bennilong," Iceley's "Chancellor," Lawson's "Spring Gun," and Minchen's “Black Lock." After a great race between “Scratch," Bennilong” and “Chancellor," it was won by “Scratch," “Bennilong” being second. Only two started for the second heat, which was won by "Scratch.”

The rest of the day was made up with a District Purse and hack races. This was the first opportunity they had of seeing any of their countrymen about Windsor - men who constituted the first generation of native-born colonists. On that day the match was made between Cable and Chalker for two hundred pounds aside and the championship. There could be seen the three Chalker's, the Cosgrove's, the Meglin's, of South Creek, the Dargan's, the Dight's, the Doyle's, the Norris's, and others, of Windsor. They were immense men standing from six to six feet four inches high, from fifteen to seventeen stone in weight, without any superfluous flesh, and as straight as a whip. But they, like our native singing birds, are nearly - all gone.

George and “Toby" took three to one on Scratch," and this put them in possession of more money than they ever before possessed.

They arranged to escort Ikey Moses and Joe Levy a short cut home to Penrith after the races were over for thirty shillings; they then retraced their steps home, to tell all about what they had seen and heard, returning on the third day - to fulfil their engagement with Moses and Levy. The weather was fine and all that could be desired, so that a great number of people were present.

The Colonel of the Regiment\textsuperscript{432} was at Windsor, and a ball was to be given in honour of his presence that night, and great preparations had been made for his reception. The races commenced at the usual time, and Scratch,” as was expected, won the head prize. Iceley's

\textsuperscript{432} The 17\textsuperscript{th} Regiment of Foot formed the Windsor garrison 1830-1836. A party of 1 officer and 26 other ranks of the 17\textsuperscript{th} Foot were, according to Leonard Barton, stationed at Lower Portland Head, i.e., Wiseman’s Ferry as a roving patrol to assist settlers with hostile Aboriginal people and to prevent convict runaways getting across the river.

horses "Chancellor" and "Councillor" each won a prize, the prizes being pretty evenly distributed, and a good day's sport was enjoyed.

After arranging with Moses and Levy as to the time of starting next morning, they went to Windsor, as they knew Mr. Lovel, a horsedealer, of that town, who invited them to spend the night; and a great night it was for the little sporting town of Windsor. There was a bonfire at the "Bell Post," a lovely spot, looking down on the Hawkesbury River. The town was alive with music. The band played for the ball, which took place in the large barracks in the square, and was a very imposing sight. In fact, Windsor was in a blaze the whole night. It commenced to rain at five o'clock, and at six they started for the racecourse, half past seven being the time appointed for starting homewards. The rain came down heavily for half an hour, but it was only the pride of the morning, and all looked well for a fine day before the sun rose. As they crossed the course the busy scene and hilarity of the previous evening had changed, and all was silent as the grave. The booths were all demolished, the embers of the black's camp fires throwing up a curl of smoke, and scattered here and there were parts of a soldier's coat, empty and broken bottles, old boots and broken sticks, giving indications that a fight had taken place the night before.

They made over to the teams which they were to escort home, and found them all loaded up and ready, for a start. On interrogating one of the blacks, Mulgoa Joe, the king of the tribe, who was travelling with the dray, he described the cobborn fight thus: "Drunken soldier come down and marn him gin; blackfellow fight him and take him gin back; believe him kill two soldiers, nother fellow's soldier take him home." This was the graphic description by Mulgoa Joe. 433

They made a start, numbering about twenty whites and the same number of blacks, the former being composed of fiddlers, actors, old hangers - on from Penrith and "Yarra Monday's Lagoon." They wended their way through Windsor, and as the cattle were facing homewards they travelled via the Chain of Ponds, and reached Pat Harper's, of Allen Water, on the Richmond and Penrith road about noon. There they unyoked and watered the cattle, made tea, and the whole of the broken tucker was pulled out and distributed between blacks and whites. Trunks of turkeys and geese, portions of sucking pigs and ham bones were all cleared up, and every bottle and keg was drained. The blacks gave a corroboree and the fiddlers played and sang "Killarney," after which they yoked up again and started on the straight road. The guides left them after being paid, and wended their way home to South Creek. 434

**Maria Lock, an Aboriginal Native of New South Wales**

Robert and Maria Lock moved to Liverpool where they were employed by the Reverend Robert Cartwright. A protracted dispute over land at Liverpool led Maria to write to the Governor requesting that she be given ownership of the land of her brother near the Blacktown.

The letter stands out for several reasons:

- It links Gombeberee, Yellomundee, Maria and Colebee, who Maria named “Coley”.

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433 Mulgoa Joe’s claim to have killed two soldiers is probably apocryphal. I can find no reference to any soldier deaths that corresponded with the Killarney races.

• Her use of the phrase “the Richmond Tribes” suggests that the social structure of the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people may have been more nuanced than some commentators would have it.
• It distinguishes Maria Lock from the other Maria who married Dicky. Maria “continued in the School till she was married” unlike the other Maria who lived with the Hassalls.
• It is the only document, that I am aware of, that was written by a Hawkesbury Aboriginal person.
• Amongst the hundreds and possibly thousands of petitions and memorials for land Maria’s stands out for its composition and layout.
• Most importantly Maria identifies herself as “an Aboriginal Native of New South Wales”. Whether it was her invention or she was advised to use that phrase is unclear. Almost certainly, however, is that it was the first written record of an Aboriginal person identifying themselves as such. It was an outcome that Macquarie probably had not anticipated.

‘To His Excellency Lieut. General
Darling, Governor in Chief, etc, etc. of New South Wales and its Dependencies.

The Petition of Maria Lock, an
Aboriginal Native of New South Wales.

Kumbly Sheweth
Robt and Mary Lock

— That on the first establishment of the
Native Institution by His Excellency Governor
Macquarie, your petitioner, then a Child, was
placed there by her father the Chief of the
Richmond Tribes.

— That Petitioner continued in the School
till she was married to Robert Lock, with whom
she has ever since lived, and by whom she has had
two Children.

— That at the time they were married your
Petitioner was promised a small Grant of Land,
and a Cow as a Marriage Portion.

— That she has since received the Cow, which
has increased to five head, but has never
received any Land.

— That Governor Macquarie gave her
brother Coley a small Grant of Land at Black Town and as her brother is now dead your Petitioner humbly prays that this Grant may be transferred to her and her Children, or that a small portion of the land adjoining may be given to her, whereby she and her husband may be enabled to feed their Cattle, now Seven in number, earn an honest livelihood, and provide a comfortable home for themselves, and their increasing family.

And Your Petitioner shall, as in duty bound, ever pray etc. etc. etc.

Maria Lock
Liverpool March 3 1831

Conclusion

In the period 1812-1831 our understanding of the interaction of settlers and Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury is shaped not just by the fragmentary nature of the historical record but also by the stark contrast between official reports and anecdotal accounts. The period was characterised by droughts approximately 1812-1816 and 1824-25 and major

Page 95, James Kohen, The Darug and Their Neighbours, Darug Link in association with Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1993. Original source: AONSW, Reel 1153, Vol. 2/7908. N.B. members of Matthew Locke’s family may be pleased to know that some of his correspondence is smuggled between that of Maria and Robert Lock.
flooding in 1816. There was fighting in 1814, as would be expected in a time of drought, but it was upstream on the Nepean and not on the Hawkesbury. The year 1816 stands out, not just for floods but for the level of military activity throughout the year across the settled areas, despite both Captain Schaw and Magistrate Cox reporting that there were only about a dozen hostile Aboriginal warriors active in 1816 and of those only four were reported killed. On the Hawkesbury in 1816 most of the reported fighting appeared to be on the Kurry Jong Slopes which appears to have been settled around that time. Tuckerman’s evidence points to many killings downstream around Sackville in the second half of the year. During the 1824-25 drought there was practically no violence on the Hawkesbury.

The peace that descended upon the Hawkesbury after 1816; combined with the levels of rewards to soldiers, settlers and guides; the paucity of official reporting, and the presence of anecdotal material indicates that something particularly nasty happened on the Hawkesbury in 1816. As well, disease also had an impact on Aboriginal numbers. Perhaps the most telling indicator of the impact of settlement lies in the 1828 census which recorded that there only 236 Aboriginal people living on the Hawkesbury.
1832 to 1931

21\textsuperscript{st} of May, 1834: Blanket Return
On the 9\textsuperscript{th} of June 1834, L. North the Windsor Police Superintendent sent to the Colonial Secretary a “Return of the Aboriginal Blacks” held on the 21\textsuperscript{st} of May 1824. Aboriginal people had gathered on the 10\textsuperscript{th} as directed, but as the blankets did not arrive till the 17\textsuperscript{th} they had to return on the 24\textsuperscript{th}. This tardiness may explain why so many Aboriginal men who had attended a previous distribution of blankets did not attend in 1834. As there were probably only 35 blankets for a minimum of eighty three Aboriginal people, there was probably little reason to go except for a catch up.\footnote{1}

The document is curious in that it only registers the names of Aboriginal men, which from a demographic and genealogical perspective severely limits its usefulness. However, from a historical perspective, when one considers the urgings of the Bathurst landholders on the 10\textsuperscript{th} of July 1824, for the Governor to bring Aboriginal people west of the Blue Mountains to “a state of due Subjection and Inoffensiveness”; it is possible to advance an argument for why only the men were identified. The landholders argued that “upon the happy restoration amongst the natives of a harmless spirit, the chiefs of each Tribe have given to them some personal Badge of distinction, and be victualled at the Public Expense; and that such supplies, in the way of blankets and other necessaries, be occasionally offered to the natives, and such kindness exercised towards them by Government or private mode of subscriptions, as may tend to lessen their wretchedness of condition and prescribe the spirit of reconciliation between them and the white people in those districts.” The meeting, in William Cox’s home, was chaired by Samuel Marsden, who in 1804, as a magistrate, attempted to divide and conquer using similar tactics. The other signatories were “William Cox J.P., Robert Lowe J.P., Archibd Bell J.P., William Lawson J.P., Geo Tho Palmer, John Wayland, Robert Dawson, Mont Walker and John Wylde”. The logic is that blanket distributions were not acts of humanity but control measures, based on the old principles of “fraud” and “oppression”.\footnote{2}

Transcribing Nineteenth Century handwriting is not easy, particularly where w, u, n, and r are close to each other. The following transcription may contain mistakes.

\textit{Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Windsor 21\textsuperscript{st} May 1834}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N\textsuperscript{e}</th>
<th>English Names</th>
<th>Native Name</th>
<th>Probable Age</th>
<th>Number of Wives</th>
<th>Designation of Tribe</th>
<th>Place or District of usual resort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creek Jemmy</td>
<td>Naigungni</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>South Creek</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>D\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td>D\textsuperscript{e}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{1}{There is another document in the same reel, “List of Stations to which Blankets are to be forwarded for distribution in 1834”, in which 35 blankets were to be forwarded to “Windsor including Wiseman’s and the Hawkesbury”. Reel 3706, page 109.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Native Name</th>
<th>Probable Age</th>
<th>Designation of Tribe</th>
<th>Place or District of usual resort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long George</td>
<td>Johngni</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobby</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Billy</td>
<td>Creek Jemmy’s son</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byron</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>Long George’s son</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Johnny</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnny</td>
<td>Sonny’s brother</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Miles</td>
<td>Miorang</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Miles</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>D’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Wolloboy</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>D’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berally</td>
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<td>D’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Cootee</td>
<td>Winderboy</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Marby</td>
<td>Macoe</td>
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<td>D’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nunnan</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Emery</td>
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<td>D’</td>
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<tr>
<td>George</td>
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<td>31</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munahinganhill</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<td>D’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Lazy Jack</td>
<td>Gilmeroy</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cadjeec Jack</td>
<td>Wotang</td>
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<td>D’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Jacob</td>
<td>Coocry</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Deniheny</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Jolokee</td>
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<td>D’</td>
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<td>Benaki</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>D’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bambi</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 Kiriwan</td>
<td>Billy Jibbinga</td>
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<td>Cain Brennei</td>
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<td>Tom Dargin</td>
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<td>35 Bobby Blue</td>
<td>Wallabun</td>
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<td>Dupihany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>Coolery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dick</td>
<td>Creehay</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harry</td>
<td>Colong</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>40 Mungin</td>
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<td>Netty</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bone Mary</td>
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<td>D’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgy</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Dandy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<table>
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<th>N° English Names</th>
<th>Native Name</th>
<th>Probable Age</th>
<th>Number of Wives</th>
<th>Children</th>
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<td>21 12 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>45 Nangui</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wollombine Kitten</td>
<td>Buckumbull</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>D’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The undermentioned Aboriginal Natives whose names appeared in the last Return did not attend this year.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>MIDI</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jolei Wanele</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Big Jack Wetaly</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibbingui</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
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The undermentioned Aboriginal Natives whose names appeared in the last Return did not attend this year.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>South Creek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgy Gindeigiu</td>
<td>Caddie Creek</td>
<td>Pitt Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Karrigan</td>
<td>Bebingiu</td>
<td>D'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerrinia</td>
<td>D'</td>
<td>D'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winbuan</td>
<td>D'</td>
<td>D'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walligan</td>
<td>D'</td>
<td>D'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nangui</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pennyroyal Uackingiu</td>
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<td>10 Cobborn</td>
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<td>Mangrove Creek</td>
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<td>Keppepwiong</td>
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<td>15 Jack Gibbewiong</td>
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<td>Nowland</td>
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<td>Tommy Nemaneet</td>
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<tr>
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<td>20 Bulgee Tonaugh</td>
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<td>Little Jemmy Coleigobang</td>
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<td>25 Bill Bone</td>
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<td>Kingeroo</td>
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<td>Morris Yarraneky</td>
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<td>Gregory</td>
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<td>Bittos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jack Nungunonong</td>
<td>D'</td>
<td>D'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L. North J.P.
Sup’' of Police

Police Office Windsor
June 1834

Between 1835 and 1840 Matthew Clarke was granted 90 acres on what is now Shaws Creek. The name Shaws Creek came from one of many owners of the land over the next century.

3 I have not as yet identified the return referred to.
4 Probably John Nolan, of the Mangroo Tribe from the 1828 census.
5 AONSW, Reel 3706, dealing with Blanket Returns is somewhat difficult to navigate as it does not appear to have been indexed. L. North’s letter to the Colonial Secretary which begins the sequence can be best located by looking for the number 0224 at the bottom of the reel.
7th of September, 1835: missionaries

James Backhouse was a minister in the Society of Friends who felt called on a mission to Australia. With his friend George Washington Walker he travelled over Tasmania and New South Wales 1831-38. “Simeon” was almost certainly “Black Simon” mentioned in the previous extract.

‘Samuel Marsden provided us with a guide to South Creek: he was a Black, of that place, named Johnny, an intelligent man, speaking English very fairly, and wearing a hat, jacket, trowsers, and shoes. He carried our bundles, and was very attentive, and by no means meriting the character given to us this morning, of their race by a settler from Wollongong: “That nothing could be given to these fellows that they valued a straw.” I could not think the person who made the remark, had attained to much knowledge of human nature. It is quite true, that the Blacks have not learned to place the same value upon many things, that the Whites place upon them. It is amusing to see the disappointment of many of the Whites, at the proofs they meet with of this fact; especially, when they think to hold out temptations to the Blacks, to work for less than their labour is worth. Few white people seem to reflect upon the fact that our notions of the values of things, depend upon our habits and are, in many instances, merely ideal. It is, however, to be regretted, when benevolent men adopt the notion, that the circumstance of the Blacks not estimating things by the same standard as the Whites, is owing to some invincible peculiarity in them; because such an opinion paralyses their efforts for the civilization of this untutored race.

On the way from Parramatta, we stepped into several cottages, conversed with the inhabitants, and gave them tracts. We had also many conversations with persons travelling on the road, on foot, in carts &c. We were kindly received by Charles Marsden and his family, at the South Creek, sixteen miles from Parramatta, and in the evening had a satisfactory religious interview with them and their servants. Before dark, we walked to the side of the Creek, to see the Black Natives, who resort thither. In comparison with some other tribes, the South Creek Natives may be considered as half domesticated, and they often assist in the agricultural operations of the settlers. The wife of our guide can read, she is a half-cast, who was educated in a school, formerly kept for the Natives, at Parramatta. It is to be regretted that his school was abandoned; for though many who were educated in it, returned into the woods, yet an impression was made upon them, favourable to their future progress in civilization.

A few of the Natives were, at one time, located upon a piece of the worst land in this part of the country, at a place called Blacktown. Here some of them raised grain, in spite of the sterility of the soil, at a time when they were unable to dispose of it; and to add to their discouragement, at this juncture, the Missionary, who had been a short time among them, was withdrawn. The want of success, in this unfair experiment, is sometimes brought forward, as a proof that nothing can be done for these injured and neglected people.
We went out, at an early hour, to Penrith, a small, scattered town, on the Nepean River. Our guide was another South Creek Black, named Simeon. His wife was killed, about two years ago, by some of those whom he termed “Wild Natives:” he had one little boy, for whom he showed great affection. We tried in vain, to persuade this man to accompany us to Wellington Valley; he did not like to go to so great a distance. These people are afraid of other tribes of their own race.

On the 23rd of October 1835 when they had returned a “respectable Weslayan, at Richmond, told us, that he had heard of our visit to Wellington Valley, several days ago, from a Native, who had had the particulars detailed to him, by a Black from that country. Our persons, costume, and many other particulars, including our manner of communicating religious instruction, had been minutely described. And on our Weslayan friend inquiring what the Black supposed all this meant, he replied, “God almighty come and sit down at Wellington;” implying, that the Most High would be worhipped there. The scattered natives of Australia communicate information rapidly; messengers being often sent from tribe to tribe, for great distances. This incident clearly puts the lie to the claim that one group of Aboriginal people did not mix with another.

1829-36: Billy Kootee, King of Mount Tomah

Lt George Bowen took possession of Bulgamatta, a grant of 2560 acres at the foot of Mt Tomah in December 1829 and sold it in 1836. In his account of these times he mentioned Billy Kootee, King of Mount Tomah.

I had indeed one old fowling piece, but this I lent to my King. How it was that I had a king under my dominion may require explanation. The aboriginal natives never lived in the mountains, but there was a tribe who wandered over the neighbouring lowlands and occasionally paid me a visit. One fine young man attached himself to me, and, as there was no king in the Australian Israel or in this portion of it in those days, I had him crowned according to the approved custom. This required me to get a polished brass plate shaped like a crescent to the ends of which was attached a brass chain to hang round the neck. On the plate were engraved the following words "Billy Kootee, King of Mount Tomah", This mountain was the highest and central elevation of the group and adjoined my land. There was some charm in this appendage, according to the apprehensions of the natives, since every white man who examined it repeated his title. When his tribe left me, after a short visit, he chose to stay. My fowling piece and a weekly allowance of about three loads of powder and shot were sufficient to support him and, in return, he used to bring me tribute in native pheasant tails, skins of the duck-billed platypus (Omithorinchus paradoxus) also a small porcupine and, occasionally, lobsters found in the running streams. These had well developed claws and while alive of the colour of the marine kind after boiling.

This Simeon may have been the same one who was recommended to replace Colebee as a special constable in 1822.


Original Source p. 131: Lt George Bowen, Autobiography, Modern Parables and Predictions, Privately Published. Quoted in Page 35, Bilpin the Apple Country, Meredith Hungerford, University of Western Sydney, 1995
1837-41: South Creek camp

William Walker in his memoirs provides more information about declining Aboriginal numbers on the Hawkesbury. From his account it would appear that the South Creek camp near the junction with East Creek was the last Aboriginal camp close to Windsor.

‘My parents, with myself and a younger brother and sister, arrived at Windsor one dark night in December, 1837—more than fifty-two years ago. ... There were few good houses in Windsor then, and my father was obliged to take an unfinished place in Macquarie-street. We resided there about four years, during which my father succeeded in establishing a large superior school of boys and girls, many of whom in after life occupied important positions.

During our residence in Macquarie-street we were frequently visited by a small tribe - or rather the remains of a tribe, of local blacks. They consisted only of King Jamie and his gin, and two sons, Billy and Bobby. Their camping place was a short distance off, up the South Creek. Jamie wore a brass plate suspended by a string from his neck, bearing his name, and which he said had been given him by good Governor Macquarie.¹⁰ The old couple were very harmless, and were the objects of charity. They all, however, have now passed away—like the Mohicans. First the Queen went, then the King, then Bobby, who, as well as his brother, was much addicted to rum, foolishly given them by friends in town. Billy had been taught by one of the early clergymen to read, was intelligent, and used to work a little on some of the farms, generally at Mr. Freeman’s, Cornwallis. With them the Windsor tribe of blacks became extinct. It was a common thing then for the mothers to frighten their children into quiescence by telling them that if they didn’t be still, Black Bobby would be brought to them, and this, I think, was about the only good use that was ever made of that dark specimen of humanity.

... we had at the same time a pleasant establishment in town, namely one of Her Majesty's regiments of the line - the gallant 80th, or Staffordshires. ... There were a good many blacks down the Hawkesbury then, and I remember the officers on one occasion getting up a corroboree in Thompson’s Square. Of course they plied the darkies well with wine, or something stronger. I never saw a corroboree before, and have never seen one since. I will not attempt to describe it - such a thing could not be conceived in the present day. The 80th left Windsor after a year or two.¹¹

April, 1834: Mrs Felton Mathew

In 1833 and 1834 Mrs. Sarah Mathew accompanied her surveyor husband, Felton Mathew as he travelled around the Nepean Hawkesbury Rivers and Central Coast. Her only contact with Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury appears to have been as a

¹⁰ Creek Jemmy.
¹¹ The 80th were garrisoned in Windsor 1834-44.

Pages 6-9, William Walker MLC Reminiscences (Personal, Social and Political) of a Fifty Year Residence at Windsor, On the Hawkesbury, Turner and Henderson, Sydney, 1890.
witness to a wallaby hunt about fourteen miles up the MacDonald River on the 18th of April 1834.

'The lofty rocky ranges which border this river on either side I have frequently described, and there is nothing therefore either to describe or relate during the day’s journey: the dead, unbroken silence which prevailed all around was extremely oppressive, and the voices of some natives which broke on the ear after some time, was really quite a relief: on nearer approach we found they were hunting Wallabi (a small species of Kangaroo) or what they call Wallabunging [...], a number of them assemble, and while some run along the tops and sides of the rocky heights shouting and screaming, drive down the poor little frightened inhabitants to the flats below where others attack them with their spears and dogs; we saw three of these little creatures hopping along with all speed, followed by dogs and blacks in full cry.

**Circa 1837: Tumble-down Barn**

Around 1837 James Hassall went to the school of the Reverend Thomas Makinson who had just taken up the Mulgoa parish. The colony was undergoing a three year drought at the time.

‘Mamre, where I spent so many happy days with my uncle, was a farm on the South Creek, six miles from Penrith and one mile off the Western Road from Sydney to Bathurst. Its name – that of the plain where Abraham of old kept his flocks – was given it by my grandfather, who formed the place.

Then, often, if it were a fine moonlight night, my uncle would propose a hunt, order the horses, clap his hands on his thighs and crow like a cock and so set all the cocks in the district crowing. As we mounted he would call the dogs and off we would go through the barren scrubs, with a dozen or fifteen kangaroo dogs, killing opossums, wallabies, and dingoes, as luck might serve, and getting home again about one o’clock in the morning.

My uncle had a dairy farm near Windsor, called The Tumble-down Barn – it had no other name, I believe – which we visited occasionally. We would start at daylight, take a pony phaeton with a pair of splendid ponies, a couple of black boys with our saddle-horses, plenty of provender, and all necessities. After travelling the road some eight miles, we would camp by a waterhole for breakfast, make tea or coffee in a “billy”-can, and enjoy a picnic. Then we would take the horses after dingoes for two or three hours, which to me was great fun in those days.

**26th of March, 1838: Ensign Best defends himself**

Ensign Best of the 80th Foot was stationed in Windsor during 1837 and 1838. He kept a journal of his sojourn there. He did not mention Aboriginal people at all in his journal. The greatest threats to the military were currency lads. On 26th March 1838 he recorded “I walked into the country carrying for my defence, in case any of the...

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13 Charles Marsden.
Currency lads should knock me on the head as they did our Drum Major a few evenings since, a short Whaling Iron a very nice little tool in such cases. “\(^{15}\)

**1837/8: Hospital Gully**

Hospital Gully is near the tidal limit of Popram Creek which is forty kilometres from the ocean. I have found several secondary references to a temporary hospital for Aboriginal people with either smallpox or influenza being located in Hospital Gully in 1837. Apparently there are two Aboriginal people buried next to Owen Maloney in Hospital Gully. \(^{16}\) I have found no primary source for this information. Influenza raged through Britain in 1837 and there were outbreaks in Sydney in 1838. There were smallpox deaths on emigrant ships in 1838, but they were contained.

**1838: demographics**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>District or Station</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>115</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Return of Aborigines taken at the Respective Stations 1838*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District or Station</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Return of Aborigines taken at the Respective Stations 1839*

*No Windsor Return of Aborigines taken at the Respective Stations 1840*

*No Windsor Return of Aborigines taken at the Respective Stations 1841* \(^{17}\)

**1840: Burrowell**

Andy Macqueen, sourced a 1840 letter to record that in 1840 Aboriginal people were still living at Wickety Wees, the European name for Burrowell or Illweary (to the east of Putty). The last report of Aboriginal people living in the area was around 1900 at Putty. \(^{18}\)

**1840s: Yarrimundi**

Some time, probably in the 1840s Michael Long witnessed “a fight between two tribes of blacks at Yarrimundi”. \(^{19}\) What Long saw was probably a ceremonial gathering, signifying that traditional life continued.

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\(^{18}\) I have not yet been able to trace McQueen’s source: Dunlop, D.to Col. Sec., 16/04/1840. Page 22, *Somewhat Perilous, Andy Macqueen*, 2004.

Abraham’s way

By the end of Macquarie’s rule not only had Aboriginal culture on the Hawkesbury been destroyed but the land itself was exhausted. The clearing of land increased run-off, collapsed river banks and increased siltation. Successive floods stripped the top soil from farms and spread weeds further down river. Increases in grazing animals had destroyed the native grasses. When Governor Macquarie began issuing large numbers of grants in his final years, the reason for his generosity often lay in the large number of sheep or cattle owned by the applicants.

Successive generations of Hawkesbury families replicated the frontier in their relentless and self-righteous pursuit of free land. In the early 1820s William Lawson, and George and Henry Cox, followed the Cudgegong River to take up land on what is now modern Mudgee. Martial law followed in 1824. In 1821 the Reverend George Augustus Middleton and John de Marquett Blaxland undertook first cattle drive to the Hunter. Some families such as the Halls and Flemings moved into the MacDonald Valley and across Wollombi into the Hunter and beyond. Trouble broke out on the Hunter in 1825.

In 1826 Benjamin Singleton, with young Richard Otto Baldwin, son of an ex-convict well-to-do farmer on the Hawkesbury opened the way onto the Liverpool Plains. Conflict soon broke out there. In 1827, William Nowland, son of Michael Nowland, another Hawkesbury ex-convict settler opened up the Murrurundi route though the Liverpool Ranges.

Around the same time the Coxes and Lawsons were moving northwards from Mudgee. By 1824 they had reached Dunnedoo and by 1826 the Coxes were near Coonabarabran. In 1832 Sir John Jamison, from Regentville, near Penrith, sent his men and herds northwards. The sons of other Hawkesbury settlers, Cyrus Doyle, the Baldwins, Thomas Eather, and Robert Fitzgerald, followed.

From his Dart Brook property on the Hunter, George Hall, a prosperous Portland Head settler, moved northward. In 1836, there was conflict on one of Hall's stations. Lancelot Threlkeld informed Governor Gipps that the mounted police had killed nearly eighty Aboriginal people in retaliation for the killing one of Hall's men. James Oates, who was wounded in the original fighting, was involved in the Myall Creek massacre in 1838. By 1840, George Hall, with his seven sons, had established a

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20 “So the squatters, in the genesis of the world, selected their stations, and the story is old and hoary, thousands of years old. But so also did William Lawson and George Cox, and that day is but little over 75 years from us.” Pages 126-132, Anon, Memoirs of William Cox, William Brooks, 1901.

21 Page 74, Roger Milliss, Waterloo Creek, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
22 Page 75, Roger Milliss, Waterloo Creek, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
23 Pages 100, 169 and 260, Roger Milliss, Waterloo Creek, McPhee Gribble, 1992.
chain of stations form the Hunter to the Gwydir River totalling more than half a million acres. By 1850 Thomas Simpson Hall had spread their holdings to Surat in Southern Queensland. His nephew and brother-in-law, Joseph Fleming was a neighbour on Talavera Station.

Settlement moved along the Namoi and north towards the Gwydir in the early 1830’s. Joseph Onus, his partner Robert Williams; Edward Cox and James Howe were early settlers on those rivers. From 1836 settlement moved into the tributaries of the Gwydir. In 1836 George Bowman sent his overseer, William Waterford, north from Gunnedah, to take up a run on Terry Hie Hie Creek, a Gwydir tributary. Also in 1836, Archibald and Thomas Bell sent a party to take up land on Noogera Creek which also flowed into the Gwydir River. In 1837 settlement moved into Myall Creek, another tributary of the Gwydir River. Richard Wiseman blazed a trail across this area. George Dight, son of a surgeon turned settler at Richmond was one of the first settlers there. In March 1837, William Allen a ticket-of-leave man and overseer for Daniel Eaton, son of a successful Richmond emancipist, brought stock up to a station near the junction of the Gwydir and Slaughterhouse Creek. Joseph Fleming and his younger brother, John Henry, descendants of an early Hawkesbury family had a nearby upstream run.

By 1837 conflict broke out along the Namoi River and Gwydir Rivers. Major Nunn led a party of mounted police into the area in early 1838. On the 8th or 9th of January 1838 Major Nunn spoke to one of the young Bells who requested assistance. A number of settlers and their assigned servants accompanied Nunn. On the 26th of January Nunn attacked a camp at Waterloo Creek, south of modern Moree, and according to his report “a few fell”. Roger Millis is of the opinion that two to three hundred were killed there. Other killings took place at Vinegar Hill, Slaughterhouse Creek and Gravesend. These killings appear to have been carried out independently by settlers.

Two of William Faithfull’s sons, William, born in 1806, and George, born in 1814, earned a degree of fame or notoriety through their involvement in the Broken River massacre near Benalla in April 1838. After a few months at Bontharambo, Wangaratta, they “abandoned their squattage on account of the depredations by the blacks who murdered six of their men”; William retired to his father’s Springfield grant on the Goulburn Plains and George to Wangaratta. William later became a

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31 On the 8th of September 1853, in a letter to Governor La Trobe, George Faithfull concluded a description of the retributive expedition by writing “The fight I have described gave them a notion of what sort of stuff the white man was made, and my name was a terror to them ever after. ... I picked up a boy from under a log, took him home and tamed him, and he became very useful to me, and I think was the means of deterring his tribe from committing further wanton depredation upon my property; my neighbours, however, suffered much long after this.” Hostage-taking was a time-honoured practice in guaranteeing self-preservation. [http://www.voea.vic.edu.au/resources/curriculum/pioneerletter_georgefaithful.html](http://www.voea.vic.edu.au/resources/curriculum/pioneerletter_georgefaithful.html).
32 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30th August 1929.
member of the Legislative Council.\textsuperscript{33} The Reverend Joseph Docker, curate of St. Matthews at Windsor, 1829-1833, resigned and bought John Brabyn’s Clifton at Clarendon before selling and moving south in 1838 and settling in the Faithfull’s slab hut at Bontharambo. Unlike the Faithfulls, Docker got on well with the local Aboriginal people and prospered.

Even further to the south, Oscar Luttrell, the fifth of Edward Luttrell’s sons was killed by Aboriginal people in 1838 near Melbourne.\textsuperscript{34}

On the 10\textsuperscript{th} of June 1838, 28 Aboriginal people were massacred at Slaughterhouse Creek on Henry Dangar’s run. Of the twelve known participants, eleven were stockmen for nine squatting families. Of these nine families, five were Hawkesbury families. The leader, and the only free man, was John Henry Fleming, born in the Hawkesbury. The twelve men were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Fleming</th>
<th>Squatter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Johnstone</td>
<td>Assigned to George Bowman, worked for the Cox’s from November 1836.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{33} Mr William Pitt Faithfull, of Springfield, Goulbourn, who died last week, was born in Richmond in 1806, and in October next would have completed his 90th year. Mr Faithfull was a man of fine physique, being over six feet high The cause of death was senile decay, and his end was very peaceful. Mr Faithfull’s father was Mr William Faithfull, who enlisted for service in the Spanish wars, but was told off for service in New South Wales The account of his life runs:- “Had he then known the success that was waiting for him in Australia he would not have suffered such grief as he did at not being sent to Spain He arrived in the colony in 1791, and served with his regiment for some time. On obtaining his discharge he was employed by Colonel Foveaux in the management of his farms and runs, and in the settlement of stock and other business of a pastoral life. For some years he remained in the service of Colonel Foveaux, until the latter left the colony in order to return to England, when he began business on his own account. Previous to leaving, his old employer gave him part of his flocks, and a considerable share of his personal property, including his watch and bible, which have been treasured since as precious heirlooms by his family. For some years he farmed on various properties, principally at Canterbury and Jordan Hill, between which he spent most of his time, until he eventually settled down permanently at Richmond, and resided there until his death, at the age of seventy-three years.

The active spirit that first had incited him to adventure, braving all dangers and fearless of death, enabled him to win position and wealth in the rude land in which he found himself He went gallantly to work, and from Nature herself tore the spoils that are the reward of the brave. In 1804 Mr Faithfull married Miss Susanna Pitt. Mr William Pitt Faithfull left school at the age of 15 and then entered as a clerk in the office of his uncle, Mr Robert Jenkins, at that time a leading Sydney merchant. On his uncle’s death Mr Faithfull took up country pursuits. For some time he managed a station for Mrs Jenkins, and then when he was about 21 he took up Springfield, where he had resided ever since. Mr Faithfull was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1836, and was subsequently made warden of the district. He represented Argyle during the years 1858-9, and was afterwards appointed to the Legislative Council by Sir W Denison, resigning the position when Sir C Cowper sought to pack the Upper House with new members favourable to the policy of his Government. After that Mr Faithfull retired from public life, and devoted himself to the management of his large estate. In 1844 Mr Faithfull married Miss Deane, who died many years ago. The family numbered nine, but one, Mr Reginald Faithfull, is dead. The late Mr Faithfull was one of the pioneers of the colony. He was one of the first to settle in the Goulburn district, and held in the early days of his country life Stations in Monaro. With his brother George he was also one of the first “overlanders” to Victoria, where he helped to open up the Ovens district. Mr Faithfull was, by reason of his retired life, necessitated by his great age, but little known to the present generation. Perhaps his career is best summed up in the sentence of a modern writer, who, referring to the deceased, says- “He has lived uprightly and honestly as a private individual, and has performed all the duties incident to his station in a manner that best serves his country.”

\textsuperscript{34} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 9\textsuperscript{th} May 1896. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72548611

http://www.angelfire.com/realm/gotha/Part_h8.htm
Charles Kilmeister  Stockman for Henry Dangar35
William Hawkins  Lethbridge’s head stockman36
Charles Telluse  stockman for James Glennie37
James Lamb  Cobb’s superintendent38
Edward Foley  Assigned to Joseph Fleming of Wilberforce. At this time
stockman under Flemings’ young brother, John.

James Oates  Hall’s stockman
James Parry  Hutkeeper for Daniel Eaton39
George Palliser  Bell’s head stockman
John Russell  Bell’s stockman
John Blake  Stockman for James Glennie.

Around the 18th or 19th of June 1838 Sir John Jamison led a deputation to present to
Governor Gipps, a memorial, signed by eighty-two “pioneers of civilization”. The
Memorial had been composed two days before the Myall Creek massacre. The
signatories included two Legislative Councillors - Sir John Jamison and John
Blaxland. Among the rest were some of the best known squatters: Stuart Donaldson,
W. H. Dutton, Thomas Iceley, John Easles, Robert Lethbridge, William Sims Bell,
Thomas Walker, H James McFarlane, William Hovell, Hamilton Hume, and Philip
Gidley King, the twenty-two year old grandson of the former Governor and a later
long-term general superintendent of the AA Co’s offshoot, the Peel River Land and
Mineral Company.40 The memorial is noteworthy for invoking the precedence of
“coercive measures” to end “outrages”.

Sydney, 8th June 1838

‘Your Memorialists are of opinion that these untutored savages not comprehending or
appreciating the motives which actuate us attribute forbearance on our part solely to
impotence or fear, and are thus rendered only more bold and sanguinary. This
opinion founded on past experience will receive ample confirmation on reference to
the history of this Colony and the acts of former Governments. It is undeniable that no
district of the Colony has been settled without in the first instance suffering from the
outrages of the Natives, and that these outrages continued, until put an end to be
coercive measures. Conciliation was tried in the first instance but invariably failed in
producing any good effect, and coercion was ultimately found unavoidably necessary,
which, if earlier adopted would have saved much bloodshed on both sides. It is only
when they have become experimentally acquainted with our power and determination

35 Henry Dangar was a surveyor of the Hunter Valley who used his position to become a prominent
landholder there.
36 John Lethbridge was the second son of Captain Robert Lethbridge, a retired naval captain who
settled on Flushcombe near Prospect. Robert was a prominent horse breeder. Thomas Iceley’s
Counsellor and Sir John Jamison’s Bennelong came from one of Lethbridge’s stallions. John was a
squatter on the Gwydir. Page 11-9, Keith R. Binney, Horsemen of the First Frontier, Volcanic
Productions, 2005.
37 James Glennie was a property holder in the Hunter.
38 John Cobb was a Hunter Valley pastoralist.
39 Daniel Eaton was a North Richmond farmer.
to punish their aggressions that they have become orderly, peaceable, and been brought within the reach of civilization.”

Dangar’s overseer, William Hobbs, informed Frederick Foot, a Gwydir squatter of the massacre and Foot rode down to Sydney to report the Myall Creek massacre directly to Governor Gipps on the 4th of July 1838.

Sometime in July or early August John Fleming fled to the Hawkesbury.

The following story is an oral history that I have been given permission to use. Like all such oral histories in Pondering the Abyss I have chosen not to identify the source. I do this in the belief that all oral histories are fraught with problems of accuracy and because the issues are still raw in the Hawkesbury. Certainly it seems consistent with the statement in his obituary regarding his “stories of the early days of settlement in the colony, and the trouble he had with the Blacks”. It is not, however, consistent with the facts that emerged during the trials.

‘John Henry Fleming, led the Myall assault in 1838. He turned 22 years old just days prior to the disaster. Originally JH Fleming and his men were angered by the discovery of speared and dying cattle in the bush and then there were attempts to spear the men who had been camped out in the bush minding the cattle - and that is what originally ‘lit the fire’ to their anger. The natives had always been given meat to feed their families, but the cattle were killed & skinned by the farmer because the natives really weren’t capable of skinning a carcass.

The cattlemen had been leading the captured group around the bush for a while hoping to attract the real culprits. They were very frustrated at not being able to get their hands on the ones they wanted – when finally deciding they had to do something. It erupted into an act of not being a straight forward act of taking aim and shooting, but a spur of the moment atrocity.

