A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE ILLAWARRA & SOUTH COAST ABORIGINES

1770 - 1850

Including a Chronological Bibliography 1770-1990

Compiled by Michael Organ

Aboriginal Education Unit
Wollongong University

1990
Dedication

This document is dedicated to the individual Koori families who made up the Illawarra and South Coast nation, whose struggle and rich culture are described throughout this work.
This book was produced with financial and other assistance from staff of The Aboriginal Education Unit, The University of Wollongong
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PREFACE

The following documentary history assembled by Michael Organ represents a breakthrough on several important fronts. Firstly, it is a well-researched and very comprehensive reference for further inquiry into the recent local history of Illawarra and South Coast Aboriginal people. Secondly, and more importantly, it is a publication resulting from extensive consultation on an on-going basis with Aboriginal people and organisations such as the Wollongong Aboriginal Education Consultative Group (AECG). As such, the book is essentially an example of genuine collaborative research; a document containing information which is relevant, accurate and, in a sense, "confirmed" from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal perspectives. Overall, the publication provides an important beginning, a springboard perhaps to further collaborative efforts between historians and the original custodians of knowledge in the region.

Students and teachers who have attempted to locate accurate, locally relevant information about Aboriginal history will know there is a dearth of reliable material available. This collection tells a story in and through existing documents. The documents stand alone, without unnecessary commentary. It is not an interpretive history. While, as all students of history know, the story of contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in this region is not one from which anyone could extract pleasure or pride, there is nonetheless opportunity here for us to confront the past, consider and understand the facts as they are recorded, and act so as to eradicate dispossession, prejudice, and injustice from the future.

The author's introduction shows clearly that the nature of the investigation significantly changed his own perceptions of the recent history of the region. In and of itself, the process of collecting and collating such data provides a basis for challenging assumptions of the present. As primary source material, these documents hold potential to significantly influence the perceptions of all readers. Comprehensive (regional) Australian histories of the future ought not be written without substantive reference to Aboriginal perspectives.

Most materials included in this collection have not been previously published or disclosed. They have remained as part of the hidden or tacit history of the Illawarra and South Coast.

Michael Organ is well known in the region as both a meticulous and resourceful historian. He has begun his investigation of Aboriginal local history by becoming familiar with a wide range of documentary records. It will remain for other historians to interpret this material and further consult with Aboriginal people who, as Carol Speechley points out, carry the history of the region in their "...long-suffering memories".

In due course, as I am sure most readers will agree, Aboriginal Australian heritage will become part of the heritage of all people who feel strong connections to this land and place. Such collaborative research and genuine consultancy processes as have been included in this work will surely promote this end.

The University of Wollongong
September, 1990

ARTHUR SMITH
An Aboriginal Perspective

The history of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines has, to a significant degree, been ignored or overlooked by standard history texts during the past 202 years. The only sources available that provide clear insight into the Koori history of the region are the long-suffering memories of senior Aboriginal people within the community who have had this knowledge passed down to them. Also reports from various government agencies, community organisations, and early white immigrant accounts provide fragmentary information. Unfortunately most people have no access to the Koori keepers of knowledge and have to rely on documentary evidence including that which is provided in this comprehensive resource.

We have heard of courageous Aboriginal struggles in other areas of New South Wales. We know some of the names of the Koories who fought for survival on their own terms but, by and large, South Coast people, both Koories and non-Koories, have little or no knowledge of the struggles, hardships and victories of the Koori people who originally inhabited this region. This document is unable to answer every question regarding local Koori history, however it does shed some light on the harsh life that coastal Koories had to endure and acknowledges a rich cultural heritage through recalling South Coast Dreamings.

We hope that this document will be both useful and informative to people researching local history, and more importantly, that it will promote an understanding and insight into the dynamic Aboriginal culture of the New South Wales South Coast. In providing a much needed resource for students and teachers in the region it may provide a springboard to further collaborative inquiry. Such knowledge should help to promote the wider communities’ understanding of the descendants of the clans and individuals mentioned who continue to dwell on the South Coast; our homeland.

Carol Speechly
Aboriginal Community Liaison Officer
Aboriginal Education Unit
The University of Wollongong

13 September 1990
Acknowledgements

The inspiration for this study arose from a discussion between the compiler and Joe and Inga Davis early in 1989, wherein we all queried the lack of primary source information - archaeological, cultural, and historical - readily available on the Aborigines of Illawarra and the South Coast (especially prior to 1900), and the almost total absence from regional and local histories of information regarding the original inhabitants of this part of Australia.

We suspected the commonly held myth that there were no substantial records available on the local Aboriginal people to be wrong. This led to a questioning of the standard white histories of Illawarra and Australia, with their common omissions in regards to the indigenous natives.

If we were to believe the history books, it was almost as though the Aborigines never existed, and the continent had no real history or civilization prior to 1770. Furthermore, it was intimated that the local people played a very minor role in the development of present-day Australia.

The following compilation of documents and references is the result of the subsequent search for accounts of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of Illawarra and the South Coast. It attempts to address the omissions of previous historians and provide a resource for future studies of Aboriginal Australia and of Illawarra and South Coast history in particular.

To Joe and Inga I say thank you for the initial inspiration and continued interest and encouragement offered throughout the period of compilation of this work.

Secondly, I would like to express my sincere thanks to archaeologist Caryll Sefton, who assisted in the early stages by providing access to a number of obscure references she had uncovered during her many years of study of the prehistory of the local Aboriginal people. Her continued enthusiasm for the project and valuable advice was much appreciated.

To the staff of the Archives Office of New South Wales, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the Wollongong Reference Library, all of whom assisted with the task of locating relevant archival material and newspaper articles, I also owe much appreciation; and to those institutions, a deal of thanks for permission to reproduce the items included in this work. Also to the numerous workers who over the years have translated and published many of the documents reproduced over the following pages I pay tribute.

Others who directly assisted in the compilation of this work by providing information, advice, and encouragement included Margaret McDonald, Cathy Chaffey, A.P. Doyle, Annabel Lloyd, Jan Richards, Dr. Winifred Mitchell, Dr. Arthur Smith, Carol Speechly, and my wife Jeanette who typed a large section of the work.

Finally I would like to thank the Aboriginal Education Unit, Wollongong University, and the Illawarra Historical Society for support in the publication of this work.

To all I say thank you.

Michael Organ
1 November 1990
INTRODUCTION

Preamble

The following work is not a history of the Aboriginal people of Illawarra and the South Coast of New South Wales. It is primarily a compilation of documents describing early (i.e. 1770-1850) encounters between Europeans and the Aborigines of coastal south-eastern New South Wales - specifically from the Illawarra and South Coast regions. It is interspersed with a descriptive, chronological bibliography of material relevant to the region, covering the aforementioned period (1770-1850) and also carrying on from 1850 to the present day (1990).

Copies of documents, letters, and publications of significance to Aboriginal studies of the area - many of which initially appeared prior to 1900 and are now difficult to procure - are reproduced in full where possible, and indicated in the Table of Contents. Unfortunately many significant articles and extracts have had to be omitted due to space considerations, however they are fully referenced and noted. Bibliographic references may also be located through the index.

The whole work is presented in a documentary format, without major editing or continuous editorial comment or narration, and with complete references and a comprehensive index to assist in future studies. This arrangement was adopted due to the abundance of material located and the absence of a prior definitive historical and sociological text on the Illawarra Aborigines. It was also felt that there was an urgent need for a compilation of all known historical documents referring to the Illawarra Aborigines, especially for the period prior to 1850 - many such documents at present being housed in relatively inaccessible archival and private collections and having never before been made public.

Despite initial fears that nothing survived, a wealth of material on the local people has been located. Whilst this compilation does not claim to be the final word, it does attempt to include the more significant accounts and documents from the period 1770-1850 describing the Aborigines and their relations with the white invaders.

As new material is constantly being unearthed there is no doubt that in the future further volumes on this subject will appear. A similarly sized work could easily be produced dealing solely with the history of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines during the twentieth century, especially if the archival records of the Aborigines Protection Board were utilised.

Within this compilation Illawarra and the South Coast is defined (according to the New South Wales electoral boundaries of 1900 - refer map 1) as that part of southern New South Wales bounded by the Royal National Park to the north; to the west by the towns of Appin and Berrima; to the south by Twofold Bay and the Victorian border; and to the east by the coastline abutting the Pacific Ocean. The central portion of this large area comprised the domain of the Aboriginal people who once spoke the languages now designated as Thurrawal, Dhurga, and Dyirringa (refer map 2 for language subdivisions based on Eades, 1976).

The references contained herein mainly deal with the Aboriginal people of Illawarra (i.e. along the coast from Stanwell Park in the north to Nowra and the Shoalhaven River in the south, and west to the Illawarra Escarpment), for it is these people who have been largely neglected in recent studies.

The compilation also refers to groups from the Appin and Southern Tablelands area - as far west as Camden, Berrima and Goulburn - and the far South Coast region from Jervis Bay to Twofold Bay,
and towards the Victorian border. All were neighbors and intimate associates of the central Illawarra Aborigines, and all occupiers of the land for possibly 40,000 years prior to the white invasion in 1788.

Items from areas outside or abutting upon the above noted boundaries - such as the Burragorang Valley and Cowpastures to the west, and Port Hacking and Botany Bay to the north - are included when considered relevant by the compiler.

Though the focus of this investigation is upon the period of initial contact between Aborigines and Europeans along the South Coast between 1788-1850, the interspersed bibliography also points to references covering both the pre- and post-contact periods, up until the present day.

It should be noted that the post 1850 material within this compilation is not as comprehensively covered as is the earlier period, wherein all relevant material has been reproduced where possible. Post 1850 material is simply cited in most instances.

By the 1850s the original local inhabitants / tribes of central and northern Illawarra were either destroyed, decimated, or dispersed along the coastline to the north and south, and even west inland. During the next 50 years Aborigines from other areas of New South Wales and Victoria settled in the district and some locals left (e.g. King Mickey, who originally came from Port Stephens, settled in Illawarra around 1860; a group of Aborigines from Kiama and Shoalhaven went north to Sydney and La Perouse around 1878; and a group of Aborigines from Victoria settled at Roseby Park around 1907). The full revelation of these movements will be left to another worker, for their complexities are beyond the scope of this compilation.

As interest by both white and black Australians in aspects of Australian Aboriginal cultures and history continues to rise, it was felt timely to present such a regional study. It will be left for future researchers to digest this primary source material, and use the associated bibliography to make their own interpretations when considering aspects of the cultures of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, and the effects of the white invasion upon the race.

Many questions still remain unanswered with regards to their lifestyle prior to 1770, and their fate over the following 200 years. Whilst the archaeological investigations of workers such as F.D. McCarthy, Sandra Bowdler and Caryll Sefton will help delineate the prehistory (i.e. pre European history) of the local people, it is within the documents reproduced over the following pages that the story of the first century of white settlement and its effects upon the local people is partially revealed. Unfortunately we will never really know what life was like for the Aborigines of Illawarra prior to their encountering white men, nor the full complexity of their culture at the time.

A comprehensive history of the Aborigines of Illawarra since 1788 had not been included in any of the conventional local histories so far written by white Australians. In such works the history and culture of the original inhabitants of Illawarra usually only warranted a paragraph or two, suggesting that Illawarra had no history prior to its identification by Captain Cook in 1770. It was commonly (though wrongly) believed that there was no extant, contemporary material upon which to base a comprehensive history. Only in very recent years have the local Aborigines been included in regional studies (c.f. C.Sefton, 1983; W.Mitchell & G.Sherington, 1984; Liston, 1988), despite a great deal of information long being available both from descendants of the local people, and in obscure and difficult to obtain archaeological and ethnographic reports and articles.

Just as the important role of the convict in settling Australia was until quite recently excluded from the standard histories, so also were the stories of the Aboriginal discovery and settlement of Australia over 40,000 years ago.

Captain Cook is still widely viewed as the ‘discoverer’ of eastern Australia, and the Aborigines, with their long history of settlement of this land and conservation of its resources, have been neglected, belittled, and considered of no consequence to contemporary society.
The truth of the matter is that the role of Europeans in the conquest of the Australian Aborigines was long considered too shameful for inclusion in standard white histories, which until quite recently have concentrated on political and economic developments within white society. Both the convicts and the Aborigines were only ever mentioned in passing and in generalised terms.

The reasons for these omissions will become obvious to any reader of this study or student of black-white relations in Australia over the past 200 years, for they reflect the darker side of this country’s history, with widespread racism, an overpowering lust for land, brutal barbarity, and ignorance of Aboriginal cultures, common amongst the introduced white population.

The fact that the Aborigines had a completely different concept of history from the Europeans; possessed no written records of their history and cultures prior to 1788 - though a rich oral and visual tradition existed and still exists; and were secretive regarding their beliefs and traditions, made European comprehension of their civilization difficult from the outset, especially when the great majority of whites did not bother to pursue an interest.

In Illawarra we have a microcosm of events which have occurred throughout Australia since 1788 - we see the decimating diseases introduced by the first convicts and settlers; dispossession of Aboriginal families from traditional lands; massacres; destruction of traditional society by white interference and perversion, alienation, and continuing attempts at assimilation with no compensation right up until the present day.

We see that even benign benevolence exhibited by a few local individuals (e.g. Alexander Berry) towards the Aborigines along the South Coast during the nineteenth century ultimately resulted in their decimation and corruption, for white Australians in general, and Governments in particular, never really understood the Aboriginal people nor came to grips with the complexities of their civilization. It was always simpler to disregard or destroy them. As they were considered ‘uncivilized’, their timeless civilization was not given due consideration or respect.

Today most Australians look with horror upon many of the practices which were considered so enlightened and humane by eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans in their dealings with the original Australians - these included the removal of children from families; the creation of special camps and reserves (the first concentration camps); the alienation of traditional lands; the rejection of all aspects of Aboriginal culture and religion; and the wholesale slaughter in the name of ‘putting the poor savage out of his misery’ (c.f. Reynolds, 1982). All such practices were presented under the auspices of colonisation, civilization, Christian charity, and progress, yet today we realise that in truth they were merely masking greed, racism, and inhumanity.

In the history of white and black relations in Australia, and Illawarra, we can find analogies to the public racism exercised in South Africa and southern America, and to brutalities and massacres such as those carried out by Hitler’s Nazi troops and the Americans at Me Lai in Vietnam. Circumstances may differ, but the reality was just as brutal for the victims of war.

The truth of this condemnation is revealed by material contained within this compilation. It is unfortunate that the documents reproduced over the following pages often show the most evil side of the so-called pioneers of this land, but such was reality, for compassion and humanity were the exception when relations with the Australian Aborigines were concerned.

Some of the incidents related over the following pages are sickening and shameful, and it is no wonder that until now the meagre details have not been presented as part and parcel of the true history of Australia, but have remained hidden in archival collections, or simply cast aside by so-called learned historians more interested in enhancing the myth of the valiant explorer and pioneer settler ‘taming’ the land, than in exposing the realities and harsh inhumanity of conquest following the invasion of 1788.

For example, this study inadvertently details the undeclared war waged between Europeans and the Aborigines of New South Wales from 1788 to about 1850 - formalized by Governor Macquarie’s punitive expeditions of 1816 in which Aborigines to the west and south of Sydney (around Camden and Appin) were killed and taken “prisoners of war” by local Army regiments.
The significance of this campaign is largely unrecognized by white historians and the public at large, yet such an omission from the white history of Australia is understandable - though unforgivable - when we remember that it has taken almost 200 years for Europeans to accept their own convict heritage, and it will surely take many more before the rather unpalatable realities concerning the first contacts with the Aborigines between 1788-1850, and the subsequent slaughters, abuses, and disregard at the hands of the white settlers, are exposed and accepted.

The fact is - and it is clearly revealed in this study - the Aborigines did not willingly submit to the white invaders, as is commonly believed by white Australians. They actually fought long and hard for their land from the time of the arrival of the First Fleet at Port Jackson in January 1788; during the years of near extinction around Sydney and along coastal New South Wales after the 1850s; and throughout this century.

This determined defiance was seen as early as 1770 when Captain Cook and his men were attacked by Aborigines at Botany Bay. And later, when the First Fleet sailed into Port Jackson in January 1788, the natives lined the shore brandishing their spears and repeatedly shouting 'whurra' or 'walla walla wha!', which roughly translates as 'begone.' Perhaps 'go home' would have been closer to the mark.

Fortunately for the English, the Aborigines did not fight a traditional European campaign - with a centralised command and on large battlefields - but in small family groups, for parcels of land they had held for thousands of years. Of course such a campaign was easily won by the British, with their superior firepower, massed armed regiments, and years of experience in battle.

The British were not simply given their vast empire - they attained it through bloody conquest and the decimation of native peoples.

Initially the Aborigines who suffered at the hands of the whitemen and their muskets retaliated. This included those who supported Pemulwuy at Sydney prior to 1802, and Windrayne at Bathurst around 1820.

They took savage revenge on the white settlers who had killed members of their families and stolen their traditional homelands. However this retaliation quickly resulted in the large-scale decimation of their people as a result of indiscriminant reprisals by the whites, and caused the natives to retreat in order to ensure the survival of their race, such was the threat. They soon realized that the spear was no match for the gun.

Australia was not an uninhabited continent ('terra nullius' - a land without owners) when Captain Arthur Phillip and his convoy of convicts and soldiers arrived at Sydney Cove in 1788 - it was peopled by a race with a long heritage and rich tradition who had as much right to specific areas of land as we claim today for our half acre suburban blocks. This denial of Aboriginal right of ownership to the land was the most heinous crime perpetrated by the British in their settlement of Australia. All subsequent abuses of the Aborigines spring from this initial denial and greed on the part of the British - a process which is still being perpetrated to this day (refer H.Reynolds, The Law and the Land, 1987; P.Turbet, The Aborigines of the Sydney District before 1788, Sydney, 1989).

As the Catholic Bishop J.B. Polding pointed out to John Dunmore Lang in 1845 (before a parliamentary Select Committee) when he asked of the Australian Aborigines 'Do you think they have such an idea of the value of land, as to lead them to view its settlement as an act of aggression?', he unhesitatingly replied:

'I am convinced of it, and I think that is the root of the evil.'

Unfortunately no notice was taken of Polding's testimony and no treaty was ever signed to formalise the annexation of Australia, unlike events in New Zealand. Such was the condescension with which the Aborigines were held at the time that none was considered necessary, so successful had been the British invasion of New South Wales.
Following the initial invasion of 1788, widespread expansion by white settlers from Sydney into ‘uninhabited’ regions such as Illawarra, Appin, the far South Coast of New South Wales, and the rich Southern Tablelands - especially after the arrival of the expansionist Governor Macquarie in 1810 - saw conflict develop with the local Aborigines along the expanding frontiers, though such conflict had existed from as early as 1788 (refer E. Wilmot, *Pemulwuy - The Rainbow Warrior*, 1987).

The circumstances of the conflict along any Australian frontier between natives and the white invader were usually played out as follows:

- Following initial sortie by European ‘explorers’, soldiers, or adventurers (who were usually treated kindly by the local natives, and often assisted on their way), itinerant lawless whitemen and convicts would move onto the traditional lands of the Aborigines to cut cedar, graze sheep and cattle, and prepare land for pasture and farming; they were shortly thereafter followed by squatters and settlers who erected stockyards, huts, and fences, and planted crops, customarily close to areas where fresh water was abundant - which also happened to be where the Aborigines traditionally camped and were often considered sacred sites.

  The Aborigines would initially protest - wherein they would be forced away by the power of the gun and/or slaughtered - or accept the strangers and gladly share their resources. Perhaps they would move on for a couple of months, hoping the Europeans and their strange animals would be gone when they returned. Unfortunately the white people stayed, and when the natives returned they either came into conflict with the whites or tried to co-exist. The Europeans now considered the land theirs alone, and would erect fences and install vicious guard dogs to keep away all strangers, including the local Aborigines. Sharing crops with the natives was not considered a moral or social duty.

  The Europeans’ farming and grazing practices resulted in the destruction of traditional Aboriginal food supplies. Kangaroos, wallabies, and opossum, along with many other native animals and birds, were frightened away by the cattle and sheep, and hunted by the Europeans with their guns and dogs; native grasses and plants were destroyed by stock feeding, to be replaced by crops of corn and wheat; and vast deforestation programs were carried out by settlers and convicts. The often scarce water holes and creeks, supplying fish and fresh water, were polluted by man and beast, or dried up. The landscape became scarred with the effects of erosion and incompetent farming practices.

  The land which the Aborigines had nurtured and revered for thousands of years was now being ravaged.

  With such a degradation of their traditional environment in usually a short space of time, the Aborigines were placed in dire straits. Their very survival was threatened. The only course of action was to obtain food from those new sources introduced by the whites, including wheat, corn, bread, meat, sugar, tea, milk, etc. As the whites would not freely supply these provisions, the natives were forced to ‘steal’ them (at least that is how the settlers saw the situation) appropriating crops, and occasionally killing sheep and cattle. As the Aborigines were traditionally a hunter-gatherer society, these items were taken for day-to-day survival only.

  This ‘violation’ of the settler’s property was seen as the most dastardly crime - terms such as ‘depredations’ and ‘ Aboriginal atrocities’ were brandished in the media when crops were plundered. Their raids usually resulted in violent retaliation by the whites.

  A case is known in Queensland where one man during the 1840s killed 150 natives following the taking of one of his bulls, and in Illawarra in 1822 an Aboriginal woman was shot at, set upon by dogs, and killed whilst merely collecting corn from a field!

  Such was the attitude of the early white settlers towards the Aborigines that they did not
consider they owed them any compensation for the taking of their land and livelihood, and showed great offence if the natives demanded such payment. As the Aborigines considered the land to belong to the people, and not to any individual, they never really understood / accepted this aspect of British culture. A parchment or paper land title deed meant nothing to them.

Against the overwhelming power of the white man's musket, poison, smallpox, influenza, venereal diseases, sheer weight of numbers, the inequitable British law, and the often callous barbarity of white settlers, the Aborigines' struggle to maintain their traditional way of life and possession of their land quickly turned into a losing battle.

The above scenario occurred in all areas of Australia, along all frontiers of settlement, including within Illawarra and along the South Coast of New South Wales (refer H. Reynolds, The Other Side of the Frontier, 1982, and Frontier, 1987). The ultimate result was the mass destruction and/or silent assimilation of the Aboriginal people of coastal and inland New South Wales during the first half of the nineteenth century. This once proud, populous, and healthy people were decimated and demoralised by disease and massacres, and forced off their land into fringe camps, where physical and emotional degradation often followed. It will forever be to the immense shame of white Australia that these native people were almost entirely wiped out along the east coast of Australia in such a short space of time.

The arrival in Australia during the 1860s of Charles Darwin's theories of social evolution - a form of scientific racism - which placed the Australian Aborigines at the foot of the evolutionary ladder, just above the apes and monkeys, and the subsequent catch-cry of 'survival of the fittest', was to further remove any widespread feelings of guilt from the consciences of the white conquerors for another hundred years.

Extreme interpretations of evolutionary theory suggested that the destruction of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia was inevitable, as though an act of God, and the whites were merely carrying out a divine plan! After all, they were only 'miserable savages', as the public was frequently informed.

The local churches enhanced the problem by in some cases accepting these views and generally showing more concern for the welfare of South Seas islanders than the unfortunate natives in their own backyards. Their patronising of the local people, lack of consideration for Aboriginal religious concepts, and support of Government bodies such as the Aborigines Protection Board, increased the problems the local people faced in gaining equality and justice within their own country. It was easy for whites to plead ignorance of the plight of the original Australians.

Theories of racial superiority - of white over black - are only now being questioned by the general public, though they are still widely held and expressed, continuing to place the Aboriginal people in a racially inferior position within Australia. It is only by a general recognition of the equality of all races on the part of every Australian that this nation will come of age, and the burden of the Aboriginal people will be eased.

A reading of the material contained in this study makes obvious the richness of Australian Aboriginal cultures, and the gross injustices committed upon the natives of Australia since 1788. The so-called white version of Australia's history - with its heroic tales of intrepid male explorers and their taming of a harsh continent as though she were a rebellious female - is also placed in question as we see how those same explorers and pioneers were guided to rich and fertile districts by local Aborigines, who were usually repaid this kindness by the dispossession of their land and the abuse of their people.

This study also reveals the overwhelming arrogance, injustice, bias, misunderstanding, and inequity shown by the majority of the original European writers of the period 1788-1850 towards the Aboriginal race. The first few generations of white Australians were too preoccupied with their own survival and empire building to worry about the local Aborigines.
Australia therefore has much to mourn in the swift passing of such a large proportion of the original Aboriginal population, estimated to have numbered 1 million in 1788. By 1850 there were, officially, only 10,000 Aborigines in New South Wales.

Their more than 40,000 years of culture and heritage offered / still offers much to the white invaders, however few have shared in its riches. With the world-wide environmental crises of the 1980s looming so large in the public mind, white Australians are only now starting to appreciate the benefits if the so-called 'primitive' and 'savage' lifestyle of the Australian Aboriginal people in the years prior to 1788 - a people at one with the land, unbound by racial or social discrimination; living a life where no man was greater than any other, and the resources of the land were there to be used on a daily basis, for survival only, and to be constantly renewed. The original greenies.