J.H. Fleming raised his gun and aimed at one particular man who he believed knew more than he was telling them, at first to scare him into talking, so he fired at him, not to hit him, but to scare him - to his shock and horror in a split second, every man with a gun had raised his gun and fired at the same time and kept firing until all the natives were down. John Henry admitted he probably killed one, but claimed he took no part in the mass killing of the others. He was so distraught at what had been done that he left almost immediately and rode back to camp – in the morning he went with the men back to the massacre site to see what he could do. So traumatised and terrified by what he found that he just got on his horse and rode towards home on the Hawkesbury. Not on a drunken horse as was written in places later, but at a measured speed to make sure his horse made the desperate ride to his home. However by the time he reached the Hunter area his horse was tiring badly and he decided to call on a relative living in the area, specifically to borrow a fresh horse to continue

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41 Page 29, Australian Aborigines, Copies of Extracts of Despatches relative to the massacre of various Aborigines of Australia, in the year 1838, and respecting the trial of their murderers. House of Commons 1839

on his way to Portland Head. Many Hawkesbury families had moved to the Hunter Valley and began farming there by 1820.

He left his horse tied to a hitching rail in the village (now known of as Muswellbrook) so no one would know who helped him in what he knew must soon come!

After he arrived back at Portland Head he was sheltered by a number of related families still farming at Wilberforce and Ebenezer. By then the Fleming daughters had intermarried with several Ebenezer and Wilberforce pioneer families and all were ready to help and protect him. The police never ever came looking for him, which even to-day is strange.'

Dame Mary Gilmore provided another account of Fleming’s escape.

'I asked my guest if he knew aught about the blacks in the early days; and looking at me he asked a question.

'Do you know anything about the massacre at Myall Creek, on the North Coast?' he said. And then he went on to tell how one of the proudest names of Sydney today (and equally of that day) was that of a man who had ridden hot-foot all night from a certain place so that he might have an alibi of distance when what he had commanded to be done had been informed of, and, I think for the first time in the case of a massacre, an investigation was ordered. As he spoke I remembered how my father and my grandparents, in telling the story, used to say that this man, being a landowner, had been sent word by the head of the police (a messenger having been ordered out on the fastest horse that could be given him) so that the "gentleman" could get away before the posse, that had to be sent up in response to the complaint, could arrive; and that even then he would not have got far enough away, had not the trooper-in-charge been given secret orders to travel slowly. This the trooper carefully did, his excuse afterwards being that he had to save his horses. No notable landowner might be charged or hanged in those days; magnate and official clung together, however many poor people might be charged, however many convicts could be flogged or executed.

The trooper, becoming suddenly well-off soon after this, gave no account of how he made his rise, but let it be put abroad that he had found a bushranger's hoard - a story no one accepted; for everyone asked how could he keep Crown money, as such it would be, if he, as a policeman, found it? 43

Toby Ryan provided a slightly different version.

'Shortly after this, in 1836, 'Toby' proceeded to Muswellbrook for a horse to Boshey Nowlen's, one of the oldest settlers on the Hunter River, born on the Hawkesbury of Irish parents, who settled on in that beautiful country in 1830 with others of their countrymen - Ben Singleton, John Brown and many others, all enterprising men. Nowlen was a rough diamond and a thorough Australian born Celt, who kept an hotel at Muswellbrook, and was also a mail contractor and squatter. He had a great power of ingratiation, and was very popular. The whole of the country respected him, for

Bosney Nowlen would not let anyone pass his place hungry or thirsty if he knew it. He also did many good turns for his brother settlers; his was a household name wherever you travelled ... The same Boshey Nowlen was instrumental in getting Flemming away, who made his escape from Myall creek about 1836, he being the ringleader in the slaughter of the blacks about that time. He gave Flemming a relay of horses, which took him to Newcastle in such a short time, he (Boshey) being mail contractor.

Another version comes from the Hall family.

‘Family legend tells of him galloping up to Dartbrook on a horse which took three men to hold while he dismounted. One version says the animal’s state was caused by a desperate dash through a group of spear throwing blacks; another suggests the horse was affected more by grog than fear because it was said that John Henry had maintained speed by wrapping a whisky soaked rag around the bridle bit. Apparently, reaching Maitland, Fleming left his mount tied to a hitching post and this gave credence to the tale that he escaped to Tasmania.44

George Reeve was a prolific twentieth century writer of historical articles on the Hawkesbury for the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*. Reeve was a descendant of the First Fleet surgeon John White. His works were triumphal in nature and focused on family genealogies. His accounts were important in helping shape local understandings of the settlement of the Hawkesbury. In his accounts of the Myall Creek massacre he displayed an ambivalent attitude. He concluded one article with the following poorly constructed paragraph. “In my, concluding article I shall write retrospective results, and of the blood of the pioneers and their work as pastoral settlementarians and builders of the State, as a family descended from the blood of heroes likewise. Apart from all black or native spoilation so manifestly apart as of the other names of squatters, whom history despises. Their names, are not even entitled to mention here.”45 While he may have positioned himself as a man of honour in taking such a stance it also let him off the hook when it came to naming names. A year later he had no such compunctions in defending Fleming. “One, like myself, knowing these things and happenings can find many excuses for what happened in the year 1838 at Dangar's ‘Myall Creek’ station near what is now the beautiful town of Inverell.”46

In dealing with the Myall Creek massacre Reeve made a number of mistakes, particularly in referencing Toby Ryan. According to Ryan, Nowlen gave “Flemming” a relay of horses that took him to Newcastle, not a race horse, and Reeve was incorrect in writing that Ryan claimed Flemming went to America. Reeve may have also been wrong about William Hobbs, Dangar’s station manager who first reported the massacre. Hobbs may have been an Englishman (this is not to say that Hobbs did not settle in the Hawkesbury with other members of his family who already lived here. William Hobbs was a Hawkesbury policeman later in the century). There were two trials, not “many”. Eleven men were tried in the first trial, not “twelve”. Seven men were hung, not “eight”. Whether “Flemming” was hidden at St. Albans or lived

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45 Dartbrook on the Hunter was an 1831 grant to George Hall, a relative of Fleming.
openly there is a moot point. Reeve’s articles are important not only because they display ambivalence, hypocrisy and poor research, but also because they show that settler attitudes towards Aboriginal people were complex and divided.

‘It is said (I do not know with what amount of truth) that a “blood feud”, existed, from the end of the year 1838 to the day of their respective deaths, between William Hall (the bachelor) of “Percy Place,” and William Johnston, arising out of the Myall Creek massacre of blacks near Inverell, or rather the trial in Sydney of the twelve men concerned, eight of whom on conviction suffered the extreme penalty, of the law, being hanged in the jail in Lower George-street, Sydney. Mr. William Johnston was a juryman on the many trials of the prisoners. It is notable that all the twelve men who were apprehended were “servants in bond,” while one man, for whom the authorities were searching the country (a free Hawkesbury native) was concealed for a period of 2 years in “the Hills by Macdonald River, near St. Albans.” In the official despatches to the Home authorities by Governor Gipps, lately printed in the Commonwealth Historical Records in Australia by Dr. Frederick Watson, Sir George Gipps scathingly refers to the conduct of this individual. The Myall Creek massacre has been written of at length by many writers. The version by J. T. Ryan (“Toby” Ryan) is very interesting and illuminating. In his ‘Reminiscences of Australia’ (a fascinating book, by the way) Mr. Ryan states that the instigator-ringleader behind the massacre, whom he names, while making his escape from the authorities was loaned a race-horse at Muswellbrook, and changes were arranged by “Boshy” Nowlan, a Wilberforce native (a son of Michael Knowland, the founder of the family, and a First Fleeter (obit. 1828) who had a ferry punt in the very early days from his farm at Wilberforce to the Pitt Town side of the river, December, 1819. Mr. Ryan claims that that man rode day and night to Newcastle, without stopping, and then boarded a ship for America, where he stayed for many years. Many others say that story is untrue, and the man for whom search was made for many months, never left the valley of the Macdonald River, while the search was on. However, as all the principals are long since “gone to the land whence there is no returning,” it does not matter, only as an item of history of the early days, over which a black chapter has been cast. Incidentally, I might mention that it was one of the Hobbs family, of Pitt Town, who was the means of thoroughly bringing the light on to many injustices shown towards the native blacks by certain old-time squatters of New England.”

In 1849 while the Legislative Council rejected the Aboriginal Natives Evidence Bill; a number of speakers used the debate to condemn the execution of seven men “for the murder of the blacks at the Gwydir River”, as judicial murder. The Attorney General, John Hubert Plunkett, 1802-1869, as Attorney-General, was responsible for the two Myall Creek Massacre trials. His response to the attacks throws light on the attempts of pastoralists to pervert the course of Justice in 1838 and highlights the bravery of two Hawkesbury men, Edward Hyland of Richmond and William Johnston of Pitt Town, who served on the jury in the second Myall Creek murder trial.

‘The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (in reply): After the remarks that had fallen from various hon. members in the Council in this debate, felt it incumbent on himself, not

Other authorities state that Hobbs was an immigrant from Somerset. He became a constable at Wollombi in 1849.
50 http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/cases/case_index/1838/r_v_kilmeister2/
only as a man but a member of the Government he had the honour to serve, to offer some observations in reply. And he would first allude to the charge brought against him by the honorable member from Cassilis—a charge of judicial murder, on which he (the Attorney-General) was stated to be the prime mover and agent. He must be permitted to say, that this charge had been brought against him in language which he was not accustomed to hear in that House—in language, which should be well weighed and considered before indulged in by any honorable and learned member. He would venture briefly to narrate the circumstances attendant on the event, which originated this so called judicial murder. A party of twelve or thirteen stockmen having received some molestation from the blacks, went out, and rode about the country in search of no particular tribe of blacks, but of any tribe that might have the ill fate to fall into their hands. They happened to come up to a tribe of tame blacks—blacks who were in a manner domesticated, and were useful in their own way to the settlers around. They carefully surrounded this tribe, and captured, with the exception of some one or two children, the whole of them, amounting to twenty-seven in number. They then fastened every member together by the limbs with a rope, which they then bound round the whole, confining them in a compact mass. In this situation they were fired at by the party, with guns, with pistols, and with blunderbusses. The party were completely armed with cutlasses, and with these they hacked the limbs of their victims, who were then thrown, some while yet living, on a fire, several of the atrocious band remaining for several days to see them burned. One little girl escaped from this dreadful scene, and the ruffians, having been indicted for the murder of a child, were acquitted. But although the murder was proved as clear as possible, it was not difficult to see how they were acquitted. There was a party of conspirators to defeat the ends of justice on this occasion, and it came to his (the Attorney-General's) knowledge that they had taken measures which effectually obtained this end. The jurors were summoned as usual, alphabetically, but they were all waited upon, many frightened either into accordance with the views of the conspirators, or to stay away. When the trial came on only twenty-four or twenty-five jurors attended, and the whole number allowed by him twenty, were challenged by the defendants. The count being packed with the creatures of the conspirators, a Jury was selected who returned a verdict of not guilty, to the great surprise, he would venture to say, of every one who had heard the evidence on that occasion.

Mr. WENTWORTH: There should have been an end of it.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He did not agree with the honorable and learned gentleman. He did not think that he should have deserved to hold for one moment the position he occupied in the country, if he let the matter stop there. The Council would remark that these men had been indicted for the murder of a child. They were subsequently indicted for the murder of the father of this child—a man so remarkable in his formation that his identity was indisputable. He stood upwards of six feet high, and so peculiar was the structure of his head that numbers who had seen him were ready to swear to the skull, even without the hair. This man was named Daddy, and for his murder the prisoners were again indicted. The counsel for the prisoner, Mr. Foster, Mr. a’Beckett, and Mr. Windeyer entered a plea of autre de fois acquit. This plea was demurred to by the law officers of the Crown, and was argued

51 Edward Hamilton, 1809-1898, trained in law in England, but came to NSW to make his fortune as a pastoralist and return to England.
52 That is, the men had already been found not guilty.
for a whole day; and then, on the decision of Mr. Justice Burton, whose authority as a criminal Judge could scarcely be disputed, the demurrer was affirmed, and the case proceeded to trial. Seven of the parties were condemned and sentenced to death. He appealed to the House, under the atrocious circumstances he had related, could any Government be justified — could it maintain its place, as a Government in the civilized world, if it refused to put the law in effect, and make an example of these men. He would say, too, that every one of these seven men, before their execution, acknowledged the justness of their sentence. They declared that they had been guilty of this atrocious crime attributed to them; and yet this was the proceeding which was characterised by the honorable member for Cassilis as a judicial murder. He (the Attorney-General), loud as the outcry might be against him, would be ashamed of himself as a man, and as a public officer, if he had taken a different course on this occasion. (Hear, hear.)  

1838: right man - wrong massacre

The following extract from Cooramill’s *Reminiscences* well illustrates the difficulties of working with recollections. Bill Allen did provide evidence against his fellows involved in a massacre, but it was not the Myall Creek massacre as Cooramill asserts, and it did not proceed to trial. Bill Allen was a ticket of leaver and overseer for Daniel Eaton, son of a successful emancipist. The Eatons were an old Hawkesbury family. In March 1837, Bill Allen drove cattle to the Gwydir River. Along with the station superintendent, Charles Eyles and a stockman, James Dunn, Bill Allen was involved in the killing of nine Aboriginal people on Crawford’s station on the Gwydir in November 1838. Eyles decamped and was later captured in Sydney. Dunn and Allen were taken into custody, and in March 1839 Allen reluctantly related the killings at Crawford’s station. Allen also reluctantly gave evidence to Magistrate Day about the poisoning of Aboriginal people at McKay’s Hut on the Gwydir in July 1837 – this predated the general assumption that poisoned flour was only used after the Myall Creek trials. Despite there being another witness the case collapsed because Allen apparently recanted his confession and the evidence of Aboriginal witnesses could not be heard in court. Millis is of the opinion that Governor Gipps was not keen to pursue the case. For this work the story is important because it illustrates the close links between the Hawkesbury and the killings on the ever expanding frontier and the garbled ways in which history is recalled orally.

’I said in my last that old Bill Allen lived under a bane among a certain class for giving information that brought some unfortunates under the lash. But my old friend Alf Smith, informs me that I let Bill off easy, they were not flogged but hanged.

There were no less than six able-bodied young men – there should have been seven, but one escaped, and later on became a prosperous farmer on the Hawkesbury –

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54 On page 275, Cooramill mentioned a *Jim Dunn* as living on Lennox Street, Richmond, near the Paget Street intersection. See pages 54-5, Ian Jack, *Macquarie’s Towns*, The Heritage Council, 2010. I can find no other evidence to connect *Jim Dunn* and *James Dunn*.


56 The Allens lived on Francis Street near Benson’s Lane in Richmond.
whose crime was murdering about sixty blacks by poison and otherwise on Myall creek.  

1838: Myall Creek trials and executions

On the 15th of September, 1838, a £50 reward was offered for the apprehension of John Fleming. He was not arrested. The eleven stockmen were brought to trial in November 1838 and found not guilty. Seven of the acquitted men were rearraigned for a new trial in late November 1838. Found guilty they were sentenced to death on the 5th of December 1838. On the 14th of December 1838 the Executive Council rejected three petitions to the Governor seeking clemency for the convicted men. The petitions were identical in their phrasing and signed by 227 inhabitants of Sydney, 77 from Parramatta and 186 from the Hawkesbury. On the 18th of December 1838, Charles Kilmeister, Dangar’s stockman; Edward Foley, Fleming’s stockman; James Oates, Hall’s stockman; John Johnstone, assigned to George Bowman and worked for the Cox's from 1836; William Hawkins, Lethbridge’s head stockman; John Russell, Bell's stockman; and James Parry, hutkeeper for Daniel Eaton were executed.  

Five of the executed men had Hawkesbury connections.

1840: John Henry Fleming’s wedding

The third Myall Creek trial of the remaining four men collapsed when the main witness against them, Davey, could not be found. In February 1839 the case was dropped and the four men were released. It is likely that the murder warrant against John Henry was dropped at this time. John Henry Fleming, by now in the MacDonald Valley, married Charlotte Dunstan in 1840 at Wilberforce, probably in the school house. John Henry signed his name with a double “m”, as in Flemming, possibly to disguise his identity. Both the bride and groom came from old Hawkesbury families with experiences of the American revolutionary wars. Charlotte’s grandfather, Benjamin Cusley, an ex-marine with revolutionary war experience joined the NSW Corps. He married Phoebe Pendarick. Their daughter Maria married David Dunstan in 1815. Their daughter Charlotte married John Henry Fleming in 1840.

John Henry’s aunt, Eleanor, daughter of Joseph Fleming, an ex-revolutionary war soldier, married David Brown in 1800. David Brown, another ex soldier with American Revolutionary war experience, was a special constable when he was speared in the throat in 1799.

Early 1840’s: Richmond corroboree

There are some grammatical mistakes in the following extract describing a corroboree in a paddock in Windsor Street, Richmond, opposite the Onus house, which was built upon the site of the old Welcome Inn. The Onus’s had a property on the northeast corner of Chapel and Windsor Streets.

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57 Page 241, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010
60 He signed his will as J H Fleming.
‘It was during the early forties – and in the paddock opposite the house I have been describing – that I remember an event which made a lasting impression on my memory. It was a “Blackfellows’ corroboree.”

At the time the blacks were fairly numerous, and it was their custom to pay the township an occasional visit, chiefly I think, for the purpose of procuring a “blow out” of rum. There was no prohibition against serving the aboriginals with liquor at that time. And then there were time they would be fairly well supplied with money. This would generally occur after Queen’s Birthday, when they had sold their blankets, for many of them would not keep them long after issue. Besides they were bold beggars, and would often obtain money from good-natured residents, ostensibly to buy food, but it very often went for rum, their favourite beverage. They also had other means of becoming intoxicated. The publicans would sometimes allow them to rinse out the rum casks – a privilege they never allowed to pass. In fact, at some houses they looked upon it as their right, and would take possession of an empty rum hogshead, and proceed with their brew without ceremony. Their mode of procedure would be to pour two or three buckets of hot water into the empty barrel, and after rolling it about for a short time, they would have sufficient strong liquor to make a score or more of their number helpless. If not helpless, riotous, and fit for either a fight or a corroboree.

Well it was one of these occasions that I witnessed what I was told was a corroboree. But I should have termed it a fight in earnest, for what with boomerangs and waddies flying, cracked skulls, and blood flowing, it did not look much like a sham fight. I was told it was “a way they had” of showing a friendly feeling “towards each other.” I had my own opinion about it, and kept it.

However, I learned the names of some of the principals. There was Stevy, Emery, Cocky, Whoolaboy, George Merican62 and Billy Green and Bumba. George Merican and Billy Green were both known as kings.

Poor old Bumba was the last of the tribe, and can be remembered by many younger people than I, for he remained with us well into the 70’s. He had certain days for calling on different old residents for his allowance. One gentleman I knew used to give him 2/6 per month, and Bumba, I think must have had a calendar, for he was there as regular as the first of the month came to receive his allowance, until his visits ceased. It was supposed he must have left for some other land.63

Although this tribe - like all other aboriginals – had no fixed place of abode, they were known as the Belmont tribe, and as it were, made Belmont their headquarters.64

They in the early days, were considered somewhat formidable, and were very troublesome to the settlers. Their deeds of theft and murder and the punishment they

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62 George Merican may have been from the Cowpastures. In 1824, Jules Dumont d’Urville attended an Aboriginal gathering near the brickfields. One of the Aboriginal people he spoke to there was “Douel”, and he was “chief of the bellicose Mericon tribe that lives on the Cowpastures Plains”. Page 87, H. Rosenman, (ed.), Two Voyages to the South Seas, Vol. I, Melbourne University Press, 1987.

63 One of Cooramill’s many synonyms for dying.

64 Richmond Hill.
received – sometimes after trial and other times without, but never with a jury – are recorded by early writers, and, perhaps, it is as well for me not to mention particulars. How long they were located here before the white man appeared on the scene it is difficult to say, but it may be conjectured by the imprints of their stone tomahawks on the rocks under Belmont house. These marks can be seen unto this day, and as plainly as they were to the earliest settlers a hundred years ago, and, no doubt, they were there long before the white man came. I can remember them over half-a-century, and they appear to me to be in the same state now as when I first saw them. However, we may safely conjecture that the aborigines did not trouble to make stone implements when they could procure iron so easily as they did after the white man settled among them.

Early 1840’s – blanket distribution

‘Years ago Queen’s birthday was a great day in Windsor among the blacks. I remember they came from Putty and brought wild currants in with them and sold them. They got sixpence a quart for them. From Colo, Comleroy Road, Putty and other places they all made to Windsor on this particular day, for their blankets. They were so numerous at Putty they were called the Putty tribe. I knew two Kings, George Merrikin and Billy Green. Both were proud of the brass plates they wore, which hung on their breasts from a chain round their neck. King George Merrikin had a son he called “Dicky” Powell, because he was born down on Richmond lowlands near old Mr Powell’s. King George’s gin was lame, and she was known as “Lame Maria.” King Billy Green’s gin was named Mary. Then I knew old Stevey, a blackfellow. There was a widow murdered at the Grose by four blacks and a grant of fifty acres was offered to anyone who could catch these four blacks. Stevey knew their whereabouts and told Mr James, and he with old William Carver, came on them early one morning while they were asleep. They sent Stevey away to let Mr Cox of Clarendon, and Captain Brabyn, who then lived at Clifton (both magistrates and high officials then) know about it. Both these men went out, and the blacks were hung out there. Then there was old Bumbah. One hot day he came to the river while I was at the punt and said he was going to have a swim. He dived in and was so long under I thought he was drowned, when to my great surprise up popped his old black head a few yards from the other side. Bumbah and Stevey were thought a lot of.

And it will still be remembered by some, no doubt, how Stevey tracked a man, who stole a cow from Richmond, as far as Regentville, and got him ten years to Cockatoo.

Gilmaroy Jack was another well known black, but was thought very little of. Everyone reckoned you couldn’t trust him, and had to watch him. Johnny Wickeray was a black, but was thought a lot of. Johnny was the means of laying a man on to a good piece of cattle country out at Boggy Swamp. Blacks as a rule not fond of work, and I knew a

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65 Pages 68-67, S. Boughton (Cooramill), *Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down*, Cathy McHardy, 2010

66 Alfred Smith worked on a punt in the 1840’s which I believe was near the modern North Richmond Bridge. The tide then went up as far as Howell’s mill, at Yarramundi. At the time I speak of the river was 176 yards from water’s edge to water’s edge. How I knew was by the length of the rope we used on the windlass or rollers, or whatever their proper names were. Its depth was twenty foot in the middle, and little did I think then I would live to see the sandbanks and as little water as we see today. Page 3, Alfred Smith, *Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite*, Nepean District Historical Society, 1991

67 Probably near Putty.
big black who was about as lazy as anyone would wish to see. For this trait he was called lazy Jack. I remember one black boy, Mudgee Tommy, Mr William Bowman brought down from Mudgee with him. He was with him for a long time and was a handy young fellow at fencing, etc. But being among the whites didn’t suit Tommy, so at last he joined the tribes down here.\(^{68}\) We have had big camps out on the common, and one time they speared a bullock belonging to Thomas Mortimer, who was keeping the pub at the time on the corner of Bosworth and March Streets. A few went out and threatened them what they would do if they speared any more.

There was another big camp out on the Common when I was a boy. Jack Lord (Yarramundi Jack) and myself were out there one day, when we were bits of boys, and a big black got feeling us and said we were fat, and would kill us. We began to cry and told him if he wouldn’t kill us we would bring him some bread and meat back. He let us go and when we got out of spear reach we ran for our lives. We didn’t take him any bread and meat. We have had many a laugh over it since, and both lived long enough to find the blackfellow was only having a “lark” with us.

Once there was a great battle between our tribes and those from the Cowpasture. The Cowpasture blacks came over after some of the gins. There were some killed on both sides. Cowpasture Paddy sided with our blacks a bit and was afraid to go back with his tribe. He used to be a lot about old Mr Thomas Powell’s.\(^{69}\)

Blacks are wonders at finding wild bee nests. I remember Cowpasture Paddy finding a great nest in an apple tree out where the College is, and Thomas Howell got a lot of honey out of it. Old King Merrikin found one out at the Long Hollow\(^{70}\), and one of the Howells got two hundred weight of honey out of it.\(^{71}\)

Circa 1840: snakebite

‘Mrs Pitt’\(^{72}\), while picking up a piece of wood, was bitten on the hand by a snake, and her husband, who had often seen the blacks cure snake-bite, adopted the same method. Unfortunately, in extracting the poison from Mrs. Pitt, it got into his own system, and he was in a more precarious state than his wife.

In the meantime the blacks arrived, and a doctor had been sent for. There is no doubt the aid rendered by the blacks in a great measure saved their lives.

It is a great mistake for a European to try an cure snake bite by the same process as the blacks, for the simple reason that you will not find one in a hundred with a sound set of teeth, whereas with respect to the blacks it is, or used to be, just the reverse. Ninety-nine out of every hundred have sound teeth. And it on this the success of the

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\(^{68}\) Cooramill recounted a group who took a bullock team across the Bell’s Line of Road around 1840. “They were William Bell (of Belmont), William Bowman, Joseph Cope, Thomas Dargin, William McAlpine, William Penton, Senior and a blackfellow named Mudgee Sam.” Pages 97-99, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond, The Hawkesbury Herald.

\(^{69}\) Thomas Howell had a mill at near the present Yarramundi Falls.

\(^{70}\) I don’t know where the Long Hollow was.

\(^{71}\) Pages 142-143, Alfred Smith, Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite, Nepean Historical Society, 1991.

\(^{72}\) Of Trafalgar on Comleroy Road.
operation depends. For if a tooth be decayed the gum is more or less broken. And there lays the danger of the poison mingling with the blood of the would be operator.

Moreover, the blacks always use a quantity of water, and frequently rinse out their mouths when sucking the wound. Then again there is their little charm. You would not see a black attempt to suck a snake bite without a little pebble being first thrust into his mouth. 73

Circa 1840: camp on the Commons

‘Paget Street
We will start in this street at the College 74 end, and up to the corner of Lennox Street there were only two houses when I was a boy. George James lived in one and Thomas Silk in the other. About where Mr. John Cornwell now lives there stood a very large bushy apple tree, which was plentiful on the common then. On Sunday evenings people used to sit there in the hot weather. The blacks were about then, and had their camp not more than a hundred yards the other side. All about there then was a wild bush, but just about that spot is was principally gum trees. 75

Circa 1840: marrying a native

‘Two young men arrived in Kurrajong at an early date, and after trying their hands at various works, more or less renumerative, they decided to get married and settle down. The elder, in his correspondence with his friends in the old country, informed them of their progress in Australia, giving a description of the country, and at the same time informing them of their marriage. He also mentioned that he had married one of his own countrywomen, but that his brother had married a native, forgetting, at the time, that the general impression at home was that all native-born were blacks. The mother was naturally grieved to think her son had married a black woman, and in her reply expressed her grief at, as he termed it, the ‘lamentable mischance.’ It was not until he had received the letter that the brother was aware of the mistake he had made, and as arrangements had been completed for the old people to come out to Australia, there was no available way of enlightening them or removing the false impression, so he had to let them remain in ignorance of the fact until their arrival. Needless to say, the old lady was delighted, on being introduced to her daughter-in-law, to find she was a white woman. Aye, and a real white woman too! 76

1846: Birdseye Corner killing

‘At Richmond my mother was born. 77 Among the sports of the military officers and landed gentry, was hunting the black. 78 Grand-mother told me they went out after

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73 Pages 153, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010.
74 Now UWS.
75 Page 71, Alfred Smith, Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite, Nepean District Historical Society, 1991
76 Page 158, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010
77 Mary Anne Beattie was born 28 May 1846, not at Richmond but in Kerry Lodge which was just north of the Wesleyan Chapel, Castlereagh Road, Upper Castlereagh.
78 The guards with few exceptions are commanded by young officers without experience, and who from the want of other sources of amusement, gladly avail themselves of the society of such of the settlers as casually fall in their way, and insensibly acquire their habits. Intemperance, the bane of the British
them and packs of dogs "just as they hunted foxes in Ireland." "It was just like fox-hunting," she said, for when it was over they made a feast and had a ball." I forbear to give the description she gave of those hunts, or the names of those who took part in them. But once, not long before my mother was expected, a hunt was arranged, and on that day grandfather had to go to Sydney as a witness in a law case. Before he left he loaded the gun for her and said on no account was she to venture out of doors, or the dogs might tear her to pieces. After he was gone she began to make some scones (she was famous as a scone-maker). As she mixed up the dough she heard the dogs, the guns, the shout of the horsemen, and the cries of the hunted who were being driven to the river. It was not the first time, and she went on with her work. Suddenly the door was pulled open and a girl of about twelve rushed in, fell at her feet, clutched her skirts, and with agonised eyes and broken words pleaded for protection. There was nothing that could be done, for immediately "two gentlemen" entered the room, dragged the girl out and beat in her head at the door. The blood was still there when grandfather came home. Just after that my mother was born.

Circa 1850: a pub bet

The date for this extract is approximate. I have included it because it suggests that not many people were fluent in Aboriginal languages at the time. The event described took place in a pub on the corner of Bosworth and March Streets, Richmond.

We next have the old low, low, house on the corner, opposite to the side “Dick” Allen lives on, which was built before my time. When I first knew it was a pub, kept by Thomas Mortimer. His wife died there. A man named Harris, or Owen, kept it as a pub also. John Markwell also kept a “pub” there for some time. While Marwell was there a very funny thing happened. A man who was famous for his non-shouting propensities was in there, sitting on the seat. Several jolly boys came in for a drink

army in New South Wales is painfully prevalent. Nor are the officers, I am sorry to say, exempt from this void. The number of promising youths thus prematurely lost to the service and their families would exceed all belief, were these facts not attested by every regiment which has in succession served in that country.


While Bunbury and Nunn were competitors for promotion within the 80th it is unlikely that Nunn was one of the officers referred to as the 80th left for India in August 1844. Nunn died on active service in 1847.

Major Nunn was one of the early colonists who arrived with Sir John Jamison, and their grants were separated only by the Brenngelly Road, east of Penrith. Nunn’s estate was known as "Frogmore," and is now owned by Edward Heaton, where some of the family still reside.

The Major had imported some bloodhounds, and somehow they had been allowed to run wild’

Page 194, James T. Ryan, Reminiscences of Australia, George Robertson and Company, 1894

‘BY ORDER OF THR MASTER IN EQUITY.
In the Intestate Estate of Lieutenant-Colonel Nunn,
AT FROGMORE, NEAR PENRITH.
MR. MORT HAS received instructions to sell by public auction, on the Estate of Frogmore, near Penrith,
OR MONDAY, 27TH MARCH, At 11 o’clock precisely,
SMH, 14th March 1848’

and invited him to take one with them. The next one’s turn came, and, he too extended the invitation. And so it went the round of the boys, the invitation being given every time. They thought they would drag a shout out of the man by this method, but no. Some of them had been out back and knew a little about the black’s language, and, as they they knew their guest prided himself of knowing more about the black’s language than anyone else, they challenged him to a test. Their friend let off with some of the language and told them they did not know what he was saying. One of them said he was asking them would they have something to drink, and named their drinks and told Markwell to draw them.

The old man protested strongly that wasn’t what he was saying, but it was no go. They were all of the same opinion that that was what he said, and the wind up of it was the old man had to pay for drinks all round.  

8th August, 1844: unfavourable comparison with Maoris

The Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser reinforced the discourse of denial by making an unfavourable comparison between the responses of Aboriginal people and Maoris to having their land taken

‘New Zealand.

THERE is much cause for apprehension, that serious loss of life will occur, ere the untamed spirit of the New Zealander will submit to those laws and restriction which civilised man finds necessary for the protection of life and property in a social condition. The Sydney, which arrived on Friday last, under charter, from the New Zealand Government, to convey a military reinforcement, brings intelligence of an outbreak of this spirit at the Bay of Islands, which locality having been the longest accustomed to the presence of Europeans, one would have supposed the least likely to be the arena of such an attempt - There has been evidently a spirit of disaffection lurking in the breasts of the Natives ever since the British Government have established their sway, - and, no doubt, the turbulent spirits of the savage Chiefs await, but a fitting opportunity to shake off the trammels of civilized life, and to gain possession of their birthright, - which, taught by the Europeans' to estimate at its true value - they at length find they have bartered for a "mess of pottage." The Newzealander, unlike the Aboriginal of this Colony, is alive to the rights of property, and may be looked upon as Lord of the Soil –seeing that he exercises those rights by cultivation as well as fixed residence; and there can be little doubt, now that the novelty of the gewgaws for which he exchanged his paternal acres, has worn off, that he will use every stratagem to regain lost possessions.  

13th February, 1845: Thompson Square

‘THE ABORIGINES.-On Monday evening as three Aborigines were amusing themselves and several of the Military who flocked around them by throwing the Boomerang in Thompson’s Square, Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., on seeing the crowd and hearing the noise which they occasioned, ordered the Natives to be confined in the Watch-house. A constable named Brien, who was present at the time, on hearing the

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81 Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 8th August 1844.
Magistrate's order, immediately rushed on one of them, and dragged and cuffed him along until he was fairly incarcerated. We do not question the propriety of Mr. Fitzgerald's order for imprisoning them - but we do question the right of this constable to ill-treat them or any of her Majesty's subjects in the manner in which he is invariably reported to do on similar occasions; and we hope if any of the inhabitants are spirited enough at any future time to appear against this worthy, and bring home charges of unnecessary severity against him - the Magistrates will do their duty in dismissing him from the police, and otherwise punishing him as he may deserve. We regret to be obliged to notice this man's conduct, but our duty to the Public will not permit us any longer to remain silent on the subject.  

11th of December, 1845: Aboriginal sportsmen  
‘HAWKESBURY RACES'  
Second Race – Hack Stakes for a gold watch, value £20 with £1 each entrance added. One hat around the course. There were nine horses entered, and the race was a good one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horse Name</th>
<th>Finish Position</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Doyle's Wait-a-while</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alexander's pony (Tommy)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 dr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C Robert's Jim Along Josey</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James Roberts' Boon-gong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. North's Shelah</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8 dr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Higgerson's Retriever</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Dight's Sir Charles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hall's Bobby</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Cullen's Jackey Jackey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An aboriginal native, named Jumbo, rode Mr. Doyle's Wait-a-while; and this poor fellow appeared highly delighted at his success. Indeed, all who witnessed the race (not excepting the owners of the beaten horses) manifested their satisfaction at the result.  

On Tuesday last, a foot-race took place at the Peninsula Farm between James Thomson, of sporting notoriety, and an Aboriginal Native named Ned, in the employment of Mr. James Doyle, for £5 a-side. Distance - 100 yards. Thomson was declared the winner by about three inches, having carried off the Judges' handkerchief while Ned was at his heels. Had the distance been longer, there is no doubt but Ned would have been the winner. Several persons assembled to witness the race. We understand Ned will be backed to run Thomson again a distance of 250 or 300 yards, for £10.  

82 Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 13th February 1845.  
Apart from owning the Macquarie Arms in Thompson Square, Fitzgerald was the second largest property owner in the Hawkesbury after William Cox. His attitude may have been shaped by the ongoing conflicts on his properties along the Namoi and Gwydir Rivers in 1838. See page 234, Roger Milliss, Waterloo Creek, Waterloo Creek, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, 1992.  
83 Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 10th April 1845.  
84 Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser, 11th December 1845  
Everingham reconciliation

The Everinghams, like many Hawkesbury families had complex relationships with the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people. In May 1804; Matthew Everingham, his wife and their servant; were wounded in an attack on their Sackville Reach farm. John Everingham, born in 1814 was thought to have at least one child to an Aboriginal or part Aboriginal girl, Mildred Saunders. Ephraim Everingham, who was born around 1855 married Martha Hobbs, reputedly the last full blooded Aboriginal person on the Hawkesbury. Elizabeth Everingham, born on the 10th of June 1805 was John’s older sister. Elizabeth married Charles Butler, her brother Matthew’s assigned servant in 1822. He was executed for murder in 1826 and in 1827 she married John Harman, another assigned servant. Upon his death she married Joseph Ladd in 1837. Joseph and Elizabeth had four children on Mangrove Creek in the 1840’s. Joseph drowned sometime after moving to Wollembi. Elizabeth returned to the Hawkesbury where she visited her sister Sarah at Woodbury’s on Milkmaid Reach. Her descendants thought she was around sixty at this time. She spoke the language of the Aboriginal people of the river and would visit local Aboriginal people, who were almost certain to have been relatives. The date of her death and her burial place are unknown.  

Valerie Ross blended two letters of Caroline Love (Sarah Everingham’s granddaughter) to George Reeve in the 1920’s in which there is mention of the terrible troubles Matthew Everingham had with Aboriginal people. One is in Reeve papers, 7/179, Society of Australian Genealogists and the second dated 15 October 1929 being in the Waddell cottage Galston. I have as yet been unable to trace either of these letters.

Darkey: first usage in Australia

In Reminiscences of Early Windsor the following sporting achievements involving Aboriginal people were recorded. This was the first printed usage of the term darkey in Australia referring to a Aboriginal.

‘September 13th, 1845, Mad Arthur and Kurrajong Sawyer made a wager to roll from Freeman’s Australian Hotel, Windsor, to Blanchard’s Sign Post; the Sawyer won in 9 minutes. The same distance was done immediately afterwards in 5 minutes by Black Bobby. It was very muddy.

At Windsor, December 9, 1845, a race took place between Thompson and an aboriginal (Nedly) for £20, distance 100 yards. Thompson won by a foot.

On July 16, 1855, at Wilberforce, a match took place between Bushell and a darkey for £200, 300 yards. The darkey won by 4 yards.

Circa 1850: two old fogies

It is difficult to accurately place the deaths of Jimmy Potatoes and Stringy Bark Jim. I have made an educated guess of around 1850 based upon John Mayo being born in

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86 Valerie Ross,  
1813. While it is possible they were killed by Aboriginal people, there is no evidence to support this theory.

‘Two old fogies – one called Jimmy Potatoes and the other Stringy Bark Jim – who thought they would outdo Johnny88 and show him a few points in wallaby hunting. They provided themselves with sufficient “tucker” and ammunition to last a fortnight and with their guns proceeded to hunt. But sad to relate, they never returned. Their rusty guns were discovered in a cave many years afterwards by Johnny Mayo, whilst he was assisting in surveying a road into Burralo. No other trace of the men was ever found. It was thought that they had either been lost in the bush or that the blacks had killed them for their tucker and were afraid to touch the guns.89

1858: comings and goings
The sons and daughters of early Hawkesbury settler families moved out of the Hawkesbury in all directions of the compass. Some returned.

Joseph Fleming, born in 1811 moved with his family into the MacDonald Valley. He was both a farmer and business man. In 1838 he had a run on the Gwydir with John Henry, his younger brother. By 1839 he was back in the MacDonald Valley. In the 1840s he was in Maitland operating a boiling down factory. Soon after he was in Ipswich. As well as a boiling down factory there he had extensive land holdings. One of his neighbours was his uncle, Thomas Simpson Hall, a neighbour and relative from the Hawkesbury. In 1852 he sold the license for his “Orraba” run to his brother, John Henry. 90 In 1853, Joseph’s wife Phoebe died during childbirth. In 1858, Prosper Tuckerman married Joseph Fleming’s daughter, Maria at Brisbane. Prosper was born at Sackville in 1833. Maria was born at Wilberforce in 1836. Prosper and Maria, accompanied by Joseph returned to the Hawkesbury. Joseph went back to Ipswich. In 1859 he began his political career as a MLA for the foundation Queensland Parliament, however, his business interests began to unravel and his political career came to an end in the mid 1860s. Joseph Fleming died in Ipswich in 1891.91

4th of October, 1861: the visit of Sir John and Lady Young to Windsor
The following extract is important for its highlighting:
– of the growing anglicising of the Hawkesbury;
– the shift away from the convict past to the free settler future;
– the growing militarism of Australian society;
– the push for the railway to be extended to the Hawkesbury which would make it possible to journey to the Hawkesbury from the city and return in one day.

89 Pages 172, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010
Friday, 4th October 1861
But the visit of Sir John and Lady Young was ... was the most gorgeous public event which ever took place within my recollection at Windsor. His Excellency and Lady, with Lady Bowen and suite, arrived in a carriage at Windsor one Friday afternoon in October, 1861. Every preparation was made by the inhabitants for their reception. The streets of the town were gaily decorated, and a triumphal arch was erected over the Fitzroy Bridge. At the Court House, which was reached a little before 3 o'clock, the Windsor Volunteers were drawn up on the green in front; an address of welcome was presented by me as Member, representing the town, on behalf of the inhabitants. Other addresses followed, and after three cheers, the party proceeded to McQuade's Commercial Hotel, where they were quartered during their stay. A Volunteer Ball took place at the Barracks in the evening, at which about 200 persons were present. His Excellency, Colonel Kempt, Lord John Taylour, and Mr. Turville, also Mr. Cowper, Premier, and Mr. John Robertson (all, alas! now no more except old Sir John) were there. The German Band played exquisite music. A good supper was supplied, and all passed off admirably. Next morning the Volunteers from Sydney arrived by the steamer Victoria - 300 in number. They steamed all night and reached our wharf about 10 a.m. There was no difficulty in navigating the Hawkesbury to Windsor then. The artillery also arrived by the road during the previous night. A levee took place - the first and only one ever held in Windsor - at the Commercial Hotel. The great event, however, was the presentation of colours to the volunteers on the Church green. Lady Young advanced and read a beautiful address, at the conclusion of which she presented the colours (which had been made by the ladies of Windsor) to Lieutenant Scarvell, on behalf of the Windsor Volunteers. Mr. Scarvell read a suitable reply, and, on concluding, called for three cheers for the Queen, also for Lady Young and the ladies of Windsor, Sir John Young and Colonel Kempt. After which His Excellency advanced, and, in a voice audible to the spectators as well as the troops, delivered a lengthy address. [A description of the united proceedings in connection with the ceremony is given in the http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/AUS-NSW-HILLS-HAWKESBURY-HUNTER-VALLEY/2005-03/1110169037]

A public dinner was given to the Governor at the Fitzroy Hotel the same evening (Saturday); it was got up in splendid style; covers were laid for 150 and every seat was filled. Mr. Fitzgerald occupied the chair and myself the vice-chair.

The usual loyal toasts having been drunk, the health of His Excellency was proposed in a neat speech by the chairman. The drinking of the toast was accompanied by vociferous and prolonged cheering. Upon the subsidence of the applause, His Excellency rose and delivered himself of one of those fine speeches for which he was celebrated. I never heard a better of its kind. I cannot quote all his delightful sayings - time will not permit; but winding up, in allusion to people of good character, and possessed of some capita coming to the country, he said :-

"And if such a class were induced to come out here, I cannot conceive a district in which they would be more likely to settle themselves in than in this very district of Windsor, in which we are now speaking. (Cheers.) Here they
would find beautiful cultivated fields, that might recall to the eye and the imagination the fields of England. The horizon is bounded by blue hills, which very much resemble those which are beautiful to the eye, and dear to the recollection of Irishmen and Scotchmen - (cheers) - gardens that perhaps would produce not only every description of vegetables to reward the English labourer, but that are rich in the vine, the olive, the fig", the orange, and in all those varied riches which gleam upon the shores of France or on the sunny coasts of the Mediterranean. I cannot help thinking this a suitable locality for the class of persons whom it would be desirable to attract to those shores. I have now done, and I have only to repeat my thanks for the cordiality of your reception of Lady Young and myself - a welcome that unmistakably betokens your loyalty to the Queen." (Loud and continued cheering.)

Some other speeches were made on the occasion, notably by Colonel Kempt, Mr. William Bowman, and Mr. Piddington, M.P. I was selected to propose the health of the Ministry, and I took advantage of the opportunity to say that I hoped before long we would have a Railway to Windsor.  

Louisa Atkinson: Recollections of the Aborigines

Louisa Atkinson, 1834-1872, lived between Berrima and Kurrajong Heights. She is best known for her botanical work. In 1863 several of her articles under the heading Recollections of the Aborigines were published in the Sydney Morning Herald. While informative her articles often made general rather than specific references. Among her Recollections the first and last stand out because of the references to falling numbers; and the second and third for their insights into Aboriginal spirituality and refutation of settler condemnation of Aboriginal people. At least twice in her articles Louisa Atkinson used the word “invaders” without generating a storm of denial. Her observation that settlers paid Aboriginal workers in rum adds a new perspective to those commentators who bemoaned the impact of alcohol without acknowledging its source.

"These unhappy races have become rather a tradition, than reality, already in many districts."

... they believed the white skinned races to be the dead, alive again, and called some by their supposed former names ...

My own impression is, that in all of these customs, connected with the knocking out the tooth, the severing the female's little finger, the smooth white stone, she carries in her wallet, and indeed their whole practises, there is a reference to spirits, a recognising of Deity, in some crude, uncertain, mystic way - a mystery which shall be carefully kept a mystery from the curious white invader. It is a matter of course to pronounce them the lowest scale in the human ladder; the last link between man and

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monkey; a degraded people incapable of improvement; beyond the pale of civilisation, and destitute of religion, and recognising only an evil spirit. An idolator accustomed to worship the ostensible would look on the Christian religion as a mystery - bowing the knee to the Invisible - our stand point is not such as to enable us to clearly limit the beliefs of the Australian aboriginal, for my own part I would be loth to come to any conclusion, and state it as a fact.

... Many men and lads are employed as drovers and horse breakers- pursuits they like, and are valuable assistants in these capacities. They likewise learn to reap and hay make, and succeed well; but the cruel practice of repaying them in great measure with rum yearly proves fatal to many. They are predisposed to inflammatory attacks, which are aggravated by intemperance and exposure to weather when stupified, and the mortality is proportionate. "They give us rum; and lots of blackfellows die every year," sorrowfully said one sensible man to the writer. That the spirit is greatly diluted it is true, but a very little will intoxicate them - even strong sugar mixed with water; the washings of a sugar bag is sufficient.

Soon will the tribes have passed away from the land. The Richmond tribe is reduced to one; the formerly large tribe is the district of Berrima is nearly, or quite, extinct: and so it is throughout the settled districts.  

20th of January, 1874: death of Mr. Hoskisson

S. Boughton (Cooramill), 1840-1910, was the author of Reminiscences of Richmond, which originally appeared in the Hawkesbury Herald in 1903 provided the following account of John Hoskisson’s life. John was born in 1799 shortly after his father, John Hodgkinson, was killed by Major White and Terribandy. Young John married Sarah Freebody whose father, Simon Freebody, had been found guilty of murdering Little Jemmy and Little George in 1799. John Hoskisson was a successful horse breeder, business man and owner of cattle stations on the Liverpool Plains. Cooramill’s account of John’s life challenges many stereotypes about Aboriginal and settler relations. The article has real value in its reference to Hoskisson using Aboriginal terms in his ordinary language and being able to speak an Aboriginal language which was somewhat unexpected given the hostility of his mother towards Aboriginal people and his marriage to Simon Freebody’s daughter. It suggests that in the early nineteenth century Aboriginal and white people lived closer to each other than history would suggest. Cooramill’s memoirs contemplating the extinction of Aboriginal people before the onslaught of civilization were typical of the romantic genre of the doomed savage. Writing in 1905, Cooramill’s ruminations on Aboriginal place names signals not just the disappearance of Aboriginal people from around Richmond but also the disappearance from memory of Aboriginal people.

'Reminiscences of Richmond.
By " Cooramill."
XXVIII.
Speaking of the death of old Mr. Hoskisson or rather young Mr. Hoskisson, for he could not have been very old when he met his tragic end, I have heard his son John say he was only a boy when the sad event occurred95, and have seen him point to the

95 I think Cooramill was wrong on this point. I believe John was born shortly after his father’s death.
Yellow Rock in the Grose Mountains and heard him say, “That is where my father met his death.” This rock is a conspicuous landmark, and is plainly visible from Richmond.

There is no one living who can remember the sad event, but there are many who knew the son, and, since he was a somewhat remarkable man, a few words concerning him may be of interest.

In the first place, he was a notable type of the early Hawkesburyite – tall, and of good physique. He attributed his height of stature to the fact of his having been nursed by his mother for the first three years of his life, and his rearing was continued on good old hominy. In fact, as there were neither baby comforters nor gutta-percha rings in those days, he cut his teeth on a corn-cob, and as for boots and socks, the first mentioned were a very rare article for boys of the period, and the second was considered necessary only for feminine attire, and even then only as a luxury, to be worn on high days and holidays. And let me tell you our friend was not the only youth of his day and even later, who had similar training. There are many boys who have experienced the pleasant sensation of standing upon the spot just vacated by the old milker on early frosty mornings, and there warming, his feet. I have heard my old friend say, he often found a warmer spot than that in the paddock in which to warm his “mundoies” the native term for the lower extremities. 96 Old Grandfather Hoskisson was great on the aborigines’ language, and could rattle off whole sentences, and interpret them afterwards. I often think if we had the old man with us at the present day, he could give us the meanings of many places that still retain their aboriginal names, which are becoming of more interest every day. It is a great pity that many of them have been superseded by others. Every name had its meaning in the black’s language. It was very expressive, and often euphonious. 97

23rd May 1874: Cricket tragic

‘Cricket

A MATCH was played at Lower Portland on Saturday last, between Eleven Aboriginals and Eleven of the Lower Portland Club. The Darkies made a good show, but after dinner they got lazy and did not do so well. Appended are the scores:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DARKIES - First Innings</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hiram, c Mitchell b Christie</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew, c Mitchell, b Christie</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacko, c Everingham, b Mitchell</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry, b Christie</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick, c Everingham, b Christie</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afee, b Christie</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, b Christie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry, not out</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Cox, b Christie</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber, b Christie</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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96 An Aboriginal word probably meaning feet.
97 Page 272, S. Boughton (Cooramill), Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down, Cathy McHardy, 2010.
Cox, c Eales, b Christie ...1
Total ... 80

PORTLAND HEAD.-First Innings.
Jos. Mitchell, b Perry ... 12
J. Mitchell, b Perry ... 2
E. Mitchell, b Perry ... 0
T. Christie, c Cox, b Perry ... 5
F. Watkins, b Perry ... 5
J. Smith, b Dick ... 16
S. Wall, b George ... 5
C. Green, c Afee b George ... 4
J. Eales, b Dick ... 0
W. Everingham, b George ... 0
J. Lowe not out ... 0
Sundries ... 6
Total ...55

DARKIES.-Second Innings.
Andrew, b Christie ...0
Harry, b Watkins ...6
Hiram, b Christie ...0
Perry, run out ...0
Dick, run out ...8
Jack, c Mitchell, b Christie ...0
Henry Cox, b Watkins ...0
Barber, run out ...5
George, not out ...0
Afee, runout ...1
T. Cox, run out ...0
Total ...19

1st. Innings ...36
Grand Total ...55

PORTLAND HEAD.-Second Innings.
W. Everingham, not out ...1
J. Eales, c and b Dick ...0
E. Mitchell, not out ...0
Total ...1
..55

Grand Total ..56

Portland Head winning with nine Wickets to spare.  

98 The Australian, Windsor, Richmond, and Hawkesbury Advertiser, 23rd May 1874, 
30th of May, 1874: blanket distribution

'THE ABORIGINALS. - On Monday last the remnant of the aboriginals belonging to this district received their blankets, our old friend S. Tuckerman Esq., J.P. as usual superintending the distribution.'

15th of October, 1881: larrikins

'LARRIKINISM is still rife in our midst. The other day day (sic) an aboriginal went for his mate with a stick, and disabled him. This was not all the unfortunate nigger had to endure, for our mischief-loving fraternity soon espied "the subject for a lark." They proceeded to playfully drag him up and down the street, which did not much improve his attire nor his personal appearance. Ultimately, the darkie's friends rescued him from his tormentors.'

30th of April, 1881: darkies on the farms

'Sackville Reach.
(From our Correspondent.)
This district has been favoured with a splendid season throughout; the rainfall has been quite sufficient to meet present requirements, and the farmers, as a body, have enjoyed a happy time for some few months.

SINCE the melon crop was disposed of, the harvesting of the maize has been the study of the settlers the last few weeks; and in some instances the farmers have gathered in their all. The average yield per acre was something like seventy-three bushels, as nearly as I can guess, from the loads drawn from the field. Of course, this quantity refers to the richest of our lands about the district.

OUR old friend, Mr. Holmes, will be glad to hear that his property has produced immensely this season, in the shape of melons, pumpkins, and corn. His tenant expects to have fifteen hundred bushels of the latter. This prosperous state of things on the Hawkesbury meets my expectations of the good old time coming, referred to some time back in your issue. Off the same little farm I once housed an immense crop of maize- I think as far back as the year 1855. Our youths about the district are deserving of great credit for their bravery in pulling through the work; and the darkies, I understand, have rendered much valuable assistance to their employers, in the neighbourhood of old Mr Hall's valuable estate – a string, as long as fifty feet of long pepper, working day and night.

Our stock is in a thriving condition, and our winter's prospects are not amiss.'

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28\textsuperscript{th} of May, 1881: Queens Birthday celebrations

Rambler’s humorous study of the Queen Victoria’s birthday celebrations revealed the growing militarism of Australian society and the ongoing impact of alcohol on Aboriginal people.

‘THINGS IN GENERAL.
By “RAMBLER.”

SATURDAY was a day redolent of gun powder - long will our inhabitants have cause to remember it. In this warlike age everybody is a warrior, so fervently has every one taken hold of the fighting mania. This being thus, anything of a belligerent nature is received with approval. Well, on Saturday the “beautiful village” literally teemed with red-coats, who had come from various parts of the universe to play war. They assembled on the Park, and such a stalwart body of men would create awe in the breast of a Boer, or a sardine. They were put through their evolutions by Colonel Holborow and Captain Norris, whose foaming, panting, steeds pranced around a few, as the volleys pealed forth - to the chagrin of the spectators - but not a warrior flinched, not a muscle moved, the iron-nerved martyrs stood to their arms like men, aye - "Whilst all the world wondered." They acquitted themselves nobly, and drew from the beholders many tokens of approval. Hordes of visitors rendered the scene enchanting to the view, and the crimson jackets of the soldiers, the verdure of the sward, the palatial mansions around, the habiliments of the group, and Pat Molloy’s helmet produced in effect as picturesque a pageant as one would wish to behold. The head-quarters’ band discoursed sweet melody, and the dulcet strains seemed to inspire the fair sex more than those of sterner stuff - indeed, one would have had little trouble to have raised an Amazonian army sufficiently strong enough to scoot over and let the sawdust out of the bellicose Land Leaguers. At the conclusion of the marching, counter-marching, yelling, and counter-yelling, the brave fellows marched round Richmond, driving all before them (in the shape of dogs, cats, &c). Anyone who could raise a piece of dimity waved it, and when tired gave it to someone else to wave. After this gallant sally, they marched for the train, and left Richmond midst tumultuous cheering. Nothing of note occurred until near Windsor, when several demonstrative folks fired a volley from the carriage windows. Things then became lively - horses snorted, dogs barked, ladies squealed, men howled, and everybody flew here, there, and everywhere; thus converting the charming and peaceful station into a very chaos - reminding me of the siege of Corinth. When tranquility was restored, the band struck up a lively air, and a few of the soldiers went in lemons at a break-down - all of them appearing as jolly as if they were returning to their hearths and homes laden with spoil.\footnote{While I have found references to “\textit{went in lemons}”, particularly in contemporary American sources I am not sure what the phrase means. In the sources I have located it is used in the sense of “\textit{we went in lemons and came out squeezed}”.} That fellow who played the slide trombone afforded much amusement; the talent compared it to the Wiseman’s Telegraph Span.\footnote{The telegraph wire spanning the Hawkesbury River at Wiseman’s ferry, linking the northern settlements to Sydney by Morse code.} The fun did not last long - the steam whistle blew and away went the Parramatta contingent - leaving many aching hearts behind.

Tarantara!

QUEEN’S BIRTHDAY dawned in as slap up, soul-thrilling, delightful a manner as is possible this side of Paradise. The scene in the empyrean was one guaranteed to make...
the heart of a paddymelon melt away in bliss - the grandeur was some. Therefore, this being a loyal community, loyal people went in for enjoying themselves in a loyal style, and Queen Vic. had no more demonstrations in her honor at Woolloomooloo than she had on the Hawkesbury. Cricket matches were played, picnicians went in for a good time, and Corinthians held a race meeting "down the long lane"; altogether things hummed some. The noble aboriginals stalked around as majestically as a Muscovy duck, and after the blankets had been anted up, they made all sorts of haste to swallow them (metaphorically, of course). At night, bonfires blazed, rockets ascended, crackers cracked, tar-barrels rolled, fire balls flew aloft, the talent roared, and peace loving people prayed for the resurrection. Oh, yes! we had a bully time, and it seemed to be the universal wish that Her Most Gracious Majesty will live long to witness the tokens of fealty displayed by her loyal subjects. So mote it be.  

28th of May, 1881: Blanket Day

The description of this blanket distribution provides a range of information about the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people. It suggests that most Aboriginal people were living around Lower Portland and that Aboriginal people of mixed parentage lived with their Aboriginal relatives and identified as Aboriginal people.

‘BLANKET DAY.-The aborigines of the district assembled at the Windsor Court House on the Queen’s Birth Day, for the yearly distribution of blankets There does not appear to be any falling off in the contingent; but the aborigines are gradually losing their distinctive character, and are becoming a whitey-brown nation. The following are the names and ages of the Lower Portland tribe:-Elizabeth Captain, 28; Margaret Shaw, 28; Jane Shaw, 6; Christina Shaw, 5; an infant, one week old; Sally Barber, 23; Charles Cumber, 50; Matilda, 85; Joseph Frederick, 3; Elizabeth Doyle, 27; Bertie Nowland, 24; Totty Barber, 3; Albert Shaw, 3; Andrew Barber, 26; Albert Andrew Barber, 22; Boney Stewart, 22; Rachael Lenart, 23; Harry Cubrer, (reads) 25; Margaret Cumber, 30; Willie Cumber, 12; Alfred E. Everingham, 10; Emily Everingham, 2; Sally Bowman, 23; Tommy Cox, 60; George Captain, 37; Johnny Barber, 55; Elizabeth Barber, 24; Edward Barber, 8; Charles Barber, 6; Arthur Muley, 4; Jane Barber, 18.

The bestowal of a suit of clothes in addition to the blanket given annually to each of the aboriginal natives, is now under the consideration of the Government.

29th of October, 1881: racism and historical confusion

While the racism of the following piece is quite appalling, it is its historical inaccuracy that makes this piece stand out.

‘St. ALBANS.

105 Probably a relation of Captain Jack.
(From our Correspondent.)

ONCE again I am upon the warpath. Your readers who are interested in the welfare of this beautiful spot, will doubtless think your correspondent here very negligent; but as the course of true love is never smooth, so also, the course of ordinary events sometimes assumes the appearance of the fretful porcupine, and presents a very rough aspect. When a man, through inclement weather, has to plough his ground twice, and plant his corn a second time, the heart grows sick; and he feels, as you are aware, very much disinclined to write correspondence to a newspaper. Never mind, Richard is himself again; so here goes. I had a confabulation with a man the other day, who came into this place when it was only inhabited by our dark brothers. I think as far as my recollection serves me he said, that he visited the McDonald just after Captain Cook drove all the blacks up here to be whitewashed. I might remark, en passant, that the whitewash did not take - it peeled off. Captain Cook abandoned the idea, and those who came after drove the darkies as far as they could inland, so that they should be as little expense as possible on the fraternal Government of New South Wales. The number of blankets now distributed by the Government is so small that the incumbrance is not felt. Poor aboriginal! I intend pumping my old friend, as soon as opportunity offers, with regard to the early history of this place; as I know he has a stock of information which, if put into print, would prove interesting to most of your readers. 108

17th of January, 1882: Courts

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this court case was the fact that an Aboriginal man was allowed into a public House.

‘Police News
WINDSOR POLICE COURT.
TUESDAY, JANUARY 17TH, 1882.
(Before Messrs. Gordon and W. H. Johnston, J’s. P.)

ATTEMPT TO STEAL.
William Shippy, an aboriginal belonging to Mudgee, was charged with attempting to steal money from the pocket of Samuel Miles.

Constable Brook said he arrested prisoner on the 12th instant in George-street, Windsor, about 10 o’clock at night; he charged him with attempting to steal money from the pocket of one Samuel Miles in the bar of the Railway Hotel, George-street, Windsor; in answer to the charge he said he knew nothing about it; he was under the influence of drink at the time; he has been driving for Patrick Ryan for about a fort night.

Samuel Miles, a labourer at present working on the railway line at Windsor, said he saw prisoner in the bar at the Railway Hotel, George-street, Windsor, on the night of the 12th instant; prosecutor went there to get a glass of beer; after he paid for the beer he put the change, 1s 9d, into his left hand trousers pocket; the prisoner was sitting down with him on that side; he felt something touching his pocket, and looking round he saw prisoner's hand as far up as the knuckles in witness' pocket where the

money was; no one came into the bar with witness; they were not dividing money after coming out of a gambling shop.

Defendant pleaded not guilty, and elected to take the summary jurisdiction of the Court.
To be imprisoned until the rising of the Court, he having been in gaol since Thursday, 12th instant.\textsuperscript{109}

1st of September, 1881: more racism
It would appear that the following piece of racism was penned by the editor of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette.

‘Out in the back country one generally manages to become acquainted with the use of fire-arms; game is abundant, and a good shot can pot anything from a kangaroo to a nigger. It is no credit to a man to be able to take home a bag of game every time he takes his shooting-iron out. Therefore a Parramatta resident was not surprised a short time ago at receiving a letter from a dutiful son far away in the bush, in which it was stated that he "was becoming a first-class shot; killed three ducks at one pop yesterday." But what DID surprise him was to receive, about a week after wards, a wire - which ran thusly: " Send along some money; the ducks I shot were not wild ones." The second wire explained itself - the youth evidently didn't want the ducks when he found they were tame ones - but the owner came in with a double-barrelled shot-gun and persuaded him to take them.\textsuperscript{110}

8\textsuperscript{th} of September, 1888: even more racism
The editor of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette would appear to be also responsible for this piece of public betterment. His ideas appear to be an amalgam of contemporary religious, philosophical and scientific twaddle.

‘It is a curious and indisputable fact that we can supply missionaries with the wherewithal to Christianise the "little heathen,"\textsuperscript{111} and with all the requisites to place our black brethren in the way of civilisation - whilst some of our white confreres are on the brink of starvation and ruin. Charity should commence at home, and the sufferings of those who are of our own household should certainly be alleviated before any movement is made to extend civilisation to the "little heathen." The "little heathen" don't care a brass farthing about civilisation, and don't actually want it. Civilise them, fill them chock full of religious ideas, and - just as the object is on the point of being completed - they airily wing their flight to the realms of bliss. It is with the wild races of human beings as with wild animals, and birds, and trees, and plants. Those only will survive who can domesticate themselves into servants of the modern forms of social development. The lion and the leopard, the eagle and the hawk, every creature of earth and air which is wildly free dies off or disappears; the sheep, the ox, the horse, the ass, accepts his bondage, and thrives and multiplies. So it is with man.

\textsuperscript{110} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 1\textsuperscript{st} September 1888, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72557739
\textsuperscript{111} A phrase certainly used by Charlotte Bronte in Jane Eyre, Charles Dickens in Our Mutual Friend and also by Kipling in several works.
The negro submits to the conditions, becomes useful, and rises to a higher level. The Red Indian and the Maori pine away as in a cage, sink first into apathy and moral degradation, and then vanish. Civilisation kills them straight - and acts as did the last straw on the back of the camel. Civilisation, and rum - which is an outcome of the former - have almost effectually wiped Out the original - or aboriginal - inhabitants of this country, and will be as effectual in all other parts where the experiment is tried. The first step on the part of humanitarians should be to aid their own kith and kin, - who require it - and leave those who are not in need to take care of themselves. Teach the white man to bear his troubles bravely, and to use his endeavours to effect a beneficial change in his worldly affairs, and by so doing, a lasting blessing will be conferred upon the race, generally.\(^\text{112}\)

1889: gum leaf band

The “aboriginal gumleaf band” points to the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people continuing to interact with settler society. It is interesting to contrast this article with the negative tone of that which follows.

‘In 1889, at a guinea a ticket, 600 people attended a complimentary banquet at Wiseman's Ferry Inn, given to Peter Kemp on his return from winning the world sculling championship from Ned Hanlon. The banquet lasted a couple of days. An aboriginal gumleaf band met Peter and the visitors at Windsor Railway Station.\(^\text{113}\)

1st of June, 1889: blanket day and gloomy predictions

‘Once more the few remaining dusky natives of the colony have had their respective blankets doled out to them. Year by year they are growing beautifully less, and in a very short space of time it will be necessary to chronicle the demise of the last genuine aboriginal of the district. On Friday 70 blankets were distributed at the Court House, but out of that number a very small percentage went to genuine blacks. Most of those who were recipients were piebald in colour; many were as white as the average Australian; and one in particular rejoiced in the possession of as good a head of red hair as it would be possible to see in a day's walk. The whole thing is becoming a complete farce, and the sooner the practice is abolished the better. These people, who all earn a good living in various parts of the district, are brought from their homes, sometimes many miles away, to receive the annual gift of "Mister Guberment" and oftentimes they do not retain possession of the blanket for more than a few hours, disposing of it for a few shillings with which to purchase the national beverage, rum. As a natural consequence, they become intoxicated, and during their few days' stay in town render night and day hideous, besides proving a source of annoyance to the residents. It would be far better to allow them to remain in their bush homes, where at least they do not make themselves obnoxious to the people, than to entice them into the towns where they commit excesses, and often get themselves into trouble. They are dying out fast enough-and it would be a mercy to the poor creatures to allow them to do so in peace and quietness.\(^\text{114}\)

\(^{113}\) Page 27, Wiseman’s Ferry, Charles Swancott, Central Coast Printery, Gosford, 1970.
29th of June, 1889: a court appearance and sanctimonious platitudes
The humanitarian care of the editor of the *Windsor and Richmond* Gazette to ease the passing of Aboriginal people should be placed in the context of his attack on the “philanthropist”’s eager and keen to convert the “little heathen”.

‘On Friday last a remark was passed by the Police Magistrate at Windsor, which deserves mention. It appears that an unfortunate dusky native of the soil had been before the Bench, and was sent to gaol for a brief term for drunkenness. The Police Magistrate asked whether boots were not dealt out to these wretched creatures by the Government, and was informed that they were not, whereupon he expressed an opinion to the effect that in severe weather such as that prevailing just now they should be given. And so they should, without doubt. The authorities in their wisdom have deemed it necessary to annually dole out a blanket to every aboriginal in the colony - and seeing the rapid manner in which the race is dying out of existence, some steps should be taken to render their remaining years at least comfortable. Civilization, and rum - the outcome of it - are doing their work of destruction, and in another quarter of a century the genuine dusky native will in all probability be a thing of the past. In the interests of humanity it is but right, therefore, that the few remaining representatives of the race should have some little care paid them - more particularly as we find in our midst philanthropists eager and willing to lend their assistance in securing the speedy conversion of the little heathen in other parts of the globe, whilst they apparently neglect those within gunshot of them.’

18th of September, 1889: Sackville Reach Aboriginal Reserve on Cumberland Reach
The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve, of about 150 acres, was proclaimed on the 18th of September 1889. An additional 30 acres was also set aside on Kent Reach. Despite being on Cumberland Reach, the reserve was apparently so named because Aboriginal people had lived on Sackville Reach.

31st of May, 1890: Blanket day and more sanctimony
The following article is revealing in its anticipation that the looming disappearance of Aboriginal people would remove an eyesore. Truly out of sight, out of mind.

‘The dusky natives of this district are very quickly being civilized off the face of the land and each Queen's birthday their numbers are growing beautifully less. On Saturday last the few who remain had handed out to them a miserable dole in the shape of an inferior, cheap and nasty class of Government blanket. Why this absurd practice of giving this paltry present to the aborigines should any longer be continued is rather strange and unaccountable. These people are brought into town from miles down the river; they hang about the place, drinking and making night hideous, and finally leave, minus the very article for which they travelled so long a distance. If the powers that be were inclined to be so generous, why not send to the various settlements in the district a parcel of blankets and have them distributed there, thus averting the necessity for the poor unfortunate creatures travelling all the way to town, and doing away with the encouragement afforded to them whilst here to fill themselves up to the throats with fighting-rum. Of those who presented themselves on

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Saturday there were but half-a-dozen men and women who could claim to be really black, the remainder of the tribe being made up of children of a half-and-half shandy-gaff colour. In a year or two hence, rum and "civilization" will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain, and perhaps it will be a good thing, too, not only for themselves - as they most, most assuredly, hang out a most miserable existence - but for our boasted civilization, - as it will have removed one of the eyesores which most people who believe this is an age of progress and enlightenment see in the remnants of an ignorant, uncultivated, unintellectual and inferior race, such as the dusky natives of this Colony have proved themselves to be.

This reminds me of a story which was told me the other day respecting the proposed distribution of blankets at the Windsor Court-house some years ago. It was during the time that Sir Hercules Robinson (the Governor) was away at Fiji, and, as most people remember, his place was temporarily occupied by Sir Alfred Stephen. The blankets had arrived some days previous to the 24th, but were found to be damaged and were returned. The fresh supply did not come to hand in time, but the aboriginals mustered in great force at the Court-house, unaware of the non-arrival of the annual dole. The Senr-sergeant called from the crowd one of the men, and sought to explain to him the reason for the non-delivery of the blankets. He said, "You see, white fellar down there send'em bad blanket - me send'em back; not good bought for you – twige-vous. Me get'em blankets next week send'em down to you - twigevous." This explanation the sergeant repeated several times, finishing up with " twige vous " on each occasion, until at last the dusky native got wild, and ejaculated, much to the amusement of the congregated crowd, "To - with your - twigevous; I want my blangry;" and turning round to an aged savage close by he explained, "That fellar Gubernor down there not half a - Gubernor; our good Gubernor gone away in Fiji." Then he left, and the whole tribe, much disappointed at the result of their trip from the back-blocks of the Hawkesbury quickly followed.

13th of December, 1890: oral recollections
The following recollections from Prosper Tuckerman indicate again the problems of oral history. Governor Phillip had left the colony before the Hawkesbury was settled in 1794. The “severe measures” he referred to were probably Lieutenant Abbott’s activities in 1795. The Reverend James Steele’s use of the word “troublesome” in his only reference to Aboriginal people in his 1916 work Early Days of Windsor (“the natives were troublesome, some troops from the N.S.W. Corps were sent up, and the settlement of Windsor, then called Green Hills, was fairly launched”) suggests that Prosper Tuckerman’s article in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette was the source of his research.

When the first pioneers of the Hawkesbury were fighting their way in the year 1794, and bringing into cultivation the land their successors now occupy, the blacks were somewhat troublesome and Governor Philip was obliged to take severe measures to prevent them from interfering with the settlers. ...
By this time the tribe of blacks had been reduced to somewhere about a hundred. About 200 yards from my homestead there are a lot of very old marks on the rocks, where they used to grind their stone tomahawks. The ridge appears to have been a favourite spot for them in the early days.

1890: Sackville Reach Public School

There were six Aboriginal children attending Sackville Reach Public School in 1890.

4th of July, 1891: stereotypes

The following confection from the pages of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette appears to draw most of its inspiration from North American mythologies.

‘In days gone by, when the aborigines desired a corroboree on a scale of greater, magnificence than ordinarily, it was the custom for the Great Medicine Man to retire into a sort of sacred seclusion for a short period prior to the event. He sought some wild, romantic spot, usually some lonely precipitous headland or waterworn shore where, amidst the sounds of nature and the "harmony of the spheres," the voice of the Great Spirit came to him and whispered in his ear the words and tune of the great song the tribes were to unite in singing. These, when mastered by him, were taught to certain individuals who were despatched to the different tribes, to whom they imparted the instructions they themselves had learned from the Medicine Man. When all were thus proficient in the "service of song" and its accompaniments, a grand gathering of the clans took place, and the corroboree was duly celebrated. This old custom has been recalled to my mind by the similarity of the tunes lately sung by the various political candidates. They all seem to "harp on the same string." If you hear one, you hear all - one plaintive, melancholy, monotonous refrain, remarkable - neither for its, originality, "depth, nor comprehensiveness," but replete with time-honored supplications and semi-decayed aphorisms. Undoubtedly, the great political medicine man in Sydney imparted some of his inspirations to these itinerent singers, who, catching a few of the "Grand Old Man's" precepts, are now diffusing his teachings throughout the various electorates in their own monotonous whang-doodle styles.’

30th of May, 1891: blanket day and indignation at government handouts

The following piece is most telling in its determination to remove any presence of Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury, particularly those Aboriginal people of mixed parentage who identified as Aboriginal people and were accepted by their Aboriginal relatives, but not by settler society.

‘THE ABORIGINALS.-A motley array of aboriginals - men, women and children - pervaded the precincts of the Court-house on Monday, waiting to receive the customary blanket which constitutes the " Queen's bounty" to these benighted people on her august Majesty's natal day. Upwards of 50 townspeople assembled to witness

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119 At Sackville Reach.
121 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 31 May 1890
the proceedings, and shortly after noon, close upon 100 blanket were served out, to
the evident delight of the darkies, who gave three cheers for the Queen, but they were
very feeble cheers. There is no gainsaying the fact that the race is becoming rapidly
extinct, for there were not above a dozen full-blooded aboriginals in the whole lot.
Indeed, it would be difficult for the casual observer to understand by what right some
of them were entitled to share in the distribution.\textsuperscript{123}

\textbf{30th of May, 1891: Minstrel entertainment at Sackville School of Arts}

"\textit{Bones\textquotedblright} and "\textit{Tambo\textquotedblright} were two stock characters in minstrel show, both drawing
their names from the instruments they played, i.e., bone castanets and the tambourine.
Apart from their musical ability, both characters were the butt of the "\textit{Interlocuter's
nigger jokes\textquotedblright}.

'Sackville Reach.

There was a fair attendance at the tea-meeting held in connection with the School of
Arts, at Sackville Reach on Monday last. A counter attraction, in the shape of a
cricket-match and tea-meeting at Leets Vale, took away a number of residents, who,
under other circumstances, would have patronized the Sackville demonstration.

A good number of ladies and gentlemen sat down to an enjoyable repast at 1 o'clock.
The edibles were provided by the School of Arts Committee, and the following ladies
kindly assisted at the table: Mesdames Aspery and Wright, and the Misses Dunstan,
Aspery, Stephens, Stephen, Woods, and Stubbs. At 4 o'clock another meal was
partaken of, and weird and wonderful games such as " Jolly Miller," "Bachelor in
search of a Wife," &c, were engaged in until 7 o'clock, when the School of Arts hall
was packed by a crowd of members of both sexes, who patronized the minstrel
entertainment given in aid of the Park Villa C. C. funds. The following gentlemen took
part:-A. D. Wright, Interlocutor; J. Aspery, Bones; and G. Hastwell, Tambo. The
following were the songs, interlarded with numerous nigger jokes, &c:-Overture,
"Spirit of the Ball"); "Old Folks at Home," Company; "Good Old Jeff," Bones; "Little
Brown Jug," Company; "Rustic Bridge," Bones; "Bally Hooly," Tambo; "Uncle
Jefferson," Company; "Nelly Bligh," Tambo; "Moriarty," Mr. Woodhouse; "Poor Old
Mr. A. D. Wright then gave a stump speech on "Temperance," and a sketch entitled,
"The Haunted Room" followed. Afterwards a dialogue, "Pat and the Magistrate," was
given by Messrs. L. White and A. Watkins, and the farce, "Waxination Gratis" brought
the performance to a close. The entertainment realized £2 11s 6d. Dancing followed,
and was kept up until a late hour on Tuesday morning. Altogether a very pleasant day
and evening were spent, and the thanks of all were due, and were awarded to Messrs.
T. J. Bennett, A. D. Wright, A. Wood. Wall, and many others who rendered valuable
assistance.\textsuperscript{124}

\textbf{18\textsuperscript{th} of July, 1891: Dora Dora Blacks pass through Kurrajong}

Apart from travelling through the Hawkesbury the two “Dora Dora Darkies” had no
connection with Dora Creek. Dora Dora is near Albury. The two men apparently
came from Queensland and made their way back there after killing a man at Dora

\textsuperscript{123} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30\textsuperscript{th} May 1891, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72540013}
\textsuperscript{124} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30\textsuperscript{th} May 1891, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72539983}
Dora. They were captured not far from home in Queensland, tried and executed in 1894.125

‘Dora Dora Blacks wanted for murdering a Russian
The Dora Dora Blacks, we hear, are on their way to the Kurrajong Mountains. A reward of £200 is offered for their apprehension, so Kurrajongers had better look out.’126

Two darkies, carrying swags, traversed George-street on Wednesday, and the town was informed by some practical jokers that they were identical with the Dora Dora blacks. They were, however, able to prove a 'halibi' as the elder Weller called it. 127

17th of October, 1891: Dora Dora Blacks at Colo

THE DORA DORA BLACKS.
REPORTED TO BE AT COLO.

On Wednesday information was conveyed to the police at Windsor to the effect that the residence of a settler at Central Colo, whose name is Charley Whately, was entered whilst he was at work in his orchard some little distance away, and a gun, ammunition, and some food taken away. Mr. Whately, heard a noise inside, and fancied it was a stick which had fallen out of the fire. When he entered the house and discovered the facts of the case, he raised an alarm. The police was sent for to Windsor, and Constable Rogers, of Wilberforce proceeded to Colo. In the meantime, a search party, organized by Mr. C. Blundell, scoured the adjacent country. They took up tracks issuing from Mr. Whately's residence, and followed them for a considerable distance. The tracks were those of two persons, one of whom had boots on, the other being barefooted. The pair had evidently walked in the same track for a long distance. The searchers at last came upon a camp, where a rude gunyah had been erected, and found near the ashes, where a fire had been kindled, the remains of a native bear, off which the fugitives had evidently made a hearty meal. Further than this, no trace of the whereabouts of the persons "wanted" was discovered.

125 ‘The official record of the murder at Dora Dora states that on the 2nd May, 1891, two blackfellows came stealthily behind a Polish settler named Sovran Mursezkvitz at Bassen Creek, Dora Dora, Albury, New South Wales, and speared him between the shoulders. They then demanded his money, which he gave them. In handing over his money to the blacks Mursezkvitz made a remonstrance, when one of the blacks returned him two notes and the other one note. They then disappeared. The injured man was found and conveyed to the Albury Hospital, where his dying depositions were taken. The description of two black trackers who had absconded from the Victorian police service was read over to the wounded man, who stated that they corresponded with his assailants, and that when they had made the attack they carried a tomahawk. He also gave the numbers of the bank notes taken from him. A reward of £50 was offered by the New South Wales Government for the capture of either of the offenders, but they invariably eluded their pursuers. The descriptions given of the deserted trackers were as follow: - Jack, 22 years old, 5ft. 6in. in height, light build, small features, small moustache, active appearance. He was said to speak English fairly well. Willie, 20 years of age, about 5ft. 5in. high, round full face, medium build. On the 18th March, 1891, prior to committing the murder, the deserters were seen at Tatong. The difficulty, of capture in bush districts is always largely increased in the case of aboriginals, but in the capture of the Dora Dora blacks the police have a particularly hard task set them, as they are pursuing men trained in every feature of bush travelling, and especially selected for the work of tracking on account of this knowledge.’