Of course such an idyllic scenario is open to criticism, but there is nevertheless a great deal of truth in it.

The white ethic which rated people according to their accumulation of property and wealth, and promoted the development of internal class structures, was foreign to the Aboriginal way of life, and for this reason the indigenous Australians were viewed with scorn. Such arrogance was especially common amongst the British who established the penal colony known as 'Botany Bay' in 1788. English civilization was rife with class distinction at the time, and those in Australia naturally tried to impose their values upon the Aborigines.

Whilst the Aborigines were not an idyllic race - they led a rather simple, harsh existence with inter-tribal conflict and death common, and their treatment of women was considered unjust by European standards - their basic lifestyle and its supposed harmony with the land becomes more attractive day by day to Australians questioning both the morals and pace of modern society and its effect upon the individual and the environment.

When the Europeans tried to 'civilize' the Aborigines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were unsuccessful - not because (as was generally reported) the Aborigines were too lazy and primitive to 'appreciate' and accept western culture, but because the Aborigines, after studying the European way of life, made the conscious decision to reject it. After all, they were content with their own civilization - one with a far longer pedigree than their European 'masters.' They had a security, a sense of belonging to the land, which Europeans could never appreciate. The only way the Aborigines could be brought to task was by conquest, and the destruction of their traditional society via the introduction of diseases and vices such as alcohol and drugs.

Such an idea - the spurning of the opportunity to adopt the so-called superior British culture, with its benefits of enlightened thinking and an equitable Common Law system of justice - could never be accepted as rational by the white settlers in the Colony, who looked on the Aborigines as the bottom rung of a social hierarchy comprising ruling officials and military at the top, followed by free settlers, ex-convicts and the native born, and the convicts. The Aborigines had such a lowly status in Australian society that they were not officially considered citizens of this country and given the right to vote until 1967!

Perhaps the best summary account of the fate of the Australian Aborigines during the first 50 years of white settlement which this compiler has read is to be found in a letter published in the Sydney Gazette of 18 February 1841. It was written by an anonymous 'T.B. - A Bushman' in a hut by the Snowy Mountains on 20 July 1840, and describes his experiences of years previous. This letter, reproduced below, reveals many aspects of the local Aboriginal culture, its destruction, and the prevalent white attitudes.

The Bushman's account is clearly erroneous in some statements and interpretations of local culture - especially with regards to the Aborigines' religious beliefs, which had a pedigree longer than any western church - however it nevertheless forms a good introduction to this study:
Much has been written and spoken of the blacks or aborigines of New Holland; they have been condemned by one party, unjustly I must say, as possessing all the vices and depravity of our own worst nature, together with the malignity of fiends; and by another as being the most inoffensive and virtuous; for my own part I must say that neither party are correct in their general averments.

It must be admitted by every one that they are grossly ignorant, being totally indifferent to, and indeed professing no belief in, a future state; the only idea they have, but which I rather suspect they must have derived from the "whites," relative to another state, is the constant dread they are in of an evil spirit which they call "Gunoure," or devil devil; and at night they are so much afraid of stirring abroad from fear of falling into this imaginary being's power, that no persuasion will get them to leave their gunneys after nightfall. They have another notion prevalent amongst them that they certainly obtained from their intercourse with Europeans; that is, on their dying they will, after a period, revisit the earth as white men; or, as one of them explained this piece of subtle doctrine to me,

"blackfellow you see biragan (die), make a hole put in him, then by and by blackfellow jump up whitefellow."

They have a certain ceremony when a lad attains the age of fourteen, or thereabout, that they throw a good deal of mystery over, and which some assert to be a religious rite, though I am inclined to think otherwise, but as they strictly exclude every "whitefellow" from this ceremony it is almost impossible to state the particulars; suffice it to say that the tribe musters its whole strength, when they select all the lads on whom the operation has not been performed, these they take to a secluded spot, where all preliminaries being settled, one youth after another is taken and the front tooth of the upper jaw extracted; the youths remain on the place for a certain number of days, when they are introduced to the tribe as warriors at a grand corrobera held on the occasion. The gins are not allowed to be present when the teeth are extracted; the mothers of the lads keep at some distance, and during all the period the operation is going on they carry in their hands a lighted torch which on no account they allow to be extinguished.

The blacks have no form of government whatever; they obey no chief (though the whites have dubbed no inconsiderable number with the titles of chief; in fact "they are all chiefs," as the Mountain Minstrel used to say of the M'Colls) except any of their number who may be famous for his bravery or cunning (synonymous terms), who has generally a species of authority during the time they are on their fighting expeditions; when the occasion that called for it has passed over, "every man does that which is right in his own eyes." If one, however, happens to kill a person of his own tribe, a day is set apart when the criminal is subjected to the ordeal of the "dewin" or the spear. He is made to stand at a spear's throw from the camp, armed only with a shield, when a number of warriors commence hurling their spears at him, which he dexterously contrives to fling aside by his gwurnul or shield. If he is fortunate enough to escape the shower of missiles that is thus continued for nearly an hour to be thrown at him, he is released amidst the shoutings of his countrymen, no one daring to molest him after this. Sometimes it happens, though rarely, that the criminal falls under the number of spears darted at him; indeed it is most surprising how anyone could escape from such a trial, but the address displayed by some of these fellows in evading a spear thrown at them often astonished me.

They sometimes quarrel amongst themselves about the gins, but this seldom leads to any result, being settled by the grey-beards of the tribe, whose fiat is binding, unless it is with an adverse tribe; this, and the disputes about their hunting grounds, are the principal and indeed only causes of war, if their petty skirmishes may be dignified with such a term. Polygamy is allowed.

The all-engrossing object that affects these savages is the acquiring the means of subsistence, which engages all their thoughts in times of peace and war; this leads to a distinction between the blacks of the sea coast and those of the interior. The former live by the canoe, the latter by climbing trees; as the staple food of the one is fish, and of the other grubs and oppossums, which are only found by scaling the trees.

Revenge with them, as with most other savages, is the ruling passion, combined as it is with extreme craft. They allow no opportunity to pass to gratify this demonical disposition, and though
years will elapse before they can put it in execution, the injury they received is never forgotten or

When a quarrel takes place between two neighbouring tribes, and this is of tolerably frequent
occurrence, they make stealthy marches by days, and lie concealed all night. When as day begins
to dawn, they pounce on their victims when fast asleep, and commence an indiscriminate
slaughter of men, women, and children. The first appraisal their enemies receive is the wild yelling
they set up before the onset; seldom or ever is there a regular set to in broad daylight, both sides
equally prepared.

The most striking characteristic that attaches to them - great endurance and patience under fatigue
and want; a capability of enduring the extreme of summer heat, without complaining; and of
traversing in the depth of winter, which in many parts of the colony is as severe as in England -
forests and plains covered with frost and snow, without shoes or any other covering than the
oppossum cloak, which serves for clothing by night and day, and that without flinching. They are,
as may be expected from their rude untutored state, strongly adverse to labour of any kind, and
may expect as regards their hunting and fighting expeditions, be classed as lazy in the extreme.
Yet it must be acknowledged in their behalf, that their mode of living tends to this; they have few
wants, and these are supplied by indulging in an amusement that undoubtedly has its attractions.

The above relates to those blacks who are settled within the Colony; those in the "far" interior
beyond the located bounds I have had little or no intercourse with, and it would avail little unless
acquainted with their language, the mode of living being nearly alike in all.

That the aborigines have been loosers instead of gainers by the settlement of the whites amongst
them is beyond dispute; they have contracted if not all the vices of the Europeans, at least many of
them, and none of their virtues. From their mixing with only the basest of mankind, what other can
be expected than their being contaminated?

Instead of being even partially civilized, the only advantages bestowed on them by their brethren
of the white skin, is the rendering their hunting grounds useless to them, and of having taught them
habits of lying, pilfering, swearing, drinking, and smoking, and of having entailed on them and their
offspring the most loathsome diseases; this description does not apply in all cases, yet truth
compels me to state that generally speaking, it is but too accurate. Where the blacks have had little
or no intercourse with whites you will find them more robust in their persons, more independent in
their bearing - and altogether free of those detestable practices that have enfeebled and brutalized
their brethren that have been more under the contaminating influence of the Europeans; they have
been accused of murder, and the destruction of the property of the settlers; this to a very limited
extent I admit, though it is a matter of glaring notoriety, that ten blacks are murdered for one white;
this is the case exclusive of those killed in self-defence, and which are studiously kept from the
knowledge of the authorities.

If space permitted me I could dwell much longer on this subject, and instance where the blacks
have been shot and slaughtered wholesale - and by whom do you suppose?

By the felons [convicts] of New South Wales?

No such thing, but by those in a far different grade - persons who should have known better.

Is the slaughter of a few head of cattle a sufficient reason for massacring and poisoning whole
herds of fellow men?

So little is thought of such doings that I have heard a person in a respectable rank of life assert that
he would have no more compunction in shooting a black than a kangaroo.

That the blacks from sheer necessity are driven to spear some of the settlers' cattle, is true; yet to
the candid reader this will be a matter of no surprise, when he recollects that the savage considers
the white man as the rightful possessor of his country, and that instead of receiving any benefit
therefrom, fatal experience has taught him that wherever the print of the European appears, he
must either remain to starve, or fall back upon some hostile tribe, which he either exterminates, or by which he is exterminated.

Which of these evils should he choose?

The kangaroo and the emu forsake the plains and the forests whenever the herds and flocks break ground. I was one day asked by a native of the Maneroo country for something to eat; at the same time remarking with a most pitiful expression of countenance -

"You see, massa, all about here belong to black fellow - long time ago plenty emu, and thousand thousand kangaroo. Gumbucku luck, dundial come and drive kangaroo and emu all away. Poor fellow, black fellow, now by ---."

These are the very words. Let but one consider that in spite of all the philanthropy of England, the natives of New Holland instead of being either civilized or christianized after an intercourse of more than half a century, are now in a more deplorable state than when this vast continent was a blank on the world's map; it is absurd to suppose that miracles can be wrought, and that the untamed savage should become all at once versed in the knowledge of the arts of civilized men; no, that cannot be done, but much could, by such a people as Britons; but what has been done to better the condition of these children of nature? Absolutely nothing.

It has been argued that they are so wedded in their savage mode of life, that they will not relinquish it for any other, and also that there is a manifest intellectual incapacity in them to receive instruction. As regards the former assertion, why such is always the case with savage tribes. What were the ancestors of polished Englishmen previous to the Roman invasion? In a state of society little removed from that of the New Hollander.

As to the latter, I deny that there is any such mental incapacity as to prevent them from becoming in time, intelligent and useful members of the community. This is apparent to any one who has had opportunities of observing the shrewdness and natural quickness of observation they possess in a high degree. Where the experiment has been tried to educate any of them, it has perfectly succeeded, all are not apt alike, but this cannot be expected; there is a wide spread prejudice afloat on this subject at home and abroad; it would be well if more were done and less said, about bettering the condition of these miserable remnants of tribes whose lands are now occupied by the settlers; these at least have claims that admit of no denial.

In my next I shall allude to those futile attempts that have been made by the Government to ameliorate their condition in the establishment of a Protectorate - one of the rankest pieces of jobbery that even a corrupt and venal Whig Ministry was ever guilty of.

A protectorate sounds well in England; but were you to see its practical working by this tribe of harpies, who fatten on the public money, you would be little astonished; they scarcely ever stir from the towns, and if perchance they are half a day in the bush, why the exploit is paraded through the columns of the Colonial press. If any journalist should have the spirit to arraign the carelessness and inactivity of the protectors, and should say that something ought to be done for the aborigines - he only brings on his own head a shower of abuse; he is an enemy to his countrymen, forsooth, because he has the moral stamina to throw in a few sentences to point out the degraded condition of the unfortunate natives. And also because he ventured to say that the Protectors of the blacks of New Holland might as well be the protectors of the Esquimaux, for all the good they do; it would be well if this system should be thoroughly exposed in England; here, though we see it, we can do nothing to check it.

Yours, &c.

T.B.
The Fate of the Illawarra Aborigines

It may be appropriate at this point to briefly discuss the fate of the local people during the period 1788-1850, based on the documents reproduced over the following pages, for the story revealed in this compilation calls on us to reappraise many commonly held views regarding the history of Illawarra in general, and that of its original Aboriginal inhabitants.

As previously noted, the impetus for this compilation arose out of occasional questions which had often been posed over the years by local Illawarra historians and members of the community, such as:

Who were the original Aboriginal inhabitants of Illawarra?
What happened to them, and what caused their demise?
How many were living in Illawarra prior to 1788?
How and where did they live; and what do we know of their culture and tradition?
What was the fate of their descendants?

Satisfactory answers have never been given to any of these questions, due to a supposed lack (by historians) of available contemporary information. This study reveals that a wealth of such material exists, and perhaps the answers may be found (or indicated) amongst the documents reproduced over the following pages.

It goes without saying that the local people were decimated as a result of the white invasion. In attempting to explain their demise and answer some of the above questions, the compiler would suggest the following causes:

* A large number of Illawarra Aborigines succumbed to disease introduced by the white settlers shortly after 1788. Smallpox and influenza were the most devastating, with individual epidemics wiping out large percentages (greater than 50% at a time) of the population.

* Some Aborigines left the district for more isolated areas of the country to the west or south to avoid conflict with white settlers and find new hunting grounds, though this was always difficult as they were seen as intruders by the neighbouring tribes, and their ties to traditional lands were so great that to drive them out would be analogous to driving a family of the 1980s from their comfortable brick home onto the street - the effect was physically and emotionally shattering to the Aboriginal people, and for this reason they did not easily leave their traditional homelands. Many were prepared to suffer the humility and physical degradation of fringe camps rather than break all ties with their place of birth.

* Many undoubtedly starved and perished as a result of their traditional hunting grounds and sources of food being taken from them, and subsequently forced to live on handouts from Europeans.

* Large numbers were killed - by white settlers in conflicts over land and women, or more rarely by their fellow Aborigines in tribal skirmishes.
A low birth rate, with an average of only 2-3 children per family, was probably common amongst the Illawarra Aborigines after 1788. White families in Illawarra during the 1820s and 1830s, with access to proper medical facilities, commonly had up to 10 children. The effects of venereal diseases further reduced the Aboriginal birth rate and they were subsequently numerically overwhelmed. The natural British prejudices against inter-marriage with black people was also a factor in their decreasing numbers.

Many tried to adapt to the whiteman's way of life, becoming part of that community, or living in camps on the fringes of townships. Many Aboriginal women married or lived with white men on the more isolated stations.

Quantifying the rate of decimation of the native population is difficult due to a lack of comprehensive population statistics.

Up until about 1832 we have no specific information, and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century census information is sparse. Aborigines were not included in the numerous musters and census of, for example, 1828, 1837 1841, which have survived.

Previous to their inclusion in the Australian census during the 1960s, only the Blanket Returns of the period 1832-42, and Aborigines Protection Board census from 1882 to the 1960s, are available. However as this compilation shows, by about 1850 the original Aboriginal tribes of southeastern Australia had been decimated, corrupted, and dispersed. The Protection Board data is therefore too late and not comprehensive enough in addressing our questions regarding the original inhabitants.

What was the population trend in Illawarra from 1788 to 1850?

Noel Butlin (1983) discusses at length the problems associated with approximating the 1788 Aboriginal population of eastern Australia, suggesting that the catastrophic effects of diseases have been underestimated by previous workers. In answering the above question we need to remember that the exact effects of early smallpox epidemics (1789 and 1829-30 in Sydney) and other diseases on the local population can only be guessed at.

According to the Blanket Returns of 1833-44, by the end of the 1830s the Aborigines of central Illawarra numbered less than one hundred, though it should be pointed out that not all Aborigines submitted to the possible humiliation of receiving blankets from white authorities, and these figures may be low. By the 1660s - whatever the cause - those of northern and central Illawarra were largely an extinct race, at least in the eyes of the new settlers.

Based upon this information and Butlin's theories we could suggest that there were anywhere from 500-1000 Aborigines in central Illawarra (Bulli to Kiama) on 26 January 1788. The lower figure is more plausible if we take into account the local lifestyle and availability of resources.

If an original population of 500 lost half of its members during the smallpox outbreaks of 1789 and 1829-30, it is easy to see that a figure of 100 individuals surviving by the late 1830s is not so extraordinary.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the remnants of the original Illawarra tribal and family groups were forced into camps at localities such as Red Point (Hill 60, Port Kembla), Minamurra, and Bass Point, or further south away from densely settled areas. Around 1878 a group headed north to help form the settlement at La Perouse, on the shores of Botany Bay, and their descendants remain there to this day.

In the eyes of many whites throughout Illawarra the Aborigines were just a memory by 1900, and to the younger generations of white Australians living in urban areas throughout the country who had never seen an Aborigine in person, they have only existed in the media, or 'outback' throughout much of this century. The average non-Aboriginal Australian's knowledge of the Aborigines and their culture is therefore minimal, even in 1990.
The European invasion, subtle and relatively bloodless though it may have appeared in the official records of the British Empire (though bloody in reality), had nevertheless been successful in bringing the race to near extinction by the mid nineteenth century, especially along the eastern coast of Australia and in Tasmania. Intermarriage between whites and blacks tended to enhance this view towards 'extinction' of the Aboriginal people, with ignorant whites refusing to accept so-called half-castes or other descendants as 'true' Aborigines right up until the present day.

The term 'half-caste' was used, and is still used, in a derogatory fashion by whites. These people of mixed race were considered neither white nor truly Aboriginal, and therefore not due any special consideration by white Australia. Most ended up living with their Aboriginal families, for the white community would generally not accept them, even though it encouraged inter-marriage as a means of 'whitening' the colour of the native Aborigine.

The official 'assimilation' policies of the Aborigines Protection Board from 1909 onwards were nothing less than a continuation of the attempt to completely destroy the indigenous culture, which action had been pursued since the earliest days of white settlement. Assimilation is still considered a realizable objective by ignorant non-Aboriginals.

By the turn of the century some whites were beginning to regret the decimation of the native population of Illawarra and the South Coast, and we have a number of local historians and anthropologists (e.g. R.H. Mathews, Archibald Campbell, E.Dollahan, John Brown) compiling as much information as they could on the local people and aspect of their culture and languages. The result is a dismal, fragmentary record, with rare hints of what was once an obviously rich heritage.

No native Illawarra Aborigine recorded first-hand on paper his/her reminiscences of their people's history or aspects of their traditional culture during the period between first contact and 1900. All surviving stories and reminiscences are second-hand, with amendments and alterations by the recorder.

Transcriptions of the native tongue, as in lists of names for local geographical features, are especially suspect. For example, the local Aboriginal word for 'Cabbage Palm' has been variously recorded by Europeans since 1827 as: Thurrawal, Turrurwal, Towel, and even Thirroul.

Of images, the few drawings by Mickey of Ulladulla around the 1880s are almost unique for the region.

It was not until the 1960s that the first major collection of Illawarra and South Coast Aboriginal oral histories were compiled on tape (by Janet Mathews), and not until 1987 that the first collection of reminiscences by local Aborigines was published, though unfortunately by that stage much had been lost forever, and the informants (many of whom were not descended from the original pre-1788 inhabitants of Illawarra, but came to the region from other parts of the country) only remembered events this century. Hopefully within the memories of the descendants of the Illawarra Aborigines aspects of the traditional cultures survive and are yet to be revealed.
Who were / are the Illawarra Aborigines?

From a reading of the documents cited in this work, we can make the following brief summary statements regarding the Aboriginal people of Illawarra prior to 1788:

They consisted of a number of family groups who occupied the coastal strip from Bulli and Stanwell Park in the north, to Shoalhaven and Kangaroo Valley in the south. They were mostly coastal dwellers - though they also used the resources of the mountain areas to the west of the escarpment - and lived on a diet of fish (sea, freshwater, and shell) supplemented by local flora and fauna (c.f. Sefton 1983, 1988).

They made regular excursions out of the district to places such as Appin and Bong Bong, and occasionally as far as Sydney and the Blue Mountains for special corroborees and initiation ceremonies.

Most families lived in the open, or within gunyahs or rock shelters, their only clothing consisting of opossum rugs and ornamental regalia.

Their life was one of seeking out an existence day by day, with the men performing specified hunting duties, and the women responsible for cooking and rearing the children to maturity (though the males also had input into this latter area). Each family group roamed throughout the region, with specific areas accepted as their domain. Sharing of resources with their near neighbors was a way of life and not questioned, so they were able to travel widely and freely without fear of starvation.

Their religious beliefs and social customs (e.g. the rules surrounding marriage, initiation, and conflicts over land issues) were complex. In these areas our information is most sparse.

The aspect of inter-tribal rivalry is unclear - some authors state that each tribe was hostile to its neighbour (e.g. the Wollongong people were at war with those of Kiama), but friendly to those farther afield; some say conflict was isolated and based on specific events, such as affairs of the heart or individual confrontation, and was not deep rooted.

The concept of 'tribe' is also questionable. A reading of the contemporary documents in this compilation does not indicate specific tribal or language affiliations or boundaries used by the Illawarra Aborigines prior to 1850. The earliest references are simply to 'the natives of the district known as Alowrie' (c.f. Flinders, 1796), or to the 'Five Islands Tribe', as the whole district was then known as the Five Islands.

It is only from the turn of the century - when white historians and anthropologists were recording in earnest aspects of Aboriginal cultures along the South Coast - that specific names such as Wodi Wodi and Thurrawul were allocated to local 'tribes' and languages.

The Illawarra natives did not follow a tribal system with defined chiefs and social hierarchies (as typified by the American Indians), but lived in relatively small family groups, with complicated family structures and close associations to specific areas of land. Elderly members of the groups were given due respect, but were only allocated the title of 'chief' or 'King' by Europeans.

For example, from surviving records we know that the Hooka family group lived by the shores of Lake Illawarra (near present-day Dapto and along Hooka Creek) during the period 1820-40; the Timbery family during the same period claimed a belonging to the area now known as Berkeley; and the Bundle family claimed an association with the land upon which the town of Wollongong grew. We do not know how long these individual families had lived in the area, though it may have been for many thousands of years.
White settlers initially grouped the local people into tribes based on **locality**, calling them the 'Five Islands tribe', or 'Bong Bong tribe', and during the 1830s and 1840s used this system to assist in identification during the distribution of blankets.

The official ‘Returns of Blankets’ issued by the New South Wales government to local Aborigines between 1832-42 provide a wealth of information and will be subjected to more detailed analysis in the future (refer Appendix 1). They specify the various ‘Tribes’ and ‘Places of Resort’ to which the local people subscribed. These returns have been reproduced over the following pages. Some Returns are very specific and useful, though most are generalised, having been compiled by white Government officials usually with no intimate knowledge of Aboriginal languages and customs. Their translations of Aboriginal names are confusing (refer Appendix 1).

In all cases the stated tribal name upon those Blanket Returns is based on a locality, so that, for example, all the Aboriginal people resident in central Illawarra at the time were referred to as members of the ‘Five Islands’ or ‘Wollongong’ tribe. However modern-day tribal groupings of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines are based on information compiled by white anthropologists from the late 1870s. Two divisions were initially presented (refer Ridley, 1878), using geographical location and language, though these criteria are now expanded into five divisions and given Aboriginal names, as follows (after C.Sefton, 1983):

* **Thuruwal (or Dharawal)** - general name for the Aboriginal people of the area on the east coast of New South Wales from Botany Bay to Shoalhaven, and west to Berrima and Camden.

* **Wodi-Wodi (or Wadi-Wadi)** - a subdivision of Thuruwal, includes the Aboriginal people of the coast from Wollongong to the Shoalhaven.

* **Gurandada and Tharumba (or Dharumba)** - those people living around the Shoalhaven River.

* **Wandandian** - those people living south of the Shoalhaven River and north of Jervis Bay.

* **Gundungarra** - the upland tribe (probably equivalent to the Bong Bong tribe of the 1830s).

Some local people also refer to the ‘13 Tribes of the South Coast.’

The historical relevance of these divisions is questionable. For example, the adoption of the term ‘Wodi Wodi’ in reference to the Aborigines of central Illawarra is based on the testimony of Lizzy Malone, daughter of a woman of the Shoalhaven tribe, who stated (Ridley, 1875) that Wodi Wodi was the name of the language spoken by the Aboriginal people of Illawarra, from Wollongong to Shoalhaven. At some stage between 1875 and 1983 the term ‘Wodi Wodi’ has been adopted / extended by white researchers to refer to the Aboriginal **people** of Illawarra, along with their language.

Just as the word **Koori** once referred to an Aboriginal man from a specific area of central-west New South Wales, and **Yuin** was used by some of the South Coast people, now Koori is used as a general term throughout the State instead of the more general, and European, **Aborigine**. So also terms such as Wodi Wodi and Thurrawul have been misappropriated by both black and white researchers over the years and their original meaning lost.

The original inhabitants of central Illawarra may have had no specific tribal name, and the term ‘Wodi Wodi’ does not appear in any accounts prior to Ridley's reference of 1875.

It seems more appropriate to denote Aboriginal ‘tribal’ or family groupings according to locality (e.g. Alowrie or Five Island tribe) or original family name as given in the 1832-42 blanket returns (e.g. the Hooka and Timbery families), then to some much later tag assigned by white anthropologists.

The above stated tribal subdivisions are therefore somewhat artificial and meaningless, as it was common for family groups to intermingle and interact along both physical and social boundaries.
For example, the Aboriginal people from the Appin and Cowpastures areas west of the Illawarra escarpment made an annual excursion to Illawarra via the mountain pass at Bulli prior to the 1840s (refer E. Dollahan Papers, Appendix 4), and there was regular communication between the Aborigines of Bong Bong, Kangaroo Valley, Kiama, and the Shoalhaven according to historical accounts.

D.K. Eades (1976) made detailed subdivisions of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines based on knowledge of extinct and extant language patterns. She concluded that the Thuruwal language was spoken throughout the southern Sydney and Botany Bay region, in Illawarra, and south to the Shoalhaven, depending on which author is referred to; whilst Dhurga was spoken south of Shoalhaven. Yet as early as 1796 Matthew Flinders had noted that the language of the Five Islands people varied from that of the natives of Botany Bay.

These divisions of tribes and languages, being artificially imposed by European anthropologists and researchers, have varied considerably amongst authors over the years.

The movement of Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines to Sydney, La Perouse, and south to areas such as Wreck Bay and Wallaga Lake after the 1850s has complicated the issue, such that a language which was once possibly confined to Illawarra has had its borders extended north to Botany Bay and Port Jackson and south to Shoalhaven. More detailed ethnographic and historical analysis will need to be undertaken before we can suggest the true boundaries of the original (pre 1788) Aboriginal languages, and their variations with time. A similar problem is faced with tribal boundaries.
Summary

This work is the first attempt to bring together all available historical information on the Illawarra Aborigines covering the period 1770-1850. It is hoped that in future it will be expanded upon, updated, and discussed, both by white and black historians and descendants of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of Illawarra and the South Coast, as new material becomes available.

It is unfortunate that Europeans have authored or edited the majority of material in this compilation; however theirs is the only physical record which survives to chronicle the history of the local Aboriginal people, due mainly to the widespread destruction of traditional Aboriginal society - wherein history was passed down through dreaming stories, art, artefacts, and songs - and the lack of original documentary records kept by those people. Fortunately Aboriginal culture still flourishes on the far South Coast of New South Wales, with unbroken bonds dating back to the pre 1788 period.

The original white invaders of 1788 and their immediate descendants failed to record the rich history and culture of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia as it existed in the years prior to 1788 and immediately thereafter. So much has now been lost forever.

Despite the best attempts of white civilization to bring about their annihilation, the Aboriginal nation of Australia lives on, both in Illawarra and throughout the land. It is to be hoped that this study will play a part in the rediscovery of aspects of Illawarra Aboriginal culture and heritage.
MAP 4 Illawarra Police District 1841 (Henderson, 1983)
Guide to the Documents

This compilation is a gathering together of historical source material from newspapers, books, official published and unpublished archival records, diaries, and letters referring to the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines. It merely skims the available material, and does not claim to be a definitive collection, for new documents and references are constantly being located.

The material within this work has been arranged roughly chronologically, with later reminiscences placed alongside contemporary accounts where possible, e.g. Alexander Stewart's 1894 reminiscences of an 1828 corroboree are placed under the latter date.

Unpublished manuscript material has been included in preference to published material - to have included both would have been impractical. Some of the manuscript material is also to be found within the appendices.

There has been minimal editing of the original material, apart from the obvious extraction of sections relating to the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, and no deletion of text which may be considered insensitive or controversial in the light of present-day attitudes and events. In most instances relevant extracts only are reproduced from diaries, journals, letters, etc., however in a few cases complete transcripts are given to assist in comprehension.

If any of the material contained in this work offends Aborigines or Europeans, or exhibits ethnocentric bias, the compiler - whilst deeply regretting this - makes no apologies, for he has tried to be as equitable as possible in the presentation of material, and the bias and racism present in many of the accounts lies with the original authors, not with this compiler. The reader is left to make his/her own interpretations and assessment of the worth or accuracy of the text.

The majority of original documents from the period 1770-1850 are presented without comment from the editor, for they speak for themselves - only in regards to the trial for murder of Seth Hawker in 1822 is there any major editorial comment.

As most references from this pre 1850 period are relatively brief, a large percentage of the available material has been included in this compilation. However some substantial works - such as J.P. Townsend's 1848 account of the Aborigines of Ulladulla during the 1830s - have not been included for reasons of space. Nevertheless full references are given to such material.

The large number of important anthropological articles from the period 1870-1920 by workers such as the Reverend William Ridley, A.W. Howitt, and especially R.H. Mathews, are recommended to the reader interested in the society and customs of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines during the latter part of the nineteenth century, at a period when some of the original inhabitants were still living a traditional lifestyle, though it had often been severely corrupted by the whiteman, or could remember life prior to white interference. Unfortunately this material is the only indicator we have of life as the Aborigines of Illawarra knew it prior to the white invasion. Reproduction of the many journal articles and book chapters from this period would come to several hundreds of pages within this compilation. Whilst they are not included, they form an important part of any local study and should be referred to.

Similarly the numerous articles and reports detailing the archaeological studies carried out this century, especially since 1930, are recommended to the reader interested in more than just the history of the local Aboriginal people following the white invasion, as also are the reports of bodies such as the Aborigines Protection Board and Department of Public Instruction (later the Department of Education) describing social conditions this century.

The type of material reproduced over the following pages varies from newspaper reports - which are often the only surviving accounts prior to the 1830s, and also usually full of the most
inflammatory remarks towards local Aborigines, accurately portraying common and extreme European attitudes - through to letters and memoranda from the Governor down to local magistrates and settlers. Much of this latter material is located in official archives and has not previously been revealed to the public.

The other major sources of information from the pre 1850 period are the diaries and journals of visitors to Illawarra and the South Coast, with the most substantial accounts of local native customs and circumstances to be found in the writings of visitors such as the Reverend Harper (1826); the Quakers Backhouse and Walker (1836); Reverend W.B. Clarke (1840); and the reminiscences of Alexander Berry (1838 & 1871).

The later collections of personal papers and reminiscences from around the turn of the century by people such as Alexander Stewart, Archibald Campbell, and Francis McCaffrey are full of lists of native names for Illawarra localities and objects, plus stories of famous Aborigines such as Charley Hooka and Tullimbar; whilst the publications and articles by anthropologists such as Andrew Mackenzie, R.H. Mathews, and the Reverend William Ridley from the same period provide a wealth of information on aspects of local Aboriginal ceremonies and dreaming stories.

Whilst none of the above mentioned documents alone provides a definitive picture of local Aboriginal society, together all these sources blend to reveal a basic outline of the major elements affecting the local Aboriginal people during the period 1788-1850. Unfortunately the more secret and personal aspects of society were not recorded in written form, and are perhaps lost forever, along with so many other aspects of their culture.

Editorial additions and comments within this compilation are signified by square brackets thus:

[

Publications from which quotes or extracts are taken are denoted thus:

{...

where the full reference is presented,

or thus:

(....)

where an abbreviated reference only is given.

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

AONSW Archives Office of New South Wales
HRA Historical Records of Australia
HRNSW Historical Records of New South Wales
IHS Illawarra Historical Society
JRAHS Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society
ML Mitchell Library, Sydney
NLA National Library of Australia, Canberra
Dreaming Stories

of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines

A small number of the Dreaming Stories of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines (also referred to as 'myths and legends' by Europeans) have been published and taken down over the years since the arrival of white men. These stories, long considered juvenile and inconsequential by the non-Aboriginal population, are of great significance both to the Australian Aborigines and our study of their culture, for within them we often find the rules of social and religious behaviour as laid down for various tribes, and descriptions of events in their history.

Those stories reproduced below represent a mere sample of that aspect of the Illawarra and South Coast culture which originally existed. Unfortunately they represent a large portion of those which, to the knowledge of this compiler, have survived in print. Undoubtedly many more exist in the memories of the descendants of the original Illawarra and South Coast people (see Preface).

The majority of stories are from the recordings of white anthropologists taken during the period 1870-1900, with a number also gathered by C.W. Peck in the 1920s and 1930s, and Roland Robinson during the 1950s (see below). The earliest stories in this collection were obtained long after traditional society had been corrupted by the influence of white civilisation.

Some of the stories are only fragments, or have been heavily censored and 'anglicized' by the transcriber; others are summary versions and interpretations. Many have been completely metamorphosed to cater to a white audience, or re-written as childrens stories, with all aspects of Aboriginality removed.

For example, the C.W. Peck stories of 1925 have been given a decided botanical flavour, making reference to Peck's favorite flower - the waratah - wherever possible; whilst those of Roland Robinson from the 1950s have often been transformed into verse.

The range of topics referred to in the stories is wide, dealing with subjects such as mythical beings; the creation of earth and man; life after death; initiation and marriage; plants and animals; totems; and historical events.

Unfortunately few of the stories reproduced below are first hand accounts by Illawarra Aborigines, with only those published by Andrew Mackenzie in 1874 attempting to remain true to the original language and structure. Even more unfortunate is the dislocation of many of the stories from their original locality / environment - an integral part of any Aboriginal narrative - and the failure of many authors to record the name of the narrator or the circumstances and date of the telling. Even where these details are included, the stories are further corrupted by the removal of the narrators from their traditional homelands, such that C.W. Peck was able to record stories of Illawarra and Shoalhaven from his Burragorang Valley informants; and likewise Roland Robinson collected north coast stories from Aborigines residing at Wallaga Lake. In doing so much of the local significance of the narration is lost.

Despite the aforementioned constraints (i.e. dislocation and transformation) of the dreaming stories reproduced over the following pages, they nevertheless point to the richness of Aboriginal
storytelling in Illawarra and along the South Coast, and are included at this point in our study because it is within these narratives that the true history of the local Aboriginal people exists.

The first part of the Dreaming Stories section includes material extracted from the publications of the early anthropologists such as R.H Mathews, A.McKenzie, W.Ridley and A.W. Howitt; and local collectors such as A.Campbell. This is followed by stories published this century by C.W. Peck.

C.W. Peck's Australian Legends

During 1925 and 1933 C.W. Peck published two editions of his book *Australian Legends - Tales handed down from the remotest time by the autochthonous inhabitants of our land* (Sydney 1925; Melbourne 1933), it being a compilation of Aboriginal narratives.

These editions included Aboriginal dreaming stories and reminiscences from areas of New South Wales such as Illawarra, the South Coast, Burragorang Valley, Georges River, Tuggerah Lakes, and the Riverina. The two editions were different, though there was some overlap in the stories included.

Whilst the original narrators were not specifically named by Peck, information within the stories points to their identity, with the majority coming from the Burragorang Valley area, and the remainder from the Murray / Murrumbidgee, and Illawarra / South Coast.

According to Peck, a certain Mr Murdoch of Taralga / Goulburn was originally told some of the 1925 stories 'about sixty years ago', and he in turn passed them on to his son Alex, who was a member of the Burragorang Valley community and supposedly told the stories to Peck. Some of the stories were published by Peck in Sydney journals such as *The Sydney Mail* and possibly *The Bulletin* prior to appearing in the compilations.

Another informant - identified in the 1933 edition - was Ellen, an Aboriginal 'princess' from Illawarra, and a daughter of the famous King Mickey. This was possibly Ellen Anderson who died in 1931. She was most likely responsible for the stories from Illawarra, Appin, and the South Coast, as she had been born at Unanderra.

These stories, like so many other Aboriginal narratives, had obviously been greatly expanded upon and anglicized by Peck and/or the Murdochs, for they contained numerous references to botanical terms and the language is 'flowery' to say the least. Fortunately beneath this weight of words is to be found much of significance to the local Aboriginal cultures.

The following is a list of relevant Aboriginal stories which appeared in the first edition in 1925, along with the new stories from the third edition of 1933. The locality of each story is given where known, whilst those with no locality specified are general stories of relevance to eastern Australia:

1st edition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story Title</th>
<th>Locality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The First Waratah</td>
<td>Burragorang Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Gymea or Gigantic Lily</td>
<td>Campbelltown area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Waratah got its Honey</td>
<td>Burragorang Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the White Waratah became Red</td>
<td>Sherbrooke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Pistels of the Waratah became Firm</td>
<td>Burragorang Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why the Waratah is Firm</td>
<td>George's River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Bush Fire</td>
<td>Taralga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Kangaroo</td>
<td>Yerranderie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Salt Lakes</td>
<td>Burragorang Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting Stars</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why the Petiole of the Waratah grew Long</td>
<td>Mount Tomah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of Peck's Illawarra and South Coast stories are reproduced below.

Roland Robinson's Narratives and Poems

During the 1950s the Australian author and poet Roland Robinson visited the South Coast and recorded a number of Aboriginal dreaming stories and poems from individuals such as Percy Mumbulla of Wallaga Lake.

These stories have been reproduced in Australian magazines and within Robinson's own books such as *Black-feller, White-feller* (1958), *The Man who sold his Dreaming* (1965), *Wandjani* (1968), *Altjeringa* (1970), and *The nearest the White Man gets* (1989).

Those stories of relevance to our study and known to the editor include the following:

* by Percy Mumbulla

The Battle at Wallaga Lake
The Bugeen, the Kangaroo Man
The Doowan, the Two Avengers
The Doolagarl, the Hairy-man
The Bunyip
Abley Wood and the Two Bugeens
The Gold of Billy Bulloo
Uncle Abraham (Minah) and the Dooroots
The Wild Women
Ejenak, the Porcupine
Under the She-oaks
The White Pig, the Porcupine, and the Wonga Pigeon
The Runaway Lovers
Jarangulli
Bees
Captain Cook
The Surprise Attack
Jacky Jacky
The Little People
The Bugeen
The Whalers
Gold and Grog and Pretty Stones

* by other narrators

The Wild Cherry Tree / Billy Bamboo
The Maker of Boomerangs / Adam Cooper
The Bugeen and the Boundary-riders
Mr Wallaby
Bundoola, King of the Sea
Rites of Passage

(Billy Bamboo)
(Malcolm Rivers and Walter Blakeney)
(David Carpenter)
(Bob Andy)
(David Carpenter)
(Walter Blakeney)

Reference should be made to Robinson's publications and his autobiographies for copies of the stories and the circumstances of their telling.

Dreaming Stories reproduced over the following pages include:

1 Arrival of the Thurrawal Tribe in Australia
2 The Hereafter
3 The Spirit of the Fig Tree
4 The Yaroma
5 Wallanthagang
6 Wulthegang
7 The Pleiades
8 Two Women and A Dog
9 Tootawa and Pooloongool
10 Wunbula - the Bat
11 The Story of Bundoola (I)
12 The Story of Bundoola (II)
13 The Story of Bundoola (III)
14 Bundoola and the Birthplace of the South Coast Tribes
15 Mumuga - the Cave Monster
16 Gurungaty - the Water Monster
Dyillagamberra - the Rainmaker
Gurambugang - the Lizard
Kubbugang - the Bat
Merribi - the Thunder
The Three Sisters
The Emu and the Native Companion
Daramulun
Tulugal - the Devil
Mirrirul - the Creator
Dreaming - A Vision of Death
Myths of the Burragorang Tribe
JerraThurawaldtheri
The Nut Gatherers
How the Pheasant and Eel went to Didthul
The Lyre Bird
Mulgani
What Makes the Waves (Arrilla of Northern Illawarra)
Mist and a Fringed Flower
The First Crayfish
The Legend of the Lyrebird and the Kookaburra
Two Waratah Legends (The Black Snake Totem)
Another Legend (The Stars, a Meteor, and Volcanoes)
A Bird Legend (Totems)
Why the Turtle Has No Tail (The Journey After Death)
How the White Waratah became Red
The Black Satin Bird
The Dianella Berry
Why the Waratah is Firm
At Low Tide (Allambee and the Great White Spirit)
The Gigantic Lily and the Waratah
For further dreaming stories from the far South Coast and Victoria refer also Aldo Massola’s *Bunjil’s Cave* (1968).

For a discussion of Australian and local totems refer Mathews (1897), Howitt (1904), Frazer (1910), and Roheim (1925).

**Arrival of the Thurrawal Tribe in Australia**

(The following Illawarra story is taken from R.H. Mathews’ *Folklore of the Australian Aborigines* (1899). It was given to Mathews by an Aborigine from the Shoalhaven area in the 1890s, and describes the arrival of the Aboriginal (Thurrawal) people in Illawarra, landing at the entrance to Lake Illawarra. A variation is also reproduced below in George Brown’s ‘Bundoola and the Birthplace of the South Coast Tribes’ (*Illawarra Mercury*, 1990))

In the remote past all the animals that are now in Australia lived in another land beyond the sea. They were at that time human creatures, and resolved to leave that country in a canoe, and come to the hunting-grounds in which they are at present.

The whale was much larger than any of the rest, and had a canoe of great dimensions; but he would not lend it to any of his fellows, who had small canoes, which were unfit for use far from the land. The other people, therefore, watched in the hope that an opportunity might present itself of the whale leaving the boat, so that they could get it, and start away on their journey; but he always kept a strict guard over it.

The most intimate friend of the whale was the starfish, and he conspired with the other people to take the attention of the whale away from his canoe, and so give them a chance to steal it, and start away across the ocean. So, one day, the starfish said to the whale, “You have a great many lice on your head; let me catch them and kill them for you.” The whale, who had been very much pestered with the parasites, readily agreed to his friend’s kind offer, and tied up his canoe alongside a rock, on which they then went and sat down. The starfish immediately gave the signal to some of the co-conspirators, who soon assembled in readiness to go quietly into the canoe as soon as the whale’s attention was taken off it.

The cleaning of the whale’s head and the assurances on the safety of the canoe went on with much garrulity on the part of the starfish, until the people had rowed off a considerable distance from the shore, and were nearly out of sight. Then the patience of the whale becoming exhausted, he insisted upon having a look at his canoe to make quite sure that everything was right. When he discovered that it was gone, and saw all the people rowing away in it as fast as they could go, he became very angry, and vented his fury upon the starfish, whom he beat unmercifully, and tore him almost to pieces.
Jumping into the water, the whale then swam away after his canoe, and the starfish, mutilated as he was, rolled off the rock, on which they had been sitting, into the water, and lay on the sand at the bottom till he recovered. It was this terrible attack of the whale which gave the starfish his present ragged and torn appearance; and his forced seclusion on the sand under the water gave him the habit of keeping near the bottom always afterwards.

The whale pursued the fugitives, and in his fury spurted the water into the air through a wound in the head received during his fight with the starfish, a practice which he has retained ever since. When the people in the canoe saw him coming after them, the weaker-ones were very much afraid, and said: "He is gaining upon us, and will surely overtake us, and drown us everyone." But the native bear, who was in charge of the oars, said, "Look at my strong arms. I am able to pull the canoe fast enough to make good our escape!" and he demonstrated his prowess by making additional efforts to move more rapidly through the water.

This voyage lasted several days and nights, until at length land was sighted on ahead, and a straight line was made for it. On getting alongside the shore, all the people landed from the canoe sat down to rest themselves. But the native companion, who had always been a great fellow for dancing and jumping about, danced upon the bottom of the canoe until he made a hole in it with his feet, after which he himself got out of it, and shoved it a little way from the shore, where it settled down in the water, and became the small island now known as Gan-man-gang, near the entrance of Lake Illawarra into the ocean.

When the whale arrived shortly afterwards, and saw his canoe sunk close to the shore, he turned back along the coast, where he and his descendants have remained ever since.

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The Hereafter

{The following Shoalhaven story is taken from R.H. Mathews' *Folklore of the Australian Aborigines* (1899), and describes the circumstances of Aboriginal life after death}

About three-quarters of a mile north-westerly from the Coolangatta homestead, the residence of the late Mr Alexander Berry, is a remarkable rock on the eastern side of the Coolangatta mountain. This rock slopes easterly with an angle of about 30 degrees from the horizon, and on its face are six elongated depressions, caused by the weathering away of the softer portions of the stone. These places are suggestive of having been worn by the feet of many persons having used them, like the depressions worn in pavements by much traffic. This has given rise to a superstition among the Aborigines that these marks were made in the rocks by the feet of the spirits of many generations of natives sliding from the upper to the lower side of it. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the first two depressions are larger than the rest; the next pair on the left of them are somewhat smaller; and the last pair, further to the left are smaller still.

The Aboriginal legend is that the larger marks were made by the feet of the men; the medium size by the women; and the smaller by the children. One of the old blackfellows, who was with me when I visited this place, stated that always after a death in the camp, this rock presented the appearance of having been used. If the deceased was a man, the large marks looked fresh; if a woman, the middle pair; and if a child, the smaller slides showed indications of someone having slipped along them.

It was from this rock that the shade of the native took its final departure from its present hunting grounds, and this was accomplished in the following manner:- a very long stem of a cabbage tree, imperceptible to human vision, reached from some unknown land across the sea to this rock. When a blackfellow died, his soul went in the night to the top of the rock, and standing there for a
few moments, looked out towards the sea, which is about two miles distant. Then he slid down the hollow grooves, one foot resting in each, and when he got to the lower side of the rock he could distinguish the end of the long pole, on which he jumped, and walked away along it to the sea-coast, and onwards across the expanse of water.

The pole continued over the sea, and in following it along the traveller came to a place where the flames of fire seemed to rise out of a depression in the water. If he had been a good tribesman, he would be able to pass through the flames unscathed; but if he had been a bad man, who had broken the tribal laws, he might get scorched and fall into the sea, or perhaps he would get through it more or less singed.

After a while the end of the pole was reached at the other side of the sea. The traveller then continued on along a track through the bush, and after a time met a crow, who said: "You frightened me," and thereupon threw a spear at him, but missed him, and the man kept on his way, the crow calling him bad names, and making a great noise.

At another place he came to where a large native fig-tree was growing, and two men where there. One of these men was standing on the ground, and was some relative of the traveller; but the other man, who was up in the tree, was a vindictive person, and would kill him if he got the chance. He asked the traveller's friend to bring him under the tree, but in doing so the friend warns him to take care. The enemy up the fig-tree is gathering figs, and is squeezing them together around a quartz crystal, which has the effect off causing the lumps of figs to increase in size and weight. He then calls out to the traveller to stand out in a clear space, so that he can throw him the bundle of fruit. The pilgrim, however, suspects his evil intentions, and refuses to do this, but walks to a scrubby place under the tree, and being hungry, stoops down to pick up some of the figs which have fallen to the ground, having been shaken off by the wind. The enemy in the tree then throws the bundle of figs at him, which by this time has changed into a large stone, but he misses his mark, owing to the scrub and undergrowth obstructing his view.

The traveller now resumed his journey, and the track along which he was going passed through a narrow, rocky, gorge, with scrub growing on either side, in which were some king parrots of gigantic size, who tried to bite him with their strong beaks, but he defended himself with his shield, and succeeded in getting through the pass. Upon this the parrots set up a great chattering, similar to that made by these birds in their haunts.

On proceeding farther on he comes to a forest where there are plenty of trees but no under-scrub, and the grass is green. There are plenty of kangaroos and other native animals of various kinds. Presently he reaches a place where there are large numbers of black people of all ages, amongst whom are some young men playing ball in a clear place near the camp. There the traveller sees his relatives and all his friends who have died before him. He sits down a little way from the people, and when his relations see him, they come and welcome him, and conduct him into the camp, where they paint and dress him in the same way that he was accustomed to ornament his person in his own country. After that, great shouting and corroboreeing is indulged in, and he plays amongst the rest.

Presently an old, dirty-looking blackfellow, with sores upon his body, comes near and calls out, "Who came when that noise was made just now?" They answer him that it was only the young people playing about. The ugly old man cannot come into the camp because there is a watercourse defining the boundary of his hunting grounds, beyond which he dare not pass. If he were to see the new arrival he might point a bone at him, or work some other injury, by means of sorcery. This is why the people give him an evasive answer, on receiving which he returns to his own camp, which is a little distance farther on.

If the person who died had been greedy or quarrelsome, or had always been causing trouble in the tribe, he would meet with a different reception at the end of the journey. In order to describe this, it will be necessary to take the reader back to that part of the story where the crow threw the spear.

If the traveller has been a troublesome fellow, the spear pierces him and the crow comes and picks mouthfuls of flesh out of him, and knocks him about; after which he pulls out the spear and starts
the man on his journey again. When he reaches the place where the large fig-tree is growing, there is no friend there to warn him of danger, so he walks carelessly under the tree, and commences to pick up and eat the ripe figs which have fallen to the ground. The enemy up in the tree watches his opportunity, and throws the bundles of figs, which he has changed to stone by his jugglery, down upon the traveller, bruising him severely and stretching him almost lifeless on the ground. The man then comes down out of the tree and shakes the traveller, and stands him on his feet and starts him on his way, bruised and bleeding from the wounds, and scarcely able to walk.

When at last he reaches the forest of green trees and the camp of his countrymen, the people shout to him that they don’t want him there, and make signs to him to go on. The scabby old blackfellow before referred to then makes his appearance, and asked the usual question: "Who came when that noise was made?" The people answer him that a stranger came; whereupon, the old man calls the traveller to him, and takes him away to his own camp. The wounds made by those clever old wizards, the crow and the man in the fig-tree, never heal properly, and give the injured man a scabby and dirty appearance ever afterwards.