On Thursday, Senr-constable McMahon, armed to the teeth, was sent away to assist Constable Rogers. As there is a reward of £200 for the Dora Dora darkies, they are well-worth running to earth.

A report received by Senr-Sergeant Fitzpatrick from Senr-Constable McMahon on Friday morning states that two men have been tracked some distance, but nothing farther has been learned of their whereabouts. They are supposed to be making in the direction of Wendo Mountain. It is believed that they crossed the river at Colo on the 11th instant.

21st of October, 1891: more stereotypes

'A district darky the other day solicited 3d from a townsman. Possibly he wanted to buy a loaf of bread. "Why don't you work, and earn money," asked the latter. "Waal, boss, work's right enough when you'b got nothing else to do, but there's no plurry fun in looking for it," replied the dusky warrior.

12th of December, 1891: cricket

'Cricket.
The Agricultural College Club met the Sackville players in Windsor on Saturday last, and received a crushing defeat. From the start it was evident they were over matched, but, nevertheless, the College boys took their gruel splendidly and pegged away with dogged persistence when they hadn't a ghost's show of winning. The aboriginal, Barber, for Sackville team, exhibited good form behind the wickets. He is a clever wicket-keeper - too clever in fact, for in one case at least he whipped the bails off before the ball reached the wicket, and appealed. The umpire, falling a victim to the darkey's outeness, gave the batsman out.

23rd of January, 1892: Dora Dora blacks all over the place

'The chase after the Dora Dora blacks, who murdered that unfortunate Russian some nine or ten months ago, is getting amusing, if not monotonous, and one is inclined to think that, even if the job has been one of difficulty, the troopers will have to look to their laurels. Narandera, Breadalbane, Windsor, Tamworth, and Quirindi have successively seen the fugitives, or known of their presence, and they are always traced to within a mile or so, but never found. Darkness always comes on, too, just when their pursuers are upon them; and it is not remarkably likely that the blacktracker will run down his compatriots if he can help it.'
23\textsuperscript{rd} of January, 1892: court

‘Charlie Comfort, the darkie, was too cute for the Bench the other day. He was arrested for drunkenness, and was asked who supplied him with liquor. Charlie winked both eyes, and promptly replied, ”a gen’leman up the street.” The Bench smiled."\textsuperscript{132}

16th April 1892

The failure to count First Peoples in the census points to determination to remove their presence that extended through all levels of Australian society.

‘The last census sets the population of the Hawkesbury Electorate down at 10,339. Males, exclusive of Aborigines, 5411, 2926 being under and 2485 over 21 years. The females, exclusive of Aborigines, number 4928, 2700 being under and 2228 over 21 years. The number of Chinese in the district is 41.\textsuperscript{133}

13\textsuperscript{th} of August, 1892: Peter Jackson

Peter Jackson was born in 1901 in the West Indies, a free man and a grandson of a slave. He came to Australia about 1880, became an Australian citizen, and a boxer in 1882. He won the Australian heavyweight title in 1886. In 1891 John L. Sullivan, the world heavyweight champion refused to fight him because he was black. In 1892 Jackson fought and defeated a fellow Australian, Frank Slavin, in London. The Windsor and Richmond Gazette carried the following report of the Jackson Slavin fight. “John L. Sullivan's brief comment on the Jackson-Slavin fight: ”The man who fights a nigger deserves to get licked.””\textsuperscript{134} Jackson died in 1901 in Queensland of tuberculosis.

27\textsuperscript{th} of May, 1893: blanket return and more questions about identity

‘The local ”darkies” rolled up in great force on Queen's Birthday, went to Windsor, and returned in the afternoon to their quarters on the Blacktown-road.\textsuperscript{135}

The Holiday.

The Queen’s 78th birthday passed over very quietly in the Hawkesbury district on Tuesday. The weather was cold and showery at times, but still the great bulk of the people went somewhere or other for an outing. Windsor was well-nigh deserted. The Aborigines from all parts of the district rolled up, to the number of about 100, and received their blankets. By the way, the race seems to be rapidly dying out, and by far the greater number of those who presented themselves at the Court-house on Tuesday were a long way from being genuine ”darkies.” In fact, many of them would require ”another dip” before they could even claim to be called copper coloured, nevertheless, they got there just the same.\textsuperscript{136}

‘Anyone going along the roads on Tuesday morning would have observed the darkies and half-casts rolling in dozens seeking for their annual dole of blankets, and at night they could be seen wending homewards in their vehicles and on foot. Some with a

\textsuperscript{132} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 23\textsuperscript{rd} January 1892, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72542067
\textsuperscript{133} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 16\textsuperscript{th} of April 1892, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72542697
\textsuperscript{134} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 13\textsuperscript{th} August, 1892, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72544776
\textsuperscript{135} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 27\textsuperscript{th} May 1893, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72546943
\textsuperscript{136} Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 28\textsuperscript{th} May 1892, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72543008
drunken leer yelled out as they passed other vehicles on the road, "We got our blankets ole fellah."137

9th of September, 1893: problems with memory

John Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick (1862-1932), founded and edited the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* between 1888 and 1899. James Padley, a reporter for the paper used the pseudonym Yeldap, in publishing *V. – The ABORIGINES*, one part of a series called *The Good Old Days*, published in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* during the 1890s. In his version, Yeldap acknowledged that his account was based on the recollections of an “*old resident*” who must have been well into his nineties. The events described included the aftermath of killings at Emu Plains; the killing of three settlers in a hut; a massacre on the other side of the Blue Mountains; and encounters with Aboriginal people while droving. The killings at Emu Plains may have been those described by Toby Ryan, which would date them to 1816. The killing of the three men in the hut and the subsequent massacre would have happened in 1824. Rupees were in circulation for many years before sterling became legal tender in 1825, so it is likely that the incident described, happened before 1825. Padley, being born in 1861 was not an eyewitness to these events, and nor was Fitzpatrick who was born in the following year.

The “*old resident*” may have been an amalgam of sources. Robert Farlow interviewed Alfred Smith, 1831-1917, in 1909-10, when Smith was nearly eighty, and published his recollections in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*. Smith's description of a droving trip around 1850, published on the 8th of January 1910, suggests that he was the source of Yeldap's account of a droving trip. The problems with oral history and old people's memories become evident through a close reading of Smith's recollections published in 1910. It is likely that the killings both Smith and Padley described took place before either man was born. Smith's description of a conversation that he had with an Aborigine regarding God's attitude to swearing bears a strong similarity to one described by Watson and Handt at Wellington in 1833.138 This is not to say that the events described by Smith and Padley did not happen, they probably did, but not necessarily when described, and not necessarily to the person telling the story. As well, the articles well illustrate the dangers posed by oral recollection in times of low literacy and a public education system that paid little attention to Australia's past.

The articles are a fine example of the doomed savage discourse. The author used language designed to generate fear and loathing of satanic savagery that predated Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* by six years. “*Huge fires were lighted, and men and women almost nude, with faces and limbs painted, danced round the blaze, uttering all sorts of wild gibberish. ... The whole scene by the glare of the fire was wild and devilish, and one not to be easily forgotten. The noise was deafening, whilst the facial contortions and gesticulations of the blacks would make the flesh creep.*” By 1893, however, the author was certain that civilisation in the form of “*the keg of gunpowder and the rum*” would be responsible for their extinction. The phrases, “*miserable*

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"remanent, swarthy blacks", (later changed to "stalwart blacks" in the book), "unhappy beings", "poor wretches", and "poor blacks" reinforced the passive, recipient role that the author created for people that the author perceived to be on the edge of extinction. These articles should be contrasted with Fitzpatrick's description of the May 1890 distribution of blankets: "The dusky natives of this district are very quickly being civilized off the face of the land and each Queen's birthday their numbers are growing beautifully less."

"Fire-water" and "bury the hatchet" were Americanisms, suggesting that in the late nineteenth century settler understandings of the First People of Australia were shaped by experiences elsewhere. Elsewhere, Fitzpatrick used the phrase "medicine-man", another Americanism, to describe a Aboriginal man. The enthusiasm in the Hawkesbury for minstrel shows at this time suggests that Australian perceptions were becoming increasingly distorted by American perceptions of their own First Peoples and Afro-American populations.

Historically, the articles are of interest because their distortion of history. The following assertions about the local history of the Hawkesbury were exercises in denial of the Hawkesbury's past that would only mislead and deceive younger readers:

- "They were not a warlike tribe, and used frequently to come into town and hang around the pubs."
- "The Blacks were never very troublesome about this district, and I don't remember any disturbances."
- "A paternal Government which robbed these unhappy beings of their land, afterwards gave to each member of any tribe who would work it, grants of land. At one time the greater portion of the land in and around Blacktown belonged to aboriginals."

"THE GOOD OLD DAYS."
[For the gazette, by YELDAP].
v.-THE ABORIGINES.
There is but a remnant now left of the native tribe that once lorded the Hawkesbury. That there was a large tribe of blacks here at one time is well-known, but with the advance of civilisation - (the keg of gunpowder and the rum) - the race is surely becoming extinct. The few who now remain, and who make their appearance annually at the Courthouse to receive the Queen's bounty in the shape of the customary blankets, is but a miserable remnant of the once swarthy blacks who roamed the banks of the Hawkesbury.

Our aboriginals to-day retain few of their natural instincts - in every way they have learned to imitate the white man. By-and-bye the race will disappear, and all that future generations will have to remind them that such a tribe did once exist will be the records of history. The little we have to say about them in this paper dates back to the time of the white man's first recollection of them and will, no doubt, be read with interest.

An old resident has given an interviewer some interesting recollections of them.
The principal camp in this district was on a creek between Windsor and Riverstone, and the King who ruled the tribe was called King Creek Tommy. This warrior a brass plate, attached round his neck by a chain, bearing an inscription of his name and the name of the tribe over which he ruled. They were not a warlike tribe, and used frequently to come into town and hang around the pubs. They were fond of "fire-water" (rum), which has done its work, for this tribe no longer exists.

There was another camp at Blacktown, and from the blacks this township derived its name. A paternal Government which robbed these unhappy beings of their land, afterwards gave to each member of any tribe who would work it, grants of land. At one time the greater portion of the land in and around Blacktown belonged to aboriginals, and some of it is still held by half-castes who are descendants of the tribe that once lived there.

Corroborees were of frequent occurrence. Once the local tribes issued a challenge to fight the Capertee blacks, and the two parties met for combat. The fight, however, was averted by the strategy of Sir John Jamieson's overseer, who, seeing that the tribes meant hostilities, had slain and suspended on the battle-field a useless old bullock. On the arrival of the hostile tribes next morning, they saw a feast awaiting them, and decided to bury the hatchet and eat and be merry. The meditated fight culminated in a corroboree, which lasted three days, over 300 blacks being present. Huge fires were lighted, and men and women almost nude, with faces and limbs painted, danced round the blaze, uttering all sorts of wild gibberish. Some of the females rushed about, pointing out their relatives to members of the other tribe, whilst others were beating sacks, filled out tight with leaves, with sticks, and singing. The whole scene by the glare of the fire was wild and devilish, and one not to be easily forgotten. The noise was deafening, whilst the facial contortions and gesticulations of the blacks would make the flesh creep.

The wonderful dexterity of the aboriginals in the use of the spear, shield, and boomerang was some thing remarkable. He had seen them with the greatest of ease turn off a spear with their shield, the weapon being hurled at them from short range; and, unless taken unawares, it would be impossible to spear them, so quick were they in protecting themselves with their shields. In the use of the boomerang they were particularly skilled, and could almost cut a man in two at one or two hundred yards with the sharp-edged weapon, so great was the force with which they could throw. They could throw it at birds with deadly aim, and the weapon would be made to return to almost drop at the hurler's feet. They were also very clever at climbing trees. Their method was to cut a small hole in the bark of the tree with their sharp stone axes. Many of these implements have since been found in this locality whilst ploughing up the ground. They then ascended the tree in zig-zag fashion, making holes, first on the right-hand side, then on the left, and so on until the limbs were reached. The whole of the weight of the body rested on the toes. The old man stated that there were marks still to be found in trees at Gosper's Groves, made by the Blacks. I have often, 'he continued,' watched their culinary operations, and some of them were not bad cooks, either. I have, on more than one occasion, partaken of their hospitality. One way of cooking was to dig a long trench, clear it out flat, and line the bottom with boulders, on which a fire was made. When the boulders became red-hot,

139 Was this the six year old Tommy admitted into the Native Institution in 1816?
the embers would be cleaned out and a steak would be thrown on to it, and in this way they could turn out a very appetising meal. Once, when I was partaking of their food, an opossum was being cooked. The hair was first singed off; it was then opened and thrown on the boulders. After being cooked, a piece of the meat was handed me, which, for want of a plate, had to be eaten in the hands. The gins, who were squatted about near the fire, had their morsel thrown to them in much the same fashion that white men would throw meat to a dog, it not being Aboriginal etiquette to hand meat to their women. Some of the half-castes in those days were very hospitable, and I have often partaken of good meals with them, some of them having learned European cooking from the families amongst whom they lived.

I remember a very pious old black woman who had been brought up in Lieutenant Bell's family, and who, no doubt, had had her religious training attended to, for, in fine weather, she could be often seen in Windsor sitting under a tree reading her Bible. The Blacks were never very troublesome about this district, and I don't remember any disturbances; this condition was different to that existing at Bathurst, where several outrages were committed. In later years, when the Government allowed the annual blanket, those who annually came to the Windsor Court-house for it year by year became less and less numerous, until at the present time their number is very small indeed. When they first came for their blankets, I remember they numbered about 300. At first they used to sell the gifts to people for a trifle, or barter them to publicans for rum, but this was rightly put a stop to by the Government.

When a young man, I remember news came from the settlers that the Emu blacks were very troublesome, and had been spearing the settlers' cattle; and the soldiers quartered at Windsor were sent in pursuit to what is now known as Emu Plains, and caught some of the culprits red-handed, the spears sticking into some of the bullocks. Notwithstanding the fact that no opposition to their capture was made by the blacks, the soldiers shot several of the poor wretches down, and when I went over the place a day or two afterwards, I counted seventeen of them lying dead within about four rods of ground. On another occasion, when was travelling in the Bathurst district, I used to go away droving - I came across the remains of a burnt hut in the bush, and the charred remains of three poor fellows who had been murdered by blacks. It afterwards transpired that these three men (settlers) had been attacked by the blacks, whom they had kept at bay for some time with their guns until resorting to cunning, the blacks threw a fire-brand on to the bark roof, and set the hut on fire. Strange to say, the settlers stuck to their post, and would not come out, preferring rather to be roasted alive than to make an effort for freedom.

A few days afterwards, a publican who once, lived in Windsor got a party of men together, armed with carbines and cutlasses, and set out in search of the hostile blacks, the king of whom was named after the publican. They came upon the blacks after some days search, and the king came forward, asking for the blacks to be spared. "Is that you, ------?" (mentioning his name) said the publican, and receiving a reply in the affirmative, he rushed, with an oath, at the king and cleaved his skull open with his cutlass. Report states that King Ebony ran several yards with his skull cleft in twain, and then dropped dead. The party then attacked the blacks, and a

140 Using first names it is not particularly difficult to work out who the publican was. As I have found no other corroborating evidence I have declined to name the individual.
butchery ensued, none of them being spared, men, women, and children being slaughtered to the number of seventy. The massacre - it could be termed nothing else - is a standing blot in Australian history.

There is no need to mention the cleverness of the blacks as trackers, as their capacity for finding trails or tracks in the bush is well known, and even to this day are employed for this purpose. I was droving up over the mountains when a young man, and, in endeavouring to get to a small township, lost the track. Shortly afterwards I met an Aboriginal who was well known to me, and asked him to put me on the right track, telling him that if he would go to the township with me, I would give him a rupee - a coin which would pass in those days - and which I held in my hand and offered to him. To show that they did not appreciate the value of money in those days, and would rather have the equivalent in tobacco or spirits, Billy consented to conduct me to my destination on condition that he received some tobacco. Having a little in my pocket, I gave him a smoke or two, and rewarded him when we arrived at the store. Alas for the poor blacks, their services were generally rewarded by rum, and this helped to remove them from the face of the earth. It having been said that the early blacks were a lazy lot, the old man said some of them made splendid workers, and he saw them do a day's toil in the wheat-field that would make many a white man ashamed of his own work. Strange to say, many of the blacks who became civilized became fairly educated and acquainted with European customs, yet in after years most of them were seized with nomadic habits again, and went back to their tribe.

The reminiscenses (sic) here given were told by an old resident, and as there are no doubt other records that can be given by residents, we intend, on another occasion, to give some more particulars of the early records of the Blacks in this district.\(^{(141)}\)

21st of October, 1893: Dora Dora blacks at Colo.

‘When the Dora Dora blacks were alleged to be in the Colo district, and a search for them was being made, the barrels of a double breasted gun were discovered near the remains of a camp-fire. These barrels were mounted on a stock by Mr Charlie Blundell, who is now waiting with the weapon for a pot-shot at the dusky marauders if ever they come round his way again.’\(^{(142)}\)

John Henry Fleming and St John’s Church Wilberforce

Governor Macquarie marked out the site for the school house at Wiberforce in 1813 and John Brabyn built it in 1820. The first school master was William Gow who married Maria Dunstan in 1821, establishing an ongoing link between the Dunstan family and the school and church. In 1825 regular church services began in the upstairs of the school house.\(^{(143)}\)

When John Henry married Charlotte Dunstan in 1840 in the school house he also entered into a relationship with the church. He was probably very familiar with the men who formed a committee in 1846 to build a church at Wilberforce. Members of


\(^{(143)}\) Pages 2-5, D. G. Bowd, A Short History of Wilberforce, Privately Published, 1960.
the committee were the Rev. T.C. Ewing, John Donston, Tristam Dunstan, Joshua Vickery, Christopher Vickery, Richard and John Cobcroft, David Dunstan, Michael Nowland and Paul Bushell, all from Wilberforce; Reuben Greentree and Robert Farlow from Freemans Reach; Thomas Tebbutt of Windsor and Stephen Tuckerman from Portland Head.

Edmund Blackett drew up plans for both St John’s in Wilberforce and St James in Pitt Town. Both churches were in the same parish and both were consecrated in 1859. St James and St John were brothers. St John’s was named for St. John the Apostle and Evangelist. As well, William Wilberforce attended St John’s College, Cambridge. A centenary church service, 18th December 1920, identified the church as being “enlightened by the doctrine of Thy blessed apostle and evangelist, St. John.”

There were a number of associations between John Henry Fleming and St John that may have influenced John Henry’s decision to become a pillar of the church and to lead an exemplary public life. The two Johns shared a common first name. As well, in the 27th they shared a common birthdate. John Henry was the youngest of four brothers, St John was the youngest of the disciples. St John’s feast day is the 27th of December and John Henry was born on the 27th of March 1816. St John was one of twelve disciples, and the only one not to have died violently. John Henry led eleven stockmen at the Myall Creek Massacre. He was the only one to escape arrest. There was one significant difference between the two men: John was the youngest and perhaps the strongest disciple in his loyalty to Christ, staying by his side during the Passion and Crucifixion - John Henry, however, abandoned his eleven stockmen to their fate.

After the crucifixion John went on to become one of the “Pillars of the Church”. It is generally accepted that John stayed in Jerusalem, moved to Ephesus, was exiled to the isle of Patmos, and eventually returned to Ephesus where he died. John is commonly believed to be the author of the Books of John and Revelations. Perhaps this difference drove John Henry to have such a strong public life in the Hawkesbury.

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144 Dunstons and Dunstans are branches of the same family and descended from David Dunstan who was a carpenter on the Ebenezer church. Tristam Dunstan was the eldest of Charlotte Fleming’s brothers.
146 I am not sure whether this is Charlotte Fleming’s brother or father. Charlotte’s brother David was married to Sarah Margaret Cobcroft.
147 The “Boshy” Nowlan who supplied John Henry Fleming with horses in his flight from arrest after the Myall Creek massacre, was “a Wilberforce native (a son of Michael Knowland, the founder of the family, and a First Fleeter (obit. 1828) who had a ferry punt in the very early days from his farm at Wilberforce to the Pitt Town side of the river”, according to George Reeve in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 24th April 1925.
149 It is unclear whether this was the father or the son.
150 Stephen Tuckerman’s son Prosper, born on 1833, would marry Joseph Fleming’s daughter, Maria, born in 1836. John Henry Fleming was Maria’s uncle.
152 Order of Service of the Centenary of the Church School-House at St John’s at Wilberforce on Sunday, December 18, 1920, Local History Pamphlet Collection, Windsor Library.
The earliest record (that I have so far found) of John Henry Fleming’s life in St John’s Church appears in the Parish Minute Books, 1869, where he is identified as the “Clergyman’s Warden”. In 1870 he was appointed Minister’s Warden. He was appointed as a lay representative to the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney in 1874, in 1882 and in 1889. Also in 1889, he was elected “trustee’s warden for the ensuing year” and in 1894, he was appointed “Trustees Warden”.

While I have not been able to locate any primary documentation, it would appear that in 1877 John Henry Fleming installed a memorial window in the south wall of the nave of St John’s church.

The donation of a stained glass window of St. John to a church consecrated to St. John would not be noteworthy if it were not for the unusual nature of the window. The majority of stained glass windows dealing with St. John show him as a young man with writing instruments, with an eagle, or at the Crucifixion. However, John Henry’s window has a less common theme, St John and the Poisoned Chalice at the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

153 Microfilm, Reel 15, St John’s C of E, Wilberforce, Local History Collection, Windsor Library.
154 ‘In one of the windows in the nave is a stained glass memorial to the late Mr Fleming, a church warden of 24 years.; Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 20th February, 1904, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/85894631.
155 Page 75, D. G. Bowd, Macquarie Country, Library of Australian History, 1979. Dr. Beverley Sherry, University of Sydney, has been extremely helpful in identifying the window as almost certainly coming from the London stained glass window manufacturers, Clayton and Bell. Dr. Sherry has located a similar window in All Saints church, Shrub End, Cokchester. Edmund Blackett was probably the source of the window as he was importing windows from John Hardman & Co. Britain, for St. Andrews Anglican Cathedral and St Marys Catholic Cathedral at this time. http://www.dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/stained_glass
Ephesus was a large Greek city incorporated into the Roman Empire. The temple of Artemis in Ephesus was one of the seven wonders of the Ancient world. In the First Century A.D., the Roman goddess Diana supplanted the Greek goddess Artemis in her temple at Ephesus.

The Apostle Paul visited Ephesus in 52-55 A.D., and incurred the wrath of Demetrius, who made silver shrines for Diana. Demetrius and the other silver workers were concerned not just for the loss of their own trade, but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised and her magnificence should be destroyed.

There are many non-Biblical stories of St. John’s miracles in Ephesus found in fragments of Greek and Latin texts and rewritten by later authors. St John brought people back to life several times resulting in a number of conversions. A pagan servant, brought back to life with his mistress Drusilla, declared that he would rather die again than be converted to Christianity. According to Voltaire, upon the second death of the servant, St. John exclaimed, that a “bad tree always bears bad fruit”.

The subject, St. John the Evangelist and the Poisoned Chalice, has no Biblical authority. The story comes from fragments of Greek and Latin texts rewritten by later authors. According to Voltaire, Aristodemus, the high priest of Diana’s temple of Artemis challenged St. John to drink from a poisoned cup. To prove the efficacy of the poison, two criminals were killed by drinking from the cup. St. John blessed the cup and, according to various stories, a snake or a dragon, emerged from the cup. St. John drank from the cup, restored the two criminals back to life and Aristodemus was converted to Christianity. On another occasion, when St. John was preaching in the temple of Artemis the altar collapsed and half the temple as well. Whether John Henry Fleming fancied Jesus’ nickname for the brothers John and James, “Boanerges”, i.e., sons of thunder, must remain a matter of conjecture.

At its simplest level the poisoned chalice story celebrates the triumph of Christianity over paganism. However, the three elements of this window: the capping suggesting the New Jerusalem of Revelations; the youthful and Anglicised St John holding a Bible and a chalice containing a dragon; and five eight-petalled leaves; as well as the windows location, indicate more complex and sinister layers of meaning.

The five eight-petalled flowers link the poisoned chalice with Diana (the Roman form of the Greek Artemis) of Ephesus. Eight-petalled flowers are a rarity, they mostly belong to the genus dryas, so named because their leaves resemble oak leaves and the Dryads, or Greek nymphs lived in oak trees. Diana or Artemis, was the virgin goddess of the hunt, the moon and birthing. She made up a triad with the nymph Egeria, and the woodland god Virbius. As Artemis, she was a favourite of the Dryads. The linking of nature, paganism and Aboriginality can be also found in the frequent references by settlers to Aboriginal people as “savages”, a word derived from the Latin silvaticus, meaning wild, woodland, or nature. Judge Barron Field articulated this most clearly in his Geographic Memoirs, 1825: “They have been brought up by us from infancy in our nurseries, and yet the woods have seduced them at maturity, and at once elicited the savage instincts of finding their food in the trees, and their path through the forest, — propensities which civil education had only smothered.”

Located on the southern or shaded wall of the nave, its proximity to the chancel means that any incumbent of the pulpit cannot help being aware of a youthful and Anglicised St. John staring directly at them. The combination of the New Jerusalem of Revelations, and a dragon coming out of the cup – rather than a snake, references both Luke and Revelations and suggests that the window was a coded, but defiant apologia for the Myall Creek Massacre. Luke 10:18-19: “I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Behold, I give you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you.” Revelations 12:7-9: “And there was war in heaven: Michael fought and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiteth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.”

It is one of the great ironies of Hawkesbury history that there is another memorial stained glass window

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159 http://davesgarden.com/guides/articles/view/1924/#b
160 In the USA a number of Pentecostal churches embraced serpent-handling, citing the above verses from Luke and Mark 16:17-18: “In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.”
on the north wall, looking across to St. John. This window is based on Holman Hunt’s, *The Light of the World* painted in 1853-54. Jesus, lantern in hand, looms out of the dark, knocking on an overgrown handless door that can only be opened from the inside. The window draws upon a number of Biblical references: Matthew 5:14; *Ye are the light of the World*: John 8:12; “I am the light of the world”; the parable of the blind man in John 9; and Revelation 3:20 "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear My voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with Me”.

John Henry also led a prominent secular public life. Fleming’s appointment as a justice of the peace probably occurred around 1880. “Mr. Fleming was a good citizen of Wilberforce for many years, a neighboring farmer of my father’s. He took an active interest in politics, chiefly supporting Messrs H. Moses and Alex. Bowman. The latter gentleman had Mr. Fleming appointed a Justice of the Peace. When that took place the late Mr. Joseph Palmer Abbott raised a storm in Parliament House about it, and referred to the Myall Creek affair. Mr. Fleming was honest in his convictions as a Justice of the Peace, and was a better J.P. than some who have been appointed since.”161

He became a magistrate in 1882. The Metropolitan Magistrates Act, 1881, made possible his appointment as a magistrate. The act did not require Stipendiary magistrates to be trained lawyers. They were selected. On the 10th of October before “District Court Judge Dowling” at Windsor: “Messrs. George Thomas Collins, Stephen John Dunston, sen., and John Henry Fleming, were sworn in as magistrates of the Territory”.162

John Henry Fleming also appeared to have a long involvement with the Hawkesbury Benevolent Society. The *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 23rd February 1889, recorded that Fleming had been involved with the Hawkesbury Benevolent Society for almost 30 years.163 A John Fleming was recorded as making a donation to the Hawkesbury Benevolent Society in 1846.164 Fleming was re-elected in 1890, 1891 and 1892.165 In 1893 he resigned because of ill health.166

He was a trustee of the Wilberforce Common in 1874.167 He may have held this position continuously for a number of years as the *Windsor and...*
**Richmond Gazette**, 16th of January 1892 reported that Fleming was elected as a trustee of the Wilberforce Common.\(^{168}\)

On the 23rd of April, 1892, the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* reported “Mr. J. H. Fleming, J.P., of Wilberforce, has been and is still very seriously ill!”\(^{169}\)

### 20th of August, 1894: Burial of John Henry Fleming

‘FUNERAL OF MR FLEMING.

The funeral of the late Mr J H. Fleming took place on Tuesday last at St John’s Church of England Cemetery, Wilberforce. The deceased gentleman was for many years one of the Wardens of this Church. At the building the cortege was met by the Public-school children, marshalled by the headmaster and his assistants, who formed a double line, through which the mourners passed. Many wreaths were placed upon the coffin. In the church the “Dead March in Saul” was played. The burial service was conducted by Rev H Guinness, assisted by Rev T Dunstan, Mr R W Dunstan was the undertaker.\(^{170}\)

**John Henry Fleming’s obituary**

‘MR. J. H. Fleming.

After a long illness, attended by much suffering, an old and respected resident of Wilberforce, Mr John Henry Fleming, passed away on Monday. Born at Pitt Town, early in life he engaged in squatting pursuits in Queensland.\(^{171}\) He ultimately settled down at Wilberforce, and for many years followed a farming life, where he acquired a comfortable competency. He was a member of the Committee of the Hawkesbury Benevolent Society for many years, and the old folks lose a kind-hearted sympathiser by his death. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace about ten years ago. Deceased used to tell some stirring stories of the early days of settlement in the colony, and the trouble he had with the Blacks. Mr Fleming had been gradually declining during the past few years, and added to this he lately had a severe attack of influenza. For weeks past he has been undergoing much suffering, but through all his pain he was remarkable for his patience. As a resident he will be much missed for his kindness of heart and generosity to the poor; he was never known to refuse anyone in want. Deceased was 78 years of age, and was a brother to Mrs William Hall of Cattai. His remains were interred in the Church of England Cemetery, Wilberforce, on Tuesday last. Deceased leaves a widow, but no family. Mr R W Dunstan was the undertaker, and the Rev. H Guinness conducted the burial service.\(^{172}\)


The Fleming vault

John Henry Fleming and his wife Charlotte are buried in the Wilberforce cemetery which lies on the western face of a hill. Their grave is a vault, like a number of others in the cemetery. Many of the vaults contain multiple burials and the names of family members extend around the walls of the vault. The Fleming tomb which contains only the bodies of John Henry and his wife Charlotte stands out, not only for being on the western edge of the main area of graves, but also for the placement of their plaques. Charlotte’s plaque faces towards the rising sun, the traditional direction of Christian salvation. Charlotte died in 1908, fourteen years after John Henry. John Henry’s plaque faces towards the west and the setting sun. Perhaps someone was making a statement.

16th of March, 1895: a camp on Ham Common?

This article is interesting because it suggests Aboriginal people may have been still living on what was left of the Ham Common after the establishment of the Agricultural College

‘Professor Adair and Miss Essie Viola, of balloon fame, declare that they never before experienced such ill-luck as they have had at Richmond. When the balloon was well-nigh inflated on Wednesday, a volume of smoke was seen issuing from the top, and orders were given for it to be let go. It happened, however, to be fastened somewhere, and turned wrong end up. This caused a general scatter, and nearly everyone got clear. The balloon came down immediately the hot air had escaped, falling on a fence. Two boys were under her when she fell, but were quickly released, and no damage-other than to the balloon-was done. The promoters intend to make another attempt on Saturday from Mr Mitchell’s ground on the opposite corner to the Royal.

... On Wednesday afternoon, after the balloon show, a race up Windsor-street took place between Harry Fong in his vegetable cart, and a Darkie on foot. Harry was leaving the Royal for Clarendon, and had a start, but the darkie who wanted a lift-made chase. Eventually Harry succeeded in out-distancing his competitor.’

1st of June, 1895: An Aboriginal suicide

Throughout the pages of the local newspapers in this period it is possible to glimpse the effects of alcohol abuse and mental health issues on Aboriginal people.

173 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 16th March 1895
‘Eighty-eight darkies turned up at the local court-house on Friday last to get their blankets, amongst whom was Florrie Morgan, who committed suicide by taking poison on Sunday last. Last year the number of blankets distributed was 97.’

15th of June, 1895: the view from Archie Bell’s tomb

The following extract was from an article The Country’s Pioneers which first appeared in The Stock and Station Journal. By referencing the Carline wife from Kipling’s poem The Sea Wife, the author attempted to perpetuate the myth of a racial imperative dating back to the Vikings that drove the English on a path of relentless expansion. In this myth the “blackfellows” conveniently “disappeared”.

‘Very wonderful is it now to sit on Archie Bell’s tomb and look abroad thus and see the change that a century has made in this district. The blackfellows have disappeared, and the free, white men, the children of the Carline wife reign supreme. Great houses are rising on all the fair hills about, and it requires no stretch of imagination to look forward to the time when grand mansions will deck the landscape, as “Belmont” has made the beginning. The air is pure, the grass is green, the sky is bright, and there is no lovelier place in all our beautiful country, than can be seen from the oleander-shaded grave of Archie Bell. But no corn is grown there now. The broad plains of the west, beyond the Blue Mountains, produce our wheat. Here, however, we have the Hawkesbury Agricultural College, and here, too, we have one of the finest stock breeding grounds in Australia.’

11th of January, 1896: feast and sports at Sackville

Mr. Jones’ humanitarianism had a religious foundation.

‘ON New Year's Day, Mr. J. Jones arranged and carried out a feast and programme of sports for the Aborigines at Sackville Beach. The darkies, men, women, and children, were regaled with a square meal, and the more athletic among them took part in races for articles of clothing, handkerchiefs, &c, which had been collected by Mr. Jones from the business people and others, of Windsor. Besides those who won races, the clothing, &c, was equally distributed among other Aboriginal families. Mr. Jones desires to thank all those who assisted him in the good work of providing innocent amusement and useful articles, by their donations, and states that in no case did he receive a refusal.’

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175 From the same article:
“Rudyard Kipling has sung -
There dwells a wife by the Northern march,
And a wealthy wife is she ;
She breeds a breed o’ rovin’ men
And casts them oversea.
And some they drown in deep water,
And some in sight of shore,
And word goes back to the carline wife
And ever she sends more.”
The quote is from Kipling’s poem The Sea Wife.
25th of January, 1896: Ike Hopkins’ black boy
Both “Ike Hopkins' black boy” and “Jim Gosper's boy, “Sago,”” were objects of humour in this account. Yellow-fellow is a Aboriginal term for one of mixed parentage.

‘Ike Hopkins' black boy, from "the Gulf," (and he is black, without a doubt), has a passion for music. A resident struck up a yarn with him the other day, in the course of which the coloured lad exclaimed with intense fervour, "Oh, me wish me had big pfellah money." "Why, what would YOU do with money," asked the resident. "Buy 'em big pfellah music," came the rapid reply. He entertains an unfeigned contempt for Jim Gosper's boy, "Sago," and says "him only yaller-pfellah." 178

8th of February, 1896: mental health
The fate of Aboriginal people with mental health issues in Victorian Australia is, I think, an unexplored issue.

‘Senior-Constable McNeely and Constable Jackson made a post-haste journey up Windsor-street about noon on Wednesday. A darkie, supposed to be of unsound mind, was the cause of the hurry. He was, however, soon captured by the officers in question, and safely landed in the lockup. 179

8th of February, 1896: Aboriginal entertainment
‘A couple of darkies caused more than a little turn on the Park on Saturday afternoon, doing a hop, step and jump for "shouts" the latter coming off at the public drinking fountain.’

8th of February, 1896: low water on river
I am unclear whether the falling river level was a result of drought or siltation brought about by land-clearing.

‘The water down the reach is very shallow just now. The darkies were unable to get their little boat over it at low tide last week - in fact one can almost walk across with his boots on." 180

15th of February, 1896: Mohawk Minstrels
The “Mohawk Minstrels” appear to a curious, but perhaps not unsurprising, mixture and appropriation of the minstrel show and Native American culture.

‘Messrs C Robbins, J Rone, and H Smith are arranging a benefit for Mr Hodge, who met with a serious accident at the meat works some time ago. Besides a number of ladies and gentlemen who will take part, the Mohawk Minstrels have promised to assist, and for the past couple of weeks have been rehearsing and give promise of making a very creditable show. Since their last appearance several new members have joined, and we anticipate the darkies will be much appreciated." 181

7th of March, 1896: Sackville School of Arts

‘On Saturday evening next, 14th instant, a meeting will be held in the Sackville School of Arts, under the auspices of the Windsor Branch of the Salvation Army in connection with the local aborigines. The meeting will be led by Mr. J. Jones (assisted by his family), who has lately been interesting himself in the welfare of the darkies. The public are cordially invited to attend, and a real good time is anticipated.’

25th of January, 1896: the bait

The following brief observation was probably designed to engender the brief storm of correspondence that followed. It is of interest that the author refers to ethnologists as his authority when his source was published in 1804, before ethology existed. His referral to the “Australian wilderness” carries the implication that the First Peoples had no impact on their environment.

‘Ethnologists are agreed that in their primitive state savage men are found at the lowest known point of human development in the Australian wilderness.’

8th of February, 1896: hooked

J. P. Collins was at that time the headmaster of Richmond Superior Public School and was taken, hook, line and sinker.

‘The Australian Aborigines.
To THE EDITOR.
Dear Sir, The following remarkable statement appeared in the last issue of the GAZETTE "Ethnologists are agreed that, in their primitive state, savage men are found at the lowest known point of human development in the Australian wilderness.” As the paragraph appeared in your “Scissors and Paste” column, it may be inferred that the GAZETTE is not altogether responsible for this outrageous libel on our aborigines, but that the authorship may be traced to some other source. I shall be pleased, as no doubt will many others as well, if you will kindly supply us with your authority for the above, and the names I of any ethnologists who rank our blacks in such a low state of human development. Possibly some recent discoveries in the “Australian wilderness” mentioned (wherever that may be) have brought to light some human beings heretofore unheard of, in such a low-level state of civilisation as to have them classified as “the lowest of the low.” If so, it will be of extreme interest to those who have studied the manners and customs of the Australian natives, and who have been led by the research of men who devoted their lives to the work, to look upon the Australian blacks as by no means the lowest race on earth, either physically, morally, or intellectually. Any light you can throw upon what must have been a recent discovery will greatly oblige,
Yours &c., J P COLLINS

[We can only offer our correspondent the following expressions of opinion on the questions at issue: Linnaeus’ “Historia Natura,” which was improved, corrected, and enlarged by J. Frid Gmelin, M.D., and published in the first decade of this century, gives the following account of the aboriginals of New Holland - The natives of the

184 This English edition of Linnaeus’s 1735 work was translated, enlarged and published between 1794 and 1810.
coast of New Holland, which is situated in the sixteenth degree of south latitude, and beyond the island of Timor, are perhaps the most miserable of the human species, and approach nearest to the brutes. They have remarkably thick noses and lips and large mouths. They pull out, it would appear, one of the fore-teeth of the upper jaw, for in neither sex, nor at any period of life, are these teeth to be seen. They have short beards; their visage is long, without a single feature that is agreeable: their hair is short, black, and crisped, and their skin is as black as that of the Guinea negroes. They have no clothing but a piece of the bark of a tree tied round their waist, with a handful of long herbs in the middle. They have no houses, and they sleep on the ground without any covering. They associate, men, women and children, promiscuously, to the number of twenty or thirty. Their principal nourishment is fish, which they catch in the sea, and they are totally unacquainted with bread, and every species of grain. In another part of the coast of New Holland, about the twenty-second or twenty-third degree south latitude, the natives seem to be of the same race with those above described. They are extremely ugly and disgusting, and have nearly the same brutal manners, their skin is black their hair crisped and their bodies are long and slender. Governor Philip after settling the English convicts at Botany Bay and Port Jackson gives the following account of the natives. - The inhabitants of New Holland and New South Wales (which is the most eastern extremity of the island) are the most miserable and savage race of mortals perhaps existing on the face of the earth. They go entirely naked, and though pleased at first with some ornaments which were given them they soon threw them away as useless. It does not appear however that they are insensible of the benefits of clothing or of some of the conveniences which their new neighbours are in possession of. Some of them whom the colonists partly clothed seemed to be pleased with the comfortable warmth they derived from it and they all express a great desire for the iron tools which they see the English make use of. Their color in the opinion of Captain Cook is rather a deep chocolate than a full black, but the filth and grease with which, like, the Hottentots, their skins are covered prevents the true color of them appearing.'--ED G].