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The Spirit of the Fig Tree

{The following story is taken from a Thurrawal legend initially published by A.MacKenzie (1874) and later by the Reverend William Ridley (1875), and P.Turbet (1989). It was originally told to Mackenzie by an Aborigine of Shellharbour. Another more risqué version of this story follows on, published by R.H. Mathews in 1904 and re-titled 'The Yaroma'}

A man was once gathering wild figs in a net bag and basket made from bangalay bark. When these were full he cut some more bark and made a new basket. As he was filling it, a yaroma, hiding among the fig tree’s buttresses, seized the man and tried to swallow him. But because the man was tall, the yaroma couldn’t fit him all in. The man’s feet were sticking out of the spirit’s mouth. It hopped to the water and had a drink but still could not completely swallow the victim.

The big man made the spirit nauseous so it spat him out. It decided to go and seek help from other yaroma spirits but, before departing, had to make sure that the man was dead. The yaroma tickled him and watched for any movement, but the man lay still. It set off but, worried that the man was feigning death, came back and continued tickling. Leaving again, and this time travelling a long way, the spirit once more returned to tickle and check for signs of life. Finally convinced that the man had been killed, it went off into the mountains.

The man, seeing his chance, leaped up and ran toward the ocean but, before he could reach it, the yaroma returned and gave chase. With the spirit hot on his heels, the man jumped into the sea and swam out to an island. The yaroma walked along the beach and onto the rocks, calling on the man to come back. 'Come here', he shouted. Eventually the man’s friends arrived, armed with spears, and the man paddled to shore in a canoe. ‘The spirit is this way’ the man said. They searched for the yaroma but it had disappeared into a hole in the rocks.

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The Yaroma

{Reproduced from R.H. Mathews’ ‘Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 1904, pp.361-3. This tale is a re-telling of the ‘Spirit of the Figtree’ story which was initially published by A.Mackenzie in 1874}
The Yaroma is a creature closely resembling a man, but of greater stature, and having hair all over the body. Its mouth is large, which enables it to swallow a blackfellow whole, without mastication. There are generally two of these monsters together, and they stand back to back, so they can see in every direction. Their method of locomotion is by a series of long jumps, and at every jump their genital appendages strike the ground, making a loud, sudden noise, like the report of a gun, or the cracking of a stockwhip.

Yarromas have short legs and large, long feet, of a different shape to the feet of human beings. When one of these monsters is heard in the vicinity of a native camp during the evening, the people keep silent and rub their genitalia with their hands, and puff or spit in his direction. Some of the headmen or doctors shout out the name of some locality a long way off, and the Yaroma is supposed to depart to that place. If they cannot be dispersed by this means, the men take sticks which have been lighted in the fire - a stick in each hand - and strike them together to throw out sparks. This usually causes the Yaroma to disappear into the ground, making a flash of light as he does so. If a man be pursued by a Yaroma his only means of escape is to jump into a waterhole and swim about, because these creatures cannot wet their feet. They have long teeth which they sharpen on rocks in the high ranges; and some of the old men aver that they know of rocks where there still remain marks of this grinding.

On one occasion, a blackfellow went under a large fig tree to pick up ripe figs, which had fallen to the ground, when a Yaroma, which was hidden in a hollow place in the base of the tree, rushed out and catching hold of the man, swallowed him head first. It happened that the victim was a man of unusual length, measuring more than a foot taller than the majority of his countrymen. Owing to this circumstance, the Yaroma was not able to gulp him farther than the calves of his legs, leaving his feet protruding from the monster's mouth, thus keeping it open and allowing the air to descend to the man's nostrils, which saved him from suffocation.

The Yaroma soon began to feel a nausea similar to what occurs when a piece of fishbone or other substance gets stuck in one's throat. He went to the bank of the river close by and took a drink of water to moisten his throat, thinking by this means to suck into his stomach the remainder of his prey, and complete his repast. This was all to no purpose, however, for, becoming sick, the Yaroma vomited the man out on the dry land. He was still alive, but feigned to be dead, in order that he might perhaps have a chance of escape. The Yaroma then started away to bring his mates to assist him to carry the dead man to their camp. He wished, however, to make quite sure that the man was dead before he left him, and after going but a short distance, he jumped back suddenly, but the man lay quite still. The Yaroma got a piece of grass and tickled the man's feet, and then his nose, but he did not move a muscle. Finally he got a bull-dog ant and made it sting the man's penis, but he never flinched. The Yaroma, thinking he was certainly dead, again started away for help, and when he got a good distance off, the man, seeing his opportunity, got up and ran with all his speed into the water close by, and swam to the opposite shore and so escaped.

Wallanthagang

(Reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes.....' (1904, pp.363-4). A different account of Wallanthagang was also recorded by Archibald Campbell between 1899-1902, from a Shoalhaven Aborigine)

Wallanthagang was a small man-like creature, but very thick-set and strong. He wore a lot of pretty feathers in his hair, and carried a large bundle of light spears. He obtained his food by catching parrots which he speared in the feet, so that their bodies might not be damaged for eating. He frequented the thick tea-tree scrubs and brush in the swamps near Cambewarra mountain, in the
Nowra district, because parrots are usually very numerous about there. He had a bag slung over his shoulder in which he carried these birds. Only one of these men are ever seen at the same time, and his camp fire has never been observed, nor any place where he had been camping or resting. The clever old blackfellows can sometimes hear one of these animals calling out yau! yau! yauh!

If a blackfellow met Wallanthagang in the bush he would not speak, unless first addressed. He would then imitate what the man said, as if trying to learn the language. The blackfellow would probably think this boy-like personage was poking fun at him, and give Wallanthagang a clout. He would then rush at the blackfellow, and catching hold of him, throw him up several feet into the air, and let him fall heavily upon the ground. This would be repeated many times in quick succession, until the man became very sick at the stomach and quite helpless. Wallanthagang would now carry the man to a bull-dog ants' nest, and lay him down on top of it, so that these insects might sting him until he recovered.

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Wulthegang

{On three occasions between 1899-1902 Archibald Campbell was given snippets of information about the mysterious creature called 'Wulthegang' who inhabited the Cambewarra Mountain. His informant was Buthring, a Shoalhaven native from Coolangatta, who was very reluctant to reveal details of this mysterious being. The first account was recorded on 18 October 1899, in reply to Campbell's question regarding the native name of Cambewarra Mountain}

Cambewarra Mountain

The native name for this he said, was not the above, but "Gumbeengang". And here he volunteered in intense earnestness, to launch forth in superstitious legend - He said the mountain was so named on account of a "little hairy man" who lived in a cave situated near the top of the range. The "little man" had lived there from time immemorial, lived there still, and would do for all time. He did not eat bread or any such things, as ordinary blackfellows, and white fellows did, but ate bush possums, which existed in the locality for his use. He (Buthring) had never seen the little man, or his cave, but his father had, and all the old blackfellows, passed away, knew everything about him.

The cave was carved all over by the little man, who passed his time doing such carving which was the original pattern that used to be worked on the inside of the best made possum rugs manufactured by the blacks in years gone by - that was to say, within the early days of settlement by Europeans in the district. He said all old residents would remember the patterns that the blacks used to trace on the inside of the possum rugs, many years ago, which patterns he gave with authoritative earnestness as having been designed by the "little man" and obtained from him. And he was quite emphatic about the said cave and little man being on the mountain top still.

[On 14 February 1900, Archibald Campbell was given further information re Wulthegang by Buthring:

The Little Man of the Cambewarra Mountain (he told me about before) he says is about the height of a table, and his colour "quarter-caste" - blacker than a white man, & whiter than a half-caste.

[The final version of the Wallanthagang story was given to Campbell on 18 May 1902, again by Buthring:
"Wulthegang" is the name of a small mysterious Aborigine residing in a cave on the highest point of Cambewarra Mountain range - the sandstone capped summit southwestward of Mr Graham's residence, on the Berry - Kangaroo Valley Rd.

Wulthegang is only about two feet high, but is so abnormally strong that he could throw any number of men about as he pleased and kill them at will, as he always did when such came in his way. He has several small "Jins" - about his own height, and they have piccaninnies, but neither Jins nor the latter are ever seen - nor Wulthegang himself. He always disappears into his cave when approached. But if he did not do so all would be killed by him that came in his way.

He has been in the cave from time immemorial, and will remain there for all future time.

In olden times the Aborigines say there were another lot of small wild Blacks about forty or fifty miles up the Shoalhaven River country above Nowra. They were called "Jangbeegang". They were about the same stature as Wulthegang and his Jins. Unlike him and his family they were mere wild Blacks - not mysterious beings.

Buthring gives the same name "Jangbeegang" to the Cambewarra Mountain over which the Nowra - Kangaroo Valley [road] passes.

The Aboriginal name for the high sand-stone cap of the mountain in which Wulthegang resided was "Boorrul". He carved pictures on the face of the rocks, quite expertly, and his carvings were there to be seen by any person visiting the place.

These particulars are additional to what Buthring related to me some time ago, on this mysterious subject. He becomes excited when speaking about it, and it would seem to me that he has a dread of giving the name of the "little man". He wanted to know if I had an intention to "catch him", & warned me that he could kill him (Buthring) & myself & many more.

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The Pleiades

{The Pleiades are two stars seen in the southern skies. The following version of the Thurrawal story recording their origin was recorded by Andrew Mackenzie (1874, p.260)}

The Pleiades - A Thurrawal Story

The moon came, the moon was enamoured, came to the Mullymoola damsels.

They were catching kailong, were roasting with hot stones piaming (bulbous reed that grows in swamps) and kaioung (a small kind of fish), at Poolinjerunga, near Kan.

They went to Jindoula. The Southron heard them.

Where are they singing about me? I hear them singing about me in the gully; let me have pipe clay to corroboree; sing that song; let me dance. I'll spear you in the eye.

They go under the ground - they went up to the sky; the sisters became stone.

[The following adaptation of the story was published by Reverend William Ridley (1875, p.146):}
One day the Mullymoola sisters were at Poolinjirunga, near Kan, catching kyoong (a kind of fish) and were roasting them with hot stones. Also cooking in the fire were piuming bulbs. The Moon, attracted by their beauty, approached the young women but they heard him coming and went off to Jindowla.

He followed and heard them singing the Southron but could not see them.

‘Where are they singing about me?’ he cried.

‘I hear them about me, singing in the gully. Let me have pipeclay to corroboree. Sing that song; let me dance.’

He threatened to spear them in the eye if they did not show themselves, but the sisters went into the ground and then up into the sky. They had turned to stone.

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Two Women and A Dog

{According to P. Turbet (1989, pp.124-5) This anecdote, recorded by Mathews in the Illawarra, is obviously a remnant of a longer story. It tells of the formation of some prominent rocks in the hills between Kangaroo Valley and the sea’}

Two women were out in the bush gathering burrawang seeds and putting them into net bags, kurama. During the day they met a dog who was carrying a mullet, murra-murra. They asked him where he had caught it and as he answered, the women, their bags of burrawang seeds and their yamsticks (gaulang) were turned to stone.

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Tootawa and Pooloongool

{This story was recorded in Tharumba (spoken on the Shoalhaven River) by Andrew Mackenzie of the Shoalhaven. It was related to him by Hugany, an Aborigine of the Wandandian tribe, and was published by the Reverend William Ridley (1875, pp.143-4) and reproduced in the following form in P. Turbet (1989, p.125)}

A man named Tootawa retrieved a kangaroo from an oven-hole where it had been cooking. He carried it over his shoulder to the camp and roasted it there. He gave a piece to his dog and then carried the largest portion to Pooloongool, his father-in-law.

Pooloongool complained that the meat was rotten. His son, who was also in camp, said, ‘Hush Pooloongool, your son-in-law will hear you.’ But it was to late, Tootawa had heard. They all decided to go to Binyara to get some more meat so everyone got into the canoes and paddled down to the sea.

Tootawa was very angry about what Pooloongool had said. He jumped about with rage - jump, jump, jump. He split his tongue and he spat the blood west, east, south and north.
The west wind sprang up. The rain came too. They said 'Oh dear! Pooloongoool, you must try to get ashore with us; you said a bad word to your son-in-law this morning about the meat. Look at the rain and the wind!' Pooloongoool's canoe was swamped and he was in danger of drowning.

The Pelican said, 'Pooloongoool, come here. I'll put you in my canoe. Get along! I'll put you in my canoe.' Pooloongoool shouted 'Put me into the canoe! Put me into the canoe!'

He got into the Pelican's canoe and they made it safely to the shore. The Musk Duck was bailing water out of his canoe - dip, dip, dip, dip, drip, drip, drip, drip. He paddled to the shore flapping and splashing all the way. The Black Cormorant and Pied Cormorant dived under the water to escape the tempest. They dive for fish now and feed in the water all day long.

There was no wind in former times. Tootawa brought all the wind that now blows from the west, south, east and north. It blows now all the while.

Wunbula the Bat

{This tale was initially recorded in Tharumba (spoken on the Shoalhaven River) by Mr Andrew Mackenzie of the Shoalhaven. It was related to him by Noleman, an Aborigine of the Wandalandian tribe, and was published by the Reverend William Ridley (1875, pp.144-5) and reproduced in the following form in P. Turbet (1989, pp.125-6)}

Wunbula the Bat and his two wives, Murrumbool the Brown Snake and Moondtha the Black Snake, went from Columbri, passed Collijaga, to Monga, set up camp and went looking for wombats. When they found a burrow Wunbula and his dog crawled deep inside while Murrumbool and Moondtha waited. One woman said to the other 'Our husband makes us tired taking us about; we'll block up the mouth of the hole and go back to camp.'

Wunbula went far into the hole, and when he came back found he was trapped. 'They have shut me up, Murrumbool and Moondtha,' he said. But soon he heard a fly buzzing and, carrying the dog under his arm, followed the insect a long way through the tunnel until it escaped through a little hole. He enlarged the hole, crawled out and returned to camp.

'Let's go for ant larvae, women,' he said. They set off but it was hot and Wunbula suggested that they have a swim. They walked over to the creek bank and he said, 'Come on. Let's bathe - you on one side, you on the other and me in the middle.' There were barbed spears sticking out of the creek bottom on each side and as the women got into the water they were impaled. They went up into the sky to become stars in the Munowra (part of Canis Major) and Wunbula, their husband, went up to.

The Story of Bundoola (I)

{This tale was recorded by A.Mackenzie (1874, pp.258-61), who was given it in a number of versions - including the following in English by Bimmoon of the Ulladulla tribe}
A good while ago a black fellow named Bundoola lived at Bundarwa, on the north arm of Jervis Bay. He was murraori, long and big with robust arms, like a tree with its limbs. He lived in a big cave, yerrowa. If anyone goes to the cave, the waters of the sea will cover the place.

He had with him two wives, their four children, of which three by a former husband, and the mother of one of the wives. He did not treat the children well. He used to give them for food, shark, stingaree, kooroodthoo, and nijoolodjong, the two latter fish resembling eels and stingarees. The mothers used to tell the children not to eat the trash, but throw it away.

They came from a place called Banboro, in the mountains near Jammeroo - Bundoola used to boast to his wives of his expertise in catching fish. One morning he went out as usual, in his canoe, leaving wives, mother-in-law, and children in the camp. The sea was smooth and the weather fine.

He was very successful in his fishing. He had a very long fish-spear, measuring about twenty feet, called poonjerry. He shouted to his wives to tell his mother-in-law how skilful he was.

"You watch me, you watch me," he said. They signified assent.

The women began to talk to one another about the foolishness of remaining with a man who treated them so ill, and the favourableness of the opportunity of running away. They fled with the children and all their things.

Bundoola still kept fishing, and occasionally calling out to them. He heard them answering him, as he thought; but he was deceived. What he heard was the noise made by the morat, or two trees touching and rubbing against one another when agitated by the wind.

At last, having filled his canoe with fish, he thought it was time to leave off fishing and come ashore. As soon as the canoe touched the sand, he shouted to his wives to help him to draw it up with its load on the beach.

The sound of the morat, just then repeated, made him think that his orders were attended to. At a loss, however, to account for the delay in the women's coming, he went to the camp and found it empty. He cooeyed again, and again heard the cry of the morat. He followed the direction of the sound, until it brought him in sight of the artifice by which he had been deceived.

He was at first furious with rage, but having picked up the tracks of the fugitives, followed the trail, weeping as he went along. The tracks led him to Burrier. He carried a canoe with which to cross the river, and left it at Yalwal, where it can yet be seen fossilised. Thence he went to Kangargraon in quest of the runaways. He followed the river up to Noorunmaia.

Whenever he fell in with a wallaby or paddymelon, he would imagine it was one of the party he was in search of, and call out, "Stop, come to me, my child, my wife."

From Noorunmaia he tracked them to Banboro, where they were encamped with their friends.

Approaching the camp, Bundoola gave the customary cooey. The camp was all on alert. "Ay, ay, here's the master, the villain, coming."

Bundoola, as usual with visitors from another tribe, sat down a little way off. His wives brought him fire, and went back to the camp. He brushed out the fire, pretending that it had gone out of itself. His wives brought him a burning brand, and this time he kindled a good blaze. The women remained with him.

Next morning there was to be a great kangaroo hunt. The women said to their relatives, "these children are nearly poisoned to death with the carrion given them to eat by their father." One of the children was Bundoola's own, a boy; three, a boy and two girls, belonged to a man who was dead.

The tribe called to Bundoola to light a fire and make a spear for the hunt. He was not long in making a capital spear. The hunters betook themselves to a long point, and killed a great many
kangaroos. Bundoola distinguished himself by the distance at which he struck his game. He did not want to go nearer than three hundred yards to be sure of his mark. Fifteen kangaroos, the result of the morning's sport, were put into the ovens of earth and hot stones. After the feast his connections told him they would next day show him his wives country, what a fine territory it was, and how well stocked with game and native honey.

During this excursion, as the party stood on the edge of a cliff, the old men gathered about Bundoola, and pushed him over the precipice. He fell a great way, but was not killed; so they let down a long vine for him to lay hold of, and drew him up to the top. Just as he stretched out his hand to catch hold of the summit, one of them severed the vine with an amubuga, and down he fell again to the bottom, this time completely crushed.

"Yenaunga, we are going away; you sit down there dead; warragul eat you, and hawk eat you, and fly eat you; you are too much of a rogue."

Bundoola dead, dreamt of going back to his own place. As he journeyed south, he tried the different caves in the cliffs, but found them all too diminutive for his comfort, until he got back to Bundarwa. He turned himself in his place of abode, and sat down with his arms extended, and there he sits petrified to this day.

The Story of Bundoola (II)

{This version of the Bundoola story was recorded by A.Mackenzie (1874, p.257) from Bimmoon, of the Ulladulla tribe}

I go fishing, I am going to spear fish; my canoe, my fish spear.
What a fine calm sea. I'll paddle over there to the surf at the rock.
I'll go to the bush, the sea is too rough.
I'll paddle out to sea again.
Let us run away, because bad, nasty fish (are what he gives you, understood).
Let us run away, children, we'll leave him when he goes out far.
He follows them.
Where are you? hilloa!
I hear them over there, I must go thither. There they are, the Southerners, says he, that's our brother-in-law coming.
Let us go, let us make the spear ready; all ready; you are good marksman, you wait here, because this is the path that the kangaroo takes his road.
Let us go, brother-in-law, you'll see you wife's country, you'll see the great precipice.
Bundoola's wife belongs to that place.
You come close to the edge, you stop here.
They shove him over a good way; kill him dead.

Rope, you catch hold of the rope, vine.

He comes up the long way to the top.

Cut the rope, serve you right, you dead now.

This was at Banboro.

I'll go home to my place, this place is too rough. I'll go and try another place.

I'll go a little further.

This is a good habitation. I'll stop here at Bundarwa.

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The Story of Bundoola (III)

{This version of the Bundoola story was recorded by A. Mackenzie (1874, pp. 257-8) from Thooritgal of the Ulladulla tribe}

Blackfellow came from southward.

We'll go and fish.

Oh, calm, very smooth!

He jumped into the canoe.

You see me? Yes.

We'll go, because he gives you bad fish. We have left Bundoola.

Hilloa! there they are, the southerners.

Fetch us a firestick. Here! It has gone out!

Let us go hunt: mine (spear) is ready.

You stop here, because the game runs this way.

There they are, there they are, Bundoola.

Whizz-z-z!

Our brother-in-law has speared him. We'll take the meat over there.

Let us roast the meat.

Look, look, look, brother-in-law! Have a look at the place belonging to your wife.
Go a little close, brother-in-law, go a little closer to the bank.
Oh dear! my canoe and fish-spear all lying there perishing.
Here it is brother-in-law; you catch hold.
Oh dear! it has broken. Oh dear! my two-pronged spear and tea-tree javelin!
Here, brother-in-law, catch hold again.
Let us go to the camp.
Where is he?
I don't know.
Let us go hence to Banwera.

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**Bundoola and the Birthplace of the South Coast Tribes**

(The following story, taken from the *Illawarra Mercury* of 7 July 1990, was given by George Brown of Wreck Bay. It contains elements of the Bundoola story and tells of the significance of Beecroft Peninsula, Jervis Bay, and the origin of the 13 tribes of the South Coast)

Jervis Bay, said George, is a place he knew before he arrived. Beecroft is central to the Bay's Aboriginal history.

"As an Aboriginal person it (Beecroft) is one of the most important parts of our history," George said.

"This is the birthplace of the 13 tribes of the South Coast.

When the creator Mirrigaal made the earth from the dust of the stars, the Rainbow Serpent and Bundoola, the rain spirit, made the rain and storms. And the Rainbow Serpent crawled across the land and created the rivers and lakes.

Bundoola was the great rain spirit, and this was his home," George said.

Then from the dust of the earth Mirrigaal formed the spirits of the birds, fish, animals and peoples of the world. He took the dust of the earth and gave everything its form and substance. Therefore the earth is our mother," George explained.

Bundoola had 13 wives, the mothers of the 13 tribes of the South Coast. But Bundoola was not that easily stated. He tried to take a 14th wife, offending both the spirits and the elders who called a meeting to decide his fate.

"They condemned him to death," George said, "and he was thrown off the cliffs at Beecroft into what they call the Devil's Hole."
Mumuga - the Cave Monster

{The following Thurrawal story is reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes....' (1904, p.345)}

Mumuga is another fabled monster of the Thurrawal, possessing great strength and residing in caves in mountainous country. He has very short arms and legs, with hair all over his body but none on his head. He cannot run very fast, but when he is pursuing a blackfellow he flatulates all the time as he runs, and the abominable smell of the ordure overcomes the individual, so that he is easily captured. If the person who is attacked has a fire stick in his hand, the stink of Mumuga has no effect upon him.

Gurungaty - the Water Monster

{The following Thurrawal story is reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes....' (1904, p.345)}

Gu-ru-ngaty is the name of an aquatic monster among the Thurrawal and Gundungarra tribes. He resides in deep water-holes, and would drown and eat strange blacks, but would not harm his own people. He usually climbed a tree near the water, from which he kept a look out. If he saw a stranger approaching, he slid down and dived into the water, without making a splash, or leaving any ripples on the surface. As soon as the individual began to drink, he was caught by Gurungaty.

Dyillagamberra - the Rainmaker

{The following South Coast story is reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes....' (1904, pp.350-1)}

The natives of the south-east coast of New South Wales have a legend that a mystic personage named Dyillagamberra once lived among them. When he went away from them he travelled up the Tuross River, and at short intervals dug holes or springs, some on the sides of hills, and others on the tops. This was to secure a supply of water for his people, and the waterholes still remain. He made these lagoons and springs all the way till he got to a mountain the natives call Barrity-burra at the head of the Tuross River.

There is a deep lagoon or large waterhole at the foot of the mountain, said to contain all kinds of fish which frequent either the sea or the fresh water. In this lagoon there is plenty of nyiwun (congevoi) attached to the rocks around the margin or projecting above the surface of the water. A large rock overhangs one side of the lagoon, and away in one of its dark corners is the camping place of Dyillagamberra, who lives upon fish and congevoi. On the hillside, above the waterhole,
the ground is strewn with different kinds of shells, such as oyster shells, cockle shells, mussel shells and the like.

In time of drought, if two or three old men go to this lagoon and ask Dyillagamberra to make rain, he pours immense quantities of water out of the hole, and causes a flood in the Tuross River, accompanied by great rain. When asking Dyillagamberra to cause showers, the old men go through certain ceremonial incantations, and throw a stone into the lagoon to produce a surface ripple. They also mention the locality and the people affected by the drought. Sometimes the rain comes so suddenly that the people have to seek shelter in caves, or in hollow trees, or under large logs. Occasionally the showers are accompanied by hail.

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Gurambugang - the Lizard

(The following Thurrawal story is reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes.....' (1904, p.346))

Gurambugang is the Thurrawal name of a small, smooth-skinned dark-coloured lizard seen among rocks and about logs. Women and children are forbidden to injure this animal. If a man gets a piece of grit, an insect, or other irritating substance in his eye, he catches the lid in his finger and thumb and moves it up and down, opening and shutting the eye, repeating in a singing tone:

Bindi, bindi, gurambugang
Dill, dill, dill!

The meaning is, "Wake up, wake up, gurambugang" - dill being merely a request to the injured eye to open. The man continues to repeat these words and moving the eyelid, till the object falls out of the eye.

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Kubbugang - the Bat

(The following Thurrawal story is reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes.....' (1904, p.351))

If children throw sticks, stones, or any missile at a bat, Kubbugang, it will cause their thumbs to become short. If they point at that animal, to show its location to anyone, they must point with the thumb, and not with the finger.

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Merribi - the Thunder

(The following Thoorga story is reproduced from R.H. Mathews' 'Ethnological Notes.....' (1904, p.347))
If very bad thunder and lightning occur during the night, the old men hold burning sticks in their hands and call out to Merribi, the thunder, to go away to another place which they name, and request him to take the lightning with him as a torch, to show him light to fish for bulundyulung, a small black fish.

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The Three Sisters

(The following story is taken from Aldo Massola's *The Aborigines of South-Eastern Australia* (1971, p.42). It describes the formation of an unusual group of rocks known as the Three Sisters, located on the New South Wales south coast near Narooma)

Long ago women were not allowed to converse with dogs. Three sisters disobeyed this rule. They met a dog carrying a fish in his mouth and, full of curiosity, they asked him where he had got it from. The minute the dog began to answer, the sisters were turned into three rocks.

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The Emu and the Native Companion

(The following story is taken from Aldo Massola's *The Aborigines of South-Eastern Australia* (1971, p.43). This common tale from south eastern Australia describes the rivalry between the emu and the native companion)

At one time these two large birds were great friends; but one day, when they met for their customary walk together, discord arose.

Mrs Emu had forgotten her yamstick, and when it was her turn to cook her share of the yams for their meal, Mrs Native Companion would not lend her hers. Mrs Emu first used one foot and then the other as fire-sticks, but having scorched them black, she next used her wings. They were burnt off, so she used her bill, and that is why it is black also.

Naturally, Mrs Emu was most upset and resolved to avenge herself on Mrs Native Companion.

Next time the two erstwhile friends met, they had their children with them. The two families separated to gather edible roots. Mrs Emu hid all her children except two, and when she again met Mrs Native Companion she told her how free she felt with only two children. When Mrs Native Companion asked what had happened to the others, Mrs Emu said she had cooked and eaten them; and that they were much better than roots. Mrs Native Companion then cooked and ate all her children, with the exception of two. This is why the native companion lays only two eggs at a time.

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Daramulun

(The following description of Daramulun is adapted from Aldo Massola's *The Aborigines of South-Eastern Australia* (1971, p.36))
Daramulun, son of Baiami, is the principal deity of the south coast tribes of New South Wales.

Baiami created the rivers, mountains, and the landscape; then men, then women. He gave each man two wives, and taught men to make spears to spear kangaroos and women how to gather edible roots. Then he gave the tribes their laws.

Daramulun, his son, was put in charge of all his father’s creation and punished men if they broke the laws. In time his popularity eclipsed that of his father, and his figure was cut in trees on ceremonial grounds.

[Peter Turbet (1989), gives the following account of Daramulan, or Daramulun:

A man’s spirit went up to Daramulan when he died. Thunder and the sound of the bullroarer, which mimicked thunder, were believed to be his voice. A likeness of Daramulan, carved on a tree at an initiation ceremony, show an anthropomorphic figure with two horns on his head and a large penis.

Myths about Daramulan were sacred and were only to be heard by initiated men, although women probably knew something about them too.

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Tulugal - the devil

[The following story from Moruya was recorded by Horatio Hale (1846, pp.111-2) during a visit to New South Wales in 1839-40. It is possible that the narrator was interviewed in Sydney]

.....At the Muruya River the devil is called Tulugal. He was described to us, by a native, as a black man of great stature, grizzled with age, who has very long legs, so that he soon overtakes a man, but very short arms, which brings the contest nearest an equity.

This goblin has a wife who is much like himself, but still more feared, being of a cruel disposition, with a cannibal apatite, especially for young children.

It would hardly be worth while to dwell upon these superstitions, but that they seem to characterise so distinctly the people, at once timid, ferocious, and stupid, who have invented them...

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Mirrirul - the Creator

[The following story was recorded by Reverend William Ridley (1878, pp.265-6) from Lizzy Malone, whose mother was a Shoalhaven Aborigine]

They say that "Mirrirul" made all things. Their old men have told them that there is, beyond death, a large tree, on which Mirrirul stands to receive them when they die. The good he takes up to the sky, the bad he sends to another place to be punished.
Mrs Malone remembers when a little child, hearing the women in the camp say to disobedient children, to deter them from being naughty,

Mirrirul wirrin minin
Mirrirul will not allow it.

Dreaming - A Vision of Death

(The following story was recorded by Reverend William Ridley (1878, p.266) from Lizzy Malone, daughter of a Shoalhaven Aborigine)

Mrs Malone's aunt, her mother's sister, a pure Aboriginal, was once in a trance for three days. At the end of that time her brother or husband (Mrs Malone's uncle) let off a gun; on which she awoke out of the trance. She then told them she had seen a long path, with fire on both sides of it. At the end of this path stood her father and mother, waiting for her. As she went on, they said to her,

"Mary Ann, what brought you here?" she said "I don't know, I was dead."

Her mother said to her, "you go back."

She saw it all quite plain.

Stories of the Burragorang Tribe

(The following stories were recorded by M. Feld (1900) respecting the Aborigines of the Burragorang Valley)

.....They believed that Guba lived among the mountains. He is supposed to be a wild, hairy man, with feet turned backwards, and to have a tail about thirty feet long, by which he would hang to the highest tree, in readiness to seize any of the Aborigines as they passed.

They had another superstition about a spirit they called Dhuwan-gong, who lived among the rocks, and had enormous wings, with which he extinguished their camp fires, killed them and then eat their livers.

These two were supposed to be Yuam-bir's (the real devil's) scouts. The tradition about Yuam-bir is that they killed him two hundred years ago, that is many generations ago, at Tambaroora (which they call Dthambur-war-ing). They fought him there for two days, and smashed him into the ground with nulla nullas, so there is now no devil or hell (place of punishment after death) for their dead. Their only dread is the devil's scouts, as above mentioned.

Their god, whom they called Bull-an, lived across the sea, in the Aborigines' heaven. After death their spirits cross the sea, and on arrival at the other side they find a bridge, which they cross, and then dive down through a tunnel, at the end of which is a fiery mountain. They pass over this and
then meet their friends in heaven, where they are all happy together. They believe there is one heaven for the white man and another for the black man.

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**Jerra Thurawaldtherí**

(The following story was originally published by A. Mackenzie (1874, p. 255). The scene of the legend is at Bendthualaly, between Parry's Meadows and the Kangaroo Ground)

He got the mullet from the river, took it up to Kangargraon.
He met the woman coming from Kangargraon with poorawang (samia nuts, or native arrowroot).
They fetched the poorawang, they talked to that dog.
They said "where have you come from?"
"I am bringing mullet from the river."
That will do.
The women corrobory gesticulating with the left hand.
They fall dead.
This was at Bendthualaly.

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**The Nut Gatherers**

(The following story in verse was originally published by A. Mackenzie (1874, p. 257). The scene is Bendthualaly, located between Parry's Meadows and the Kangaroo Ground)

From the mountain the nutters fruit-laden come back, with a fish twixt their teeth; meet the dog on the track.
"Now whence come you, Warragul, tell us we pray?"
"From the river below I have come all the way.
"A mullet to take to Kangargraon thought,
"Murra-murra thus far on my journey have brought."
Enough? through the frame of his hearers there steals
Subtle poison the blood, flesh, and bone that congeals.
Wild, speechless, and rigid, in vain to reply,
By voice or by sign, either maga may try.
Every fibre benumbed, a last effort to make
The spell that is freezing all motion to break,
For dance of defiance, they raise the left arm,
Outstretched, the leg stiffens, too strong is the charm.
They stagger; the purawang poised on each head,
Falls split to the ground as the bearer falls dead.
At Bendthualaly they lie side by side,
With uplifted arm, as they fell down and died.
To this day may be seen, with their nuts round them strewn
The Purungalailoula all turned to stone.

[According to Mackenzie, 'Kangargraon' is the native name for Kangaroo Ground]

How the Pheasant and Eel
went to Didthul (the Pigeon-house Hill)

{The following story was recorded by Andrew Mackenzie (1874, pp.260-1) from Thooritgal, an Aborigine of the Ulladulla tribe}

Men (or kurrakurria, sort of little birds) were playing.
The eel starts out of a hole. They ran down to spear him. Went all the way to Pundutba. Thence to Pullinjera. Thence all the way to Moruya, found the deep water. Then all the men and women went along the bank, all the way to Biriry and Yirikul.

News went over then to Mirroo, where the two Jea (fishing hawk).
Then those two went thence up to the sky. Then those two saw the fish; then those two stuck the spear into him. Then went into the water, then up the beach, fetched out the eel.
Men and women were glad, took the eel then and roasted him.
They slept, the eel was burning.
The pheasant came and put him in the jukulu (bark off the excrescence of a tree, used as a vessel for holding honey or other food), took the eel out of the fire, and carried it away to Didthul.
The men and women got up.
"Where's that fish belonging to that pheasant?"

They fought for that fish. The pheasant cut off the eel's head and stuck it up, then called it Didthul.

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The Lyre Bird

(The following story from the Moruya area was initially recorded by C. Stowe (Mrs K. Langloh Parker) in her Woggheeguy: Australian Aboriginal Legends (Adelaide, 1930), and retold in Roland Robinson's Wandjina (1968))

Long, long ago a black man, leaving his two wives and his little girl at his camp, went hunting. While he was away another black man, who had been watching for his chance, came within sight of the camp.

The wives saw this stranger, and so that he could not camp too near them they sent the little girl with a light to make a fire for him where he was.

At first he seemed very grateful, but presently pretended that the ants annoyed him, so that he could get no rest, so the girl moved the fire a little nearer to her mother's camp. First by one excuse, and then another, he got his fire moved nearer, and nearer, until he was quite close to the women's camp.

Watching his chance, he sprang upon the two women, and with his waddy knocked them senseless. He then took them away to his camp which was in a very deep opening in a steep mountain. There was no water there, yet he kept them strictly prisoners.

Each time he went away hunting he drew after him a rope of twisted vines which was fastened to a stringy bark tree at the top of the cliff.

In their rocky prison the two women were kept and cruelly treated. Sometimes he kept them for days without water, then when they were almost mad with thirst he offered them a loathsome draught.

This treatment made them watch for a chance to escape. At last it came.

The man forgot to draw up his ladder after him. The two women used it to get to the top, where they hid themselves in the scrub until the man returned. As soon as he had gone down to his camp they drew up the rope, leaving him with no means of escape.

He begged them to let down the rope, but they only taunted him all the time, talking as hard as they could at him.

When they last saw him he was frantically scraping up and scratching together heaps of sticks and stones, uttering all the most doleful cries. Cries which are heard today in the sweet notes of the Lyrebird, whose haunts are in those Southern Mountains, for it was into a Lyrebird that this man was changed. And the Aborigines say they have seen his old camp in a range on the south bank of the Moruya, between Wambean and Kulwarry.

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Mulgani

{The following story of a journey by a family from Twofold Bay to a corroboree at Thirroul is taken from C.W. Peck's *Australian Legends* (1933, pp.208-14). The original narrator is not designated, though it was possibly Ellen Anderson of Illawarra, a daughter of King Mickey}

This is a true tale about some black people who lived in this country before any white people set foot in it - long before.

Unlike other stories which are legends which have actually been told as legends, this was not told regarding one specific happening nor one particular person or persons. It was done by many. It may be called a type story. Just what is said the people thought was really thought by many, and just what is said the imagined people did was really done by many.

In that way it is brought before readers what was thought and what was done, though Mulgani is created to bring it all together.

Read first what a tribe was. It was a very large number of people who were broken up into many groups, big and little. These groups thought themselves a family, and the names they had were family names. We whites call just a father and mother and their children a family. The Aborigines considered that all children belonged as much to all the uncles and aunts and cousins as to the actual father and mother, and uncles and aunts were those men and women whose brothers and sisters the actual father and mother might have married, seeing that they belonged to the proper totems. So their idea of family was much wider than ours.

Mulgani was a pretty little Aboriginal baby. She was born hundreds and hundreds of years ago.

Mulgani was a Katungal. Her people lived away down on the South Coast of New South Wales, at Twofold Bay.

Now there was to be a great ceremony at a pretty spot near where is now Excelsior Coal Mine at Thirroul.

Mulgani's father heard about it. A messenger had arrived at Twofold Bay and he brought with him a piece of stick about a foot long and about an inch in diameter. It was a piece of waratah stem and on it were cut some marks. Some of these marks were just circles cut right round it, and between the circles little cuts were made that looked like four-legged stools. Then again there were spots or dots. The marks were a strange written language, for they could be deciphered by a few men of the people wherever the stick was shown.

To be a messenger was no easy task, for before he could have his intentions understood, and before he could reach the readers of whatever tribe or group he wished to visit, he ran the risk of being misunderstood and perhaps speared. Of course he carried weapons with him. But when he came in sight of a camp he waited quietly, generally sitting on a log or on the ground. Then when he was seen he threw his spears to the ground. After being received he was allowed to go back and recover the spears.

No one of the visited people was ever known to steal such spears. It was known, though, that messengers had been killed by mistake or mischance or for some serious reason and their weapons remained where they were laid down, and were found there long years afterwards.
Mulgani was only a few weeks old. She was not yet even black. She was a dark brown colour, but the real black that commenced under her fingernails was spreading, and soon she would be as black as any Aborigine could be.

Her father and mother were watching her very closely, for they were anxious, not wishing her to be too long becoming as black as they were.

She had been, as was usual, kept covered with fat - the fat of the wombat if such animals were native to the district - and powdered charcoal. Her aunts saw to that, and it was done for two reasons: first that she might appear black, and secondly that she might be put out in the sun and burnt by it without it hurting her tender skin. The wind, too, would have chapped her, but the covering prevented it.

Now her father was very fond of flowers. He had made many trips to the mountains that lie away to the west of Twofold Bay - the Muniong Range we call them - and he had seen all the trees and shrubs and plants of the bush. He had picked some and had brought them back to Mulgani's mother before Mulgani was born, and the mother wished that she could go to the mountains and get some for herself.

And now this messenger had come with the message-stick to tell the Katungals about the big ceremony, and although Mulgani was only a few days old, the father and mother intended to go to it.

But the father had to attend a night school [initiation ceremony] for a few nights. He had not even been taught how to prepare Styphelia berries or Geebungs (called Persoonia by the botanists) and Astrolomas or Ground berries. These berries were often eaten raw, but because Mulgani's father had been told that he must not eat them unless they were cooked he had never eaten them at all. He got quite enough of other foods that were not forbidden him.

Now that he was with many others going on a long journey, taking his wife and little child, it was considered that he might have some difficulty in obtaining enough food, therefore no article must be neglected, and there were certain ways for all the people to live, and those ways were taught them at the proper corroborees. If they were not treated correctly there was danger of magic being in them.

Of course we can see that the magic was only the poison that so many fruits have, and which is nullified by some sort of preparation. This idea of magic was not of a lot of primitive people with no sense nor reason at all. The people were primitive, but they had sense and knowledge, and there is a basis for every thought and custom.

No doubt some time away back in the ages a black man was made sick by eating the green geebung, and that happening was ascribed simply to magic. We must not belittle a black man because he speaks of magic. Why, see this: - Only a little while ago I heard a woman - a white woman - say that waratahs should not be kept in the house because they brought bad luck. What is that but blackman's magic. And for no reason at all. No one ever became unlucky, no one ever died, or was made sick, by the waratah. There is no basis for the idea. Then that white woman was far more ignorant than the blacks in that respect. That some flowers do make us sick is well known. If we do not call the reason magic, then it is because we have found out that it is the superabundance of pollen that is the cause of the sickness. The wattle flower is one of those in which there is danger because of its great quantity of pollen.

Anyhow, tiny Mulgani's father was very anxious to go to the school, and he was very pleased when he found that the king [tribal elder] had ordered such a school to be held. Everyone of the group that lived around Twofold Bay could attend.

Many schools were secret, and only the teachers and the special scholars and those who had already been to such schools were allowed to be present. Such schools were those at which things were taught and ceremonies were enacted that might be described as sacred.
All the schools were termed by white people "corroborees," and for a long time they were thought to be nothing more than dances. They were dances, too, and they also are called corroborees.

After the school those who were to travel to the great ceremony set out.

The way was long and in places difficult. Mulgani was often carried by one or other of her aunts. Sometimes the party was right on the beach, sometimes on the sandhills and sometimes in the scrub. But never did they go too far from the sight and the sound of the waves.

On the sandhills there were very pretty flowers - the Mesembryanthemum, a very brilliant and dainty vine - and just at the bases the big yellow Hibbertia, and gleaming purple masses of Hardenbergia.

The Malelucas were in blossom and the sweet scent that they give out was a great pleasure to the travellers, though of course Mulgani was far too young to notice such a thing as that.

They came to the Shoalhaven River. The party travelled up it on the high rocky sides for many miles. Then they came across a camp of people of their own tribe, but of course a different group. Here they were welcomed and given the best of food. It was better than any they had got since starting out.

While they rested in this camp Mulgani's father went out and gathered the Styphelia berries and the Astrolomas, and what he did not cook he put in the dilly bag that was carried by his wife.

It was delightful to see how the wallabies were cooked and how the best parts were given to those who should by right of birth or age have them.

The travellers stayed there for about a week, and during that time every day Mulgani was put on the ground out in the sun. She was quite happy, and her father and mother showed with pride that she was now all black.

Many of the people of this group joined the travellers. They had heard of the intended ceremony and the summons and were awaiting the coming of this party.

Soon they came to the country of the tall, swaying cabbage-palms and the staghorns and the treeferns [lllawarra]?

Many of the big detached rocks had the dendrobiums with their long creamy fronds of flowers, and the sweet scent was better by far than that of the tea-trees they had passed through, for the flower of the Dendrobium speciosum is more sweetly scented than almost any other in our Australian bush. There is, however, one other that must be mentioned here, though the travellers did not see it. It is the Symphyonema paludosum. It grows only in swampy places, and such swamps do not occur anywhere along the route taken, though they are not very far away for they are on top of the range under which the ceremony took place.

In another week the party reached the spot and they found a big gathering of people. Some had come from over the range.

There were fires and smoke and feasting and singing and the beating of drums. There were corroborees, some of them, such as dances, for the whole of the gathering; and there were those secret ones for only the special people.

Mulgani was a toddler before she was brought back to her own country.
What Makes The Waves
(Arrilla of Northern Illawarra)

(The following story of the Coalcliff - Stanwell Park area is taken from Peck (1933, pp.108-21) and is the only record we possess of the people of this part of Illawarra. The narrator was possibly Ellen Anderson of Illawarra)

Arrilla was of the Kamilaroi.

He lived principally on the coast, not far from our present village of Coal Cliff - between that and Stanwell Park.

Perhaps he was not any real individual, but only a type-creation. Be that as it may, all that is ascribed to him in this legend is what happened under the circumstances delineated. The story was told as being of one particular man, and yet there is that in the telling of it that seems to indicate a wish to show tradition rather than tell of the actual doings of one person.

He was the cleverest of his tribe. He was not afraid of the sea.

He roamed as he willed over his country, and even when enemies appeared on the top of the range and a hurried council was called by the King, Arrilla did not hasten to obey the summons if he happened to be studying the inhabitants of the sea, or the denizens of the creeks that came clattering down the slopes and spread out into beautiful lagoons on the beach. For his country is a narrow strip of sub-tropical country, backed by a jungled range with ironstone scarps for its topmost face, scarred by cold creeks and edged by bold promontories and yellow scalloped beaches that bound the limitless expanse of Pacific Ocean.

He never dared to remain away from a summoned council altogether.

One morning when the sun shone calmly and clearly down through the blue, and the mountain was purpled, and the lower slopes were deep green and dark with the jungle, and the strip of undulating land that lay between it and the beach was bright with the semi-tropical verdure such as the tamarind, and the Archontophoenix and Livistona palms, and the giant Alsophila ferns - Cooperi and australis - and the promontories stood with their shaggy westringias and hibbertias and hardenbergias and white button-flowers all aglow, staring, staring, staring out over the blue lazy ocean, and casting blue and purple shadows across the yellow sand of the beach, even reaching to the masses of white foam that were swept ashore, when the little breakers were dashed to pieces, the enemy was seen on the top, above the dark wall of ironstone, right out on the edge, waving spears, and he was heard shouting to the family of Arrilla down on the beach.

The voice carried far.

Aborigines could be heard at a distance of seven miles. They made hollows with their hands, and the coo-ee that rang through them was a wonderfully penetrating and floating call.

The King was young. It was not long since his father was laid in the shallow grave that was scooped out in a grass-grown sandhill. The spears were buried with him. They put him sitting with his face towards the mountain and his knees doubled up to his chin and his arms crossed over his stomach.

His three wives still sat and beat their breasts in grief, and the blood that ran from the cuts they made in their thighs was dried on their legs, for they would not wash it off for three moons.

The young King was as stern as his father had been. He was as straight as a rush, too, and he was fleet and wary. Above all, he was determined. So when Arrilla delayed, he ordered two strong men to go to the lagoon and seize him.
Now Arrilla was cunning. He had practiced his subtlety on the old King, and that is why he was allowed to respond to a summons as unhurriedly as he wished.

Arrilla asked to be allowed to speak, and the permission being given, he drew himself erect and waited until he saw the expectancy of the warriors of the family was beginning to make them impatient. Then he pointed to the highest spot on the range.

He told them that in his wanderings there he had seen a spirit. The spirit was not friendly to him, but would be good to any stranger who came over the range at that point. He said that the enemy that then stood on the very spot was receiving his courage from that spirit and there was only one way to overcome it. It was not by an organised battle. It was by strategy, and he was the only fighting man of the family who possessed the cunning.

And in that way Arrilla tried to palliate the King and to escape the opprobrium that always attached itself to those who disobeyed or were dilatory in answering a call to the councils or an order of the King.

But this time the King was not convinced. He said that the meeting was to be adjourned until night came, and then further evidence of Arrilla would be taken. There was, he said, no immediate danger from the enemy above. If he were prepared to fight he would have been down before, said the King. He was only seeking to make the people below too angry to fight, and then he might bring his forces down and get the gain he was after.

So the meeting broke up. Arrilla was free. That much he had gained he knew, for he saw very plainly that though he had always before been successful in placating the King, this time he was in deep disfavour and perhaps would be punished.

He had succeeded in making his fellows think he had had communion with a spirit on the top of the range, and with them that belief gave him a great prestige. All Aborigines were vain and fond of power, and in that they were no very great amount different from the white people.

Arrilla went to the wurley of his wife, and for a little while he played with his two children. Then he looked into the dilly-bag, and finding that there was not much in it, he decided to go out in search of some food. He had noticed women putting things within reach of his wife, but he had been too busy with his own interests to see that his larder was so empty.

Taking up a spear and a shield he strode into the scrub. There was, at first, a thick tangle of boronia, and its scent was not pleasant to him. Bracken fern, rank and tall, Chorizema and snake vine, Bauera with the always blooming pink flowerets, and Tetratheca, with the layer of tangled twigs, made the going difficult. Prickly wild raspberries made the way even more hard for him.

Then he entered the dark jungle itself. It was a mass of myrtles interwoven with the rubus and flowering tecoma and clematis. These vines lay thick on the top of lantana, and through them grew up the Lillypilly and Rapanrea and the fluffy-flowered Callicoma. Xylomelum pyriforme or native pear trees with their wooden fruit and unpleasant odour, and the Goodenia ovata with its dark serrated leaves and yellow flowers and the Pittosporum and Sassafras were all clasped together and held close by native jasmine, and up through it all the cabbage and bangalow palms and the Eucalyptus microcorys or tallow wood and the Swamp Mahogany or robusta of the eucalyptus genus stood into the humid air.

Big cold boulders were lying under the deep shade of the scrub and ferns and the clustered true and false sarsaparilla, and they were covered with moss and lichen, and attached to them were dendrobiums and big aspleniums or bird's nest fern.

It was always dark in there.

The lyre-bird darted under the thick moss and the carpet of Randia and tiny wild violets overlaid with the tough and thick leaved Smilax australis. Its nest was placed on a flat ledge of the biggest
rock and it had in it a furry youngster that sat as still as the rock itself, its eye of black fire fully
taking in the cautious Arrilla.

Right in front the mountain reared, still clothed with the jungle, with giant rocks fast to the sides,
and the vines, especially the tough monkey vines, clinging to big gums - the turpentine, the
wolly-but, and the spotted gum and the wild fig with its mass of roots between which men could
hide and wallabies often had their lairs.

Arrilla sought the wallaby. The rufus-necked scrub variety was in plenty here. Arrilla only had to
stand still with poised spear and an unsuspecting marsupial hopped into view.

'Swish!'

It was like a dart of lightning. Then Arrilla ‘twooped’ like a beautiful wonga pigeon, and he whistled
like the king parrot, and those birds came to what they supposed was a calling mate.

He very soon had a fine collection of game for his food and the meat of his family. He was a snake
man and only reptiles were tabu to him.

It grew night again. The rest of his people were scattered about on the clearer and lighter land,
nearer the beach - some idling and some fashioning weapons. Some indeed were making cradles,
but not on rockers as were our cradles. They had strings attached and they could be fastened
round the neck of the mother.