27th of August, 1898: A bee story

'A LOCAL bee-farmer tells a very good story of the clever manner in which he was once "taken down" by an aboriginal- who, by the way, is not altogether unknown along the verdant banks of the Hawkesbury. The apiarist in question had just started in the bee business, and as he had room for a few more swarms, he one evening had an interview with the dusky native of the soil referred to, and that worthy promised to bring along a couple of good swarms the next time he came to town - on consideration that he was to get half a-crown for each. Anyhow, to make a long story short, the aboriginal arrived one night at the residence of Mr. Beekeeper, and announced that he had captured three good swarms. An examination of the bags in which the bees were brought was sufficient to convince the experienced eye of the purchaser that they rather small, (sic) and after a brief consultation the darkey readily agreed to accept a trifle less than was originally promised him - and went his way rejoicing. The three swarms were then promptly placed into three different hives. Next morning, as soon as he arose from his virtuous couch, their new owner went to have a good look at them, and, to his astonishment, found them all in ONE box. The truth then dawned upon him that he had been "sold" - for the cunning aboriginal had

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185 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 8th February 1896.  
caught one swarm and divided it into three - the result being that when they were emptied out of the bags, they all made tracks for the box which contained the queen bee. The gentleman on whom this trick was played is one of those jolly good sorts who rather enjoy a joke - provided, of course, that it doesn't happen too often.186

7th of August, 1897: Yeldap on The Hawkesbury Blacks

Yeldap’s treatise on declining Aboriginal numbers was based on the premise that their numbers were never large to begin with. One curious argument that he employed to justify this claim was that attacks “on the whites by the natives are occasionally mentioned in the early newspaper, but in hardly any cases were the conflicts made in large numbers, but merely raids by a few starved out wretches, driven to desperation for want of food, or repelling the cruelty and sensuality of the depraved and lustful white men who had established themselves on their hunting ground”. It raises the question of whether Aboriginal aggression was exaggerated by early settlers.

‘The Hawkesbury Blacks
(Compiled by Yeldap.)

THE history of the Blacks of Australia has given much scope to several local and other writers to investigate the origin, races, customs, habits, languages, religion, etc., of this fast disappearing nation. Some writers make a distinctive feature of vocabularies of the languages of the numerous tribes scattered over the face of the continent; others make a hobby of explaining the rude rook carvings to be seen in some of the caves, whilst others look at them from a religious point of view, and, from the meagre information at their command, try to show the native forms of worship. In reading many of the opinions expressed, one becomes bewildered by the many theories put forth by these experts, as great confliction exists, and much of the information is very unreliable. It has been found difficult to obtain correct information from the blacks themselves; they are intellectually an inferior race, and their lack of intelligence baffles the searcher after trustworthy information; whilst the many different dialects of the tribes in one district (who, although speaking different tongues, were still able to converse with one another) made the task of supplying equivalent English words, in many cases, a difficult and doubtful one. Some of these writers stated that the blacks were numerous in the vicinity of Port Jackson, between there and Broken Bay, and warlike. It is not the present writer’s intention to add any thing further to the literature concerning the dusky tribes of the primeval days; but he desires briefly to contradict the statement regarding the number of blacks from Port Jackson to Broken Bay. The following information will prove that the blacks were far from numerous. Very shortly after his arrival, Governor Phillip sent inspectors to various parts of Port Jackson, to ascertain what the approximate black population was. One hundred and thirty were accounted for; but it is only fair to add that others were in the bush getting timber for boat-building. Even with the addition of these, the number would not have been very materially increased. Governor Phillip estimated the native population from Botany Bay to Broken Bay at 1500 - or about five to the square mile. As the aggregate number was divided into several tribes, they could not have been so powerful in single tribe as writers would have us believe, from a warlike point of view. Instances of attacks on the whites by the natives are occasionally mentioned in the early newspaper, but in hardly any cases were the conflicts made in large numbers, but merely raids by a few starved out wretches, driven to desperation

for want of food, or repelling the cruelty and sensuality of the depraved and lustful white men who had established themselves on their hunting ground. The attacks were mostly made in the Hawkesbury district, during the early settlement of the country. Their numbers were too few to engage in battle. Had their numbers been large it is doubtful whether they would have decreased at such a quick rate, for we learn from an official source that nearly 50 years after Phillips' census was taken, there were only about four natives to every three miles in the same district, and 57 years after the establishment of the colony, we are told by the magistrates in certain districts, that the Windsor blacks all told only mustered 65, and adjacent at Wollombi and McDonald River 73, and 47 at Brisbane Water, which would make a total of blacks at the Hawkesbury of 185, and it is not unlikely the Port Jackson blacks at that period would have been as much as this. Another official calculation computes the decrease in numbers during 1835, 1886 and 1887 of the Sydney and Windsor blacks at 825, which were included in ten returns. The following interesting extracts from official publications will bear out the foregoing remarks:-

"In the first year of the settlement of New South Wales, 1788, Governor Phillip caused the amount of the population of Port Jackson to be ascertained, by every cove in it being visited by different inspectors at the same time. The number of natives found in this single harbour was one hundred and thirty, and they had sixty seven boats. At the same time it was known that many were in the woods making new canoes. From this and other data, Governor Phillip estimated the population between Botany Bay and Broken Bay inclusive, at fifteen hundred, or about five in the square mile. In 1837, Sir Edward Parry made a statement to a committee of the House of Commons, which gave about four natives to three square miles, for a district north of Port Jackson.

[From the Second Annual Report of the Aborigines Protection Society, presented at a meeting at Exeter Hall, May 21st, 1889.]"

In a reply to an official communication from the N.S.W. Legislative Council, made by D. Dunlop, magistrate at Wollombi, he stated that the number of adult blacks in that district and Macdonald River, in the year 1845, amounted to 65, 44 males and 21 females; of children 8, 5 males and 8 females; total 78. These were the remnants of three tribes. In the Windsor district the magistrates supplied the following information:- Adults 49; 40 males and 9 females; children 16; total 65. Brisbane Water information also supplied by the magistrates - 40 adults; 27 males 18 females; children 7; 4 males and 8 females; total 47. As regards the moral character of the Wollombi blacks, Dunlop, in his report, said: "The female aborigines are as modest in demeanour, and quite as morally conducted as the native, or otherwise free women. There is no instance of their leaving their tribe, or connecting themselves with the white labouring population." Mr Dunlop, in the report he sent in, appeared to have considered the subject with the warm interest and the inspiring hopes of a religious mind. In referring to the distribution of clothing and provisions, the same gentleman described the plaintive but indignant remonstrance of the native chief at the discontinuance of the miserable dole on the part of the Government (they had restricted their liberality for two or three years) "to his very few old women and sick young ones, all so cold - no hut, no blanket, no light fire on white-fellow's ground." In an abstract from the official general Returns of the Blacks, taken at the annual distribution of the Government donations of blankets to each tribe within the four divisions of the colony for the years 1885, 1886, and 1887 it was found that there was a decrease of 1220 in the North and North western district, from Sydney to Port
Macquarie inclusive -10 returns; and 825 in the Home district –Sydney and Windsor inclusive-8 returns.  

20th of January, 1899: Nigger Minstrelsy
While the article makes clear the relation between settlers and Aboriginal people, it would be a moot point as to who laughed at whom in the performance.

‘NIGGER MINSTRELSY. - On an early date, due notice of which will be given, a happy band of darkies will give an entertainment in the Windsor School of Arts. The programme will be replete with gems of a vocal and instrumental character, and from what we hear the entertainment will be at once novel and interesting.’

24th of February, 1899: Tizzana vintage
The Tizzana vineyards appeared to have been a major source of Aboriginal employment.

‘Sackville.  
Vintage at Tizzana finished this week, and Mr. Laraghy deserves credit for the able manner in which he attends to his duties.

The darkies had several socials (no less) whilst vintage was proceeding. If hullabaloo constitutes enjoyment, then they enjoyed themselves immensely.’

3rd of February, 1899: cricket

3rd of March, 1899: traditions
The running of the eels continued to be a traditional food source for Hawkesbury Aboriginal people.

‘Something’s up with the weather conditions. The darkies are spearing eels about the long arm, and silver eyes are plunging in all directions. Probably we will have showery weather next month and get our turnip crop on the way. Years past it was the case after three very droughty seasons.’

25th of March, 1899: boat repairs

'The Aborigines Board has accepted the tender of Mr. P. Kemp for repairing a boat belonging to the Hawkesbury darkies.' 192

28th of April, 1899: Aborigines Protection Board

'At a meeting of the Aborigines Protection Board in Sydney last week a petition was received from the residents of Sackville Reach, urging the issue of meat to the aborigines on the Hawkesbury, in addition to the usual ration of flour, tea, and sugar. It was decided to inform the petitioners that the aborigines in that district had two good boats, and, fish being plentiful it the river, the board saw no necessity for the issue of meat rations.' 193

25th of May, 1899: blanket day

'Queen’s Birthday passed over with all due eclat. The holiday was observed generally, and towards mid-day the town was the acme of commotion. The volunteers, under the command of Captain Paine, with his subordinates in attendance, Lieutenants B. Paine and J. T. Fitzgerald, presented a smart appearance in their new scarlet uniforms, and we must compliment the band upon their performance. They journeyed to the park, fired a feu-de-joie, and were dismissed. The darkies mustered in goodly numbers at the Court House, and had their blankets doled out to them. They gave three cheers for the Queen, and went on their way rejoicing. Races were held at Wilberforce, Bill Adams, the hero of Waterloo, again distinguishing himself.' 194

3rd of June, 1899: buskers

'During the long wait in front of the Royal Hotel last Tuesday evening for the coming of Mr. T. Rose, M.P., a couple of darkie acrobats gave a performance in the street. They raised a substantial collection for the skilful performance. By the way, this reminds us that some of the federal speakers visiting Richmond are pretty good acrobats.' 195

6th October 1899: Curragundi Joe

'MILITARY SPORTS.
A Grand Success.
Graced with beautiful weather the annual sports, promoted by Richmond Company of the 3rd Infantry Regiment eventuated on Saturday last on Richmond Park, and proved most enjoyable and successful. Not alone was the programme of athletic events highly interesting, but it was so diversified and comprehensive as to please and gratify all tastes. The splendid band of the Regiment, under Bandmaster Daley, was in itself a decided attraction, and added in a very large measure to the pleasure of the proceedings. The pavilion was crowded with spectators and there must have been nearly 2,000 people on the ground. The committee who have worked so hard to make the sports a success deserve high commendation. They are: - Captain Lamrock, Lieutenants Holborow and Greenwell, Color Sergeant Johnston, Sergeant Bennett,

Sergeant Inall, Sergeant Sly, Private Drayton, Corporal Brooks, Bugle-Major Travers, Sergeant Boughton, Bugler Spay, and Privates Knott, Hanchett, and Powers and the members of the Regimental Staff. Corporal Tomkinson, the energetic secretary, who appeared to be here, there, and everywhere, and who proved most courteous and obliging in giving information wherever needed, deserves more than passing notice, as his efforts tended in day’s sports. Lieutenant Colonel Guest appeared to have the helm of affairs and was kept busy throughout the day. The committee would allow no one on the oval which was certainly a wise move as by so doing one and all on the ground had equal opportunities of witnessing results. Captain Lamrock, Lieutenant Holborow, and Mr. H. Stevenson judged the different events and their decisions were never disputed. Dr. Helsham acted as referee and he was only once called upon for advice. In the boxing contest Mr. J. M. Pitt acted as judge assisted by Mr. H. Skuthorp, this resulted in a rather easy win for Wilson who, though rather rough, proved himself too good for his opponent; the display throughout in this event was very inferior. Probably the most attractive events of the day were those in which the children of the Richmond Superior Public School took part. The drill exercise of the boys appeared faultless and Mr. Henry, the Principal, deserves no small amount of credit for the way in which he has trained them. The Indian Club swinging exhibition, by ten of the girl pupils of the above school was really pretty and graceful, though in our opinion Miss Alma Johnston showed to best advantage. Miss Helen Holmes, the lady teacher, had charge of the latter and deserves no end of praise for the manner in which she has brought the children out. There was no dancing contest, on account of a lack of entries, but a handicap flat race was substituted in its place; for this event a "dark'un" was nominated with the aristocratic title of "Curragundi Joe," a black-fellow, and who looked as if he could not catch the proverbial snail; he received a 14 yards start, with the result that after the starting pistol was fired, he went away and won how he liked. After the display it was a forgone conclusion that he was a "cert" for the final, which he won as easily as his former heat.

Black’s Town

One of the few reminders of an Aboriginal presence in the Hawkesbury is Blacktown Road at Freemans Reach. Blacktown Road, originally Black’s Town Road runs above Bushells Lagoon along the Highlands from Gooricks Lane to Kurmond Road. During the Nineteenth Century there was an Aboriginal camp in this area. Located between Bushells Lagoon and the Wilberforce Common, Aboriginal people were probably able to continue a traditional lifestyle and work on settler farms for many years. During the late Nineteenth Century the camp came under increasing pressure:

196 I think maimed is a typographical error for trained.
198 http://www.hawkesbury.org/?c=placenames&action=view&placenameid=7 and a proposal to: “Construct a light line of railway from Windsor station across the Windsor bridge which spans the Hawkesbury at Thompson Square and Bridge-road, thence carrying it along the Freeman’s Reach road to the High lands, or what is better known as “Black town”; from thence we could make a branch line, one portion leading to the left over the table-land to Kurrajong, and the other across Wilberforce Common to Sackville Reach.” Windsor and Richmond Gazette 11th of November 1899, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66442413
199 http://www.hawkesbury.org/?c=placenames&action=view&placenameid=85593&term=Blacktown%2C+Freemans+Reach
Settlers began to take up land above flood levels;\(^{200}\) the Wilberforce Common was broken up for sale during the 1890s; an Aboriginal reserve on the Wilberforce Common appears to have been resumed in 1896;\(^{201}\) and the 1901 Census has no record of Aboriginal people at Wilberforce or Freemans Reach.\(^{202}\) Thus the disappearance of “Mr. Jim Gosper’s darkie known better as "Sago,“” in 1899 may well have been part of the Black’s Town diaspora.\(^{203}\) “Mr. Jim Gosper’s darkie known better as "Sago," who did a guy\(^{204}\) one night last week, has not turned up since. His companions, who hail from Sackville, and who disappeared at the same time, were seen going up George-street on Thursday morning whistling "Home, Sweet Home."

\(18^{\text{th}}\) of November, 1899: cricket

“Billeroy aboriginals defeated Coonamble Warwicks the other day. The scores were: Warwicks, 53 1st innings and 16 2nd innings; Aboriginals, 187 for 4 wickets, Boney (not out 105) being the principal scorer. This is the same old "Boney" who used to play with Sackville years ago. He was regarded as one of the prettiest batsmen ever seen in the Hawkesbury-and physically he wasn't a repulsive nig either. Boney must be approaching the "sere and yellow" of his life.”\(^{205}\)

\(16^{\text{th}}\) of December, 1899: Have you heard the one about …

Any doubts about Yeldap’s partiality to Aboriginal people will be resolved by the following joke.

‘COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, [BY YELDAP]

WE know a man who can grub up 40 acers a day, stumps and all. He is a dentist. There is an Australian black woman who has never tasted strong drink. She must beer rum gin.”\(^{207}\)

\(17^{\text{th}}\) of December, 1899: morals were shocked

Whether or not Alfred and Henry Barber were having a good laugh at their court appearance or missionaries had finally convinced Aboriginal people to clothe themselves is a moot point. The fact that Aboriginal people appeared in court as witnesses is probably the most interesting aspect of this extract.

‘Windsor Police Court

Monday, December 17, 1899.


\(^{203}\) The Gosper’s have been continuous settlers of their original land grant near Bushell’s lagoon.

\(^{204}\) A slang expression meaning to slip away, decamp, disappear.


Reginald Wilbow, Jas. Fairs, and Sydney Watts, were charged, with bathing in a public place and in sight of the public, at Ebenezer on Sunday, the 16th inst.

Mr. G. McCauley appeared for the defendants.

Constable Hughes, stationed at Wilberforce, deposed that from information received he had prosecuted the defendants on the above charge.

John Byron, residing at Boston Ridge deposed: I know the defendants before the court; I remember Tuesday the 10th, inst., I saw defendants that day at Ebenezer about 10 o'clock a.m., they were bathing in the water in a nude condition, and in view of the church. I was not at church; I never attend; I was going home when I noticed them. I saw two there whom I recognised as Wilbow and Fairs, I do not know the third one, Watts. The bathing took place near where Mr. Norman Hall lives; there is no town there. I have, never given information to the police before about anyone else in that locality. I never did this from malice.

Albert Barber and Henry Barber, two blackfellows gave evidence corroborating that of the previous witness, and stating that when they saw the defendants, their morals were shocked, etc.

This closing the case for the prosecution. Mr. McCauley asked for a dismissal of the case on account of the information being wrongly laid. He did not wish to go into the case, as it was only wasting the time of the court. The charge, considering the locality, was a frivolous one, and really no merits.

The Bench upheld the point, and the defendants were thereupon dismissed. 208

23rd of March, 1900: more court appearances

George Symonds was charged with unlawfully assaulting George Hunt at Sackville Reach on March 3rd.

Constable Hughes deposed that he saw the accused and said to him, "Were you at Fiaschi's vineyard on March 3rd?" said "Did you see Hunt there?" He replied "Yes, down at the back of the stockade"; witness said, "How did that fight end"; Symonds replied, "they parted us "; said to accused, "Did you know Hunt got cut on the head"; he replied, "Yes, I think one of the Johnston's threw a brick at me, and it struck Hunt"; asked him if they were drunk; he replied, "Yes, we were both drunk"; after further questions were asked, witness brought accused to the lockup, and charged him with the assault; a piece of batten (produced) was handed to witness' by Hunt, as the weapon used in the assault.

George Hunt, an Aboriginal, who appeared with his head bandaged up, deposed that he knew the accused; he was at witness' place about 3 weeks ago; two young fellow's were sparring at the, camp; witness was present; Symonds, came up to witness and

pushed him away; witness told him he pushed a man about as if it cost anything, Symonds said, “Yes, and I’ll hit you too”; with that Symonds made a charge at witness; witness then pulled off his clothes and they had a few rounds; Symonds then cleared towards the cellar; about an hour and a half after Fred Barber struck witness and tore his shirt; Symonds again struck witness with his fist, and afterwards with a piece of batten; witness afterwards had five stitches put in his head by Pierro Fiaschi; was certain the accused was the man who struck him; the two Johnston’s were present at the time.

To the accused: Was not standing behind yon when you struck me with the batten.
To the Bench: Had a little drop of wine in me at the time.

The Bench decided not to hear any more evidence, and dismissed the case.

23rd of March, 1900: snakebite

‘Joseph Alok, an aboriginal, residing at Sackville Reach, who was recently bitten by a black snake with no effect, was bitten a fortnight ago by another of the reptiles on the finger, and it was not until this week that he felt the effects, when he was compelled to see Dr. Gibson, his hand having become much swollen. The dusky Sackvilleite is apparently snake proof.

6th of April, 1900: more predictions of the coming extinction of Aboriginal people

The observation “those terrible scientific people, have ventured to class them among the lowest of mankind until Stanley found something lower in Africa” clearly demonstrated that Science as an objective study had little impact on the common mind in the late Nineteenth Century.

‘Hone Heke, M. P.

THE Maori Parliament, which was to assemble on Thursday, was to consider the question of sending Hone Heke, one of their number, to England to lay their grievances before the Imperial authorities. We are not aware that the Maori’s have any great grievances which require ventilation, the purpose of this paragraph is to draw attention to a few interesting facts which surround the name of Hone Heke. He is a pure blood Maori, a member of the House of Representatives, the son of a King in former times, a man of great intellect, of easy and graceful language, with a perfect command of the English tongue, as well as his own, a good acquaintance of the English literature, and an attractive presence. He stands as a proof of the very superior qualities which the Maori race possess, which entitles them to be considered one of the most highly talented of coloured races. This fact is the more remarkable when it is considered that their origin must necessarily be almost entirely different from the Australian aboriginal, for that person cannot be considered by the most enthusiastic admirer as possessing any of those qualities which go to make a great race. On the contrary, those terrible scientific people, have ventured to class them

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209 Thomas Fiaschi was a doctor in Windsor at this time. In 1882 he established Tizzana winery at Sackville Reach. The vintage season was around March and he employed about 30 people at this time. Page 108-09, D. G. Bowd, Macquarie Country, Library of Australian History, 1979.


among the lowest of mankind until Stanley found something lower in Africa. There is great future before the Maori people but extinction is all the future has for our aboriginals.²¹²

20th of April, 1900: languages
The extract is important in that it persists in using the term “tribe”, despite its inappropriateness to the First Peoples of Australia. The words in the list belong to the Hawkesbury, not to the “Kamilaroi” who are to the north of the Hawkesbury. Comleroy Road was the Hawkesbury link to Kamilaroi country in the Hunter. “Kamileroi” was the name of Ben Richards’ mansion at Richmond. It was named not after the Kamileroi people, but one of Ben Richards’ racehorses.

‘Dr. Cameron has received a communication from the Anthropological Society, of Sydney, asking him to endeavour to find out the meaning of the subjoined aboriginal words. They are all supposed to originate from the Kamilaroi tribe, as this tribe was the one which inhabited this district in days of yore. The names are: Colo, Maroota, Cattai, Wheeney, Toohi, Bilpin,²¹³ and Tuwullewah. Anyone who is conversant with the meaning of any of those names, by forwarding same to Dr. Cameron, would greatly oblige that gentleman.”²¹⁴

25th of May, 1900: Sackville darkies
‘LOCAL AND GENERAL
A troupe of Sackville darkies gave an entertainment on Monday night last in the School of Arts hall.”²¹⁵

5th of October, 1900: religious discrimination
From the following newspaper report one can probably conclude that God was of a pinkish white hue in the eyes of some Hawkesbury residents.

‘Sackville Reach
(From our own Correspondent)
The services held in the Wesleyan Church on Sunday last were conducted by Messrs Morton and Collbrook, members of the committee of the La Perouse Aboriginal Board. Special services were held in the darkie’s Church in the afternoon and on Saturday evening.”²¹⁶

27th of April, 1900: patriotism
‘The following comes from Tuesday’s Windsor Police Court: -An aboriginal was convicted and sentenced by Mr. Wilshire, P.M., to two months for vagrancy. When being led away by the trap, "the nigger" let out at the Bench: "Anyhow, boss, de Boers'll beat de British, boss!" "With hard labour" roared the P.M.”²¹⁷

²¹³ That Bilpin was recognised as an Aboriginal word in 1900 puts to rest the claim that the township of Bilpin is a diminution of Bell’s Pinnacle.
4th of May, 1900: blanket day

“The aboriginals have commenced to apply for their year’s supply of blankets. They require them this weather.”  

27th of May, 1900: Breelong massacre – the Hawkesbury connection

“Four Persons Brutally Murdered.
HORRIBLE INJURIES TO OTHERS.
FIENDISH CRUELTY.

A terrible tragedy was enacted on Friday night at Breelong, about 10 miles from Gilgandra, at the residence of Mr. Mawbey. A messenger galloped into town on Friday night, and reported that the whole family of Mawbeys had been brutally murdered by blacks. Constable Berry at once proceeded to the house, and found that Miss Kerz, Miss Hilda Mawbey, and Percy Mawbey were dead and horribly mutilated. Evidently a tomahawk was used, their skulls being smashed completely in. Miss Elsie Clarke (a niece of Mawbey’s), Miss Grace Mawbey, and Mrs. Mawbey were found to be wounded to such an extent as to give small hopes of recovery. The police had not returned up to noon, but a messenger who arrived on Saturday morning from Mr. Mawbey's states that the victims were murdered in bed about 11 o’clock on Friday night, and the perpetrators were believed to be a couple of aboriginal blacks engaged by Mr. Mawbey. The family is amongst the pioneers of the district and is fairly well to do, owning a large area of land on the banks of the Castlereagh. Miss Kerz, a provisional school teacher, who was murdered, comes from Girilambone, and has only been in the district a short time, and was boarding at Mr. Mawbey’s. No men were sleeping in the house on Friday night. Mr. Mawbey being away at the old Breelong Post-office, which belongs to him, while the family were residing in a new house at another part of the run about a mile away. The inmates of the house were all in bed, and as fast as they arose and tried to run away the murderers felled them. A report states that one little boy, seeing what was happening, crawled under a bed, and the blacks missing him endeavoured to find him, but were unsuccessful in their search. A large party of townspeople have left for the scene of the murder, some being armed.

It appears that the blacks had been to Mr. Mawbey's old place and asked him if he was going to stay there all night. On his answering in the affirmative, they said, "All right. We want some chaff in the morning."

Mrs. Mawbey has since died.  

Mrs. Mawbey, one of the victims of the Breelong massacre, was a native of Castlereagh, in the district of Penrith. She left the district over 20 years ago. Her father and brother were for some time employed by the late Mr. John Colless at Castlereagh and Emu Plains. She has an aunt residing at present in Sydney named Mrs. T. Appledore. The Clark family were very highly respected. Miss Kerz was a niece of Mr. Carl Kerz, of Warwick-street, Penrith.  

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220 Mrs Mawby was a Clark.
10th of August, 1900: a ghastly failure in nomenclature

‘FRIDAY, AUGUST 10 1900.

THE FEDERAL ELECTORATES.
The Federal Electorate Commission has at length finished the work of dividing New South Wales into 26 electorates. The work has not yet been finally confirmed, and we have no doubt there will be one or two amendments in the scheme. Giving to the new electorates native names is much condemned by the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly, and not without reason for the names are hideously unmusical, and have no recognised bearing, beyond being an unnecessary attempt to preserve the aboriginal dialect of the degraded blacks. It is to be hoped that sufficient pressure will be brought to bear on the Government to prevent the perpetration of this ghastly failure, in nomenclature. The following, styled the Tomah Electorate will prove interesting to Hawkesbury electors: - District No 9 includes the Parliamentary electorates of Parramatta, Granville (that part west of the Dog Trap road), Sherbrooke, the Hawkesbury the Nepean, Hartley, that; part of Canterbury lying west of George’s River and Prospect Creek, immediately around Liverpool, and the St. Albans part of the Northumberland Electorate, this will include Harris Park., Toongabbie, Seven Hills, Blacktown, Doonside, Mount Druitt, St. Mary’s, Glenbrook, Springwood, Lawson, Katoomba, Blackheath, Mount Victoria, Hartley Vale, Eskbank, Lithgow, Bowenfels, Wallerawang, Rydal, Jenolan Caves, Castlereagh, Richmond, Windsor, Pitt Town, Wilberforce, Kenthurst, Mulgrave, Baulkham Hills, Smithfield. All of these are served by the Western and the Hawkesbury River railway lines. 

24th of August, 1900: the good old days

Whether the editor was just engaging in wishful thinking or repeating what was one common knowledge, there is now no way of knowing. The intent and attitude, however, is clear.

‘In the early days, When there was not a hundred acres of cleared land in the whole district, and settlers were armed with ancient blunderbuses, and muzzle-loading guns, that would only kill with surety at about the same distance as a spear - at that time three or four of the brave-hearted pioneers of colonization would follow a mob of 40 or 50 marauding blacks for days, and eventually dispatch the most of them to the 'happy hunting grounds' of the aborigines. Nowadays, when a party of 30 or 40 police and civilians, equipped with modern rifles, revolvers, etc., see a couple of murdering black-fellows taking to the scrub, they give up the chase and go home. Are we deteriorating? 

7th of September, 1900: a pleasant change tinged with some regret

‘PARKES ELECTORATE.
The Mountaineer (Katoomba) has the following: - The select committee on the names of the Federal electorates have discarded most of the aboriginal names and adopted instead the names of statesmen and present names for the localities. We regret this for some reasons, but it is pleasant to see such names as Cook, Wentworth, Lang, Parkes and Robertson perpetuated.
The name of the electorate that includes the Mountains has been altered from Tomah to Parkes.

It was pointed out by Mr. W. H. B. Piddington, the chairman of the committee, that in the case of the electorate of Parkes part of the district chosen for the name was for many years a place of residence of the late Sir Henry Parkes.

We might further add that it is, too, the last renting place of that great statesman. Whose grave is here on the lovely and bright Blue Mountains that the veteran loved so well.”

J. C. L. Fitzpatrick: The Good Old Days, William Dymock, 1900

John Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick (1862-1932), founder and editor of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette reworked Yeldap’s V. – The ABORIGINES, during the 1890s. In 1900 William Dymock published Fitzpatrick’s work, The Good old days: being a record of facts and reminescences (sic) concerning the Hawkesbury district compiled from the columns of the “Windsor Richmond Gazette” which contained, on pages 62-67, virtually the same 1890’s text with some omissions and alterations. The most significant of the omissions was any reference to the “old resident”. As a result the work appears to be based upon the personal experience of Fitzpatrick. Given that Fitzpatrick was born in 1862 and worked from the age of 14 in various newspapers, the experiences he described were certainly not his.

‘V.—THE ABORIGINES.

THERE is but a remnant now left of the native tribe that once lorded it over the Hawkesbury. That there was a large tribe of blacks here at one time is well known, but with the advance of civilization the race is surely becoming extinct. The few who now remain, and who make their appearance annually at the Courthouse to receive the Queen's bounty in the shape of the customary blankets, is a miserable remnant of the once stalwart natives who roamed the banks of the Hawkesbury.

The principal camp in this district was on a creek between Windsor and Riverstone, and the King who ruled the tribe was called King Creek Tommy. This warrior wore a brass plate attached round his neck by a chain, bearing an inscription of his name and the name of the tribe over which he ruled. They were not a warlike tribe, but used frequently to come into town and hang around the pubs.

There was another camp at Blacktown, and from the blacks this town derived its name. A paternal Government, which robbed those unhappy beings of their land, afterwards gave to each member of any tribe who would work it, grants of land. At one time the greater portion of land in and around Blacktown belonged to aboriginals, and some of it is still held by half-castes who are descendants of the tribe that once lived there.

Corroborees were of frequent occurrence. Once the local tribes issued a challenge to light the Capertee blacks, and the two parties met for combat. The fight, however, was averted by the strategy of Sir John Jamieson’s overseer, who, seeing that the tribes meant hostilities, had slain and suspended on the battle-field a useless old

bullock. On the arrival of the hostile tribes next morning, they saw a feast awaiting them, and decided to bury the hatchet and eat, drink, and be merry. The meditated fight culminated in a corroboree, which lasted three days, over 300 blacks being present. Huge fires were lighted, and men and women almost nude, with faces and limbs painted, danced around the blaze, uttering all sorts of wild gibberish. Some of the females rushed about, pointing out their relatives to members of the other tribe, whilst others were beating sacks, filled out tight with leaves, with sticks, and singing. The whole scene by the glare of the fire was wild and devilish, and one not to be easily forgotten. The noise was deafening, whilst the facial contortions and gesticulations of the blacks would make the flesh creep.

The wonderful dexterity of the aboriginals in the use of the spear, shield, and boomerang, was something remarkable. They could with the greatest of ease turn off a spear with their shield, the weapon being hurled at them from short range; and, unless taken unawares, it would be impossible to spear them, so quick were they in protecting themselves in this way. In the use of the boomerang they were particularly skilled, and could almost cut a man in two at one or two hundred yards with the sharp-edged weapon, so great was the force with which they hurled it.

They were also very clever at climbing trees. Their method was to cut a small hole in the bark of the tree with their sharp stone axes. Many of these implements have since been found in this locality whilst the ground was being ploughed. They then ascended the tree in zigzag fashion, making holes, first on the right hand side, then on the left, and so on until the limbs were reached. The whole of the weight of the body rested on the toes.

One way of cooking was to dig a long trench, clear it out flat, and line the bottom with boulders, on which a fire was made. When the boulders became red-hot, the embers would be cleaned out and a steak would be thrown on them, and in this way they could turn out a very appetising meal. Once, when I was partaking of their food, an opossum was being cooked. The hair was first singed off; it was then opened and thrown on the boulders. After being cooked, a piece of meat was handed me, which, for want of a plate, had to be eaten in the hands. The gins, who were squatted about near the fire, had their morsel thrown to them in much the same fashion that white men would throw meat to a dog, it not being aboriginal etiquette to hand their food to the women. Some of the half-castes in those days were very hospitable, and I have often partaken of good meals with them, some of them having learned European cooking from the families amongst whom they lived.

I remember a very pious old black woman who had been brought up in Lieutenant Bell’s family, and who, no doubt, had had her religious training attended to, for, in fine weather, she could often be seen in Windsor sitting under a tree reading her Bible. The Blacks were never very troublesome about this district, and I don’t remember any disturbances; this condition was different to that existing in Bathurst, where several outrages were committed. In later years, when the Government allowed the annual blanket, those who came to the Windsor Court-house for it year by year became less and less numerous, until at the present time their number is very small indeed. When they first came for their blankets, I remember they numbered about 300. At first they used to sell the gifts to people for
a trifle, or barter them to publicans for rum, but this was rightly put a stop to by
the Government.

When a young man, I remember news came from the settlers that the Emu blacks
were very troublesome, and had been spearing the settlers' cattle; and the soldiers
quartered at Windsor were sent in pursuit to what is now known as Emu Plains,
and caught some of the culprits red-handed, the spears sticking into some of the
bullocks. Notwithstanding the fact that no opposition to their capture was made
by the blacks, the soldiers shot several of the poor wretches down, and when I
went over the place a day or two afterwards, I counted seventeen of them lying
dead within about four rods of ground. On another occasion, when I was
travelling in the Bathurst district, - I used to go away droving I came across the
remains of a burnt hut in the bush, and the charred remains of three poor
fellow who had been murdered by blacks. It afterwards transpired that these
three men (settlers) had been attacked by the blacks, whom they had kept at bay
for some time with their guns, until resorting to cunning, the blacks threw a
fire-brand on to the bark roof, and set the hut on fire. Strange to say, the
settlers stuck to their post, and would not come out, preferring rather to be
roasted alive than to make an effort for freedom.

A few days afterwards, a publican who once lived in Windsor got a party of
men together, armed with carbines and cutlasses, and set out in search of the
hostile blacks, the king of whom was named after him. They came upon the
blacks after some days' search, and the king came forward, asking for the
blacks to be spared. "Is that you,--------------------------" (mentioning his name) said the
publican, and receiving a reply in the affirmative, he rushed, with an oath, at
the king, and cleaved his skull open with his cutlass. Report states that King
Ebony ran several yards with his skull cleft in twain, and then dropped dead.
The party then attacked the blacks, and a butchery ensued, none of them being
spared, men, women, and children being slaughtered to the number of seventy.
The massacre - it could be termed nothing else - is a standing blot in Australian
history.225

There is no need to mention the cleverness of the blacks as trackers, as their
capacity for finding trails or tracks in the bush is well-known, and even to this clay
they are employed for this purpose. I was droving up over the mountains when a
young man, and, in endeavouring to get to a small township, lost the track. Shortly
afterwards I met an Aboriginal who was well-known to me, and asked him to put me
on the right track, telling him if he would go to the township with me, I would give
him a rupee - a coin which would pass in those days - and which I held in my hand
and offered to him. To show that they did not appreciate the value of money in those
days, and would rather have the equivalent in tobacco or spirits, Billy consented to
conduct me to my destination on condition that he received some tobacco. Having a
little in my pocket, I gave him a smoke or two, and rewarded him when we arrived
at the store. Some of the early blacks made splendid workers, and could do a day's
toil in the wheat-field that would make many a white man ashamed of his own work.
Strange to say, many of those who became fairly educated and acquainted with

225 Using first names it is not too difficult to work out who is being referred to. I have declined to
identify the man, a one-time Windsor publican as there is no other evidence to support the claim that I
am aware of.
European customs in after years were seized with nomadic habits again, and went back to their tribe.\textsuperscript{226}

1901 census

The 1901 census identified that there were one hundred and ten, or one hundred and eleven Aboriginal people in the Hawkesbury. They appeared to be concentrated on the Blacktown on the old Lock grant, at Lilburnedale, and at or around the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve.

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<td>Riverstone</td>
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<td>J. A. Shaw</td>
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Brought in from another collector’s sub-district.

| W. Castles                     |                                  | 2  | 3  |                                  |
| Pitt Town                      | Common and Nelson               |      |    |                                  |
| Maroota                        | Pitt Town and Bottoms           |      |    |                                  |
| Lower Hawkesbury               | Lower Portland                 |      |    |                                  |
| St. Albans                     | Webbs Creek                    |      |    |                                  |
| Putty                          | Capertee                       |      |    |                                  |
| Colo and District              | Bell’s Line and Wheeny          |      |    |                                  |
| North Kurrajong                | Wheeny                         | Daniel Packer                     | 3  | 2  | Charlie Everingham is a half Caste |
| North Kurrajong                | Wheeny                         | Abner Douglass                    |    |    |                                  |
| North Kurrajong                | Lower Portland                 | Andrew Barber                     | 1  |    | Half Caste                       |
| North Kurrajong                | Lilburnedale                   | Graham                            | 8  | 2  |                                  |

\textsuperscript{227} These names are not necessarily Aboriginal; they can include white people that Aboriginal people were living with.
20th of February, 1903: Mental health

What happened to Aboriginal people when admitted to mental institutions at this time is an area that bears investigation.

'UN SOUND MIND.
John Gubra (aboriginal) was brought up and charged with being of unsound mind. Doctors Gibson and Callaghan gave evidence as to his insanity, and the bench ordered him to be sent to Parramatta Hospital for Insane. 229

8th of January, 1910: Alfred Smith, Some Ups and Downs of an Old, Richmondite

While most of the following extract from Alfred Smith’s article that originally appeared in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette is not relevant to the Hawkesbury I have included it as I think it shows where Fitzpatrick got his account from.