A few had made a poison from the acacia for their fishing, and yet others were wading in pools in
the rocks seeking mussels and shell-fish. Beyond, the lazy sea just heaved and sparkled and sent
its messengers of breakers to be broken on the sand.

By this time a black band had spread along the horizon, for night was approaching.

What had become of the gesticulating blackfellow on the top of the range no one knew.

No cooking fires were lighted. Little heaps of sticks lay about - all gathered by the fathers and the
children. Suitable stones were collected too, but the order had gone out that everyone must eat
either raw or cold food, and a big council would be held on the low, flat, grassy patch down near
the lagoon.

Only after nightfall did the sea begin to moan. The little crash of the breaking waves in the daytime
was quite cheerful, but in the darkness it seemed to ring with a different tone - one of sadness and
pessimism.

The council sat in the dark. Only the fighting men and the priests were in it after all.

Arrilla was there.

The discussion did not last long, and it all centred upon the tale that Arrilla had told. He was a
frightened Arrilla when he found that he was expected to climb to the highest point of the range
and ask questions of the spirit to whom he said he had spoken.

He dared not disobey.

When the meeting was over and the men had retired to their wurlies and their families, Arrilla sat for
a long time arranging in his mind how he would proceed as soon as it was light. He determined not
to go by the way he had gone before. He would go a long way round.

He knew of a gully up which it was easy to climb and which would allow him to approach the
enemy by a flanking manoeuvre, and then he could spy upon him and perhaps use his spear. So in
the morning he said ‘good-bye’ to his wife, and having received a sacred stone from the priest for
placing in his hair above his ear for good luck, he again crossed through the boronia and leptospermum and bracken undergrowth, and entered the jungle.

He went to the rock on which was the lyre-bird's nest, and then turning to the right he passed close to a giant nettle tree and a Stenocarpus, and that way the going was easy. He was still under the big trees and hidden from anyone's sight unless someone were very close.

The scent of the dendrobiums came to him, and as he passed lilly-pillies he broke off a few clusters of the white and juicy fruit and ate them. He picked up ripe and luscious black apples, and here and there he gathered the little red berries of the Rubus parvifolius. The wild raspberry he made a detour for, but it was not growing in that part. Occasionally he tore up a leaf from the bird's-nest fern and at the end is a crisp and succulent part which he chewed.

He reached the upper part of the creek that formed the lagoon down below on the beach, and as he was gradually ascending the lower slope and using the maximum of precaution, he came to a spot high on the mountain side from which he could look out through the branches and over the heads of the tall shrubs and high gums to the sea.

The sun was well up and the morning was becoming. The sea was still lazy though a little glitter on its surface showed that it was under a disturbance, slight enough, but discernible. Then he turned his back to that view and the climb proper commenced.

It was steep. He hoisted himself by grasping the stems of the callicomas and the rapaneas and the myrtles that grew sparsely here, and sometimes he was lucky enough to find a monkey vine hanging to a tree and that gave him a splendid lift. Though he was somewhat afraid of his errand and quite alone, he was not anxious to lose time; yet the temptation to swing on the monkey vine was too strong, and finding one that had a big loose bight in it he seized it and pushed himself off with his feet. Out he swung over the steep side and above the undergrowth and through the lesser limbs of the Pittosporum that grew just beneath, and then he had a clear and uninterrupted sight of the country at the base, and of the beach and the sea. The vine gave a little twist and returned, and the swing was exhilarating.

But he only did it once, and letting the vine go he faced the escarpment and went on with his climb. He secured precarious footing on the stones and exposed roots and in the moss. Sometimes a loosened stone went bounding and crashing down until it struck the foot of a tree and lodged there.

Arrilla now looked up. He had reached a spot where the big trees did not grow, and the only verdure was rock fern and dianella rush with its tiny blue and yellow flowers and its blue fruit.

Above him the blue sky was unclouded and a great lazy sea-eagle floated serenely.

He had disturbed many birds in his climb. The coach-whip had darted from him. The wonga pigeon and the little brown fantail and the woodpeckers and the honey-eaters and the diamond sparrows and white-eyes and silver-eyes all had paused to watch him go by. Satin birds and cat-birds and parrots sat in the branches or darted through them as he passed under, and in the wild figtrees the beautiful flocks and topknot pigeons clattered and scrambled for fruit.

A small colony of flying foxes hung like a giant swarm of bees in a fire-tree, but Arrilla did not see them.

This fire-tree is a brachychiton, and it is of the same genus as the Queensland bottle-tree. It sheds its leaves and its brilliant flame-like flowers covers the twigs and blaze out before any of the new season's leaves come. It is rightly named 'fire-tree,' though some people call it 'flame-tree,' and apply this name also to the Erythrina or coral tree of Queensland.

He was in the narrow cleft, between the sides of which the water raced in rain-time, and he was near the top.
When he reached it, and before he had climbed over the ledge, he was in a bracing upper air. The verdure, he could see as he peered, was different. The Epacris and the boronia pinnata and Boronia serrulata and also Star-hair made a pink carpet.

Arrilla was out of breath and perspiring when he heaved himself over and stood upright in that upper air with its scents of new flowers.

On damp and mossy and heathy patches the Blandfordia bloomed. On drier parts the false sarsaparilla or hardebergia monophylla clambered over the stones and boulders and clefts, and hung its blooms in purple clusters. Here and there a yellow Podolepis acuminata glowed and the white fur from the stems was detached and lay on the ground. Box-trees and stunted Banksia serrata, and Callistemon lanceolatus tried to find sustenance.

Musterling all his caution Arrilla advanced along the edge of the mountain.

Heath abounded, hard rock-fern clustered thickly, stunted callitris scrub, Olearia or mountain musk, dwarfed eucalyptus, honey-flower or Lambertia formosa, little casuarinas, wild currants, or Leucopogon richei and bracken fern, were matted with kennedya well out in crimson and black flowers, and here and there rising through them stood the gorgeous crimson waratah.

As Arrilla quietly crept along the ledge he could see down over the verdure to his people near the beach, and he noted that many were looking anxiously in the direction of the point on which he had seen the enemy native the day before. He had all their love for the representative flower of his race - the waratah - and he plucked one in order to render himself immune from fire should that occur.

Suddenly he cast himself into the rigid statuesque figure of a man.

He heard the breaking of twigs and the foot-fall of someone. He moved not a muscle. His spears were in the hand that held the shield.

The noise ceased. Then the air darkened. There were no clouds, but a great deep shade spread all over the earth.

Arrilla looked to the sun. It was disappearing. He grew mightily afraid.

He had almost persuaded himself that he really had spoken some time or other to a spirit up there, and this terrible fading out of the sunlight came to show that he was even then trespassing on the country of it. The place surely was sanctuary and tabu. So making the sign with his hand that he had seen the enemy native the day before. He had all their love for the representative flower of his race - the waratah - and he plucked one in order to render himself immune from fire should that occur.

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He had never before seen the sea, and he did not know what it was. He believed it to be a great sky, and beyond it there was a very bad country.

He said that the sky had fallen down and that it was slowly creeping on and on and eventually would cover the whole world. In his country he had heard some such tale about it.

It was that a great ancestor had left the earth and had gone up into the sky. He went so fast that he drove right through it and he had seen the very bad country that is beyond it. He tried to return but the hole that he had made was closed up. Yet he did not give up hope, and by beating upon it he loosened it and it fell.
It had as much life as a man, and it very much wanted to return from whence it had fallen. The ancestor was always with it, floating upon it. And when he tried to rise up to return the ancestor beat it back and it could do nothing but sink down and break itself upon the beach. However, it was surely growing and spreading, and the time would come when it would cover the earth.

He had heard all these things and he had determined to see for himself, and that is why he had made the journey in the direction his people had pointed out as the one where the great sky lay.

Arrilla was delighted to hear this story. Though he had been born near the sea and lived there all his life he had no story of what it is, or how it comes to be there, nor why the waves beat on the shore.

He advised the strange man to wait until he had gone back and communicated the news to his people, and said that when the signal fire was made he might come down and be received by the King. But Arrilla told him to say that a spirit gave him all this information about the sea and the waves, and that while it was being told Arrilla was present.

Both forgot their fears of the strange darkness that had come over, and down below his people still wondered what caused it. They thought it was because Arrilla had met the spirit and was talking to it, and as the shade passed and the sun came out bright again and the gladness that is usual to the sunshine spread again all were in high glee. There was nothing wrong, they said, and Arrilla would return with news and the spirit he had seen and spoken with would assist them if they had to fight with any trespassing tribe or family group.

Soon after Arrilla joined his people again, having come down the way he went up, and he told the story of the sea as he had heard it from the stranger, though he said it was told him by the spirit.

Fires were lighted, and when the man came to them he said he was very hungry, and he told the story just as Arrilla had. A wife was found for him from amongst the women-girls and he lived there for the rest of his days with that family.

The sea grew rough and the wind blew, and he said that he had heard that that was the impatience of the sea. It was angry and impatient because of the great delay occasioned by the ancestor who refused to let it go back to where it had fallen from.

The roar is the voice of the ancestor who always refuses to go back. When the calm came again it was because the sea was worn out and very tired, but nothing could stop it from ever creeping further and further over the land. The winds, he said, were the spirit friends of the sea, and they tried to assist it to regain the place that it had lost.

The Kamilaroi people always believed that the day would come when the sky would go back and the earth would be quite dry and life could not exist, but they were not afraid, for they said that the day was yet a long way off.

[The phenomena of ‘the sky falling down’ was common amongst the Aborigines of south-eastern Australia and is said to be associated with the white invasion in 1788. For this reason Arrilla’s spirit friend was heading towards Sydney to find a reason for this impending catastrophe]

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Mist and a Fringed Flower

[The following Appin / Maddens Plains story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.204-7)]

It is said that many departed Aborigines return to this earth in human form. A legend has already been written in which is the thought that Blackfellows often slipped during their journey along the Milky Way through Magellan’s Clouds, and came back here.
Dense mists were supposed to envelop these returning people, for they were too considerate to make themselves visible suddenly and thus frighten their relatives. They remembered how frightened they themselves had been always when any not-understood phenomenon took place, and they took care not to willingly cause such consternation now that they were from the other world. Yet by inadvertence this was often done.

Aborigines were generally much frightened when the mists came, and they often crouched in the shelter of a crevasse or camp until they had cleared away. They feared the unseen, and they could not conjecture what fearsome thing might be hidden. They watched the curling, eddying vapour, and their imaginative and often artistic minds saw many fleeting shapes.

There is a story of fire coming with a mist which is called pouraller, and burnt stones near Appin were pointed out as a place where this particular mist often covered the country.

No doubt the fact that volcanoes emitted fire and steam is responsible for this idea which has become somewhat distorted in its passage down the ages since Canobolas in New South Wales and Mount Fairy in Victoria and Mounts Gambier and Schanck in South Australia threw out their molten masses.

The strip of country between the Appin Creek and Georges River was the home of a very powerful group. Today the watershed drained by the Cataract and the Loddon rivers is one source of Sydney's Water Supply.

The head of Georges River is in the same locality, but it falls the opposite way and its waters do not flow into the Cataract Dam. On it are King's Falls; on the Loddon the Loddon Falls; on the other creek the Appin Falls. All are most picturesque, though the Appin Falls are now quite governed by the floodgates of the Dam.

The real owners of this country roamed over the luxuriant forest. In our time the village of Sherbrooke was built there and Frank Knight's sawmill is responsible for the destruction of the beautiful woods.

The natives travelled the peaty patch known to us as Madden's Plains in the days of their mastery, and from the edge of the Illawarra Range they saw the sight that we recognise as the most beautiful in the whole world. When they roamed towards the setting sun they went as far as the Nepean, which winds itself along the foot of the hills of the Blue Mountains.

Madden's Plains is the country of many mists. It was somewhere there that a pretty purple flower grew, and it was there that an old man died - an old man of story and of truth.

Before his burial his womenfolk sat in a little circle and manifested their grief. A son passed by in jaunty fashion just as if he did not care, but the old women ceased their lamentations and commenced upbraiding him in loud, angry, querulous voices. He answered them back, and it seemed as if a quarrel, bitter and vociferous, must ensue.

Two other young men took sides with their comrade, and the whole camp would have been involved had not the undertakers come to bear away the body to its resting-place.

The spirit had gone. The Milky Way seemed to be closer than usual, and in the morning the whole country was enveloped in a thick mist. It swung up from the jungle at the foot of the range and swept by over the plains and the creeks and the scrub, and must have been lost in the clouds that surely hovered on the crests of the Blue Mountains.

No one stirred from the camp. But the women had not spent their desire to scold the man whom they knew was too callous to feel the death of his father. And he, of all people, ventured forth into the mist. He had had enough of the tongues of the old mourners.
He plucked a little stalk that bore several of the pretty violet flowers, and for want of something better to do, or in order to soothe his ruffled feelings, he sat beside a log and quietly and deftly tore the edge of the petals, making them nicely fringed.

Slowly the mist rolled away, and in its billowings was to be seen the form of a man. A short distance off he appeared again, only to be once more swallowed up by another wave. By this time the sorrowing women saw him and in frightened whispers they told the people. Then break after break occurred in the driven mist, and gradually the sun came through it. A short time after it had gathered itself together and had gone away, and the country was clear and crisp and damp, and the sunlight was warm. And slowly approaching up from the creek we call Muddy Creek was a man. He had the form and the voice of the one for whom the women were grieving. His hands he carried behind his back.

Without a word he strode slowly to the young man, who still sat tearing the violet flowers. Of all the people he was the only one who was blind to the visitor. It was not given to him to see a spirit-man, just as it is not possible for white people to see what can be seen by the natives.

Suddenly the hands came from behind the back and a nullah was swung down upon the head of the youth. Because the flower had three petals the spirit-man struck that many blows.

There were three marks on the youth's head. The flower fell to the ground, and because it was damp and warm the seeds soon germinated and the resultant flowers had fringed petals.

It is a lily. We know it as Thysanotus or Fringed Violet. Perhaps it is a pity that it was ever called a violet.

It is said by the blacks that it only opens in a mist, and that before the mist clears away the spirit of the slain youth has to tear every petal and make them fringed. The three blows are perpetuated in the wale or bruise-like mark on every petal.

It is strange, surely, that so gruesome a story should have been told about such a delicate and beautiful flower.

There is a rather pretty story about the fringed gum-blossom, and in it is a reference to a sea and an island in the centre of Australia.

The First Crayfish

(The following Shoalhaven story of the origin of the red yabbie - or crayfish - is taken from Peck (1925, pp.93-6))

Perhaps no white man, hunter or fisher, was so clever at catching any sort of game as the blacks, and probably no blacks, not even the red men of America, were so painstaking in their snaring, their stalking, or their lying-in-wait as those of our land. Clever writers about the Reds of the West have told how they tracked, yet not one story shows a bushcraft equal to that of the Australian Aborigine.

This story deals with the catching of fish. No lines, no hooks, just rush nets and bare hands, apart from spearing, and that was done only when the fish was big; and mostly on the coast.

Of all the fishers of the Shoalhaven tribe none was so clever as a certain Krubi.
The camp was a permanent one. Its location was somewhere near where the bridge to Nowra now is. High rocks sheltered it from a southerly wind, and a deep forest prevented the westerlies from reaching it.

Krubi caught fish only with her hands. She simply used a bait of meat (too bad, by the way, for us to have handled), and this she hung between her own shapely black feet. When the fish were ravenously battling for the food, Krubi simply drew the bait up and up. But this 'simply' was just the requisite thing, and therein do we whites fail. But, then, our superior intelligence and inventive powers have given us means whereby we can catch as the black could not; though they caught plenty for their needs.

Slowly but surely Krubi drew the bait. The movement was so uniform that not a tremor disturbed the meat, and not a ripple appeared in the water. Then Krubi's supple arm straightened. The hand entered the water wonderfully cleanly, and it was gently lowered with the long black fingers hollowed. But when those fingers closed on a fish there was no escape for it. Quick as a flash it was drawn up, and the dexterous toss that landed it on the bank was extremely clever.

The men of the tribe made bark boats. They carved a great ellipse of bark from the Turpentine (Eucalyptus eugenioides), and certain gums such as the Eucalyptus resinifera, and wrenched it free without even a crack. Yet never did they ring a tree, for they knew that the bush of Australia was their living. They then caught the ends - two men to one piece - and rapidly see-sawed it over a smoking fire. The best smoke was that made by throwing the river oak (Casuarina fraseriana) and the wild cherry (Callitris calcarata) on the fire.

When it had been smoked sufficiently they placed a heavy log in the centre, the smooth side of the sheet of bark being uppermost, and bent it to form the sides and gunwale. The ends were easily drawn together with rawhide or sinews of the kangaroo. Then the tiny crack was caulked with rushes and mud, and as a last means of making watertight ends that was well smeared over with beeswax. Tingles and thwarts bound with rawhide were fixed, and the whole craft was constructed in less than three hours.

Krubi stood by one day watching the boat builders, and as she had become noted for her success at fishing she was allowed to show her interest in the work.

Immediately the boat was launched she sprang lightly into it.

The other women of the tribe were aghast; never did they dare to enter a boat uninvited. But the men seemed pleased to allow Krubi to take advantage of the admiration so plainly bestowed upon her, and they set off down the river in great glee.

Somewhere near its mouth was a deep hole, and there the yabbies were unusually big. When this place was reached and the boat was beached and the men set to work to fashion a net.

Krubi remained in the craft and tried for yabbies. She had the usual piece of putrid meat, and breaking a part off she tied it to the end of a long stick. This she put into the water close to the big stones, and when it was bristling with yabbies she drew them, clinging to the bait, right out into the boat.

Catching the yabbies was easy work. But in one haul there came up one bigger than all the rest. Amongst the yabbies he was a giant. Krubi faltered when she picked him up, and a little spine on its head pricked her finger. The warm blood flowed upon the wet fish and it spread all over him.

This warm blood was a new and startling thing. Yabbies are not accustomed to anything as warm as human blood. And this one, being so big, jumped high in the air and landed with a big splash in the river. With great kicks he drove himself through the water, every now and then giving himself a mighty shake to try to throw off the warm liquid that was so strange to him.

On and on he went down to the sea. The black man heard the splash and asked Krubi what had caused it.
Krubi excitedly told the story and showed her wounded finger.

Shortly after the net was set the people decided to pull further - to sail right into the sea should the weather be calm and the water smooth.

It was.

They went right round the point and into the sheltered cove, and there they hove to. Krubi was gazing over the side when, what did she espy, but the big, red yabbie! However in a moment he had disappeared.

Many times afterwards fishermen of her tribe rowed round to the spot, but it was not for some years that anyone saw this curiosity.

Krubi had grown middle-aged and had given up the pranks that she indulged in when young. One day a son of hers caught a red yabbie, and it was with intense delight that he hastened to the camp to show his mother the wonder.

She spat her disgust.

No, it was not nearly big enough! It certainly was red, but it was too small to be the one that had escaped covered with the pretty Krubi's blood those years ago! There must be others!

A race of red yabbies had been brought into being. These we call crayfish.

The Legend of the Lyrebird and the Kookaburra

{The following Illawarra and Shoalhaven story of the Lyrebird (Pheasant) and the Kookaburra (Laughing Jackass), is extracted from Peck (1925, pp.113-6)}

...It was one of those wonderful autumn days that hang heavy with great rolling masses of cumulus cloud which part at times to show the turquoise of the heavens above the beautiful district of Illawarra.

The black man was of the Shoalhaven River. He had roamed as he willed between that pellucid stream and the point at which the Illawarra Range peters out and drifts into the sea above our Stanwell Park.

Under the Range the air is subtropical, and the strip of undulating land, scalloped by bays and fringed with curved yellow beaches, broken by verdure clad promontories that stood like a long line of monstrous sentries gaz ing out on the blue of snow-edged sea, breathe the moistened heat of the Isles of the Blest. Waterfalls poured over the ironstone of the mountains, and then leaped down into the fastnesses amid the ferns and jungled scrub.

He had trapped pigeons and snared wallabies. He had fished in the streams where, on the flats near the beaches, they spread into little lakes and lost themselves in the sand, excepting in floodtime, when they broke through the bar and poured into the foam.

He had stood on the rocks with poised spear and waited to see the rock-cod and the groper and the eel in the salty pools, and then the swift stick clove the water and the struggling fish was landed.
He had climbed to the top of the long level range and had gazed down and over the glory of the "Garden of New South Wales"!

He had sheltered under the gunyah, roofed with the broad hands of the cabbage-palm, and he had ornamented his frail house with the frond of the bangalow.

He had climbed the tamarind tree and tasted the bitter sweet of the little yellow fruit.

He saw more of the real beauty of his district than any of the rest of his tribe.

Often at Kiama, before the name was given - ages before - he had stood and been drenched by the spray that flashed up out of the Blow Hole high into the air, spreading as it went, and falling back into the shaft from which it was dashed.

He knew that he was most favoured of all the blacks of Australia, for he had the right of birth to the most beautiful piece of all the land, and he was endowed with the vision that saw and knew. Therefore, he wandered so much alone.

He had his affinity among the lesser animals. It was the lyre bird.

He had secured its confidence and its love, and with that came its protection. While he cared for it and it came to him he was safe. No evil thing could break an affinity. No power of the malevolent could pierce the enveloping mantle that was invisibly about him as he moved and lived.

But he grew unmindful of his duty to his bird. He grew boastful of its powers, and gradually he wore away the confidence it reposed in him.

Other birds came to be fed from his hand. They, seeing the good things that came to the lyre bird, sought a share, and they crowded round him and they sang their thanks for his generous gifts.

So he arranged a match.

He told all birds that the best of their singing could be excelled by his lyre bird.

Therefore, one after another the birds gave voice to their songs. They sang as they had never sung before, and it was good to hear them.

But after each had finished, the dainty-stepping lyre bird came forward and gave voice to the same song in more beautiful and certainly more powerful tones.

It was distressing to them all. As each was beaten it retired to the dense scrub, and though it never entirely gave up singing, it sang in hushed voice, and if any other thing approached it flew away. It does so now.

Only the magpie cared not if it were outclassed. So in these days the magpie sings in spite of all, and its voice has improved. But the lyre bird is as successful as the magpie.

One bird was not tested. He sat stolidly by and cocked his head this way and that as he listened to the competitions. His boldness increased, and as he was not asked to join in he believed that it was because the man and the lyre bird feared him.

So he dashed his strong beak against the bough to attract attention. It was like the breaking of a strong stick by a jumping kangaroo.

The Aborigine looked up, and as he did the bird laughed in his face.

Immediately afterwards the round eyes lost their gleam of fun and the beak was skewed sideways and the big clumsy bird pretended to fall from his perch.
The lyre bird gave his own call only.

Then the kookaburra (for the untested bird was none other) showed what he could really do. He laughed in one voice, and just as the lyre bird essayed to copy him he broke into a different key and laughed again. Again the lyre bird tried his prowess, but once more the voice of the kookaburra was put into still another register, and off he went again. The lyre bird managed the first laugh pretty well, but before he had concluded the laugh the voice of the kookaburra had concluded the laugh the voice of the kookaburra changed again, and a different toned laugh rang out.

The struggle went on until sundown, and then the lyre bird gave it up. Old jackass settled himself firmly on his perch, and then did he laugh his laughs all over.

They rang above the trees and over the streams and up and along the mountain-side. They filled the valleys and soared over the undulations and reached the beaches, and were not whelmed until the big waves enveloped them and swallowed them up in the roar of their own as they broke to pieces on the coast.

Long ere this the lyre bird had slipped into his dark runnel under the mosses and the ferns, and that is why today the laugh of the jackass is the only sound the lyre bird cannot copy in its entirety. He starts it. He nearly gets to the end of the first laugh, and then he gives it up and sinks down and out until in a murmur he relinquishes the endeavour.

This is the quaint story of the pheasant and the jackass.

Two Waratah Legends

(The Black Snake Totem)

(The following Burrarorang Valley / Illawarra story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.199-201). The narrator was possibly Ellen Anderson)

There are many legends concerning the waratah - Australia's most glorious flower and all her own, for it does not occur in any other part of the world, while its supposed rival, the wattle, is as common in all parts of the Southern Hemisphere as it is in Australia.

The Aborigines wove some very pretty and fanciful stories about their prettiest bloom. Most of them come from the Burrarorang Valley, though at least one must have filtered from very far west, for in this story lies enclosed the fact that the waratah did in early tertiary times flourish in Western Australia.

This story is one of the making of the waratah red. It was supposed, it seems, that it was at first a white flower, though that idea does not pervade the other stories of it. Still it was loved then just as much as it is now, and its whiteness did not detract from its charm.

The day was away back in the alcheringa and it had been very still and very hot, and the whole tribe, with the exception of one man, lay amongst the bracken in the shade of big eucalypti and lesser myrtles and other scrub. The sweet-scented Sassafras grew there, too, and that other perfumed shrub, the Olearia or Musk, and without a doubt the exquisite Ceratopetalum or Christmas Bush, as well.
The spot was at the foot of very high bouldered cliffs that bounded a deep, clear-pooled river, and the one man who was not prostrate was fishing. All this was in a valley, and out from it the land was a parched and barren tract.

The sun blazed down and the heat dazzled, and the sandy and gravelled ground was too hot to walk upon.

Now not a zephyr moved in the air. The season must have been spring, for the waratah blooms only in that season, always waiting until the cold of winter has retreated to the Pole to which it belongs, or to the regions above the clouds.

Most of the people were asleep. They had retired to the shade. They knew that great cumulus clouds would at length appear from beyond the west and that most surely they would bring thunder and lightning and rain and coolness.

An infant - a very pretty child not yet able to walk - and perhaps not yet entirely black, for Aboriginal babies were born brown, and the black of them showed first under their fingernails and spread from there - crawled away from its dozing mother or whatever woman had charge of it, and the dogs were too indolent in the heat to notice it laboriously getting closer and closer to the tangle of Hibertia, or Guinea-flower vine, through which stood the Waratah plant resplendent with gleaming white flowers. In there, coiled but alert, lay something else that gleamed - a watching black snake.

Now, the child was of the black snake totem, and, being so, the reptile was its guardian, not its enemy.

As some of our children have done, the little baby put out its hand to play with the usually deadly thing, and just at that moment the guardian awoke.

She missed the child at once. One hurried glance around and she saw the situation. There was the baby about to play with a venomous snake. Forgetting that the child was of that totem and that it would do her no harm, she grabbed a nullah and flung it with all her might, and the back of the snake was broken, and its blood streamed out. The only movement it was then capable of was a swaying of the forward part, and this part it placed around the baby.

Another missile was thrown, and had the snake not been where it was, the child would certainly have received the blow and been hurt. The snake was again hit, as it, being the protector of the child, intended that it should.

Slowly and painfully it unwound itself. The now frightened baby rolled away. The snake laid its injured self amongst the stalks of the waratah bush, and slowly its blood was absorbed as it trickled from the wounds.

In a few days streaks of red were to be seen in the flowers, and by degrees the whole of them were so coloured, and therefore we have the bright and beautiful blooms of far greater quantity than the white ones.

It is certainly strange that the white waratahs appear to be much older than the usual crimson ones.

The last full-blooded woman of the Cammaray tribe says that she is a black snake woman and that the black snake is her guardian. When a baby, her life was saved in a manner somewhat similar to the way the baby of this story was saved and it always warns her of approaching danger, and when her intentions, if carried out, will not be to her advantage. So sure is she of that, that she takes careful notice in summer, and she only undertakes serious matters in that season so that she may be warned by her black snake.
Another Legend
(The Stars, a Meteor, and Volcanoes)

{The following Burrarorang / Illawarra story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.202-3)}

One still, hot day in the alcheringa, the people of a tribe that inhabited the same part of Australia as those written of in the preceding story were so prostrate with the intense heat as to be unable to eat.

They lay in whatever of shade they could find and awaited the thunderstorm that sometimes came on such days and proved their salvation. Without such coolings of the air very few people could survive. The trees and shrubs were wilting. Eucalypti turned their leaf edges to the sun to save the blades. Other leaves grew limp. Whatever else of vegetation was there showed the baleful effects of the extreme temperature. A rocky gully had the waratah, and it, too, was as discomfited as the rest of the scanty flora.

But no great cumulus clouds rolled up from the west, and the night fell upon a tired earth and a tired vegetation, and a tired people. No one could sleep. There were mosquitoes to prevent sleep, even if their weariness would send them into slumber. The little children were fretful, and the dogs occasionally hitched themselves closer to some person as if they got a little comfort from such friendship.

The sun had gone over the horizon a red ball, and flaming streaks seemed to betoken another day of furnace-like heat to be ready to follow.

Then the sky moved.

In the darkness, with just a shred of the red of the burning west left, and with the stars showing brightly, and a rising moon putting an inquisitive edge over the haze of the east, the sky heaved and billowed and tumbled and tottered.

The moon rocked. The stars tumbled and clattered and fell one against the other. The Milky Way - the 'pukkan' or track up which departed spirits often reached the world to which they went - also billowed and it split, and in some places is never joined together again, leaving blank spaces that we call 'Magellan's Clouds.'

These ‘clouds’ to the Aborigines are pitfalls set to trap the unworthy spirit travellers, and are also places through which spirits may drop back to earth to assist relatives, or to return in human form.

The great star groups were scattered, and many of them, loosened from their holds, came flashing to the earth. They were heralded by a huge mass, red and glowing, that added to the number of falling stars by bursting with a deafening roar and scattering in a million pieces which were molten.

The people were too scared to move. The disturbance continued all night. When the smoke and the clamour had died away and morning had dawned it was seen that the holes had been burnt into the earth, and great mounds were formed by the molten pieces, and many caves were made. The burning was still going on, for molten masses and flame were being belched forth.

Certain of the plants received the red pieces of the bursting masses, and they are the red flowering ones. The Waratah is one of them.
A Bird Legend

(Totems)

{The following Burragorang / Illawarra story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.197-8)}

The Aborigines sometimes kept birds and animals as pets, but in all instances that may be enquired into it is found that the pet by some mischance or peculiar trait or impulse strayed into a camp and stayed there. However, this had nothing to do with the belief in an “affinity,” nor yet the belief in and recognition of a “totem.” That possibly originated in a knowledge of evolution - in the settled idea that during the ages everything has changed in form - and no outstanding fact of Nature escaped being considered the beginning or the dwelling-place of an ancestor or an originator.

But something of a parody of this fundamental belief is the acceptance of an affinity in the shape of a bird or an animal that knows of its being related to a human and who acts as a protector of those of whom it is a family part. In this way the last full-blooded woman of the Cammaray people believed in the snake. She says that the black snake always indicates to her whether or not an undertaking of hers is to be successful, when a calamity is about to happen or has just happened in her immediate family, when she is personally threatened with great loss and whether or not the time be propitious for the doing of any important thing.

She tells many weird tales of warnings shown to her by her affinity. The lyre-bird, she tells, was the affinity of a man of her people away back in the time before history, and he had one as a pet. He was very proud of the fact that his bird mimicked so marvelously, and he arranged a competition. People who belonged to such birds as parrots, black cockatoos, wattle birds - those with a clear, distinctive call - assembled, and they listened to the lyre-bird not only imitating, but excelling each in its own song.

One bird was not claimed by anybody, and it sat disconsolately on a limb, apparently taking no notice of the proceedings; and then, just before dark, it made its effort.

The lyre-bird, nothing loth, imitated it perfectly. But the other bird was not finished. In another key it performed again, and still in another, until the lyre-bird was bewildered. It failed to follow; therefore we may now hear the great bird mimic as we stand, say, at Echo Point in the Blue Mountains, or under the hills of the Snowy or the Cann, going through all its repertoire, imitating not only every other bird, but every sound it has ever heard. But when it comes to the laugh of one it fails.

The bird it cannot properly mock is the kookaburra. The lyre-bird man of the story was discredited, and therefore in later years such men were never of much account in the eyes of their compatriots, while those of the kookaburra, though it is recognised as an affinity of a much later date, are always people of great importance.

And by some strange coincidence we have taken the kookaburra to our hearts, and we picture him much more as the bird-representative of Australia than the emu which figures as such officially.

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Why the Turtle Has No Tail

(The Journey After Death)

{The following Illawarra story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.33-6). The narrator was probably Ellen Anderson}

The Australian Aborigines believed that the Milky Way was a ‘pukkan’ or track, along which many spirits of departed blacks travelled to heaven, and that the dark place that we call Magellans Cloud
was a hole or split that occurred when the universe was frightfully shaken by some mighty upheaval which gave us many of the wonders of nature, including the brilliant waratah, gorgeous caves such as Jenolan and others less magnificent, burnt patches of rock, and so on.

Legends also make mention of a certain hidden river, over which certain spirits have to travel to a Promised Land. This river flowed at the edge of a mighty forest, and beyond a fearful range of huge jagged mountains, at the nearer foot of which lay an extensive marshy lake, in the centre of which was an enchanted island.

The natives of South-East Australia were very clear about the picture just described. They said that not only had some people spoken to returned men who had waded through the lake and been on the island, and climbed the mountain and nearly reached the river, but they had also had amongst them at one time and another living men who had seen these fairy places and always knew that a continuous stream of spirits passed that way to the Unseen River.

Two giant trees grew on the bank, and a tortoise lay athwart it. Up to the time of this happening all tortoises and turtles had long tails. This tortoise reached from the bank just opposite the big trees, to the other.

On the journey many spirits were supposed to be in some way tempted to do evil, and succumbed to the temptation; therefore there were some fallings by the way.

Some were kept floundering about in the lake itself, and these congregated on the island until they had expiated their sins, when they were allowed to go on. Others failed when climbing the mountain, and there on some barren peak they had to wait, while others remained faithful until reaching the lower level, and then were in sight of the river. But there was a test for them. They had to squeeze between the trunks of the giant trees, and then the bridge they reached was the tortoise.

Then came a time when many people quite good enough to get into heaven failed to reach the opposite bank of the river. It was known that they had got between the trees, and then all trace of them was lost; but one day a man arrived amongst the people who had been remade, and he told them his experiences.

He said that he had died and reached the tortoise on the unseen river. He stepped upon it, and was half way along it when it gave a sly jerk, and he fell off its tail into the river. He was borne along very swiftly, for it is a fast flowing stream, and suddenly he was swept underground.

For a long time he was carried through deep subterranean passages, and at last he came out into sunlight. He found himself still in a river, and now it flowed between high banks, and playing in it were blacks that he knew. Some were just swimming, some were fishing, some were hiding in the rushes awaiting ducks. They did not know of his presence though some seemed to hear him, for they suddenly became afraid and rushed off to their camp.

At last he was swept into the sea, and a giant wave washed him ashore. As soon as he touched land he found that he was changing. It took a long time, but at last he became a man again, and when he looked at his chest and felt his back he was aware of the scares that he had borne in his other existence.

He now suggested that when the next great man died - the chief or the doctor or the rainmaker or the clergyman - his best stone axe be buried with him.

Then a sorcerer came forward and proclaimed that he would undertake to go to the river and secure the passage of it for all time. He selected some other brave people, and by the aid of his sorcery he set out on the way of the spirits.

He soon reached the forest, but found it full of the 'little men of the bush.' They barred the way of the party. Try as they would, no passage through the ranks of the 'little men' could be made. So then they turned and followed the flow of the river, and that way no opposition was offered.
They came to a tree even higher than those at the crossing place, and up that the great sorcerer climbed. From the top of it he could see the spirits stepping on to the tail of the tortoise and being shaken off. Many of these were taken by the claws of the hind feet of the beast and afterwards eaten. Others were carried down stream. The shadow of the tree was impenetrable to the 'little men,' and a bright star shed a beam to the tortoise.

The sorcerer saw that he must die before he could pass the little men and he and his party returned home.

He sharpened again his axe. He put a sharpened bone in the fire, and scraped some of the burnt part off into his food. Then he died, and as a good spirit he reached the giant trees, and there were no 'little men' to stop him. But in their place was a great snake that reared its head and prepared to strike.

With a blow of his axe he severed the head from the body, and picking it up he squeezed between the trees and stepped on to the tail of the tortoise.

When he was about half way over, just as he had seen it do to the others, and just as the returned man had told it did to him, it gave a great shake. But he was wary, and with another great blow of his axe he cut the tail off.

Quickly rushing to the other bank he turned and swung the axe at the head of the tortoise and that was severed too. Of this, though, he repented, and as the head swung down the stream he put the head of the snake in its place. Then the beast rolled over and sank out of sight.

And so now all tortoises and turtles have a snake's head and are tail-less.

And if the last woman of the Illawarra Group, who is still living, is asked about it, and if all the points of the story are examined, it will be found that there is as much truth as fiction in it.

Those who ask, however, must have the right sympathy or they will hear nothing.

How the White Waratah became Red

(The following Sherbrooke story is taken from Peck (1925, pp.26-29). The narrator is unknown)

There is really a white waratah. And it occurs in New South Wales and Tasmania. In the latter place they are in some profusion.

Every season it may be found in some parts, and the bushes that bear them will have none other year after year. Close behind may often be found pink ones and even creamy ones, but they are only white ones which have somehow been impregnated. The creamy ones have some food that was meant for the leaves, while the pink ones are surely longing for a taste of the gorgeousness of the reds.

In New South Wales white waratahs have been seen at Sherbrooke and at Mittagong. One at the former place was changed to the red that it desired.

In the dark dense jungle there a sleek and beautiful wonga pigeon lived.
The rich soil in the gullies and sunken flats produces wonderful vegetation. Supple Jacks, and bloodwood, and cedars, and monstrous turpentine! Great bushy lillipillies, over-grown myrtles, big laurels, towering eucalypti - the Consideniana, or White Ash, the Oreaves, the Smithii, and even the Sieberiana - made daylight nearly dark; and of climbing plants, the cremophila longifolia and verbenas; and sweet-smelling sassafras and olearea or Mountain Musk: there was such a profusion that the shadows allowed the winged fox to camp unmolested for centuries.

Underfoot, the carpet of dark fallen leaves was feet thick. Down in there the horrible leech waved and swayed in his blind search for an animal to fasten upon in order to get his fill of blood, while the brown bottle-tick lost no time in detaching himself from his habitat to bury his proboscis in some unfortunate passer-by, in the same quest as the leech.

In there, too, were gorgeous parrots and pretty pigeons and bower birds, and tits, and wrens, and such a host of the feathered tribes as to seem like a moving mass of wings.

Big brush wallabies softly hopped or curled in a tangled bower; the bush rat and the bandicoot peeked in their seclusion, and the native cat slunk along as only felines can.

There in this deep, dank, dark, sweet smelling Australian jungle stepped daintily and cooed quickly and loudly, that proud wonga. Sailing serenely up above it all were the hawk and the eagle. While the wonga remained indoors she was safe.

Up over the cliff where the country was flat, the bush was rocky and open and dry. The hawk's piercing eye saw every move out there.

The white waratah gazed skyward and felt dreadfully alone. All around the waratahs were red. This one only was without colour, and it longed to be like its neighbors of its own botanical family.

The handsome wonga had lost her mate. Her green spots glowed against their bed of white; her little pink legs strode briskly on and she scratched and scratched and turned up insects and grubs and she fed well.

But when her thoughts turned to companionship she discovered that she was lonely. So she coo-ed and coo-ed, even more and more rapidly, and higher and higher.

She stretched herself upon tip-toes and searched the jungle. She ceased to look for a surfeit of food, and she stepped on and on, always approaching the creek where beyond it the cliff rose, and above it was the open forest, and up out there she would go!

So she opened her wings, and heavy as she was she rose with a great and heavy flapping. Increasing her speed, she swept by the trees over the brook and up the cliff, alighting just at the foot of the white waratah.

Then she heard the call of her mate.

Foolish bird that she was. He was still down in the darkened jungle. His morning could not have been so successful as hers, or he was hungrier to start with, or perhaps he required more.

So she opened her wings again. But too late. A rush through the air like a streak of lightning or a shooting star!

'Swish!'

The hawk was down through the branchless space and upon the beautiful wonga beneath the white waratah.

But she was heavier than he reckoned. There was a struggle, and in it a whirl of feathers, white, and green, and golden!
The hawk certainly rose, but he did not carry the wonga far. The pigeon was torn, and her life was ebbing with the flow of blood. Her last struggle was her release, and from a height of a few feet she wrenched herself free and fell upon the white waratah. Her little claws grasped the colourless pistils.

The eagle above espied the hawk, and he was left to fight another battle in which he was the looser.

So the white waratah was stained with the blood of the wonga pigeon, and the bird, still clinging to the reddened pistils, died.

Later, the white waratah threw out its cluster of follicles, and they were streaked with red. The seeds were streaked in the same way. And all the plants that came from them bore flowers as red as waratahs could be. But they had to wait for three years to know that.

Not so the parent bush. Always afterwards its flowers were red, and whenever the natives saw a white waratah they pricked their fingers and allowed their blood to stain the bloom. So there are not many white waratahs in New South Wales.

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The Black Satin Bird

(The following South Coast story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.225-32). The narrator is unknown)

On the South Coast of New South Wales (not the Illawarra coast, which is not the South Coast) is a wonderful tract of undulated forest, wild and jungled brush. The highlands of this big territory overhang a strip of well-scrubbed and verdant bush which rolls north and south, showing the creeks and gullies by the deepness of the purple, and which, eastward, thins out to paddocks of perpetual grass with broad waters spread in them, and they in turn slip downwards to curved edges and curved broad beaches of gleaming yellow sand broken into scallops by lion-like promontories that gaze out - ever out - over the great blue expanse of Pacific Sea.

These highlands are but foothills, though far flung, of Australia’s Great Dividing Range. They have been pressed to where they are by great weight. It is as though one day they will be pressed on and will cover the jungle and will be engulfed out over the beaches.

The jungle is the home of giant gums and dense myrtle, of umbrageous fig and tall palm, of sassafras and supplejack. The millions of shafted trees rear their topmost boughs up into the clouds and stand as great pillars, and the voice of animal and bird reverberates as the human voice does amongst fluted pillars of a great cathedral.

But the movement of wallaby and bandicoot and bush-rat, of the lyre-bird as he scratches, of the spotted native cat and the wallaroo, is silent, for there is a carpet of fallen leaves that allows no more sound than does the Axminster or the Brussels of the mansion.

All the wonder growth of our best Australian bush is in this piece of country. Gullies are deep and dark. Rolling ridges are round and ferned. Down in the depths the creeks lie still. All the ferns, all the mosses, all the deep-green, rank-grown underscrub hem the chill waters of the little sunless creeks and close them about. Trailing vines and heavy myrtles make the gullies almost impenetrable.

Up the slope of the mountain the scrub is less, and massed burrawangs hang out their fronds as if to repel the wanderer.
In one of the densest of the gullies, where the Eugenias and the ceratopetalums hide the carpet of fallen leaves, lived a family of satin birds.

The King of the family was jet-black.

Down on the shores of the great wide Casuarina-fringed lagoons lived a family of Aborigines. Their king was jet-black and his totem was the satin bird of like colour.

When the hunters tired of fishing, and when they wearied of crossing the sand-dunes and the glaring, shimmering beach - glaring and shimmering on every fine day of summer - to poke off the mussels and spear the butterfish and groper, they pushed through the ceratopetalums and the burrawangs, and, following the tortuous bed of the principal creek amid the ferns and the moss and the vines and the myrtles, gradually ascending, they entered the sub-tropical patch where the ferns were huge and lank and staghorns clustered on rocks and trees, and the beautiful Dendrobium clung, and the supplejacks and leatherwoods and bangalow palms ran up in slender height, and that pretty massive parasite - the wild fig - made its umbrageous shade, as has been written. Here they rested.

No shaft of sunlight ever penetrated through this dense foliage. Never did the falling nor clinging plants here feel the drying wind or see a sunbeam. It was never dry.

The porcupine pushed his spikey body through, slowly raising and lowering his banded quills, and the fat bandicoot snouted for roots, and sleek tiger-cats lay in wait for the pretty green tree-snake, and for other venomous reptiles; the brown-banded and carpet and diamond snakes twined among the vines or lay coiled between the damply warm roots.

Above, in the upper branches, the colonies of pretty flock and top-knot pigeons clattered, and a little lower the parrots and gill-birds shrieked. Below them the wrens and tits mingled with fantails, both black and brown, and down on the ground the little seed-eaters darted, while the coy lyre-bird stood and made his mocking calls or scratched powerfully to unearth his meats - the grubs and bugs and roaches of the damp underscrub.

When they had rested enough the straying hunters, with singleness of thought, arose and pushed on and up.

A wall of rock rose sheer with just one narrow cleft down which the water rushed or fell, and on the level crest of that a view above the figs and other tops over the Ceratopetalums and burrawangs, and across the shimmering surface of the lake above the now hazy sand-dunes and beach to the wide, flat, blue sea, met the admiring gaze of the men.

But there was still far to go.

A wide slope down again to the level at the back of the ridge where the water of the creek was a miniature lake with just the narrow cleft cut through the wall, and down where the vines grew again and the eucalypti were mingled with turpentine.

A few hours tramping and struggling with impending vines here, and they came to the gully of the satin birds.

The darting, timid birds with the shining greenish plumage sat stock still while they watched the party of hunters. The jet-black king had chosen a burnt patch on the side of a Richea, and there he clung, his colour and that of the grass-tree making him almost invisible.

Then one of the hunters spied the home of his favorite grub on the side of this grass-tree, and as he detoured to get to it the black satin thought he was discovered and sprang out. He was very fat and heavy, and the surrounding scrub was thick, so he flapped awkwardly into the entanglement of Clematis and Eugenias.
This was his mistake and proved his undoing.

Like a flash the nullah was flung, and with a grunt of satisfaction the Aborigine rushed forward and seized his victim.

Now one of the party was the brother of the king of the group, and he, too, was of the satin-bird totem. He asked to be allowed to examine the king of the satin birds, and, without touching it, having satisfied himself that it was really the totem of his father and himself, he said that it must not again be produced so that he could see it. The man who killed it must hide it, and it must be cooked and eaten quite out of sight of any man whose totem it was.

The black bird was hidden in the bag that was worn attached to the rope of fur around the black man’s waist.

The giant range was still far ahead and there were many miles of this wooded country to be traversed before the party could reach the blue top that met the sky, and they pushed on until it was too dark to go further. No food was eaten that evening, and the dead satin bird remained fully feathered in the bag of the captor.

During the night he rolled in his sleep and the bag was emptied.

The black satin slipped beside the bird man.

In the morning when he awoke he saw what had happened, and because he was a bird man he was very frightened. He had been taught that he must never handle the king of the satin birds. The whole family was to him tabu, but the most tabu was the black one.

People who were tree people or flower people, or indeed of any other totem, could handle the satin bird and eat it.

However, as the custom was, he said nothing. All day he wondered what would be the ill that would come to him.

Once, in going over the deep creek by traversing one of a hundred logs that lay from bank to bank - a creek that wound along the foot of the enormous range - he slipped, and a jagged broken limb caused a deep wound in his leg and he thought that that was perhaps his punishment.

After that the real ascent, with all its difficulties and dangers, began. The men were behind a high pointed mass of mountain rocks that held a huge stone poised on its top and they were shut in by that and the surrounding steeps and by a wall of thousands of feet which was yet to be climbed, and then the sun went out.

Unnoticed, the day had changed.

Buried as they were in the dense forest the sky was out of their ken. It had dulled. Deep clouds had spread over it, and now as they scaled into a higher air they found it to be raw and chill and a wind was blowing with a grim, steady persistence that foreshadowed rain in plenty.

Presently a fierce gust swept along the side, and after that the heavy rain fell. The black men huddled together and were at first undecided about what to do.

Presently, it was agreed that the best thing as to return to the shelter of the gully behind the sharp-topped mount, there to await the passing of the rain.

They lit fires and the man with the black satin bird turned his back to the rest to pluck it, and he took fire from the little heap, and out of the sight of the others he cooked his bird.
The son of the king ran no risks. He, too, parted from the group, and did his own cooking and he ate in silence. They all had berries and pieces of wallaby flesh. Only the satin was to any of them a totem thing.

Suddenly there came a roar from the mountainside. Huge rocks were crashing down the steep. A rock had given way, and it came on, bringing others, and felling trees, and the group of blacks were right in its path.

They scrambled up and each ran, holding the cooked food in the hands, to escape.

The falling mass was almost upon them. It was coming far more swiftly than any of them could run. Though it was impeded by trees so also were they by the scrub.

The wound in the leg of the king's son prevented him from going as fast as the others, and the man with the piece of satin bird in his hand stayed to aid him.

He grasped the arm of the other and they sped on, stumbling and falling, but progressing. Then their hands slipped together and each touched the totem.

Then they were paralysed. They fell. A big tree crashed.

The rest escaped. They got out of the path of the avalanche of rocks.

When the falling debris was stilled and the rain was ceasing and the wind was lessening they retraced their strides and they found the unlucky pair.

This put an end to their adventures. All knew what was their own totem, of course, and all knew that an outraged ancestor would have a revenge when he saw a disrespect, whether intentional or not. The ancestors were all jealous gods and they found ways of visiting such a sin upon everyone connected with it.

They returned the way they went out. There were the usual lamentations and the usual mourning period. The wives especially were required to show great sorrow, and by painting themselves with white clay, and pulling out their hair, and by cutting themselves in various places, particularly straight down the middle of the head so that blood ran over the face and down the neck, they satisfied the onlookers that they were genuinely grieved.

No one ever went exactly to the place of the tragedy. Therefore, when, long years afterwards, white men were clambering about that steep of the great Curockbilly Range, they found the bones, and a derelict remnant of that once virile family told enough for me to write the story of the black satin.

The Dianella Berry

(The following east coast story is taken from Peck (1933, pp.99-102). The narrator was possibly Ellen Anderson)

We have given the rush with the pretty blue berries its name after the Goddess of the Woods - Diana - the hunter's deity. And it is strange but true that the Aborigines had an idea much the same. They said that the plant at one time in the alcheringa was the hair of a certain woman who lived deep in the bush.
She had some sisters, however, and they lived sometimes in forests and sometimes in the air for their home was in the great cumulus clouds that lie hazily above the sea.

The one who lived in the bush only, had for a husband a mighty hunter whose voice was so loud that when he spoke angrily every animal and bird and even insect and reptile fled from that part of the country and did not return for a very long time.

The woman was always most grieved when she saw the animals that she loved flying in fear, and one day when her husband had been especially angry one little bird grew too tired to fly far and it came to her for help. Her hair was at that time very luxuriant and she took the little bird and hid it in it.