'MY FIRST SIGHT OF THE BLACK COUNTRY
This came about 64 years ago last June, with old Mr John Roberts, of Richmond. We went up country for cattle. I was to get 4/- a week and rations. I had always wanted to go up country, so the people who reared me (and who I looked upon as a father and mother) got a boy to mind the town cattle while I was away. I was away two months. We crossed the falls at Lower Castlereagh and went up to Springwood. I will never forget those days, as there were so many horse teams and bullock teams on the road at that time. I have seen as many as eight to ten teams travelling together at a time. It was nothing new to see five and six horses travelling together. Little did I think then I would ever see the trains going over the mountains. In those days I saw land you would not have if you got it for 5/- per acre. Now it is selling by the foot, and bringing large prices. I little thought to see places like Katoomba, Wentworth Falls, and Blackheath. What is now Lithgow used to be called Brown’s Swamp, where I camped many a night with fat sheep, to come over Bell’s Line, and a cold “shop” it was. The late Mr William Bowman offered to buy 40 acres of land near the foot of the mountain for a man I knew (a blacksmith by trade) very well, and he would not accept it. This offer was made about 60 years ago. Mr Bowman told him there would be a

deal of stock coming over Bell's Line, and he thought it would be a good place for a blacksmith. Drovers would want their horses shod, and his wife could keep a boarding house, as drovers would want rations to carry them over as far as Mount Tomah, 26 miles to the stone house. Mudgee at this time had two hotels. One was kept by a man named Blackman and the other by a Mr Sampson. At that time it was not much of a town either, for it only had a very few houses. From Mudgee we went on to the Macquarie for cattle. A fortnight before we reached our destination, the station, 40 blacks surrounded the men’s hut. Five men were there (four stockmen and the cook) and they happened to have six guns and plenty of ammunition. They shot eighteen of the blacks through the port holes in the slabs - they made these provisions in those days on account of the blacks being troublesome - and burnt them about 300 yards from the hut. I saw where they had burnt them, and there were some very small pieces of the bones left. I saw plenty of blacks on the journey, both going up and coming down, at every station in their wild state. There were plenty of sly grog sellers about who sold other things besides, to turn suspicion off the real trade they were engaged in. At one place on the Marthaguy Creek, near the Macquarie, we saw a lot of fires about a quarter of a mile away one night and could not understand its meaning. I mentioned to the overseer about the blacks’ dogs yelling, and he told me it was the blacks themselves making that noise, as a young black gin had died some three or four days before. Next morning a black gin came to the station and her head was all covered in mud, which had dried and was very hard. The overseer gave me to understand that this was their way of mourning for their dead. I thought it a strange custom then, but have grown used to similar sights since.

As they gathered the cattle a blackfellow and myself used to mind them. It was very windy one day and he said to me "I no like urn windy weather, debbil, debbil, makeum wind" I said "No, Jacky, God make him wind." It was surprising how this appealed to the blackfellow. After that everything he could think of he put the question to me "God makee that too? God good pellah, I nebber been hear of him from your countryman before." He was in the habit of swearing a great deal before, and I told him a few times that God didn’t like it, and it seemed to check him a lot.

After we left Richmond and had been about three weeks on the road it was reported I had been speared by the blacks, and killed. News travelled slow in those days - no post or telegraph service like we have today - but by some means it reached my foster parents, old Mr and Mrs George James, in Richmond. Naturally they were greatly upset. I will never forget the day I got back to Richmond. My dear old adopted father and mother caught me in their arms, and thanked God I had come back to them safely. This grand old couple were good to me - good as any natural father and mother. I am thankful to be able to say I was always grateful for their kindness, and never forgot to do all within my power for them while they were alive. I still respect their bones in the grave today.

12th of November, 1910: denial of Aboriginal identity

A report on the death of John Lock, one of Robert and Maria Lock’s children, in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 12th November 1910 provoked an anonymous response in the following issue that provides important insights into settler perceptions of Aboriginal identity. The anonymous correspondent asserted that John

Lock was not “one of the original of the tribe of blacks in the district” as his father, Robert Lock “was an Englishman”. The anonymous correspondent went on to deny John Lock’s Aboriginal identity by further asserting that “I fail to see how the Locks themselves can be classed as blacks. There are two of them who are dark certainly, but that is only natural, the mother being a half-caste.” The fact that John Lock had married Jane Starkey, the daughter of a convict and a Aboriginal woman indicates that the anonymous correspondent had no understanding of Aboriginal identity. There is no evidence to support the assertion that Maria, John Lock’s mother was one of “four half-caste girls”.

‘An old identity of the district passed away on Tuesday night in the person of John Locke, of Blacktown road. Deceased was 80 years of age, and suffered from bronchitis. Locke was one of the original of the tribe of blacks in the district.’

The Late John Lock.
A correspondent writes: — I write to ask you to make a correction in the par in last week's Gazette, re the death of John Lock, in which it reads: “Lock was one of the original of the tribe of blacks in the district.” This part is wrong, as the following will show: — Robert Lock senr., John's father, was an Englishman, and was sent out here “for the good of his health” for some trivial offence. There were at the time four half-caste girls in the employ of two residents. - The order was given from the Governor of the Colony that whatever four men married these four girls should have their free pardon, and a grant of land each for both men and girls. Lock, senr., married one and got his land at Liverpool, and his wife got hers at Plumpton. How on earth people can make out that the Locks were Aboriginals I don't know. Some of them lived with, or married, dark women. In fact three of them did, and these women belonged to a tribe that lived on Pye's place (R. A. Pye's grandfather) I believe, but I fail to see how the Locks themselves can be classed as blacks. There are two of them who are dark certainly, but that is only natural, the mother being a half-caste.

1910: centenary
R. Farlow took an early lead in trying to get the 1910 centenary festivities started in Richmond. His proposed parade and celebrations formed a template for many later celebrations. Whether the tribe of Aborigines was rounded up or not remains unknown. His description of them as denisons of our bush neatly avoided recognising prior ownership. Farlow’s phrase CELEBRATING OUR CENTENARY was paraphrased for the 2004 bicentenary celebrations. It was not an inclusive theme.

‘1910: Centenary

233 The Pye property was originally known “at the time it was settled upon as Waawaarawaa, the aboriginal name for Fresh Water, no doubt meant for the Eastern Creek, which traverses the property.” It was later known as “Liberty Hall”, and was “close to Schofield's Siding, on the Blacktown-Richmond railway line.” Windsor and Richmond Gazette, Saturday 2 March 1912.

Wikipedia contains the following information for Eastern Creek: “The Dharug name for Eastern Creek is rendered variously in English as Warrawarry, Wawirrawarry, Warawara & Waaawaar Awaa.”
CELEBRATING OUR CENTENARY.
(To the Editor.)
Sir,—...
On the outskirts of Richmond, say about the R.C. Chapel, a procession could be formed. It could be made up something as follows: A very early type of conveyance, such as "the old blue block cart," without any springs, with passengers aboard, to represent the way our forefathers drove out to business and divine worship; an old water cart, driven by an old-timer, representing the time in our history when the town was supplied by this means from Pugh's Lagoon. On the water-cart could be prominently erected a calico sign such as 9d. a cask. A lorry might be loaned and loaded with empty, casks, representing our old "pub" days. Around the lorry could be placed calico signs displaying the names of the old pubs, such as "The Lion and the Unicorn," "The Bow and Arrow," etc. Then the historical Parson Fulton could be represented riding his horse from Castlereagh to hold divine service at Richmond. And Parson Fulton could head the procession. Then we could have old-time policemen, such as George James and Tiernan. 'A few bushrangers, mounted, would help the procession, as we had them amongst us once. A tribe of aborigines could be worked in with advantage, as they were denissons of our bush. An effigy of a game cock would represent a popular sport years ago. The old reapers, millers, and other, which do not occur to me in my hurry, could be thought out and worked in to represent our earliest history.

The procession could comprise all stages in our growth down to the present day, when we could seek the assistance of the waiter brigade, the fire brigade, the military (mounted and dismounted), the Army Medical, the benefit societies (Oddfellows, Druids, Hibernians), could make an important part in the pageant.

The procession could move off at a suitable hour to enable it to travel down Windsor-street to the, site of the old church school. On the very site of the old school an address could be given on its early history by someone, and as it is contiguous to the old cemetery, a few facts, figures, and information could also be given in connection with it by someone well up in the subject. While here the rector of the old C.E. could give a short open air address to the assemblage. The procession could then re-form, and arrangements could be made at the outset as to its route after leaving the old spot back to the park. The afternoon could, be devoted to sports of various kinds, both for young and old. A good pile of wood might be erected, with a Guy Fawkes on top. After te (sic) it could be set on fire, and a black fellows' corroboree held; also camp-fire songs could be introduced. If possible to have the State Governor at the function, by all means have him. If not, there should be no difficulty in making up one.

Whether these suggestions will be adopted I cannot say, but if they do no more than galvanise the local folk into celebrations of any kind on the 8th of December, 1910, I shall be amply repaid. If we have the College boys with us, then I am sanguine they will enter into the affair with the spirit, characteristic of them, and that they will not be hampered in their movements is almost certain;
Trust, Sir, something will be done in the matter. — Yours, etc.,
R. FARLOW.

P.S. — Should it be preferred for the procession to make no halt, the address spoken of at that site of the old church school could be given in the park. Members of the
Historical Society could be invited. Some, no doubt, would be in quest of information in connection with Windsor, and they could attend there. Members who prefer Richmond could attend here, and be handed over to someone capable of showing them round and explaining over old buildings, etc., to them.—R.F. 235

10th of December 1910: A Chronological Table of Events of the Hawkesbury.

On the 10th of December 1910, the centenary of Governor Macquarie's naming of the five towns was held at Hawkesbury race course. There was a military band, horse races, motor car races, sporting contest, wood chopping etc. 236 It was a format not that different from the modern Hawkesbury Show. The Windsor and Richmond Gazette provided a history of settlement that was to become a template for many similar accounts in the future. It also made no mention of Aboriginal people.

‘Chronological Table of Events of the Hawkesbury.
1788:—15th May, Governor Phillip discovered Broken Bay the entrance to the mouth of the Hawkesbury River.
1789:—6th June, Hawkesbury River discovered by Governor Phillip. 1st July, junction of the Hawkesbury and Macdonald Rivers discovered. 6th July, site of the town of Windsor reached and the Hawkesbury River named.
1790:—Several excursions to the Hawkesbury made.
1791:—May, expedition headed by Captain Watkin Tench, and others to the Hawkesbury, course of the Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers settled. 1st August, 12 prisoners settled between Prospect Hill and the Ponds on the Hawkesbury road.
1794:—April, Major Grose placed the first settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, 22 farms.
1795:—June, settlers and families in the Hawkesbury numbered 400 persons. First troops stationed at the Hawkesbury N.S.W. Corps).
1797:—Roads ordered to be made to the Hawkesbury settlement.
1798:—A convict performed the duties of surgeon at the Hawkesbury.
1800:—July, Deputy Surveyor Grimes appointed Magistrate and Superintendent of Public Works at the Hawkesbury.
1803:—19th April, Roman Catholic services to take place, in rotation at Sydney, Parramatta and Hawkesbury. 15th May, first Roman Catholic service held in Hawkesbury.
1804:—4th March, insurrection at Castle Hill. 7th May, shock of earthquake at Windsor. 12th August, Ham Common given by Governor King. 13th August, subscription for Church of England started.
1805:—11th August, Divine Service performed at the Hawkesbury. 25th October, floods at South Creek. First coach or waggon ran between Windsor and Sydney by William Roberts.
1806:—20th March, great flood at the Hawkesbury, crops destroyed, wheat 70/- to 80/- per bushel. 7th. September, heavy hail storm at the Hawkesbury. 24th September, earthquake felt at Richmond Hill. 19th October, 300 acres of wheat inundated at South Creek. 22nd November, £1 paid for one bushel of seed maize.
1807:—Andrew Thompson in charge of Bligh's farm at Hawkesbury. 1st April, colonial schooner, Governor Bligh, launched at Hawkesbury.

1808: — Flood at the Hawkesbury as high as the one of March, 1806.
1809: — Floods, working gangs sent out to assist settlers, great loss of life. First Presbyterian Church erected in N.S.W. at Portland Head, Hawkesbury, Ebenezer Chapel.
1810: — 13th September, Hawkesbury Races first run. 15th September, Rev. R. Cartwright appointed resident chaplain of the Hawkesbury district. 6th November, Governor went on tour to Hawkesbury district. 8th December, Windsor named, formerly Green Hills, 15th December, towns of Windsor, Richmond, Pitt Town, Wilberforce, and Castlereagh proclaimed. Governor established tolls along the roads to the Hawkesbury.
1811: — March, floods at the Hawkesbury. 2nd March, Thomas Hobby gazetted first coroner of the Hawkesbury. 14th May, burial grounds in township consecrated. September, a man called Ralph Makin sold his wife publicly in Windsor street for £16, to Thos. Quires, for which act he was punished. Windsor Benevolent Asylum and Hospital erected.
1812: — Governor Macquarie made a tour of the Hawkesbury district in January. Subscription started for fencing in school and cemetery at Richmond. March, a cow race at Windsor, cows ridden by owners. 1st April, discovery of illegal distillation near Windsor. 25th April, a punt erected between Pitt Town and Wilberforce.
1813: — 10th November, Howe's Bridge at Windsor completed and named. Parish of Richmond separated from Windsor and Castlereagh.
1814: — Great ravage of caterpillars in the Hawkesbury. 11th October, foundation stone of St. Matthew's Church laid. 11th November, carrier called Highland advertised to carry between Sydney and Windsor.
1815: — 4th February, Highland's Hawkesbury Caravan started. March, a horse mill working at Windsor. 26th July, Macquarie Armes opened by Mr Ranson, innkeeper. 22nd October, the removal of the site of the town of Pitt Town.
1816: — 26th February, Governor Macquarie returned to Sydney in 'Lady Nelson,' from exploration of Hawkesbury River and Broken Bay.
1817: — A Relief Fund Society formed, to aid sufferers by floods. March, towns on the Hawkesbury ordered to be re moved to a higher level.
1819: — October, brig 'Glory' built by Jonathan Griffith, of Richmond, sailed into Sydney Cove from Hawkesbury.
1821: — Governor Macquarie's tour of inspection to the Hawkesbury. 2nd May, death of Surgeon Thos. Arndell, South Creek. Old Court House at Windsor completed.
1822: — Portrait of Governor Macquarie executed for Court House, Windsor. 8th December, opening of St. Matthew's Church of England, Windsor.
1823: — 5th March, road from Richmond to Wallis Plains thrown open to the public. Earthquake at Windsor, Howe's Bridge wrecked.
1824: — January, "Competitor," Captain Ascough, first ship to sail up the Hawkesbury.
1828: — March, Bennelong, Hawkesbury launch, 272 tons, launched from Captain Grono’s yard into the Hawkesbury for whale fishery. 11th. August, launching of a punt ferry at Pitt Town.
1829: — 27th June, marriage of Captain William Wiseman to Miss Grono at Portland Head.
1832: — Capture of three bushrangers at Hawkesbury. 24th July, first trip of William 4th steamer up the Hawkesbury. 4th September, sale of the Red House, Richmond.
1833: — 7th March, sale of Duggan’s farm at Hawkesbury. 17th August, sale of Retreat Farm, at Hawkesbury.
1834: — Windsor Royal Mail advertised to leave General Post Office, daily.
1838: — 12th January, death of Solomon Wiseman, age 61 years.
1841: — 3rd June, foundation stone of St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Wiseman's Ferry, laid.
1846: — A railway projected to Windsor.
1857: — A debating Society formed at Windsor.
1861: — October, £60,000 voted for horse rail to Windsor and Richmond.
1863: — 15th January, first sod of railway to Windsor turned.
1864: — £15,000 extra for railway, to be locomotive, voted. 12th June, great floods at the Hawkesbury.
1871: — 4th March, Windsor proclaimed a Municipality.
1872: — 18th June, Richmond proclaimed a Municipality.
1874: — Big fire at Windsor, when many buildings, including the first Wesleyan Church, were destroyed.
1879: — September, Hawkesbury District Agricultural Association formed.
1882: — First Masonic Lodge opened at Richmond.
1891: — Hawkesbury Agricultural College opened.
1895: — Castlereagh incorporated.
1910: — 10th December, Centenary Celebrations of Hawkesbury District. 237

17th of December, 1910: The day we celebrate.
In the following week the Windsor and Richmond Gazette carried the speech of the Hon. Joseph Cook, M.H.R., celebrating the triumph of civilization over “nature — with the blacks by day and with the kangaroos by night.”

At the banquet, the “Hon. Joseph Cook, M.H.R., was called upon to propose "The day we celebrate." After expressing his indebtedness to Mr Fitzpatrick and warmly congratulating him on his book entitled 'The Good Old Days' Mr Cook proceeded to ask the question, what did 'The day we celebrate' mean? Did it mean the mighty flowing river of our present day civilization, or that trickle or rill which was but barely traceable a century ago. Did it mean the noonday and the refulgent glory of the present, or the mist and twilight of its dawn in the days of long ago. He thought it included both. If they measured the present by the past the contrast would be great indeed, but yet if they looked closely they would find that though the externals of progress and civilization had changed, though, may be, they had changed their color and shape and form, they would find that the inside bad changed, perhaps less than they thought. What he meant was that ~ in the days of long ago there was the same human nature expressing itself in its infinite and varied forms just as they saw it today. Then, as now, men sought to realise their life and destiny through many and

238 Brightly shining.
varied exercises of that mental heritage which was our God-given birthright. And just as they differed in their qualities so did the expression of their life shape itself. Not only did they fight nature — with the blacks by day and with the kangaroos by night — but they also fought so strenuously as now on the fields of sport. He had been looking over the roll of honor on the wall behind him. He noticed that amongst all the splendid horses which the district had produced 'Jorrocks' was singled out for the supreme place. Perhaps this was right. He read, however, that Killarney was eventually the master of old Jorrocks. So perhaps they might go together. Then he noticed on the cricket roll the name of their old and good friend, W. Howell. But while they rightly honored his prowess on the field in these modern days, they must not forget George Freeman’s six wickets for seven runs. He (Mr Cook) had seen Howell do the hat trick, but he did not know if he could beat George Freeman’s record. Then if their old friend Dan Mayne were still here he could speak of the cock-pit of ye olden time,’ a thing they had now left behind them. He also noted that in the boxing of the olden days the place of honor was given to Norris. From his reading, however, he was not sure if Teale was not equally entitled. Then if they came to political fighting it would be found that this was in every way as vigorous, as picturesque, as interesting, as the fights of today. In this respect they remembered such gladiators as Messrs. Fitzgerald, Bowman, McQade and their late good old friend Mr Walker. Wherever they looked they found the civilization of ‘the long ago’ as varied, as vivid, as agitated, and sometimes as confused as now. Perhaps they might best measure their progress by reference to those attributes of civilization which had to do with justice and liberty. They might remember how the woman, Ratkins, was sold by her unworthy husband in the street for £16 and some cloth, and how the unfortunate woman went gladly to her purchaser, believing that he would make a better husband than her former one. This kind of thing was now and again done even in our day, though not longer he was glad to say, in the Empire. Then there were banks of burglars just as now, and they knew how to charge interest too in those days. They read of £2/10/- being paid as interest on a loan of £5. Let them think of the poor convict, who, for running away, received 150 lashes; and of the unfortunate who for stealing a keg of rum paid the forfeit of his life; or again of the boy Bennett, a 17 year old youth, who for breaking and robbing a tent was executed. All these incidents shocked them as they read and pondered the record. He, however, wanted them to remember that such a criminal code was not peculiar to Australia at that time, but was the penal code of England. They were too apt to think that these happenings were due to some entirely unprecedented and abnormal administration. It was, however, simply the full and effective, if sometimes harsh, administration of the laws of the realm. They were told, for instance, by Blackstone that in the reign of George III there were no fewer than one hundred and sixty offences which were punishable with death. They heard of the splendid thirst of the men in those days, and it is recorded that one man sold his 100 acres of land for £20 to a publican, and did not leave the pub until the whole of it had gone. (Laughter). But what occurred at that time elsewhere? Macaulay told them that "It was a favorite amusement of dissolute young gentlemen to swagger by night about the town (London) breaking windows, upsetting sedans, beating quiet men, and offering rude caresses to pretty women."239 He further speaks of the "Mohawks"240 those "sons

239 Macauley's, History of England, published between 1848 and 1861. The quote refers to London in 1685.
240 The Dutch encountered the Mohawks early in the seventeenth century in what is now New York State.
of Belial flown with insolence and wine.”\textsuperscript{241} These things prove that if such manners and habits prevailed now the old laws would be still in force. Let them remember his point, which was, that though the externals of their civilization had greatly changed, their internal human nature had changed but little. They might also look at the other side of the picture. Let them think of and hold in honor the bravery of the men in their fight with wild nature; or their efforts to construct and multiply the facilities for intercourse, such as roads and bridges. He had travelled from Parramatta that morning in three quarters of an hour. Once upon a time it took 21 days to get from Parramatta to Windsor. It is true 16 days of this was spent at Magrath’s Hill. (Laughter). No, he did not mean internal irrigation, but that which even now sometimes caused them trouble — he meant a mighty flood. But when this was subtracted from the total it left five days for the journey. Then again, only the other day in Sydney one of the members of the Art Society had soundly rated the members because he said they were doing nothing but painting in oils now-a-days. It reminded him of the time when the residents had to send to England to get Governor Macquarie’s portrait painted in oils as a memorial of the success and justice of his tenure of office. The fact was some of these early pioneers built better than they knew. In the scantiness and deprivation of their own liberty which they suffered some of them watered and fructified the soil on which their liberty to-day grew so luxuriantly, that it almost tended to run to license. In building these bridges and roads they ministered to their own daily necessities and wants, all unconscious of the fact that they were at the same time providing facilities for the dissemination of knowledge and influence over all Australia. They little dreamt in their hard lot that around them were thousands of millions of latent wealth in the sheep pastures of the continent, and many more hundreds of millions in the mineralised grounds of Australia. Nor should we forget amid these more material considerations the efforts of the good and brave and self-sacrificing men who held aloft the torch of truth and carried the banner of freedom. They did their best amid untoward surroundings to impress the altruistic and spiritual ideals upon the life and movements of their day. The evidence of this was to be found in the old sacred edifices which still stand to bear witness to the truth of things. We might well at a time like this ask ourselves what had the century brought us? The answer was — better social relations. A justice that can neither be bought nor sold — a justice also penetrated with wisdom, intelligence and sympathy, as becomes the spirit of the twentieth century. A justice that in its exercise amongst the unfortunate is oftimes linked with the quality of mercy. It had also brought them a kindness and humanity which expressed itself in hospitals for the sick, in pensions for the poor, in better conditions of employment for the men — indeed for all. It had brought them also an increase and diffusion of knowledge and in the facilities for cultivating the spirit and training the mind of the nation. To this our public and private, our primary and secondary schools, bore witness; and last though not least the great agricultural college on the old common yonder. It was a most fitting thing that here in the birthplace of the agricultural and industrial enterprises of the people, there should be founded the best school of its kind in all Australia — here where the roots of the native were first displaced by the more refined grains of civilized man. Long may it prosper and lay in the future the basis of a healthy and numerous yeomanry which was the only enduring guarantee of the nation’s future prosperity. And what of that future? They were today measuring the range and scale of their advances during the past hundred years. Bright as that page of progress was, the next

\textsuperscript{241} A quote from Milton’s, \textit{Paradise Lost}, Book I.
hundred years would eclipse it. With "freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent"242 and with the economic ideals of the nation tinctured and influenced by the altruistic spirit which was abroad, they need have no fear to step out into the next century of national existence. They believed in their race and hoped to preserve this continent as the home of a great white people who in all the time to some would hold this outpost for the Empire and for the good of humanity at large. (Applause)"243

In the same issue of the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, another piece of historical triumphalism was reprinted from the Daily Telegraph. This particular piece of fancy had the early settlers alternately battling floods and “an aggressive tribe of blacks” who, in terms of landownership conveniently lived between the Hawkesbury and Parramatta.

17th of December, 1910: More memories

‘Centenary,
100 YEARS OF HISTORY. A FEW REMINISCENCES.
(From ‘Daily Telegraph.’)
In the beginning, Sydney. Next came Parramatta, then Windsor, Richmond, Pitt Town, Wilberforce, and Castlereagh all at once. A hundred years ago on Thursday, December 8, Windsor was named, and a week after these five towns were proclaimed.

The history of the Hawkesbury goes back further still. Governor Phillip discovered Broken Bay on March 2, 1788, when he took a long-boat and cutter to examine the coast to the north of Port Jackson, which had been remarked on by Captain Cook. A year later Phillip sent two boats to explore the bay, and this time they discovered the Hawkesbury River, which flows into it. They rowed up the river for a couple of days, but provisions ran out, and they returned. Another start was made, and now they went right up to South Creek, where in 1794 Lieutenant-Governor Grose founded the first settlement of the Hawkesbury. Ever since the district has been renowned for the strength of the ‘men’ and the horses that have been reared there, for the great ages to which its buildings, and people have lived, for floods, and fertility of soil. The early settlers needed plenty of strength and much courage. Between them and Parramatta dwelt an aggressive tribe of blacks, who contracted a habit of making periodical raids on the homesteads. No sooner would trouble from this quarter be checked than the river would come down in flood, and farms, houses, and crops would accompany it to the sea.

The Hawkesbury in Flood.

Hawkesbury history provides a flood every few years. The first that records tell of was in 1795 There was a bigger one in 1799, and in 1806 a third, in which several lives were lost. Moreover, crops suffered so badly that wheat was after wards worth 70/- to 80/- a bushel, and a bushel of seed maize realised £7. More floods occurred in 1809; more lives were lost. In the sixties Mr John Tebbutt, whose work as an astronomer is known throughout the world's scientific circles, began to keep authoritative records of the river's risings, and in 1864 he measured the Hawkesbury's height, when it rose

242 Apparently a quote from Tennyson. I have not yet sourced it.
243 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 17th December 1910,
48ft. above summer level. For miles round the country was submerged. Farms disappeared, live stock died. Mrs William Eather and her five children were drowned; Mrs Thomas Eather and her five children shared their fate. Then came the great '67 flood, when the river reached its highest point. Sixty-three feet it rose. Houses and haystacks, cattle and cash went down in the broad current. Walk round Windsor and people will show where the top of the waters touched. Having looked, you gaze towards the horizon level with the mark to see what formed the bank of the great lake which, must have existed. You see nothing that could have held back the water; then you remember that as far as the eye would reach it was all water. There have been plenty of floods since 1867. In 1870 the river rose 45 feet; in 1873 41ft., in '72 43ft., in 1900 46ft. 2in. Floods have been a vexation to the district from the beginning. Had it not been for floods Windsor would not have been in its present position. It was built at first lower down the banks of the river, but a few years' experience showed the urgency of a move.

A District of Long Livers.
The Hawkesbury has been the home of many people who have lived to 90 and 100 years. There was old William Magic of Richmond, who died in 1860. He was 108. Another was John Whitehurst, who lived till he was 98. That was in 1875. Even now there are dozens of men and women over 80. Take old Mr Matthew Nowland, who lives at Mountain View, Richmond. He is 93, and he drives into Windsor regularly on business. Even if he misses a word or two in conversation occasionally, what does it matter? He is hale and hearty. On Tuesday last Mr Nowland called on his comrade, Mr John Ryan, who lives across the river from Windsor, and they had an argument as to the exact age of the latter. Mr Ryan would only own up to 87, but, having been taught to respect the opinions of his elders, he gave way when Mr Nowland insisted that he was 92. So they left it at that. They both came out from Ireland when young men, and when Johnnie Ryan's fame as a bullock driver had gone through the land, Matt. Nowland was winning ploughing matches all round. At the inauguration of the Hawkesbury Agricultural Association in 1879 Mr Nowland won a huge bronze medal for ploughing, and he treasures it vastly. How is it these old pioneers have lived so long? By dint of hard work and a life of strenuous endeavour, they say. Mr Nowland says he does not like the young man who decides whether to work or not in the morning by tossing a brick in the air — work if it stays up, rest if it comes down. The graveyards are full of tomb stones bearing almost incredible figures.

Memories of the Past.
Windsor has a history right enough. Governor Macquarie built many of the buildings now standing. The Court House was completed in 1821. Business was brisker at the Court then than now. It sat every morning in the days that have gone, and for offences which would now be punished with "the rising" or "24 hours" men were taken outside and given a dozen or two dozen lashes. There is very little doing at the Court nowadays. Before the Court House was finished, repairs and improvements were effected to the old Government House, which was enclosed by a wall and fence, and provided with a coach-house and stable. Governor Macquarie in 1811 also erected the Benevolent Asylum and Hospital, which has recently been torn down to make way for the new hospital now being erected. This Benevolent Asylum and Hospital was a flourishing institution. Besides a comfortable banking account, it had in 1834 600 odd head of cattle out grazing. Churches were established while the district was still young. A curious thing happened in connection with the laying of the foundation-
stone of St. Matthew's Church of England. Governor Macquarie did the business on October 11, 1817, and under the stone a "holy dollar" and other coins were carefully placed. That night a mean thief ran off with the "dollar." Consternation reigned, but two days later the townsfolk had sufficiently recovered to allow of another foundation-stone-laying. Again Governor Macquarie officiated, and again that night sacrilegious hands carried off the "dollar." They laid the foundation stone a third time, and sealed it. Doubt less the "dollar" is still there. The church had been in use less than four years when it was again the centre of a certain excitement. The funeral service of Thomas Arndell, a surgeon, was being conducted when one Doyle, a settler, interrupted the preacher with irrelevant questions. The enormity of the offence, "which, for turpitude and atrocity," says an old account, "we believe is unparalleled in our colonial records," led to a special court of magistrates dealing with Mr. Doyle, who ended up with three months' solitary confinement on a bread and water diet, after which he had to find two approved sureties of £500 each, in addition to his own bond of £1000, that he would behave aright in the future. As records do not mention otherwise, presumably he sinned no more. Other things have happened. There were horse races on September 13, 1810, and a cow race in 1812 — the owners rode their own cows. In 1811 a man sold his wife at public auction. She brought £16, and the law dealt with the husband. Caterpillars ate everything green in 1814, and an earthquake in 1823 wrecked Howe's bridge, which was the first large bridge in Australia. It spanned South Creek, and was completed in 1813. Its length was 214 ft., and it stood on four series of piles. Andrew Thompson, who had the contract, died before its completion, and Governor Macquarie was so pleased with John Howe, who finished it, that he named it after Howe. Fitzroy Bridge now takes its place. A railway was talked of in 1847. Previously there were two ways of getting to Sydney — by river or by road. The former was not very speedy, and the second was nearly as bad. In 1805 a coach carried passengers over the 30 odd miles separating Windsor from Sydney in 16 hours (guaranteed) at 7/6 a head. The vehicle also carried wheat at 1s 4d a bushel, and other goods at equally reasonable rates. Public subscriptions helped to keep the coach running. By 1861 a horse railway to Windsor and Richmond had been approved, and on January 15, 1863, the first sod was turned. Later on steam engines arrived. The first Masonic lodge was opened at Richmond in 1882, Castlereagh was incorporated in 1895, and four years ago the first council of Colo Shire was elected. The Modern Hawkesbury Windsor is the largest of these five centenary towns. About 2500 people live there. It has 14 miles of roads in the borough, and rateable property to the amount of £111,000. Richmond is next, with 1300 people and rateable property to the value of £138,000. Castlereagh, Wilberforce, and Pitt Town have each about 350 people. The district was formerly entirely devoted to agriculture; now dairying is being followed as well. Irrigation plants have been established, and vegetables are grown for the Sydney market. Cabbages, cauliflowers, and beans do very well. Some farms have a crop of 100,000 cabbages and cauliflowers in a season. Fodder conservation is being followed. Several farmers have gone in for up to date concrete tub silos. Once tanning was an established industry. It declined but has revived. Already judgement has been given on the competitive essays on "The Past History and Future Possibilities of the Hawkesbury District." The prizes were 15 guineas and 5 guineas. Miss Grace Hendy-Pooley, whose work as a recorder of Australian history is well-known, was first, and Mr. John Ferguson second. Prizes were also given for children's essays. Mona
Melville was first among the girls, William Liddle among the boys. A souvenir of the centenary will be issued. When Mona Melville wrote in her centenary essay that “The aborigines of the Hawkesbury were numerous in Hunter's time, but gradually became less and less, until to-day they are nearly extinct,” she was expressing a common view in the minds of most White Australians that the extinction of the First Peoples of Australia was imminent. No mention was made of the many Australians on the Hawkesbury of mixed ancestry. If any thought was given to them it was assumed that they would simply melt into the lower classes of settler society and make themselves useful as domestics and farm hands. Of course this was another misunderstanding on the part of the settlers. There are more people now who identify with their Aboriginal ancestors of the Hawkesbury than there were Aboriginal people in 1788. As William Liddle made no mention of Aboriginal people in his essay I have not included it.

‘Centenary Essays.
First Prize Essay. — Girls. While Captain Phillip and his party were exploring Broken Bay they came to what they thought to be an arm of the bay, but finding it was a river they named it after Lord Hawkesbury. After sailing some miles up the river they camped at Richmond Hill. They found the soil extremely rich, and as grain growing round Sydney proved a failure, they thought it a good plan to make a settlement here. Leaves and trees dying year after year for centuries, and constant floods bringing down rich deposits of alluvial soil, all added to its richness. When Governor Hunter arrived in 1795, he brought many free settlers, mostly farmers, who settled round here. In Governor King’s time a serious mutiny occurred among the convicts. During Macquarie’s period the Hawkesbury settlement advanced with greater strides. Some blame him for being too free with the land of the colony. At this time the road from Sydney to Parramatta was continued through Windsor to Richmond. In 1810 the sites of five towns, Windsor, Richmond, Pitt Town, Wilberforce and Castlereagh were chosen. Only two, Windsor and Richmond, can really be called towns. Up till 1874 the river was navigable as far as Richmond, but a flood about that time practically closed it for 30 miles. The Windsor Post Office is the third oldest in the State. It was erected soon after the Sydney one of 1810. Till 1835 the rate of postage varied. In the same year stamps were introduced. These were not adhesive stamps. From 1855 to 1856 is an important decade in the history of the Hawkesbury. In 1858 a branch of the N.S.W. Bank was erected on the same premises that it now stands on. In 1859 the Telegraph Office was opened. £51,000 was granted by Parliament in 1860 for the extension of the railway from Blacktown to Richmond. The same year a successful meeting to inaugurate a volunteer corps was held. Men from Windsor, Richmond, Pitt Town and Wilberforce joined. Schools of Arts were erected in Windsor and Richmond in 1861. In 1871 Windsor was incorporated as a borough, Richmond the following year. Both towns have greatly increased in area and population since. The Agricultural College was completed in 1895. It is situated on Ham Common, near Richmond and has an area of 4,000 acres. Here men and boys are taught to farm. The Pitt Town Labor Farm was started as a co-operative society with help from Government; when Government withdrew, quarrelling commenced. It has been taken over as a Government Labor Farm. The aborigines of the Hawkesbury

were numerous in Hunter's time, but gradually became less and less, until to-day they are nearly extinct. The industries of Hawkesbury have chiefly been agriculture and dairy farming. Being limited to 500 words places fetters on one's literary limbs, the weight of which confines one to solid matter of fact statements and prevents heavenward, flights on the wings of poetical fancy. Mona Melville. 245

**Post centenary mythologizing**

In the quarter century following the celebration of Macquarie’s proclamation of the Hawkesbury towns the pages of the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* were used by a number of writers to mythologise the past. Curiously, neither John Abbott, Henry Fletcher, William Freame, John Ferguson, nor George Reeve were born in the Hawkesbury. They romanticised the past, sanctified settlers and demonised Aboriginal people.

Between 1917 and 1927, the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* repeated on five occasions a story of an attack that never happened. The *Sydney Gazette* in 1805 first reported how hordes of Aboriginal warriors burnt Henry Lamb’s Portland Reach farm. The Lamb family then sought shelter with Abraham Yeouller, whose barn and stacks were in turn burnt. No mention was made by the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* of a later report in the *Sydney Gazette* that an Aboriginal girl taken as an infant by Henry Lamb had burnt the Lamb and Yeouller farms and was caught attempting to set fire to the Chaseland farm where the Lamb’s had next sought shelter. Curiously, there was an arsonist on the Lamb farm. Elizabeth Chambers, Henry Lamb’s partner had set fire to her master’s house in 1791 to cover her thefts.

The repetition of these stories of an attack that never took place only makes sense when it is realised that the rapidly decreasing Aboriginal population of the Hawkesbury were gathered downstream from the old Lamb farm.

**30th November 1917: OLD RIVER HISTORY**

‘OLD RIVER HISTORY
(Written expressly for the 'Gazette'.)
(By WILLIAM FREAME).
(No. 12).
A learned member of one of our Historical Societies, in preparing a paper on some district history, took up a good deal of time explaining how the aborigines originally roamed through tho wild bush and hunted the wallaby and the opossum, where now stands the town, etc, etc. So far as the Hawkesbury is concerned we may take such information “as read,” but there is no doubt the aboriginal natives during the early days of European settlement committed many acts of aggression, including attacks upon the white people, and the killing, of their cattle, along the banks of the Hawkesbury River. Corroborees were of frequent occurrence, and we find in the pages of the early Sydney newspapers accounts of tribal conflicts, and also accounts of depredations by these people, who not only speared the settlers' cattle, but tried to burn them out of their farms and homes.

While the first David Dunstan was building his home near Wilberforce, he used to walk to Sydney on Saturday mornings, returning to the Hawkesbury on Monday afternoon; this practice became known to the blacks, who on one occasion decided to waylay him on the journey. After setting out and going some distance, Mr. Dunstan remembered that he had left his rule behind him, so he returned and his journey was thus delayed. The blacks in the meantime dispersed, being either frightened away, or else mistaken as to Mr. Dunstan’s intentions. In the “Sydney Gazette” of 2nd June, 1805, we read of the destruction by the blacks of the farm of Mr. Henry Lamb, at Portland Head. In the same issue of the “Sydney Gazette” is the account of the accidental death of “a most respectable pioneer,” Mr. William Stubbs, who was drowned, in the river.

During the same month of June, 1805, evidently a black month with the Hawkesbury River pioneers, the natives assembled in great numbers in the vicinity of Portland Head, and made an alarming demonstration near Cuddy's farm, the small homestead being menaced by a sudden and determined attack, and it was not until attempts had been made to burn the dwelling down that the natives were driven off, after having severely damaged the farm. A few days after they turned up again; this time the small farm of Abraham Yeouller was their objective. There again they did considerable damage fences were burnt down, crops destroyed, and the whites driven to secure the shelter afforded by their slab hut which was only preserved from destruction with extreme difficulty. Had it not been a wet season, the white population, would most probably have been all burnt out of this locality. We read of occasional demonstrations and depredations by the blacks, in various parts of the Hawkesbury districts, but none so determined as those made on the white settlers during 1805-6.

For several years afterwards various tribes fought amongst themselves battles of a sanguinary character that were very alarming to the white population. 246

18th January 1924: - Ebenezer Pioneers Of The Hawkesbury

‘Ebenezer Pioneers Of The Hawkesbury.
(By Geo. G. Reeve.)

JOHN HOWE—PIONEER, PATRIOT AND EXPLORER. PART II.

“For many a year on many a sea and in many an alien land,
Wherever is need of a fearless brain and a happening hefty hand,
Valley and mountain, prairie and plain,
forest and shore have rung
With the pluck which mounts in our
British blood and sings in the English tongue.” 247

THERE is no place in Australia quite like Windsor — there are no people anywhere like the Hawkesbury natives. They are typical Australians of our time. For are they not the direct descendants of the first real Australians. The Hawkesbury Valley is the cradle of the Commonwealth, and it was from these rich lands that Australia was really colonised. From these wide and rich flats, where first grew wheat and maize, came the real “Cornstalks” whose descendants spread over the continent. The

247 From a poem, The English Tongue, by Harold Begbie.
destinies of Australia were actually shaped in this part of New South Wales — long before the gold field days of the rich nuggets and places where towns sprang up in a night. When you go to Windsor, it is up to you — if you are an Australian like the writer — to go at least with your hat in your hand. The old town is worthy of some respect - the old settlement of “The Green Hills” which Governor Macquarie renamed Windsor when he visited it with his famous wife and a large retinue in the year 1810. That Government House party were entertained by the notabilities of the time. By Andrew Thompson and his wife, Mrs. Thompson. Concerning the wife of Andrew Thompson the emancipist, there is much mystery. No satisfactory solution has yet been given as to who she was, when she died, etc. Some writers have affirmed to me that Andrew Thompson was a veritable Brigham Young, for the wide and large selection of wives which he is said to have employed at various establishments on the Hawkesbury. Other writers have praised Thompson to the highest pinnacle as the Hawkesbury’s greatest citizen, and look upon Thompson as the personification of all the attributes of the Archangel Michael. Listen to what John Macarthur said referring to Thompson's decease:—

"Thompson's death was an interposition of Providence to save the colony from utter ruin. Never was there a more artful or greater knave."

The latter portion of Macarthur's opinion might be fully justified if one looked more into Andrew Thompson's character under the surface as to how Thompson was able to amass such great wealth as he possessed at his death in so few a number of years.

The value of the “Story of John Howe” in the series “Ebenezer Pioneers of the Hawkesbury” is twofold. It has the personal urgency of any life story that reveals heroic struggle and self-sacrifice, that shows purpose clearly grasped in consciousness and unalteringly carried out, as it was in all the lives of that noble band that came in the 'Coromandel,' 1802. The one exception is that of Mr. William Stubbs the First, who unfortunately met his end so early as 1805 by drowning. John Howe was more than an individual, and his story has a bigger significance — good father, good husband, good citizen that he was, and meaning so much to his adopted country. He represented the transition that is Australia. Endeavor for National Good. Howe almost represents the ideal of an English sailor, turning settler-farmer, bettering his fortunes and founding his family in Australia. Although the illustrious name has itself died out, descent is continued through the names of his seven daughters who intermarried with other good families. One has only got to cast the mind back to what the wild bush was like in 1802. When these pioneers came to the Hawkesbury there was no Windsor nor other villages by their side. Here is an extract from the “Sydney Gazette” of June 2nd, 1805:—

“Last Wednesday (May 29th, 1805) a number of natives assembled near the farm of Henry Lamb, of Portland Head, who at the time was absent from home. After remaining some considerable time without manifesting any disposition to violence, they all ascended a ridge of rocks at a trifling distance from the house, where they kindled their fires, and rising suddenly commenced an assault upon the settler's little property, against which it was impossible to devise any means of security. A number of firebrands were showered about the house and different sheds. They were thrown from a considerable distance by means of the moutang or fizzgig, and the premises being by this device set fire to, were in a short time wholly consumed, the family being able with difficulty to save themselves. The settler on his return went immediately in
pursuit of the wanton assailants towards the interior of the mountains, but by a feint they eluded pursuit, having first taken that route and afterwards struck off for the head of the Nepean.”

1st February 1924 - EBENEZER PIONEERS

‘EBENEZER PIONEERS.
A NOTE FROM GEO. G. REEVE

In No. II. article of “John Howe,” W. and R. Gazette, January 18th, 1924, is an historical extract from a Sydney paper where mention is made of natives (aboriginals) making an attack and firing the settler's home of Henry Lamb, opposite Portland Head, a real headland on the original land grant of Mr. Andrew Johnston (I.), which is on the left bank, of the Hawkesbury River going seaward. Henry Lamb's 70 acre grant is on the Maroota side, or right bank, going down stream, and is the identical place (with a few more acres added) where Mr. John Warr Turnbull lived for many years with his late good wife (nee Miss Ann Manning, who died April 9th, 1922), and where Mr. J. W. Turnbull still resides with his son Mr. Charles Turnbull and daughter-in-law. “Kelso” is the name by which Henry Lamb's one-time grant is now known. The original stone and plaster cottage is there still which Lamb built. “Kelso” is located at what is now called Sackville North, and right opposite on the river to the residence and stone wine cellars of Dr. Fiaschi’s Tizzana vineyard, which property (largely increased by purchases) was originally the home of Mr. Denis Benjamin Kirwan (40 acres grant) (obit 1851), and where that gentleman once conducted the Victoria Steam Mills for gristing wheat. Mr. John Sanday, who was married to Mr. Kirwan's fifth daughter, Phoebe, later came into its management. Mr. John Warr Turnbull, who was born on August 9, 1840, is approaching his 84th year of age, and is the seventh son of the late Mr. George Turnbull (I.) and wife, Miss Louisa Chaseling. It should be stated that Henry Lamb’s 70 acres (now Turnbull’s “Kelso”) was sold on April 8th, 1824, by the order of the Provost Marshal at Sydney through an official order obtained by Thos. Clarkson, an old-time Sydney merchant (his grave is at La Perouse) to Mr. George Turnbull (I.) and Rafe (Ralph) Turnbull (I.), these two full brothers, one Australian-born and the last named English-born, sons of the Pioneer Turnbull. The ridge of rocks where the natives descended and terrified the people 124 years ago is still to be seen. I mention these facts for accurate historical data for the future generations.

19th October 1926: - Martha Everingham

The pre-occupation with demonising Aboriginal people at this time may have had something to do with the death on the 19th of October 1926 of Martha Everingham, “one of the original Hawkesbury aboriginals.” Shortly after her death the Windsor and Richmond Gazette on the 5th of November reported that the Reverend Stanley Howard, rector of Pitt Town and Wilberforce proposed “to appeal for subscriptions to erect a tombstone over the grave of Mrs. Martha Everingham, the last member of the full-blooded aborigines of the Hawkesbury, who was buried in the Church of England

On the 12th of November 1926 the Windsor and Richmond Gazette brought the Reverend Stanley Howard’s altruism into perspective with the following correction. Given that the Reverend Stanley Howard proposed that “nine other gentlemen” make a contribution one must question whether gender as well as race were factors in the failure of his proposal.

“Martha Everingham Memorial

THE Rev. Stanley Howard, M.A., wishes us to state that our reference last week to the above was without his authority. He suggested a simple kerb and headstone, similar to that erected by Newcastle people in memory of Jack Dillon, the last full-blooded Hawkesbury male.

Mr. Howard will back up his suggestion by guaranteeing five pounds, if nine other gentlemen will do likewise within six months from date. The ‘Gazette’ will be pleased to receive cash and promises, pending the appointment of a committee. Reminiscences of the Hawkesbury tribe and further suggestions will be welcome. 252

26th January 1927: - peaceful penetration

The address by John Alexander Ferguson, Procurator to the New South Wales General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, during the “HISTORIC EBENEZER CHURCH ANNIVERSARY DAY CELEBRATIONS” on the 26th of January 1927 was truly “INTERESTING”. After a brief tribute “to the earliest heroes of Australian history” such as Cook and Phillip, Ferguson moved onto “the Ebenezer Pioneers. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that no section of our early heroes did more for Australia than those, who, by their peaceful penetration of this country, developed its latent wealth, and by the efforts of themselves and their descendants raised Australia to its present proud position”. 253 Whether there were blushes or sniggers at what was the most sexually-charged imagery in this study remains unrecorded. Certainly there was no voice of protest that the “peaceful penetration” was more like a rape. Again the 1805 attack on Henry Lamb by savage hordes was revisited.

‘118 YEARS OLD
HISTORIC EBENEZER CHURCH ANNIVERSARY DAY CELEBRATIONS
INTERESTING ADDRESS BY MR. J. A. FERGUSON, B.A. 254

The sense of insecurity arising from the large numbers of escaped convicts was increased in many quarters by the danger of attacks from aboriginals. An extract from the ‘Sydney Gazette’ of June 2, 1805, States:—‘Last Wednesday, (May 29, 1805) a number of natives assembled near the farm of Henry Lamb, of Portland Head, who at the time was absent from home. After remaining some considerable time without manifesting any disposition to violence, they all ascended a ridge of rocks at a trifling

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254 Sir John Alexander Ferguson, 1881-1969, came to NSW when his father, a Presbyterian minister, was transferred from NZ. Ferguson was a distinguished judge, historical bibliographer and member of the Presbyterian Church. While he may have done the research for his talk alone, I am inclined to think that he may have collaborated with Freame and Reeve as both wrote on the attack on Lamb’s farm in 1805, which in fact never took place.
distance from the house, where they kindled their fires, and rising suddenly commenced an assault upon the settler's little property, against which it was impossible to devise any means of security. A number of firebrands were showered about the house and different sheds. They were thrown from a considerable distance by means of the moutang, or fizzgig, and the premises, being by this device set fire to were in a short time wholly consumed, the family being able, with difficulty, to save themselves. The settler on his return went immediately in pursuit of the wanton assailants towards the interior of the mountains, but by a feint they eluded pursuit, having first taken that route, and afterwards struck off for the Nepean. 'Living thus in dread for the safety of his wife and family, removed from medical and all other comforts, the settler had to clear his land, and plant it.

A stall of soft drinks and sweets also helped to increase the funds of the Australian Inland Mission.  

29th April 1927: - Henry Lamb again

On the 29th of April 1927 George revisited Henry Lamb for the last time. Why Reeve so determinedly repeated this story is puzzling. The “two furious onslaughts made on the house and women and children inmates of the Lamb family by the Maroota Blacks” probably did not happen. Certainly there is no record of an 1808 attack as Reeve claimed. The *Sydney Gazette* on the 7th of July 1805, blamed a young Koori girl taken in by the Lamb’s for firing the Lamb’s and Yeouller’s farms. No-one drew attention to Lamb’s partner, Elizabeth Chambers, who had set fire to her master’s house in 1792. It was certainly one of the most curious distortions of the Hawkesbury’s historical record, which only makes sense when it and the other articles relating to Henry Lamb are placed within the context of Martha Everingham’s death in 1926 and the subsequent attempts to place a memorial on her grave. As well, attention must be drawn to Reeve’s 1933 poem, *St. Matthew’s Windsor*, in which Reeve deliberately distorts factual evidence to demonise Aboriginal people.

‘SIDELIGHTS FROM HAWKESBURY HISTORY SHOWING WHAT THE EARLY FORE-FATHERS OF WINDSOR THOUGHT OF EACH OTHER WITH ANNOTATIONS OF THE PRINCIPALS.

(BY GEO. G. REEVE)

(For the ‘Windsor and Richmond Gazette’)

PART II.

Mr. Edward Abbott was a Major in the 102nd. Regiment (New South Wales Corps) and came to this State with that Regiment, arriving at Sydney on the 26th June, 1790. When a detachment of the soldiery were sent to Windsor to guard the settlers against the attacks and looting of their farm produce and stock by the blacks, Major Abbott was placed in charge, and he resided at the first military barracks built in the old town. Joseph Holt, in his informative work entitled “Memories of Joseph Holt,” speaks very highly of Edward Abbott and another officer, Captain John Piper. Abbott


left Windsor about the year 1814, having been appointed Deputy Judge Advocate for Van Dieman’s Land by Governor Macquarie.

Henry Lamb had a farm on the Hawkesbury River opposite Johnston’s, Portland Head, or “New Berwick” Farm. The place is owned by Mr. Chas. Turnbull. The well-known grandson of pioneer John Turnbull, Mr. John Warr Turnbull lives on the farm with his son. The property, which is known by the name of “Kelso” was acquired in the early twenties by Mr. Ralph Turnbull, the first, and his Australian-born brother, George Turnbull, the first. The surrounding ridge near the old “Lamb” homestead is indeed a very historic place as being the exact site of two furious onslights made on the house and women and children inmates of the Lamb family by the Maroota Blacks (Aboriginals) during the year 1805, and again in the year 1808. So it will be seen that the Lambs are a very old Hawkesbury family, and some of the pioneer Lamb’s descendants are still on the old river. I am of the opinion that the founder of the family, Mr. Henry Lamb, had been a soldier who had been induced to become a settler.258

1931: Martha Everingham memorial

Six years after her death the Evening News on the 20th of February 1931 reported that “residents of the district are making arrangements to erect a memorial over the grave of Mrs. Martha Everingham, the last member of the full-blooded Hawkesbury aborigines”,259 I can find no evidence to suggest that the memorial was ever built.260

14th July 1933: Reeve’s memorial

Shortly after the publication of his last work, St. Matthew’s Windsor, George Reeve died. His wish to be buried in the church yard at Ebenezer was realized.

‘LATE GEO. G. REEVE MEMORIAL TO BE ERECTED

As a result of the efforts of the children of the Wilberforce Public School, a fund has been opened for the purpose of erecting a suitable memorial to perpetuate the memory of the late George G. Reeve, the well-known historian and authority on the early pioneers of the Hawkesbury. By their efforts the children raised the sum of £11/15, which has been augmented by a donation of 10/- from Miss Elizabeth Betts, of Gladesville, a granddaughter of the late Rev. Samuel Marsden. The late Mr. Reeve provided many valuable contributions to the early history of the colony, and it is felt that a suitable tombstone erected over his grave in the Ebenezer cemetery would at least be some small tribute to his great work. The ‘Gazette’ will be pleased to receive any donations, towards the fund for that purpose.”261

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260 ‘Martha Everingham, the last full-blooded member of the Hawkesbury, N.S.W., tribe of blacks, has departed to the happy, hunting grounds. The Hawkesbury residents have decided to raise funds; for a memorial. Which, when achieved, will probably be the first ever erected to the memory-of an Australian aborigine’ (sic). The Australian Worker, 10th November 1926, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/145984178.
Conclusion

The death of Martha Everingham saw the comfortable convergence of philosophy, religion and science in the minds of settler society. The extinction of the First Peoples of Australia was a matter of fact to them.

If any thought was given to those Australians of mixed ancestry; it was that they would simply melt into the lower classes of settler society and make themselves useful as domestics and farm hands. Of course this was another misunderstanding on the part of the settlers. There are more people now who identify with their Aboriginal ancestors of the Hawkesbury than there were in 1788.

“Heritage” and “civilisation”, the past and future, were defining parameters of Europe’s self concept. When Europe lurched to a halt in a terrible act of self immolation in 1914; settler society, without pause for reflection or self examination, abandoned the cliché of “the march of Civilisation” and shifted its focus to “heritage” and a sanitised past. Arguably the Language of Settlement and Terra Nullius still runs their poisonous course in the minds of many Australians and continues to distort our understandings of the nature and consequences of the settlement of the Hawkesbury.
**Pondering the Abyss: - Oral histories**

Memoirs, recollections and oral histories are important historical sources that have to be handled carefully. They are particularly valuable in that they are not official sources written with a view to preserving one’s position and entitlements. They are fraught with problems of accuracy, bias and selectivity. Being the property of families they require sensitivity in handling.

The oral histories in this work are based on trust. Sources are not identified.

The oral histories revolve around the central question: *What stories have you heard about settlers and Aboriginal people in the Hawkesbury?* The question is framed in such a way that it does not require the person telling the story to identify whether they are talking about their family or another.

**Story one**

*My great grandfather was brought out from England as a prisoner in chains and was making the bricks for the old St Matthews Church. Between the church and Rickerby’s Creek there was an Aboriginal camp and this Aboriginal girl came up to the supervisor’s house and got a job as a housemaid. Apparently she was clean and well dressed. They gave her a job as a housemaid. They taught her a lot about life.*

*She collared up with my great grandfather and she visited him at night unbeknownst to anyone else.*

*They went through a form of marriage, we’re not sure whether it was Aboriginal or Australian, because it was Mr and Mrs. Anyway, she had a son and between the supervisor and the Aborigines they reared him. Fifteen months later she had another son. Same as him they weren’t going to school but they were half between the white man and the Aboriginals. After the birth of third one his mother died, she had very early twins. She was buried (along with her husband) about 6 to 8 feet west of the south west entrance of the St Matthew’s Church. The Aboriginal people who lived in that camp left when she died taking the two oldest boys with them. No one knows what became of them.*

*The supervisor’s family raised the baby, the third son, which was mum’s father. He could read and write went to school in Windsor.*

**Story two**

This story contains an inaccuracy in the assertion that *Aborigines couldn’t swim.* It is difficult to date this story.

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1 As the Church did not keep accurate records before 1810 there are no records of their burial there. There were gravestones in this area but they disappeared a number of years ago.
On the Wilberforce side of the River, opposite Bungool² and Hall’s Lagoon near the Riversides Oaks golf course there’s a high cliff about a quarter of a mile long that overhangs the River. The local fellows got together to round up the Aborigines with stockwhips because they were spearing cattle and drive them over the cliff face into the river where they drowned because the Aborigines couldn’t swim. This happened several times. It was common knowledge in the area.

Story three
My family was among the early settlers on the Kurrajong Slopes. I grew up in the family home. I remember my Pop telling me that Aboriginal people used to come looking for work on the farms. They would do work for a feed. I don’t know where they lived. No one in the family talked much about Aboriginal people. My Pop used to have a waddy by the back door. We kids used to play with it. My Pop’s father traded it for a plug of tobacco.

² Bungool was the name of George Hall’s property. He was a Coromandel settler and given a 100 acre grant in 1803 on the right bank, downstream from Little Cattai Creek. Bungool, apparently meaning “echoing rock”, is on the other side of the river.
# Pondering the Abyss: - A Summary of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Aboriginal casualties</th>
<th>Settler casualties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1788</td>
<td>Governor Phillip led two unsuccessful expeditions into Broken Bay searching for a river that led inland.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1788</td>
<td>Governor Phillip led an overland expedition to a high point where he could see the Blue Mountains. He named the ridge to the north of the Grose Valley the Carmathen Hills, and the ridge to the south the Landsdowne Hills. He named a hill between these ridges Richmond Hill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>22\textsuperscript{nd} of April 1788</td>
<td>Governor Phillip led an expedition to Bell Vue Hill (probably Prospect Hill) from where he saw Richmond Hill.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6\textsuperscript{th} of June 1789</td>
<td>Governor Phillip, on a third expedition to Broken Bay, found the Hawkesbury River and rowed 20 miles upstream.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25\textsuperscript{th} of June 1789</td>
<td>Governor Phillip visited Rose Hill regarding information of a river to the west.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26\textsuperscript{th} of June 1789</td>
<td>Governor Phillip undertook a second trip up the Hawkesbury River, reaching Richmond Hill and Yarramundi Falls.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26\textsuperscript{th} of June 1789</td>
<td>Watkin Tench seeking a river to the westward surveyed the wild abyss from Prospect Hill. He discovered the Nepean River near what is now Penrith.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Late August 1790</td>
<td>From Rose Hill Watkin Tench made another expedition to the north west realising that the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers were the same river.</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1790</td>
<td>Pemulwuy speared McEntire, leading to two punitive expeditions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1791</td>
<td>Governor Phillip led an overland expedition to Richmond Hill, meeting Gomberee and Yellomundee on the way. Natives were found on the banks in several parts, many of whom were labouring under the small pox.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24\textsuperscript{th} of May 1791</td>
<td>Tench and Dawes undertook another expedition to Richmond Hill where they met Deedorara.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>14th of November</td>
<td>Magistrate Richard Atkins explored the Nepean River and went north</td>
<td>to what is now Pugh’s lagoon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1792</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1794</td>
<td>Grose ordered muskets for the Hawkesbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1794</td>
<td>Settlement commenced officially with 22 grants. Aboriginal people</td>
<td>gathered around farms and fired on. One Aboriginal man killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 killed</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1794</td>
<td>Aboriginal people attempted to direct settlers southwards.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1794</td>
<td>There were seventy settlers on Hawkesbury. A road was cut through to</td>
<td>the Hawkesbury.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1794</td>
<td>Aboriginal lad shot by Robert Forrester on Argyle Reach.</td>
<td>1 killed</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1794</td>
<td>Aboriginal people sought revenge, settler houses were plundered.</td>
<td>Shadrack and Akers, settlers upstream of Forrester were wounded in an attack. This may have been a case of mistaken identity. Seven or eight Aboriginal people were killed in a settler reprisal raid. Children taken after parents killed. John Wilson living with Aboriginal people. 7-8 killed and children taken. 2 wounded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1794</td>
<td>Three grants of 90 acres. John Macarthur carried out a perfunctory</td>
<td>examination into killing of Aboriginal lad by Robert Forrester on his farm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 1794</td>
<td>64 grantees received 1920 acres between them on the Hawkesbury.</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1794</td>
<td>8 grantees received a total of 240 acres. In 1794 there were 75</td>
<td>grants of 2250 acres. Joseph Burdett killed on junction of South Creek and East Creek in late 1794.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1795</td>
<td>Early in the new year officers of the NSW Corps visited the</td>
<td>Hawkesbury, probably exploring the real estate potential of the area.</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1795</td>
<td>Atkin referred to the use of Aboriginal lads to assist farmers</td>
<td>prepare ground for crops as slavery.</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1795</td>
<td>Store house built, Serjant Goodall and six/ten privates sent to</td>
<td>Hawkesbury to disperse natives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1795</td>
<td>John Wilson went to Port Stephens with Charles Grimes, the surveyor. One grant of 30 acres made. Thomas Webb’s farm on the left bank of Canning Reach was plundered and later in the month Webb was speared. Spear thrown at boat load of soldiers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1795</td>
<td>1 grant of 30 acres made.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1795</td>
<td>There were 400 settlers on river. Thomas Webb died. Wilson and Thorp killed. There are a number of contradictory accounts of the fighting in June 1795. What follows is a compilation of these accounts. Large parties of Aboriginal people were on farms. Two to three whites were speared. Aboriginal attempts at negotiation were rejected leading to military expedition. Lieutenant Abbott and sixty soldiers were sent to Hawkesbury for the purpose of driving the natives away. At least 7-8 Aboriginal people were killed and a number of men, women and children were taken prisoner. William Rowe and his child were killed and Rowe’s wife wounded on their isolated farm on the right bank of the River near the current north Richmond bridge. Another punitive expedition was sent out after Rowe was killed.</td>
<td>7-8 killed and a number taken prisoner. 1 died of wounds. 2 killed. 2 killed and I wounded.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 1795</td>
<td>34 grants of 885 acres.</td>
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<td>August 1795</td>
<td>25 grants of 700 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1795</td>
<td>27 grants of 730 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1795</td>
<td>In 1795 there were 87 grants of 2375 acres, most of which went to the officers and men of the NSW Corps. Aboriginal people plundered farms around Addy’s Creek, resulting in another punitive expedition. Four men and one woman were killed, a child was badly wounded and four males were taken prisoner.</td>
<td>5 killed, one wounded and 4 prisoners taken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1796</td>
<td>John Lacey was speared in a boat and mortally wounded. Buried 24/01/96.</td>
<td>1 mortally wounded.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Deaths/Killed</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 February</td>
<td>The two brothers of Patrick Hyndes were speared to death on their farm at Bushell’s Lagoon. These killings do not appear in official documents.</td>
<td>2 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1796</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1796</td>
<td>Governor Hunter blamed settlers for their problems. He gave orders against fraternisation, ordered settlers to band together. He recommended that Wilson and Knight be secured to prevent them assisting Aboriginal people in attacks on farms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1796</td>
<td>Attack on boats at Portland Head. Mrs Marsden had a six year old <em>Native boy</em> in her care. After a while he took off.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1796</td>
<td>Report of a man being killed. It was not clear when or where this happened.</td>
<td>1 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1796</td>
<td>Two grants totalling 200 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1796</td>
<td>Nine grants of 270 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1797</td>
<td>Governor Hunter went up the Hawkesbury. He stopped at where Addy’s farm had been destroyed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1797</td>
<td>One grant of thirty acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1797</td>
<td>Aboriginal people burnt a farm house and a stack of wheat belonging to a settler after having plundered him.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1797</td>
<td>36 grants totalling 1245 acres. Collins commented on the <em>distress</em> caused by Aboriginal children returning to their parents.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1797</td>
<td>17 grants totalling 565 acres.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>October 1797</td>
<td>Hawkesbury boat taken and the crew (2-5) killed. Attack on boat by Aboriginal people in canoe, Aboriginal people killed.</td>
<td>2-5 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1798</td>
<td>6 grantees received a total of 141½ acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1798</td>
<td>175 acres were granted to 7 grantees.</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1798</td>
<td>Attack on Prospect farms including Tarlington’s farm. Little Charley, McNamara, Major White, Little George, Terribandy, Jemmy and thirty to forty others made the attack. Redman, Collins and Malong/Malloy/Malone were killed. Tarlington and wife wounded. There were no Aboriginal casualties.</td>
<td>3 killed, two wounded (at Prospect).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Casualties</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1798</td>
<td>Terribandy killed the man on the race ground a few days after the attack on Tarlington’s farm. Charley was present and said Major White was involved.</td>
<td>1 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1798</td>
<td>David Brown wounded on his Wilberforce farm.</td>
<td>1 wounded.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1798</td>
<td>5 grantees received a total of 130 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1798</td>
<td>Two convicts who stole horses from Parramatta reported dead north of Kurrajong. One was killed by Aboriginal people and the other died from hunger.</td>
<td>1 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1798</td>
<td>In May 1798 there were two grants totalling 95 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 1798</td>
<td>Aboriginal man killed on race ground at sometime between October 1798 and 1799.</td>
<td>1 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1799</td>
<td>One grant of 125 acres</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1799</td>
<td>Aboriginal people warned settlers of approaching flood on Hawkesbury.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1799</td>
<td>Two grants totalling 200 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1799</td>
<td>Seven grantees received a total of 270 acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1799</td>
<td>William Fuller a Freeman lent Wimbow a blanket.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1799</td>
<td>Soldier called Cooper killed Aboriginal woman and child.</td>
<td>2 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1799</td>
<td>Smallsalts attacked on Parramatta road.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1799</td>
<td>Little Jemmy, Little George and a third lad, possibly Charley were engaged to go hunting with Hodgkinson. The three lads absconded when they saw that Wimbow was to accompany Hodgkinson. Terribandy, the older brother of Little Jemmy and father of the young woman living with Wimbow, and Major White took the place of the three lads. They killed Hodgkinson and Wimbow at Yellow Rock in the Grose Valley.</td>
<td>2 killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1799</td>
<td>Major White speared Goodall, near Bella Vista. Charley present.</td>
<td>1 wounded (near Bella Vista).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid August 1799</td>
<td>Fuller saw the blanket he had lent Wimbow on a Aboriginal woman, a fortnight before murders known.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Late August 1799</td>
<td>Lieutenant Hobby sent out a party to recover bodies of Hodgkinson and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early September 1799</td>
<td>Wimbow. The party was led by a serjeant, accompanied by Archer, Freebody, Fuller, Metcalfe, and possibly Timms. Yellowgy talked to Archer. Yellowgowy told Archer Major White and another killed Hodgkinson and Wimbow. Archer asked for Hodgkinson’s gun to be returned.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 September 1799</td>
<td>Joseph Phelps reported to Corporal Farrell at the barracks, 9:00 at night that the natives involved in spearing Goodall were on Burnes’ farm. Corporal Farrell, a private and Phelps went to John Burnes farm, on the left bank of South Creek, upstream of Bladey’s and near where Fairey Road bends to the south west. Cappy shot and wounded while escaping. Farrell and party including Lambe escorted Charley to the Governor who released Charley into custody of Cummings. Shortly after he escaped.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1799</td>
<td>William Blady’s farm plundered. Two groups met Blady while he was out hunting. Major White, Jemmy and another were in one group. Major Worgan, Charley and 12 others were in the other group. They said they were angry with the soldiers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1799</td>
<td>Little George, Little Jemmy and a third lad who was probably not Charley went to Forrester’s farm. Major Worgan probably went with them as far as the farm. They meet Metcalfe and gave him Hodgkinson’s gun. Metcalfe took them into Forrester’s home where Isabel Ramsay, Forrester’s partner, was having dinner with their children. Metcalfe went to widow Hodgkinson’s with the musket and described the boys. Metcalfe went onto see other settlers who gathered in Forrester home.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 wounded, 1 taken prisoner. 2 killed.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
They quizzed the boys, tied them up and took them outside. One of the boys called out to other natives. Little George and Little Jemmy were killed on Powell’s farm. Widow Hodgkinson almost certainly witnessed killings. Timms and others buried the bodies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19th September 1799:</td>
<td>Mary Archer went to authorities and reported the murders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1799:</td>
<td>13 grantees received a total of 996 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-17th October 1799:</td>
<td>Trial of Powell, Freebody, Metcalfe, Timms and Butler for murder of Little George and Little Jemmy.</td>
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<td>In the evidence Lieutenant Hobby said two whites and two natives killed since August.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>John Francis Molloy, appointed to act as surgeon. In four and a half years 91795-99) he knew of 26 whites being killed and 13 wounded.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Braithwaite had been on Hawkesbury for 12months. In that time four men killed, and Goodall wounded. About five natives killed in that time, including one shot by his servant after being attacked over a kangaroo. The others were the mother and child killed by Private Cooper and Little George and Little Jemmy.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The officers of the court were split in their judgement. The naval officers found the men guilty and recommended corporal punishment. The NSW Corps officers recommended that the case be referred to higher authority in England. This was done and the only punishment was that Powell lost his position as special constable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1799:</td>
<td>six grants totalling 725 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1799:</td>
<td>six grantees received 315 acres.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>In 1799 there were thirty five grantees receiving a total of 2631 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1800</td>
<td>90 acres were granted to 3 grantees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1800</td>
<td>12 grants totalling 580 acres were made.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1800</td>
<td>2 grants were made with a total of 65 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1800</td>
<td>310 acres were granted to 4 applicants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>In 1800, 1,045 acres were granted to 21 individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th November 1801</td>
<td>... the natives have been exceedingly troublesome and annoying ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1801</td>
<td>Samuel Marsden arrested Caley’s assigned servant who refused <em>to conduct a large party of soldiers and others for to apprehend the natives by force in the night</em>. In the argument with Caley that followed, Marsden said that <em>there never would be any good done, until there was a clear riddance of the natives</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1801</td>
<td>Travellers on the Hawkesbury Road banded together as protection against Aboriginal attacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1802</td>
<td>1,322 acres were granted to 14 applicants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1802</td>
<td>12 individuals received grants totaling 624¼ acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1802</td>
<td>1 supplicant received a grant of 35 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>In 1802, 27 grants were made with a total of 1,981¼ acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Beginning of a drought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Coromandel settlers established around Portland Head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1803</td>
<td>Of 15 convict escapees, a number were turned in to the authorities by Aboriginal people and two were apprehended asleep near an Aboriginal camp between the Hawkesbury and the mountains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1803</td>
<td>Governor King granted 2,265 acres to 18 individuals in the Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th May 1803</td>
<td>A settler and some Aboriginal people hunting kangaroos on the right bank of the River at Yarramundi Falls found John Place, the lone survivor of a party of convicts who attempted to find a way to China over the Blue Mountains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1803:</td>
<td>In his despatch to Lord Hobart, Governor King claimed - that the contents of Hobart’s despatch regarding the trial were well received by Aboriginal people - that Aboriginal people in the Hawkesbury were <em>much attached to the settlers</em>, and - had assisted in the capture of escaped convicts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1803:</td>
<td>560 acres were granted to 6 individuals at Mulgrave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1803:</td>
<td>1 grant of 200 acres was made on the Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1803:</td>
<td>1 person received a grant of 140 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1803:</td>
<td><em>The Gazette</em> reported that Aboriginal people on Milkmaid Reach, now Bathurst Reach, burnt to death a Aboriginal man who had been badly injured while climbing a tree to catch a cockatoo for a white man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1803:</td>
<td>1430 acres were granted to 15 people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803:</td>
<td>41 grantees received grants on the Hawkesbury totalling 4,595 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1804:</td>
<td>One grant of 300 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1804:</td>
<td>One grant of 100 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1804:</td>
<td>Seven grants totalling 1,050 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1804:</td>
<td><em>Gazette</em> reported attacks on the Sackville Reach farm of Matthew Everingham and John Howe’s farm on Swallow Rock Reach. Everingham, his wife, servant and Howe were wounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; May 1804:</td>
<td>The Governor sent troops to Magistrate Arndell with orders for constables and settlers to support Portland Head settlers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; June 1804:</td>
<td>Forty to Fifty Aboriginal people sought shelter on the farm of a Richmond Hill settler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; June 1804:</td>
<td>An unnamed European speared (it is not possible to determine the location or whether the person was wounded or killed).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; June 1804:</td>
<td>Seven settlers purportedly pursued 40-50 warriors who had plundered farms. After encountering a group of 250 warriors they were able to recover some plunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16th June 1804:</td>
<td>Aboriginal people robbed the farms of Bingham and Smith (probably at Portland Head), speared John Wilkin and burnt the farms of Cuddie and Crumby on South Creek at what is now Llandilo. Joseph Kennedy on the Upper Crescent Reach fired on Aboriginal people taking corn from his fields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th June 1804:</td>
<td>A party of the NSW Corps active in the Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th June 1804:</td>
<td>Major White and Terribandy killed by NSW Corps on the farm of a Richmond Hill settler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th June 1804:</td>
<td>Magistrates Marsden and Arndell gave gifts to <em>the Richmond Hill chiefs, Yaragowby and Yaramandy</em> and called an end to the current mischiefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1804:</td>
<td>Fifteen grants totalling 2079¾ acres made in the Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1804:</td>
<td>Fifty one individuals received grants of 7,225 acres in the Hawkesbury and 20,830 acres set aside for Commons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th December 1804:</td>
<td>In his despatch to Lord Hobart, Governor King blamed the violent <em>branch natives</em> who took the settlers crops for provoking the current violence (he did not address his extension of settlement into the lower reaches of the Hawkesbury). He contrasted their behaviour with the <em>domesticated</em> Richmond Hill natives. His despatch carried the implication that Terribandy and Major White were <em>branch natives</em>, which was unlikely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1804:</td>
<td>Michael Young rescued from Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury Road by a mounted officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1804:</td>
<td>William Knight, a settler on Boston’s Reach now known as Cumberland Reach, was imprisoned for a month for forging six signatures on a memorial requesting permission to fire on natives stealing crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd December 1804:</td>
<td>James Bath, an Aboriginal boy, raised by settlers after his parents were killed in a 1794 corn field raid, died of dysentery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th December 1804:</td>
<td>In his despatch to Lord Hobart, Governor King claimed he halted settlement on the lower Hawkesbury in response to Aboriginal requests for some land to be left to them. The reality was that little arable land was left. In 1804, apart from 20,830 acres allocated to commons, Governor King made grants to 75 individuals totalling 10,335 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th January 1805:</td>
<td>An Aboriginal man opined that after death he might come back as a white man with the implication that this would not necessarily be a good thing. The same newspaper article reported that Aboriginal men were going to sea but returning to their traditional life on return.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st February 1805:</td>
<td>Thomas Brown placed on gaol gang for striking a native.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st March 1805:</td>
<td>John Kenny claimed unsuccessfully that fires which destroyed a neighbour’s crops had been lit by Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th April 1805:</td>
<td>Goguey was reported as going to the Hawkesbury to participate in a ritual punishment. More likely he was going to seek the assistance of Hawkesbury warriors in an attack on the Cow Pastures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1805:</td>
<td>Jack, an Aboriginal crewman, returned to Sydney from the wreck of the <em>Nancy</em> bringing with him the goods he had salvaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th April 1805:</td>
<td>Branch Jack led an attack on John Llewellyn’s farm on the Lower Half Moon Reach. Llewellyn was killed, his servant wounded and Llewellyn’s musket was taken. Adlam and his servant died in his farm house on Upper Half Moon Reach. Armed boats sent down the river in response. 3 killed, 1 wounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27th April 1805:</td>
<td>General Orders issued distributing NSW Corps soldiers to the farms and outlying settlements. Natives were banned from approaching farms and settlers were ordered to co-operate to repel natives approaching farms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>28&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1805:</td>
<td>An attack was made on the government farm at Seven Hills followed by the killing of two stockmen on one of Macarthur’s farms between Prospect and the Cow Pastures. The attacking party involved warriors from the Hawkesbury. An attempt to board and capture the <em>William and Mary</em> at Pitt Water was foiled. Two salt boilers thought killed by warriors at Pitt Water were assisted by other Aboriginal people back to Sydney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1805:</td>
<td>General Orders banned Aboriginal people from farms and sent troops to protect the out settlers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1805:</td>
<td>Governor King in his despatch to Earl Camden attributed the violence on the lower reaches of the Hawkesbury and South Creek to the ripening of the harvest. Governor King reported that he had sent one party of troops to the South Creek (Cobbity) and another to the Branch (probably the Colo River). See also the General Orders of 27/04/05.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805:</td>
<td>Reverend Marsden participated in a peace conference at Prospect. His terms were the surrender of the principals in the recent attacks. The following warriors were identified <em>Talboon, Corriangee, &amp; Doollonn, Mountain natives; Moonaning &amp; Doongial, Branch natives; and Boon-du-dullock, a native of Richmond Hill</em>. Apparently one of the warriors who offered to guide the settlers seeking these warriors was Tedbury, one of the killers of the stockmen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805:</td>
<td>General Orders were issued protecting those natives camped between Prospect and George’s River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805:</td>
<td>The <em>Gazette</em> reported that on 28th April 1805 an attack was made by constables and settlers on an Aboriginal camp on the western bank of Nepean River upstream of the current Yarramundi Bridge. The party was guided by two musket armed Aboriginal people who sought women as their reward. Yaragrywhy and at least 8-9 killed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. The term *Talboon* refers to a local Aboriginal term used to describe a specific group or individual.
2. The term *Corriangee* is another local Aboriginal term possibly referring to a group or individual.
3. *Doollonn* is another term used to denote a particular group or individual associated with the area.
4. *Moonaning* and *Doongial* are terms used to refer to another group or individual within the Aboriginal community.
5. *Boon-du-dullock* is a term used to describe a specific individual from the Richmond Hill area.
seven or eight others were killed. Charley was killed shortly after at Aiken’s farm on the junction of the Grose and Hawkesbury Rivers. On the same night an attack was made on James Dunlap at Prospect. Prints of a shod foot indicated that one of his attackers was white. Another attack was made upon the Government Farm at Seven Hills, as well as another attack at Pittwater upon the *Richmond*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805</td>
<td>Private Robert Rainer was drowned when crossing the Nepean River in a canoe crewed by two Aboriginal men who offered to assist ferrying the party across the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; - 16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805</td>
<td>Major Johnston visited the Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805:</td>
<td>Tedbury was apprehended by a group of settlers and constables at Pendant Hills. Tedbury was <em>brought over</em> to admitting that he was one of the killers of Macarthur’s stockmen. The settlers encountered Bush Muschetta when Tedbury guided the settlers to where the property of the dead men was hidden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805:</td>
<td>A Richmond Hill Aborigine armed with a musket, probably one who had guided Andrew Thompson’s party a fortnight previously, while acting as a guide with Warby’s party, shot dead in the mountains a warrior who he identified as being one of the killers of Macarthurs stockmen – possibly Talloon/Talboon. On the 11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; of July Major Johnston’s party was credited with killing Talloon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1805:</td>
<td>King reported to Banks that three settlers and two stock keepers had been killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; June 1805:</td>
<td>A band of warriors reportedly fired the house of Henry Lamb at Portland Head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; June 1805:</td>
<td>After his house was plundered four times William Stubbs accidentally drowned in the river. His son witnessed his drowning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; June 1805:</td>
<td>Cuddy’s farm and Crumby’s farm on...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th June 1805</td>
<td>General Orders that Aboriginal people around Sydney and Parramatta not to be molested. Previous general orders in force regarding George’s River and the Hawkesbury. These orders looked forward to peace on the Hawkesbury with the apprehension of Mosquito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th June 1805</td>
<td>William Knight’s farm plundered by Branch Jack. His musket was taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th June 1805</td>
<td>Abraham Yeouler’s farm at Portland Head burnt by Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late June 1805</td>
<td>A party of nine Aboriginal people was captured and taken into custody. Two of the party apparently volunteered to act as guides in the capture of Mosquito and Bulldog. While there is little doubt but that the hostages would be retained and hostilities would be resumed if the chief perpetrators were not surrendered there is some discrepancy between accounts of Mosquito’s capture. The <em>Gazette</em> speaks of two of the hostages guiding a party. King writes of the natives voluntarily surrendering Mosquito. Later he speaks of natives assisting in Mosquito’s capture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early July 1805</td>
<td>Mosquito captured. Governor King wrote of six Aboriginal people being killed by a party. This probably referred to the Yarramundi expeditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th July 1805</td>
<td>The <em>Gazette</em> reported an Aboriginal girl taken by Henry Lamb discovered in the act of setting fire to Thomas Chaseland’s house. She admitted to setting fire to Yeouler’s and Lamb’s houses. Aboriginal people coming in to Parramatta for reconciliation were not to be disturbed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th July 1805</td>
<td>Governor King wrote to Earl Camden telling him that the late troubles were ended. Main perpetrators had been given up by the natives and gaoled. Two settlers and two stockmen killed. Six Aboriginal people shot in a pursuit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Enclosed was Richard Atkins’ opinion on position of Aboriginal people in the British justice system. Atkins referred to Dunn repelling an attack and wounding one Aborigine. Talloon was shot. Andrew Thompson said his party had killed a considerable number. Obadiah Ikin said his party had destroyed many.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4th August 1805:</td>
<td>Tedbury released upon the entreaties of those who had assisted in the capture of Mosquito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th August 1805:</td>
<td>Marsden baptised boy of mixed parentage taken by Rickerby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early September 1805:</td>
<td>Wogolomigh killed and Branch Jack wounded in a failed attack upon the Hawkesbury at Mangrove Point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1805:</td>
<td>Repeated attempts to fire the wheat crops by Branch natives. The Resource was attacked at the First Branch by a hail of stones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1806:</td>
<td>Mosquito and Bull Dog released from Norfolk Island though neither returned to the Hawkesbury. King noted that there were no attempts to take the corn crops even though it was a year of uncommon scarcity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th July 1806:</td>
<td>John Pilot Rickerby buried after dying from disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th October 1808</td>
<td>Ben Singleton’s servant wounded in an attack on his farm. His sons shot one Aboriginal person dead and wounded others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1809:</td>
<td>Tedbury active, attacked Bond’s farm at George’s River, Powell’s farm at Canterbury. Convict escapees thought to have joined them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th February 1810:</td>
<td>Edward Luttrell shot Tedbury on his farm at Parramatta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th July 1811:</td>
<td>A correspondence began in the Gazette on civilising and evangelizing the natives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th November 1811</td>
<td>An inquest found Robert Luttrell brought his death upon himself by breaking Aboriginal spears and 1 killed (on either the Nepean or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th January 1812</td>
<td>A party of Aboriginal people reported to the Special Constable Matthew Locke that they had been fired upon and one of their party killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th January 1812</td>
<td>A good harvest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd May 1812</td>
<td>Daniel Moowatty returned from England and abandoned civilisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st December 1812</td>
<td>Richard Evans killed on <em>China Farm</em>, Second Branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th January 1813</td>
<td>Bennelong died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd January 1813</td>
<td>Royal birthday celebrations at Government House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st January 1814</td>
<td>An Aboriginal man when asked why he went back to his native ways on his returned from a sailing trip replied <em>will any white man or woman keep me company?</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd March 1814</td>
<td>William Reardon speared at Mulgoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd May 1814</td>
<td>Campbell’s Bringelly Creek farm plundered and the overseer wounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early May 1814</td>
<td>Macquarie sent a party out to investigate. Macquarie reported to Portland that <em>I am not at all apprehensive their making any further attacks on the settlers unless provoked ...</em> In his despatch of 7th May Macquarie wrote that settlers had had taken liberties with Aboriginal women and a woman and two children were killed while sleeping. This preceded the <em>Gazette</em> account and constructed an entirely different sequence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th May 1814 and following days.</td>
<td>The <em>Gazette</em> reported three soldiers of the Veteran Company fired upon a group of Aboriginal people plundering a corn field killing a boy. Private Isaac Eustace was killed in the encounter that followed. A party of settlers fell in with a group of Aboriginal people killing a woman and two children. Mrs Macarthur’s stock keeper, William Baker, and Mary Sullivan/Hirbut were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th June 1814</td>
<td>Macquarie celebrated the royal birthday by entertaining 84 officers and gentry at Government House. No doubt having read the <em>Gazette’s</em> report of the same day of a coalition of Jarvis Bay and Mountain tribes planning to attack settlers around the Cowpastures they pressured the Governor to act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th June 1814</td>
<td>The Governor admonished both settlers and Aboriginal people, ordering both to keep the peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th July 1814</td>
<td>A Mrs Daly, alone in a hut at Mulgoa fired at Aboriginal people, who responded by killing two of her children and leaving her and her baby alive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22nd July 1814</td>
<td>Governor Macquarie ordered John Warby to lead a party of 12 Europeans and four Aboriginal guides to track down and capture Goondel, Bottagellie (according to Broughton, Bottagellie’s wife and two children had been killed by settlers), Murrah and Yellamun. No contact was made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27th August 1814</td>
<td><em>Joe Molgowy and Coley</em> (probably Colebee) assisted Cox in his road building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th September 1814</td>
<td>John Warby captured Patrick Collins with the assistance of a native guide who speared the bushranger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th October 1814</td>
<td>Macquarie reported to Earl Bathurst that the colony was tranquil. He described Aboriginal people as <em>Scarcely Emerged from the remotest State of rude and Uncivilized Nature</em>. He used the word <em>Aborigine</em>, probably for the first time in its modern sense when proposing the establishment of the Native Institution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st December 1814</td>
<td>First annual feast at Parramatta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th January 1815</td>
<td>Native Institute opened with 12 children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th February 1815</td>
<td>Report of the killing of three shipwrecked sailors on south coast.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 24th March 1815 | Governor Macquarie reported to Bathurst on the success of his
initiatives, opening the Native Institution, despite six having left by March and the establishment of sixteen families on the north side of the harbour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5th August 1815</td>
<td>James Waxterd, Macarthur’s stock keeper and his wife both wounded, stock keeper, mortally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th December 1815</td>
<td>Bathurst approved of Macquarie’s initiative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd December 1815</td>
<td>Drought affected harvest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th January 1816</td>
<td>Rains damaged drought affected crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th February 1816</td>
<td>Flood on Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th January 1816</td>
<td>John, Richmond, a <em>Black Native of the Colony</em>: of Richmond was on a list of persons to receive grants of land <em>at Pitt Town</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd March 1816</td>
<td>Palmer’s Farm at Bringelly plundered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd March 1816</td>
<td>Seven workers crossed the Nepean in pursuit, four were killed and one wounded in the fight that followed. Captured muskets were reportedly used against the workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th March 1816</td>
<td>Wright’s farm plundered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximately 12th March 1816</td>
<td>Stockkeeper killed at Cow Pastures, and an attack made on a government wagon on the Bathurst road, reported 16th March.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circa March, 1816</td>
<td>Murrah, from the Cow Pastures, involved in an attack on Government depot at Glenroy on the Cox’s River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th March 1816</td>
<td>Defeat of settlers by Aboriginal warriors near Macquarie Grove, a farm on the Cow Pasture river, Bromby a shepherd killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd March 1816</td>
<td>A letter to Gazette, re Peron’s observations of Aboriginal people, signed T.P. who appeared to be something of a Francophile from his other letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th March 1816</td>
<td>Mrs Lewis and a servant killed at Obadieh Aiken’s old farm on the junction of the Grose and Nepean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th April 1816</td>
<td>Throsby’s letter to Wentworth, defending Aborigines, revealed that Governor Macquarie was contemplating military action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Governor Macquarie ordered military action. Macquarie identified ten hostiles, Murrah, who speared Macarthur’s overseer, Wallah, Yellaman, Dewall, Bellagalle, Bidjeegurry, Daniel, Goggie and Marymary who came from Mulgoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Captain Schaw marched out. Captain Wallis who was already in the field became aware that Gogy was with a group of nearby Aboriginal people. Warby, his chief guide told him the group were friendly and shortly afterwards told Wallis he would no longer take charge of the native guides who later absconded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie’s journal entry revealed his resolution to clear the settlement of hostile Kooories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw arrived at Windsor and consulted with magistrates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw marched to Bell’s farm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Lieutenant Dawes marched to Mt Hunter in a pointless search for Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw with Aboriginal guides marched to Grose River, following native tracks to Singleton’s Hill/mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw detached Lt Grant to Flying Fox Valley, marched along Colo Ridge, camped at Howe’s farm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Wallis marched pointlessly to Redfern’s farm on request of overseer who either was afraid or wished to scare Aboriginal people away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw returned to Windsor and consulted with magistrates, marched to Arndell’s farm at Cattai, following reports of attacks on neighbouring farms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw marched to Douglas’s farm,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw detached Lt Grant to surprise an encampment, with white guide who, for whatever reason, refused to take troops to Aboriginal camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th April 1816</td>
<td>On advice of settlers Wallis located a group of Aboriginal people near Broughton’s farm in the Airds District and killed fourteen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th April 1816</td>
<td>Schaw Marched to Col. O’Connell’s Riverston farm near the western road and camped there before moving south.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22nd April 1816</td>
<td>Serjeant Murphy ordered to take a detachment of 16 soldiers of the 46th Regiment to the Cox’s River to protect the cattle and stockmen from further attacks by Aboriginal people who had crossed the Blue Mountains to attack them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22nd April 1816</td>
<td>Lieutenant Parker marched to Mr Woodhouse’s farm and took Duall/Dewall and Quick into custody. Dewall was sent to Parramatta and Quick volunteered to locate hostiles, but their numbers were too many to attack and Quick was sent to Parramatta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th April 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie ordered troops back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Soldier killed at Springwood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd May 1816</td>
<td>Lieutenant Quick took nine people, probably Dewall’s family, who had surrendered on Kennedy’s farm, into custody. Bottagellie and Yelamun were protecting Kennedy’s and Broughton’s farms at this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th May 1816</td>
<td>From the Riverston farm Schaw marched southwards and returned shortly after without making contact.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th May 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie’s proclamation of martial law banned: carrying of spears within a mile of settlement; any more than six Aboriginal people being near a farm; and gatherings for Ritual punishments. Aboriginal people had to carry a monthly passport. Aboriginal people could apply for small land grants. Settlers were empowered to drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th May 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie rewarded soldiers and guides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th May 1816</td>
<td>Schaw submitted his written report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th May 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie issued orders to Serjeant Broadfoot to scour both banks of the Nepean River from Mulgoa to Bringelly with orders to kill or imprison hostile natives. These orders were less proscribed than those issued to Schaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th May 1816</td>
<td>Lieutenant A G Parker reported on his activities on the expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th May 1816</td>
<td>Public report on expedition in Gazette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th May 1816</td>
<td>William Cox paid for erecting the new depot at Spring Wood. Ryan massacre shortly afterwards While Toby Ryan thought the attack on the Aboriginal camp near Shaw’s Creek took place in the year of his birth I am placing it in May 1816. 20 killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd May 1816</td>
<td>In his report on expedition against hostile natives on the Nepean Serjeant Broadfoot stated that no contact had been made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th May 1816</td>
<td>Sergeant Broadfoot’s white guides, Parson and Jackson rewarded – maybe this was the expedition that Warby didn’t go on. Nurragingy, Colebee and Tindall rewarded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st May 1816</td>
<td>Heavy rain caused floods on Hawkesbury and South Creek in following week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st June 1816</td>
<td>Captain Wallis appointed Commandant at Newcastle, no doubt as a reward for his zeal in the recent expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd June 1816</td>
<td>Constable William Tyson rewarded for service as a guide with Wallis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th June 1816</td>
<td>Royal birthday celebrations. Release of 15 Aboriginal men, women and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th June 1816</td>
<td>Four captured Aboriginal children placed in Institution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th June 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie reported to Bathurst on success of his operations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29th June 1816</td>
<td>Flood on Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29th June 1816</td>
<td>Cooling and Gallagher, assigned servants to a Mr Crowley were killed on his farm on the Grose River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 July and 6 July</td>
<td>Macquarie issued instructions to Cox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th July 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox organised a billet for Serjeant Broadfoot downstream from Bell's Farm and formed a party <em>to go in quest of the hostile natives.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th July 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox initially sent two constables, Coleby and Creek Jemmy to Crowleys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th July 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox sent Alfred Luttrell and seven others to join the constables and guides with orders to go to Singleton's Hill on the 8th.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th July 1816</td>
<td>Hobson killed on his farm. Luttrell's party returned to Bell's Belmont farm. A man killed at Richmond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th July 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox sent three soldiers from the Veterans' Company downstream to the farm of Constable Phillip Roberts. On hearing of Hobson's death, magistrate Cox crossed the river and went to Bells farm where he found Luttrell's party had gone to Hobson's farm and Serjeant Broadfoot's party was ready to move out. Magistrate Cox went with them to Hobson's farm, across to Singleton's Hill and back to Bell's farm, leaving two soldiers at Singleton's.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th July 1816</td>
<td>An inquest was held on Hobson, magistrate Cox made known Governor Macquarie's orders regarding the four Aboriginal people and made his arrangements with Serjeant Broadfoot. A stockman reported seeing four Aboriginal people cross the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th July 1816</td>
<td>Cox replied to Macquarie on Thursday 11th of July, reporting his actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th July 1816</td>
<td>Governor Macquarie received Cox's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
report and replied on the 13th of July.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15th July 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox sent two memoranda to Governor Macquarie. One of them stated that Cocky, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie had been killed. We know from later sources that at least three of the men were probably caught on Carr's Kurrajong farm. Cockey was hung and shot at Rawlinson's Corner, another hung and shot at Thompson's Ridge, another at Mrs. Lewis' farm, and probably the fourth at Crowleys.</td>
<td>4 killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th July 1816</td>
<td>Governor Macquarie received memoranda from Magistrate Cox recommending that the three military parties (indicating that the despatch of three parties had already been agreed upon) be stationed on the Grose, at Windsor and at Portland Head. Each party was to consist of one NCO and six privates. In his second memorandum magistrates Cox argued that there was no friendship between settlers and Aboriginal people and that strong steps should be taken to suppress them. He believed that they could not subsist at this season of the year without plundering farms. Magistrate Cox identified 12 Aboriginal people, Miles, Warren, Carbone Jack, (alias Curringie) Narang Jack, Bunduck, Congeatt, or (Kagate) Wootten, Rachel, Cockey, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie as being the most dangerous. The last four had been killed between the 11th and 15th of July. Magistrate Cox recommended armed parties scour the country between the Warrajambie and lower branches of the Hawkesbury. He recommended that no peace be given to Aboriginal people until the proscribed Aboriginal people be given up and that no settler should harbour or conceal any Aboriginal person until the proscribed Aboriginal people had been taken. He</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th July 1816</td>
<td>In response to a request from Magistrate Cox, Governor Macquarie sent ammunition for an additional three special constables with the reinforcements for Serjeant Broadfoot's detachment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th July 1816</td>
<td>Governor Macquarie’s proclamation extended the proclamation of the 4th of May previous one and outlawed ten Aboriginal men. Of the ten men from the list given to Captain Schaw on 9th of April only Murrah, Wallah, alias Warren, and Yellaman remained. The seven new additions; Miles, Carbone Jack, alias Kurringy, Narang Jack, Bunduck, Kongate, Woottan and Rachel, were probably Hawkesbury men. It largely reflected Magistrate Cox's recommendations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th July 1816</td>
<td>Circular re Aboriginal activities (Reel 6005; 4/3495 p.55)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd August 1816</td>
<td>Dewall sent to Tasmania.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th August 1816</td>
<td>John Warby and others rewarded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th &amp; 23rd August 1816</td>
<td>More children admitted to Institute.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th August 1816</td>
<td>Body of Cox’s shepherd and 200 sheep found at Mulgoa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st – 8th September 1816</td>
<td>The passing of Macquarie’s bowel inflammation which had lasted three months.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th September 1816</td>
<td>Another child admitted to Institute from Arndell.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th September 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox organised five parties to sweep both banks of Nepean Hawkesbury River from Warajambie to Grose and Upper Branch for a fortnight. Possibly 400 killed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28th September 1816</td>
<td>Mowatee found guilty of rape.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th October 1816</td>
<td>Because of an accident on the River, the five parties were reduced to four.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th October 1816</td>
<td>Memorial to Governor Macquarie asking for assistance from John,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th October 1816</td>
<td>Payment to Cox for military parties and guides.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st November 1816</td>
<td>Daniel Mow-watty hanged for rape. 1 executed after trial.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd November 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie brought hostilities to an end.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd November 1816</td>
<td>Circular re publicising of proclamation concerning treatment of Aborigines (Reel 6005; 4/3495 p.245)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd November 1816</td>
<td>Proclamation, amnesty for ten Aborigines providing they came in to make their peace with Macquarie.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th November 1816</td>
<td>Macquarie visited Bungaree giving him presents.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th November 1816</td>
<td>Magistrate Cox wrote to Governor Macquarie telling him that Mary Mary had offered a daughter of mixed parentage for the native Institution. He also told the governor that the Creek Natives were afraid of punishment from those down the River and the Kissing Point mob.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th December 1816</td>
<td>Further rewards for Serjeant Broadfoot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th December 1816</td>
<td>Further flooding on the Hawkesbury.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 22nd December 1816   | Governor Macquarie ordered six breast plates made: “Mary-Mary”, “Chief of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28th December 1816</td>
<td>2nd Annual feast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>John Richmond, a black native of the Colony received a land grant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th January 1817</td>
<td>Philo Free’s letter attacking Marsden published in <em>Gazette</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th January 1817</td>
<td>About 20 Aboriginal people from South Creek, Hawkesbury and Mulgoa visited Macquarie who gave rewards etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th February 1817</td>
<td>Serjeant Broadwood paid from the Police Fund as donation for his exertions in the execution of the public service, after the hostile natives (Reel 6038; SZ759 p.313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th February 1817</td>
<td>William Cox was paid from the Police Fund for various articles, expenses &amp; rewards supplied by him constructing roads and for guides &amp; provisions furnished by settlers and others for the military detachments sent in pursuit of hostile native tribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th March 1817</td>
<td>Hawkesbury floods. Branch Jack mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th April 1817</td>
<td>Governor Macquarie wrote to Earl Bathurst informing him of the success of his proclamations of disarming the natives and outlawing particular individuals. No mention was made of casualties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May-September 1817</td>
<td>Lancelot Threlkeld while visiting Arndell at Cattia he was astonished at hearing a man boast about <em>how many blacks he had killed upon his land</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1817</td>
<td>Benjamin Singleton, accompanied by an Aborigine, explored as far as Putty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th October 1818</td>
<td>Ralph Turnbull was granted 40 acres as a reward for chasing the natives when hostile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October-</td>
<td>Thomas Parr accompanied by Benjamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1817</td>
<td>Singleton reached the headwaters of the MacDonald River. They were guided back to McDougal's farm on the Colo by a party of Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1818</td>
<td>Benjamin Singleton, four settlers and a Aboriginal man encountered a group of two hundred Aboriginal people at Mount Monundilla, who told him that the Hunter River was two days to the north. Fearing attack Singleton returned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>William Charles Wentworth, 1793-1872, explorer, political figure and author of <em>A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales</em> . . . 1819, wrote <em>The aborigines of this country occupy the lowest place in the gradatory scale of the human species.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1819</td>
<td>Hawkesbury floods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1819</td>
<td>Hawkesbury floods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; September 1819</td>
<td>Three Aboriginal people, Colebee, Richmond Jack and Tom were crew on the brig <em>Glory of Richmond</em> on a trip to Kangaroo Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1819</td>
<td>Miles, going by himself, found a route to the Hunter suitable for waggons. He later took Howe over the route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>The Reverend George Middleton and John Blaxland took the first herd of cattle overland to the Hunter. They were followed by the Bells who took up land at Patrick's Plains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; October 1822</td>
<td>Report of crop failure due to grubs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1819</td>
<td>John Howe, five settlers and two Aboriginal people, one of whom was Miles reached the Hunter River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1820</td>
<td>Influenza reported to have killed <em>Great numbers of the poor aborigines.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; September 1820</td>
<td><em>Colebee (Black Native)</em>, on a list of names to receive land grant. <em>Sydney Gazette</em> 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; September 1821</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1821         | Archibald Bell junior found a way
across the Blue Mountains which became Bell's Line of Road.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event/Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 1821</td>
<td>William Walker reported seeing no Aboriginal people at Windsor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821-22</td>
<td>The Aboriginal man, Captain, or Karingy Jack, went sealing on the brig Elizabeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1822</td>
<td>Colebee assisted in the capture of bushrangers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Lesson reported that <em>most aborigines had chronic catarrah and some women had consumption</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; August 1821</td>
<td>Colebee (Black Native), on a list of names to receive land grant. Sydney Gazette, 25&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; August 1821.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barron Field, 1786-1846, a supreme court judge and compiler of <em>Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales</em>, 1825, wrote a romantic farewell to Aboriginal people who he imagined were on a path of extinction: Yet deem not this man useless, But let him pass, - a blessing on his head!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; June 1822</td>
<td>Simeon replaced Colebee as constable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>The word native was beginning to be appropriated by the settlers to refer to themselves and their offspring. Thomas Bigge referred to <em>native born youths</em> in his report. Bigges also referred to the fecundity of the convict women and the health of their offspring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1824</td>
<td>Lancelot Threlkeld was told by the Attorney General, Saxe Bannister that at a public meeting in Bathurst Cox called for the extermination of Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; August 1824</td>
<td>Five men found not guilty of the manslaughter of three Aboriginal women west of Blue Mountains. Governor Macquarie's proclamation of martial law cited in their defence. William Cox was a defence witness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; September</td>
<td>Bumblefoot killed one man on the 1 wounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Hunter and moved to the Lower Hawkesbury where he knocked another senseless before being captured by Special constable Richard Woodbury. After spending some time in gaol Bumblefoot was killed by other Aboriginal people on the Central Coast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>George Bowman granted Arrowfield and Archerfield on the Hunter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometime in 1825</td>
<td>Joseph Onus' hut on the Hunter was plundered starting conflict there. Onus was an early Hawkesbury settler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometime in 1825</td>
<td>A group of Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury delivered a Aboriginal man for ritual punishment to Newcastle. They also took a song with them. The punishment did not take place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th March 1825</td>
<td>A Aboriginal called Richmond helped Richmond settlers capture bushrangers who had robbed Mrs. Crawley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825 ?</td>
<td>The obituary of Keturah Butterworth, 1824-1905, carried a recollection of Keturah and the women of her family barricading themselves in their house on the Lower Hawkesbury while Aboriginal people plundered the yard. There are no accounts of troubles after 1825. While she may have been a witness to such an occurrence it is possible that it happened in 1825 when Keturah was one year old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd June 1825</td>
<td>Some Aboriginal people assisted district constable William Douglass in the investigation of a robbery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd September 1826</td>
<td><em>Gazette</em> reported a gathering of 20 Aboriginal men at, or near, the Windsor Court House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1825</td>
<td>In October 1825 Mr. Greig's cousin and a convict servant were killed on Grieg’s Hunter River property. The killers then visited the Hawkesbury and returned via the Bulgar road, chasing some mounted settlers and stopped at a hut at Putty where they killed one man, (probably Carr) wounded another while the third 1 killed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
escaped to Richmond. An armed party was sent out after them from Richmond and fell upon the camp of a friendly tribe which was scattered (Pages 197-198, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., *Two Years in New South Wales*, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22nd October 1825</td>
<td>Colebee replaced Yurramoroo as a constable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1826</td>
<td><em>The Reverend Samuel Marsden and the Reverend Wilkinson</em> presented Captain Jules S-C Dumont d’Urville, with two skulls and some bones of two Sydney natives, one an adult the other a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829-36</td>
<td>Bowen at Bulgamatta: King Billy Kootee, … a fine young man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1831</td>
<td><em>The Australian</em> used the term corn-stalk to describe Benjamin Chalker, Hawkesbury man. This was the first use of the term to describe the phenomena of people being born in the Hawkesbury who were very tall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>La Place reported declining numbers on the Cumberland Plain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Richard Whately, in his 1831 <em>Introductory lectures on Political Economy</em> theorised that for some people, such as the First Peoples of Australia, there had been a degradation into savagery because Cain and Abel had become herders and farmers after Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden without ny intervening stage of savagery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>The Native Institute at Black Town was deserted.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1833  | The Black Simon who played the tambourine at the Hawkesbury races was probably the same Simeon who escorted Blackhouse and Walker from Marsden’s South Creek property in 1835. *Mulgoa Joe, the king of the tribe,* was one of the Aborigines there. After the races, probably located near the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Lieutenant William Breton, in <em>Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Dieman's Land During the years 1830, 1831 1832, and 1833, 1833</em>, made the judgement that: <em>Speaking of them collectively, it must be confessed I entertain very little more respect for the Aborigines of New Holland, than for the ourang-outan; in fact I can discover no great difference.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1835</td>
<td>Backhouse and Walker were guided from Parramatta to South Creek by Johnny, a South Creek Aborigine and from there to Penrith by Simeon, also from South Creek. It is not clear whether the South Creek property was the Tumbledown Barn near the junction with East Creek or Mamre on South Creek There was a Aboriginal camp at both properties. The Blacktown settlement had been apparently abandoned by this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1835</td>
<td>On their return from Wellington Backhouse and Walker visited the Hawkesbury. Their host at Richmond knew of their visit to Wellington several days before from local Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Threlkeld, page 123, measles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1836</td>
<td>After an encounter with a group of Aboriginal people at Penrith Charles Darwin theorised that the <em>decrease in numbers must be owing to the drinking of Spirits, the European diseases, even the milder ones of which such as the Measles are very destructive &amp; the gradual extinction of the wild animals.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837-41</td>
<td>William Walker growing up in Windsor King Jamie and his gin, and two sons, Billy and Bobby. Their camping place was a short distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>The report of the Aborigines Committee to the House of Commons was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In July 1837</td>
<td>Lord Glenelg, the secretary of state for the colonies gave instructions to Governor Bourke re Aborigines see Page 25The Squatters, Geoffrey Dutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838 onward</td>
<td>Page 282, blanket returns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1838</td>
<td>William and George Faithfull, sons of William Faithfull involved in Broken River massacre. The Reverend Joseph Docker, one time curate of St Matthews and Clarendon farmer, Windsor moved into the Faithfull’s Broken River slab hut at Bontharambo where he prospered with help of local Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1838</td>
<td>John Henry Fleming fled back to the Hawkesbury to escape a murder warrant for his part in the Myall Creek massacre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1838</td>
<td>In <em>The Sydney Monitor</em>, Aboriginal people were likened to niggers. This was probably the first use of the term in Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27th October 1838</td>
<td>The Reverend Dunmore Lang reported being <em>shown places on the Hawkesbury where the 'commando' system had been carried on, and the natives literally hunted down and shot.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th January 1839</td>
<td>George Bowman in a memorandum on the events of 1816 wrote that in 1816 the military <em>shot all they fell in with and received great praise from the Governor for so doing.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1839</td>
<td>Bill Allen reluctantly gave evidence about killings on the Gwydir River in 1838. <em>Bill Allen lived under a bane among a certain class.</em> It was mistakenly assumed in later years that Bill Allen, a Richmond resident had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>John Henry Fleming, a MacDonald Valley resident, married Charlotte Dunstan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>The word <em>darkey</em> first appeared in a Sydney newspaper in the reprint of a joke from an English newspaper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 1840</td>
<td>Aboriginal people saved Mrs Pitt who had been bitten on the hand by a snake.</td>
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<tr>
<td>About 1840</td>
<td>There was an Aboriginal camp on the Common near Paget and Lennox streets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>Samuel Boughton described a gathering of Aboriginal people at a paddock in Richmond. Aboriginal people present included Stevy, Emery, Cocky, Whoolaboy, George Merican, Billy Green and Bumba. Bumba was the last of his tribe dying in the 1870s. Whoolaboy many have been Jack Whoolomboy, the offsider of the constable, George James. Another Aborigine who Boughton identified was Mudgee Sam who helped take a bullock team across Bell’s Line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>Alfred Smith identified Queen’s birthday as a great day in Windsor. Local Aboriginal people came down from Putty. George Merican and Billy Green were kings with brass plates. Dicky Powell was a son of George Merican. He was apparently called Dickey Powell because he was born on the Richmond Lowlands near Powell’s. Billy Green’s wife was Lame Maria. Stevy had helped George James catch the killers of Mrs Lewis. Others he identified include Gilmaroy Jack, Johnny Wickeray, Lazy Jack and Mudgee Tommy who came down with William Bowman. Cow Pasture Paddy ended up at Yarramundi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>The <em>Australasian Chronicle</em> advertised the first minstrel show in Australia to be held at the Royal Victoria Theatre.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
February 1845 | Robert Fitzgerald had three Aboriginal people arrested for throwing boomerangs in Thompson’s Square.

April 1845 | Jumbo, a Aborigine rode Doyle’s Wait-a-while to a win at the Hawkesbury races.

September 1845 | Black Bobby rolled from Freeman’s Australian Hotel to Blanchard’s sign post in five minutes.

December 1845 | *Bell’s Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* in describing James Thompson’s victory over Ned, a Aborigine in a hundred yard race on the Peninsula farm called Ned a *darkey*. This was probably its first usage in Australia to describe a Aborigine.

1846 | Dame Mary Gilmore recounted her grandmothers story of a young Aboriginal girls being killed by two gentlemen at Upper Castlereagh. 1 killed (Castlereagh)

Circa 1850 | *Elizabeth Everingham was born 10 June 1805. Her father was Matthew Everingham. She was known as Betsy or Betty to distinguish her from her mother, Elizabeth. Betsy married Charles Butler, her brother Matthew’s assigned servant in 1822. In 1826 Butler was executed for murdering a woman. In 1827 she remarried, this time to John Harman, an assigned servant to Richard Woodbury (her sister Sarah was married to Woodbury). John Harman died and Betsy married Joseph Ladd in 1837. Joseph and Betsy Ladd lived on Mangrove Creek. Four children were born there in the 1840’s. They moved to Wollembi where Joseph drowned. On her husband’s death Betsy returned to the Wiseman’s Ferry area. And visited her sister Sarah at Woodbury’s on Milkmaid Reach. She was then thought to have been in her sixties. Her descendants reported that she spoke an Aboriginal language and used to go and spend three or four days with the tribe. When she died and where*
she is buried remains unknown. Letter of Matthew Woodbury to George Reeve, 12 May 1929, M.S. 3480, NLA, Reeve Records, 7/179, Society of Australian Genealogists. Page 146-154, Valerie Ross

**John Everingham, b1814, son of Matthew Everingham, thought to have had at least one child to an Aboriginal or part aboriginal girl, Mildred Saunders.**

**Ephraim Everingham, b. c1855 married Martha Hobbs, said to be last Hawkesbury full blood**

Information from Ephraim’s death certificate p200-202

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>James Thompson was beaten by a <strong>darkey</strong> in a race over 300 yards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1857</td>
<td>Lancelot Threlkeld in writing about declining Aboriginal numbers evoked predestination and Biblical tradition when he wrote that <em>The Sons of Japhet are being enlarged and caused to dwell in the tents of Shem.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>In his work <em>Origin of Species,</em> Charles Darwin separated God and Nature through the concept of natural selection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>In his work <em>The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex,</em> Charles Darwin effectively destroyed the theory of polygenesis. His argument that <em>the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the savage races throughout the world</em> owed its origin to Malthus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1874</td>
<td>John Hosskisson, son of John Hodgkinson, died. He had married a daughter of Simon Freebody. According to Boughton he displayed an unusual knowledge of Aboriginal languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1874</td>
<td>A cricket match was played at Lower Portland between club members and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1874</td>
<td>Annual blanket distribution at Windsor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1881</td>
<td>There was no blanket distribution as they were of poor quality and returned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1881</td>
<td>Local Aboriginal people helped harvest crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1881</td>
<td>Local Aboriginal people stalked around <em>majestically</em> during the Queen’s Birthday celebrations in McQuade Park. The annual blanket distribution at the court house was attended by the following members of the <em>Lower Portland tribe:</em> - Elizabeth Captain, 28; Margaret Shaw, 28; Jane Shaw, 6; Christina Shaw, 5; an infant, one week old; Sally Barber, 23; Charles Cumber, 50; Matilda, 85; Joseph Frederick, 3; Elizabeth Doyle, 27; Bertie Nowland, 24; Totty Barber, 3; Albert Shaw, 3; Andrew Barber, 26; Albeit Andrew Barber, 22; Boney Stewart, 22; Rachael Lenart, 23; Harry Cubrer, (reads) 25; Margaret Cumber, 30; Willie Cumber, 12; Alfred E. Everingham, 10; Emily Everingham, 2; Sally Bowman, 23; Tommy Cox, 60; George Captain, 37; Johnny Barber, 55; Elizabeth Barber, 24; Edward Barber, 8; Charles Barber, 6; Arthur Muley, 4; Jane Barber, 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1881</td>
<td>A Aborigine who lost a fight with a friend was set upon by local larrikins and rescued by other Aboriginal people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>William Shippy, a Aborigine from Mudgee ended up in Windsor Court charged with attempting to pick pockets in the Railway Hotel, Windsor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>A Aboriginal gum leaf band feted Peter Kemp, the world sculling champion, at Windsor Railway station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1889</td>
<td>A reserve of 150 acres set aside for Aboriginal people on Cumberland Reach, a further 30 acres set aside on Kent Reach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1890</td>
<td>Six Aboriginal children attended Sackville Reach PS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1890</td>
<td>The editor of the <em>Windsor and Richmond Gazette</em>, evoked the Great Chain of Being on 31&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; May 1890 predicted the coming demise of Aboriginal people. <em>In a year or two hence, rum and &quot;civilization&quot; will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain, and perhaps it will be a good thing, too, not only for themselves - as they most, most assuredly, hang out a most miserable existence - but for our boasted civilization, - as it will have removed one of the eyesores which most people who believe this is an age of progress and enlightenment see in the remnants of an ignorant, uncultivated, unintellectual and inferior race, such as the dusky natives of this Colony have proved themselves to be.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; October 1890</td>
<td>In an interview for the <em>Windsor and Richmond Gazette</em> Edward Tuckerman said <em>that not less than 400 blacks were killed in 1816.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1890</td>
<td>The editor of the <em>Mudgee Independent</em> in 1890 expressed a fear of racial degeneracy when he asked Prosper Tuckerman, who stood <em>a good six feet two in his stockings. ‘Tell, Mr. Tuckerman, do you think the men of today are equal to the earliest colonists, or are we degenerating?’</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; October 1891</td>
<td>The <em>Dora Dora Blacks</em>, on the run after killing a man near Albury robbed a settler at Central Colo of a gun, food and ammunition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1891</td>
<td>Approximately 100 blankets distributed at Windsor Court House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1891</td>
<td>The Sackville Reach School of Arts Committee held a tea-meeting for the locals. A minstrel show was part of the entertainment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1891</td>
<td><em>The Dora Dora Blacks</em> were reportedly heading for the Kurrajong hills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1891</td>
<td>Two Aborigines carrying swags in George Street Windsor were mistaken</td>
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for the *Dora Dora Blacks*.

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 1891</td>
<td>The Sackville Reach cricket team beat the Agricultural College team. Barber, Aborigine, was a star of the Sackville Reach team.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1892</td>
<td>Aboriginal person arrested for drunkenness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1892</td>
<td>Approximately 100 blankets distributed at Windsor Court House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1894</td>
<td>John Henry Fleming died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1895</td>
<td>Eighty Five Aboriginal people turned up for the blanket distribution. Florrie Morgan committed suicide in the following week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1896</td>
<td>Mr J Jones, Salvation Army, arranged a sports day for Aboriginal people at Sackville Reach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1896</td>
<td>The Windsor and Richmond Gazette reported the contempt <em>Ike Hopkins’ black boy, from ‘the Gulf” had for Jim Gospser’s boy ‘Sago” saying him only yaller phellah.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1896</td>
<td>The editor of the <em>Windsor and Richmond Gazette</em> quoted from the 1810 translation of Lineaus’s <em>Systema Naturæ</em> to assert that <em>Ethnologists are agreed that in their primitive estate savage men are found at the lowest known point of human development in the Australian wilderness.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1896</td>
<td>The <em>Mohawk Minstrels</em> to be a star attraction at a benefit concert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1896</td>
<td>Mr. Jones of the Salvation Army organised a concert <em>in connection with the local aborigines</em> held in the Sacville School of Arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Inspired by Percy Bysshe Shelley’s <em>Stanzas written in Dejection</em> –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1818, near Naples</td>
<td>Arthur Streeton painted <em>The Purple Noon’s Transparent Might</em> on the Hawkesbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1899</td>
<td><em>Nigger Minstrelsy</em> to be the entertainment at a Windsor School of Arts Concert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1899</td>
<td>Aboriginal people helped in the Tizzana vintage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1899</td>
<td>A Aboriginal cricket team beat a military team.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1899</td>
<td>Aboriginal people reported spearing eels <em>about the long arm.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1899</td>
<td>The Aborigines Protection Board rejected a petition form the residents of Sackville Reach requesting the addition of meat to the rations of flour, tea and sugar. The petition was rejected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1899</td>
<td>Blanket distribution at Windsor court House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1899</td>
<td>While waiting for the coming of the local MP, the crowd was entertained by <em>a couple of darkie acrobats.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1899</td>
<td>Curagundi Joe won a foot race in Richmond Park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1899</td>
<td>Sago, <em>Mr. Jim Gosper’s darkie</em>, left Gosper and disappeared from the historical record.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1899</td>
<td>Alfred Barber and Henry Barber, <em>two blackfellows</em>, testified that <em>their morals were shocked</em> at the sight of Reginal Wilbow and Sydney Watts bathing naked at Ebenezer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1900</td>
<td>The court dismissed a case involving several Aboriginal people fighting at Tizanna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1900</td>
<td>Aboriginal people from Sackville provided entertainment in the local hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1900</td>
<td>A Aboriginal man’s sentence for vagrancy was increased when he shouted at the bench, <em>Anyhow boss, de Boers’ll beat the British, boss!</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1900</td>
<td>Mrs. Mawby, killed by Jimmy Governor at Breelong had been born at Castlereagh. Miss Kerz, also killed, was the niece of a Penrith man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1900</td>
<td>The <em>Hawkesbury Advocate</em> raised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
concerns at the proposed use of *Tomah* as the name of a Federal electorate encompassing much of the Hawkesbury. It was felt to be *an unnecessary attempt to preserve the aboriginal dialect of the degraded blacks.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>William Dymock published <em>The Good old days: being a record of facts and reminiscences (sic) concerning the Hawkesbury district compiled from the columns of the &quot;Windsor Richmond Gazette&quot;</em> by John Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick. The chapter dealing with Aboriginal people is written in the first person and references events which happened in 1816 and the 1820s. It is highly unlikely that these events were witnessed by Fitzpatrick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-05</td>
<td>Samuel Boughton, 1841-1910 under the nom-de-plume of <em>Cooramill,</em> published a series of recollections in the <em>Hwakesnury Herald.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Alfred Smith, 1831-1917, published a series of recollections in the <em>Windsor and Richmond Gazette.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>