After that many birds found the same sanctuary under similar circumstances and at last the number was so great that it was impossible for them all to be hidden. One bird—the woodpecker begged to be allowed to leave and to try his luck by hiding under the loose bark of a big tree. This place was not secure, and when the angry man saw him there with part of his body showing, he threw his spear. It missed, but was so close as to make the woodpecker hop sharply further up. Another spear and then another were thrown, each one causing the frightened bird to jump one more step upwards.

The man's anger waned; his arm grew tired: he lay down to sleep. The bird flew to the woman and plucked one hair from her head. This he hid, hoping that the next time that the big hunter was angry and roared the hair would be enough to cover, not one woodpecker only, but the whole woodpecker family.

It is noticed that woodpeckers to this day hop up and up the trunks of trees and the blacks say that they are looking for a place to hide from the wrath of a forest giant. They listen intently and strain their ears to catch the sound of the roaring.

We know that the birds are simply looking for food, and some of us believe that the Aborigines know this quite well, only feigning to think that it is for any other purpose. Perhaps they think the tale is too pretty to lose.

Next time that the hunter was angry and threatening, the woodpecker tried his plan. He flew to the place where he had hidden the strand of hair, and he found that he could be covered with it by winding it around himself until none was left hanging. Other birds saw the plan and followed it.

The time came when the woman had but little hair left. But rain fell where the hairs were put and warm sun shone on the places and the hairs grew and flowers came upon them all and afterwards berries formed.

It was no longer necessary for the birds and the animals to flee far to escape the wrath of the husband of their benefactor.

They only had to quickly haste to one cluster of growing hairs and snuggle down in amongst them and they were quite hidden.

But the day came when a jealous sister came down from the cumulus cloud. She told the man he declared that he would find every one of those clusters and destroy them. The sister gave directions to the rest of the family still up in the sky that they were to keep their clouds away from the place so that no more rain could fall and the hairs would no longer grow. She saw that the wife was now denuded of hair and she wanted to please the husband and thought that no more could ever be seen after those growing ones were destroyed.

But the berries had fallen and lay covered by the now dry soil. The clusters of hairs did die, and the earth suffered from a great drought.
Then the man grew more and more sullen and was more and more often dreadfully angry. His wife had gone away from him. The birds had hidden her and with their wings they protected her, and the cloud sister lived in her place.

She no longer spoke to those still in the sky. They heard of her treachery and they did not want to speak to her. They at last determined to no longer heed her request to keep away from that place and they came again and they brought the lightning and the thunder with them. They poured their rain down upon the earth and every little blue berry gave birth to another hair that took root and became a plant.

The rain kept on longer than ever before and there was great flood, but not any of these hair rushes was destroyed. To-day they grow where the ground is wettest, as well as in dryer parts.

Aboriginal women of all the east coast of Australia know this story and they believe it, and because they think that the spirit of the woman who loved birds and animals is still in the dianella rush they like that plant best for the weaving of baskets and mats.

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**Why the Waratah is Firm**

(The following Georges River story is taken from Peck (1925, pp.52-5). The original narrator was Griffiths - or Coomercudgkala - of Taralga)

The whole Georges River tribe were camped on the flat that lay between the bouldered cliffs on each side of the river. The weather had been very dry. Surely Australia had been passing through one of the droughts so well known to us.

Though the happenings I am about to describe took place many thousands of years ago, and though the story may have been altered in the telling by so many fathers right down the line, yet it is just like any other story that might be told by any of us as far as the dry weather is concerned.

The river had not been in flood for several years or moons. And fish and eels were scarce. Only the big holes had them. The holes at the rocky flat were full seventy feet deep.

Most of the tribe were lolling in the shade. Only the hardiest stood motionless on the rocks with spears poised, while the baiters gently scattered fine pith from the cabbage palms or chewed up seeds of the macrozamia to attract the fish and bring them to the surface.

Warmeela, the son of the king, was the hardest of all, and Krubi, his lubra, was never done warning him about the risks he took in war and hunting. Even now she stood under the myrtles, and with the waratah she held in her hand she beckoned Warmeela to come to her.

But Warmeela took no notice. Instead he glanced to the west, for away over there great thunder clouds swelled slowly but surely up, and the faint zephyr that swung softly down the ravine ceased altogether. The hot air stood still. The only movement was the zip of the spear that pierced the water and the quick kick of the impaled fish as he was suddenly lifted out and dropped in a crevice where his struggles soon ended.

Then came the roll of thunder. The clouds blotted out the sun. A shade like the blackened haze of an eclipse spread over the river. One of the baiters went back to the myrtle scrub.

But Warmeela remained.
Soon all but he had retired. The tribe was moving back to a huge cave they knew of, formed by the rolling together some time or other of several enormous boulders. There was shelter for every man, woman, and child.

Warmeela stood alone with poised spear. Like a million cracking whips came the next crash, and with it a frightful jagged fork of lightning. Warmeela was struck. His spear was hurled over the water and stuck quivering feet deep in a soft place on the opposite side. There was a charred mark down its whole length, and the point of bone was wrenched off.

Warmeela lay prone amongst his struggling fish. His brother rushed to him. He bore him back to the tribe. Rain poured down. Roll after roll, crash after crash of thunder shook the hills. The wind came tearing through the giant gums and swirling amongst the myrtle shrubs.

Warmeela was unconscious of it all. He heard nothing of the consternation of his tribe. His old mother rubbed his hands, while the king gazed stupidly. Krubi the beautiful, held his head on her arm.

The storm rolled off again as quickly as it came, and then Warmeela opened his eyes. But they were useless. A print of a gum tree lay across his face, and the limbs were marked over his eyes. The sight was gone. A white streak appeared in his jet black hair, and one arm hung paralysed at his side.

Next morning he tried to walk, and it was seen that he had a terrible limp.

And he was blind.

Now, Warmeela was most fond of the honey of the waratah. The great doryantes excelsa (gigantic lily) produced much honey, but the ants and gnats got most of that. Seldom did an Aborigine regale himself with the juice of that flower, because he did not like the taste of ants nor the stings of the flies.

But the waratah was different. Its honey, though less, was sweeter, and very often there were no insects in the flower at all. And though it may seem strange to us, the bloom of the waratah was very soft.

That was what the broken-hearted native whom they called Griffiths, when his real name was Coomerucudgkala, told to Mr. Murdoch out near Taralga about sixty years ago.

Poor Warmeela! So strong he had been, so agile, so big-hearted and so high-spirited. He stumbled amid the rocks. None but Krubi would he suffer to lead him. And often Krubi had to engage herself with those things that the women did, but always before she was half-way through, Warmeela called her. If she did not come at once he went off by himself.

The waratahs were blooming again, for a year had gone by, and Warmeela often put out his hand hoping to feel one. He still hated to be handed anything. He wanted to feel and fetch and carry for himself. Two flowers bothered him. The big yellow podelidis accominata and the flower of the native musk (olearia argophylla) often deceived him, and once some other flower poisoned him.

One day Krubi, his beautiful wife, came upon him when his heart was sad and he was ill and depressed.

"Warmeela, what is it that ails you?" she asked.

Warmeela felt for her hand. "I do not know one flower from another," he answered. "I would drink of the honey of the waratah, but I cannot find it often, and I mistake others for it."

"Then," said Krubi, "we shall find a way so that you will know the feel of it from all others. Come with me, Warmeela."
Krubi led him to the place where the lightning struck. There was a mark in the rock. Krubi followed it. Why she hardly knew. Warmeela was willing to hold her hand and be led. The mark struck straight on over the flat rocks and the boulders to the eroded bank. It showed on the bare root of a gum tree, and the tree was split. It was the very tree that was printed on the face of Warmeela.

Krubi sat by the gum, and there she spoke to the Great Spirit. No one knows what she said, but after a time she got up, and bidding Warmeela wait, she sped over the rocks and logs until she found a beautiful red waratah. She returned with it and held it close to the crack in the gum tree. The soft pistils were drawn up. They stiffened. Krubi held the flower to Warmeela, and when he felt the difference he clasped his big hand over it. He clasped too hard. He bent the red pistils, and in that moment a big light lit the sky.

A red ball descended, lighting up the day in such a way as to startle all who saw it. Some screamed and rushed hither and thither. Not so Krubi and Warmeela. They knew what no one else knew. The good bunyip had answered Krubi's prayer, and thence forth Warmeela had no difficulty whatever in distinguishing the waratah.

And that is why our national flower today has so sure pistils, and it is loved by us all.

At Low Tide

**Allambee and the Great White Spirit**

(The Coming of the White Man to Australia)

(The following story of coastal New South Wales - most likely Illawarra and the South Coast - is taken from Peck (1933, pp.136-43). It tells of the eventual arrival in Australia of the white race as descendants of the Aborigine Allambee and the great white spirit)

This is a story, in part, of the coming of the white man to Australia. Whether it is wholly true or not does not, perhaps, matter. It is true this far - that since the earliest times the Aborigines did believe that a black man was taken by a great white spirit and he became the ancestor of the great white race.

It was thought that the black man was so favoured by the god that he took him to his own realm, and that occasionally, at times remote from one another, some Aborigines nearly as much favoured, was allowed to penetrate after death into the country of this white race and become white like the ones there, and then come back for a time to his people.

So we have many accounts of white people being taken to the hearts of the blacks just because they thought that perhaps those white were the favoured blacks who came back.

Often a scar on the white man was the recognised mark; sometimes it was a peculiarity of hair; sometimes an uncommon walk, and sometimes there was some likeness in facial features. The blacks were all very quick to notice such things.

There are many stories of kindness done by the blacks at times when the white was powerless, and it is a fact that the traits of human character that make for benevolence and charity were pronounced in the autochthonous inhabitants of this country.

All over Australia men and women waited for the return of the man who was taken to be the ancestor of the white race. On the great plains the vantage points were trees, but if there were an
outstanding rocky eminence, periodical pilgrimages were made to it. On the highlands the places were always a cool gully with moss and fern-grown sides, while on the coast it was always the highest of a line of sand-dunes or the top of a rock-bound promontory.

That white morning away back in the thousands of years ago that brought Allambee from his gunyah (he was called Allambee because he was slow in his movements), blinking at the sun that was just crawling up from the edge of the sea, was just the same as the many white mornings that brought me out of my tent to look at the same sun steadily rising from beyond the horizon down on the New South Wales Coast, somewhere in the mists of my past.

But in Allambee's day there were different things everywhere. Whether of the animal world or the plant world or of the spirit world the Aborigines were not clear, and from what they said, I believe that it was of the spirit world, for their belief in magic from above nature, and the supernatural in all things, was pathetically great.

The sky became brilliant. The sea was whitey-grey with specks of flashing silver coming from the sun to a wide mark just behind the breakers. These specks danced like shaking beads.

Away to the north the sea was calm and flat and still and light blue; away to the south it was just as calm and flat but a little bluer. The horizon was level and clear and sharp. The breakers were very lazy. They just reared up and broke in white foam and fell and come on and in. When they reached the beach they slipped in lines of tiny foam and turned and faded out.

The beach was yellow and massed with shells and dry cuttle-fish and a few old water-smoothed logs lay about on the sand. An irregular line of mesembryanthemum and marram-covered dunes stood then, and Xerotes rush with the pebbly and spikey flowers forbade unwary trampling. Big old gnarled Banksia serrata leaned over bowing to the sea, and the underscrub was leptospermum and bracken fern with a tangle of hibbertia and smilax and hardenbergias.

It was a clear patch that sloped to a wide rushy lagoon, and back of it all the flat-sided and sheer and dense-clad range.

Now, of this beauty all is gone but the sea and the sky, for white man is the despoiler of nature. The range is made bare. The lagoon is dried up. The banksias and the ferns and the bushes are all gone. The sand dunes are all torn away, and the shells are trampled and broken. The dust of civilization and the dirt of coal mines and the dazing noise of industry - the, after all, useless industry - of white man, vilify the air.

When white man came the land was as Allambee saw it and as it had been for the ages. Whatever the difference occurred was the difference of evolution, not of revolution.

A flat patch of rock to the southwards that was edged with green mosses and sprays of seaweed caught the breakers and the mosses were sparkled and the seaweed swung with the water as it receded. When the tide was low and the waves just murmured and the seagulls swept the surface with their sharp wings there was a wide, low slope of beach.

Allambee walked amongst the sleeping people and stood on the sand dunes.

He saw a strange sight. A white man sat on the sea over against the flat patch of rock. He was very big.

He had flowing hair and a big mass of beard and his eyes could be seen even at a great distance. And in his hand he held a long spear.

Allambee had never seen such a spear before. He had never seen anything like this sight, for the man was huge and bright and white, and all about and belonging to this apparition was the same - huge and bright and white.

At first he was very frightened.
The sun came high up and the sparkling flashes became less and less and the white morning became blue and a little breeze sprang up in the north-east and came on in little pulses across the sea and stirred the leaves of the banksias.

The people moved and dogs stretched themselves and yawned.

Allambee forgot his fears and determined to go across to the rocks to see the big man who sat on the sea. He wanted to talk to him.

The great stranger said that he had come to choose a good man to go with him to the place from whence he had come, for a king was wanted there to become an ancestor and to cause a race of people to come to inhabit the land and make it grow the beautiful things that were on other parts of the coast, especially that part which we call Illawarra.

He asked Allambee if he would go, and though Allambee thought of his wife and his children and his people, he thought, too, that it would be fine to be a king, and what is so much better, an ancestor, so he consented to go. But he must return to the camp and have just one last look at those whom he really loved.

He found his wife and his little brown baby on the sand dunes just where he had stood when he saw the big man on the water. Others of the family group were by this time astir, and were either preparing food and weapons, or were trying to decide what they would hunt during the day.

Many women were seated at fires, and watching to see the round stones become heated enough to use for baking meat and fish. Others were idly jabbing their digging sticks into the grass. The rest were either patting the dogs or just standing awaiting orders. Children were playing about - some in the lagoon and some on the sandy patches or amongst the green grass.

Some men were busy extracting the tough sinews from wallabies legs to use as tying strings and binding their stone axes in the handles. Others were applying themselves to the cooking and the fashioning of weapons, as I have written.

None had gone to the beach. Only Allambee's wife had reached the sand dunes, and there she sat awaiting her husband.

When he came he told her what had happened. She looked across to the rocks but she could see no man at all. She grew very much afraid, for she thought that if Allambee had seen any such thing he must be what the Scotch call "fey." So she said nothing, and taking her child close to her she rose simply, but with much trepidation and inward weakness, and went back to the camp. Allambee followed.

All the people could see that something had occurred to Allambee, and the wife whispered that it was magical and no one spoke to him. They were afraid that he perhaps possessed magic power and that he might use it to their detriment or at least disadvantage.

So Allambee silently passed from out from the people and going down to the rocks he waded into the water. Many of the family group went as far as the sand dunes and from there they watched. The principal watcher was his wife.

During many days that followed she went out there, and though other women tried to comfort her she would not be comforted. her husband was not dead, therefore she did not wear the white clay that as usual, and that, being a dress of some sort, was, even in their distress because of the loss of a husband, a source of satisfaction.

She entered into the preparation of the food just as before. She tendered her children. When the women went to the rocks either to the north or to the south to assist in the catching of crustaceans or the spearing of swimming fish or the trapping of eels, she went too. She made ropes of fur and
bags of rushes and sea-grass, and she watched the black under her baby's skin gradually spreading over his little body, but in it all - during all her days, and while she was awake at night - she waited and longed for her husband.

She believed that one day he would come back and she would know him.

Then came the time when the king ordered the people to go to another part of the coast. While they were wending their way along the beach they came to a place where a creek spread itself out on the sand, and only a narrow bar separated it from the water of the sea.

Allambee's wife was the first to essay to pass along the bar. It was of sodden sand, and underneath that there was much soft and rotted weed.

She sank. The sand was a patch of treacherous quicksand.

Allambee's boy was left without either father or mother. He was cared for by some of his relatives, for all those people whom Allambee, by the rules of his race, might have married were considered as much mother as the real mother, and Allambee's brothers as well as those brothers of the women he could have taken to wife were uncles, so no orphan could ever be without relatives.

When he grew up he became a priest and he thought that his father was taken by a spirit for some great work and that his mother had joined him. This belief was shared by the people and Allambee's son was looked upon with more awe than reverence. He was under instruction for many months but the day came when he was accredited, and after this his ministrations were accepted and he grew to be of great importance.

The people had moved back and forth many times. He knew all the story of his father, and every time that the camp was back near those flat rocks he spent many mornings on the sand dunes gazing out to sea and hoping to find his father coming back with the great white spirit with whom he had gone away.

When again the tide was full and the rocks were covered and the breakers dashed against the cliffs and the beach was under water he did not bother to look. If the storm blew and the rain fell, and the wind lashed the leaves of the banksias and twirled the bushes and the streamers of marram that grew on the sandhills he thought it was no time to watch, for then the sea was very rough and no one, not even a spirit, could walk on it.

His day at last passed away and he went out into the beyond and his people buried him in the sand. All the rest of the people who died were buried in the shallow graves further up the beach, and after a time their bones were taken up and scattered, but a member of the immediate family took an arm bone or a shin bone (a radius or a tibia) and carried it for luck until it became uninteresting or a nuisance, when it was thrown away.

But a bone of a priest was never taken.

Each successive priest in his day watched on the sand dunes.

Then came a day just like that day on which the great spirit man appeared. The sun came up out of the sea in a white sky as before and the sparkling spots danced and spread on the water and the waves were weary.

A priest stood on the sand dunes. Away out on the ocean the great white thing appeared. It rolled with the water.

The priest ran to the slumbering people and soon the sand dunes were lined with men and women and children who watched the unknown thing out on the sea.
The tide went out. They fully expected it to turn and come in, and to see Allambee with it. The story of him was as fresh in the knowledge of the tribe as if the happening of his going was one of only the day before. The priests, one after the other, kept the story green.

There was not much work that day. And all the conversation was about Allambee and the expected coming.

The white thing was the first of many that came, and it was seen that white men came from them and sometimes white women were with the men.

These men and women were of the race that Allambee went to be the ancestor of, and to this race belong all men who go out back and return white.

The Gigantic Lily and the Waratah

{The following stories are taken from Stan Thomas's The Town at the Crossroads - A story of Albion Park (Albion Park, 1975). They have been extracted from C.W. Peck's Australian Legends (1925), and much abbreviated}

The Gigantic Lily

....It is difficult to find proof that the origin of myths and legends was directly associated with the natives of Illawarra, but it has been claimed over the years that the Gigantic Lily came into being as a result of an heroic act by the son of a chief, who, with a party of Kurnell Aborigines, were trapped in a deep ravine of the Georges River by a huge fall of rock during a fierce storm when they were on their way to where we now know as Minto [near Campbelltown]. The young hero was badly injured as he tried to lower food to the others and lay there exhausted and unable to move. It must have been a spirit that came up out of the glen, then took his hand and placed it on a small lilacea. The plant immediately grew up and up with a long thin stalk and a flower on top, the young native then drifted into a timeless sleep with the leaves wrapped around him.

The Legend of the Waratah

The Legend of the Waratah stems from the story of a beautiful young maiden named Krubi, who lived in the Burragorang Valley and made herself a red cloak from the skin of a rock wallaby. She had decorated the coat with the red crest of a cockatoo. She fell in love with a young man, who was far enough removed in blood to satisfy tribal law, and for her to seek his affection in return. She used to stand in a sandstone cleft so that her red cloak was easily seen by the warriors when they were returning from battle. Due to the presence of another tribe in the valley, a battle ensued and as she watched from her vantage point there was no familiar figure to greet her. The story says that Krubi waited for seven days, her tears kept flowing to form a small stream, then as she returned to the camp fire, bush plants began to sprout.

She willed herself to die and passed into the tract of sandstone, then up shot a firm straight stalk. It had serrated leaves with points like a spear, a glorious red flower appeared, and the natives called it "Waratah." (It being claimed that this legend was told to an early settler by the then king of the Burragorang tribe).

The story of the Bunyip, a monster of peculiar shape and habits, was often associated, by the old hands, with the swamp existing over the mountain on the western side of Robertson.
The years 1770-1813 marked the period of first contact between the Aboriginal people of Illawarra and the South Coast, and whitemen, beginning with sightings of the Endeavour off Illawarra during April 1770. It is possible that Portuguese sailors had visited the east coast of Australia prior to Captain Cook, however no account of their encounters with the local natives survive.

The years between Captain Cook's visit in 1770 through to the arrival of the First Fleet at Port Jackson in January 1788 were much as prior to 1770 for the local people, with many still unaware of the existence of Europeans, though according to McAndrew (1990) a story concerning a large White Swan developed amongst the people of the South Coast, supposedly in connection with their sighting of Cook's vessel.

With the disembarkation of Captain Arthur Phillip and his band of soldiers and convicts at Sydney Cove in January 1788, the whole world was to change dramatically for the original inhabitants of this land. As Keith Willey says in his 1979 book, it was a time 'when the sky fell down' upon the Aborigines of eastern Australia, such was the trauma of the white invasion.

The years 1788-1813 marked the period of first recorded contact between the Aborigines of Illawarra and the South Coast and whitemen. As in so many other parts of Australia, initially the Europeans were seen as the Aborigines' re-born ancestors - due to their pale colouring and like features - and welcomed accordingly. However this mythical aspect soon disappeared as the natives came to see the harsh realities of white civilization.

This period saw the first massacres by whites and associated depredations; the introduction of decimating diseases such as smallpox, influenza, and the venereal diseases; and the first instances of whites living amongst the local Aboriginal population, as noted by Matthew Flinders in 1796.

These years were especially marked by initial explorations along the South Coast of New South Wales and sporadic encounters with whaling vessels and timber getters. Shipwrecks and strandings also resulted in a number of Europeans encountering the local people, though no official settlements were established along the South Coast during this period.

Unfortunately accounts from this time are generally brief, merely describing the geographical discoveries of the explorers and lacking any intimate discussion of the customs of the local Aborigines. The journals of William Clarke (1797) and Lt. Grant at Jervis Bay (1801) are the most descriptive from this period.

Most published and manuscript accounts reveal a decided fear on the part of the Europeans with regards to the local people - they often considered them cannibals and primitive savages - and many diaries record encounters resulting in death on both sides. These unfortunate accounts are nevertheless important in our study as they often present a view of the local people prior to the
more major disturbances of dispossession and corruption introduced by Europeans settlers after about 1815.

1770

Captain Cook and the Endeavour

22-28 April 1770: Captain James Cook and the crew of the bark Endeavour sail north along the New South Wales coast, passing by Illawarra and the South Coast. Surviving accounts of the voyage, by both Captain Cook and Joseph Banks, contain the first European observations on the Aborigines of the region.

James Cook’s Log

The following extracts are taken from the log of Captain Cook. The first reference to the local people was made when the Endeavour was off the coast near Pigeon House mountain, south of Ulladulla:

Sunday, 22nd April: ....After this we steer’d along shore N.N.E., having a gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the shore as to distinguish several people upon the Sea beach. They appeared to be of a very dark or black Colour; but whether this was the real Colour of their skins or the Cloathes they might have on I know not.

[The next day the Endeavour was sailing along the coast between Jervis Bay and Red Point, near Wollongong]

Wednesday, 25th April: ....In the Course of this day’s run we saw the Smoke of fire in several places near the Sea beach.

[The following observations were taken off the coast near Bass Point (Shellharbour) and Red Point (Port Kembla)]

Thursday, 26th April: Saw several smokes along shore before dark, and 2 or 3 times a fire.

[The following attempted landing occurred near Collins Point, Woonona]

Saturday, 28th April: In the P.M. hoisted out the Pinnace and Yawl in order to attempt a landing, but the Pinnace took in the Water so fast that she was obliged to be hoisted in again to stop her leaks. At this time we saw several people a shore, 4 of whom where carrying a small Boat or Canoe, which we imagin’d they were going to put in to the Water in order to Come off to us; but in this we were mistaken.

Being now about 2 Miles from the Shore Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and myself put off in the Yawl, and pull’d in for the land to a place where we saw 4 or 5 of the Natives, who took to the Woods as we approached the Shore; which disappointed us in the expectation we had of getting a near View of them, if not to speak to them. But our disappointment was heightened when we found that we no where could effect a landing by reason of the great Surf which beat everywhere upon the shore. We saw haul’d up upon the beach 3 or 4 small Canoes, which to us appeared not much unlike the Small ones of New Zealand.
After this unsuccessful attempt to land, the *Endeavour* sailed on north and arrived at Botany Bay the following day. Cook made a successful landing there, though the local Aborigines presented some opposition.

**Joseph Banks's Journal**


The following extracts from the journal of Joseph Banks deal with the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines as observed between 20-27 April 1770 (N.B: there are some variations in dates between the Cook and Banks accounts):

[On 20 April the Endeavour was sailing north between Cape Howe and Cape Dromedary]

20. The country this morne rose in gentle sloping hills which had the appearance of the highest fertility, every hill seemed to be cloth'd with trees of no mean size; at noon a smoko was seen a little way inland and in the evening several more.

[On 21 April the Endeavour was sailing north between Cape Dromedary and Bateman's Bay]

21. In the morn the land appeared much as it did yesterday but rather more hilly; in the even again it became flatter. Several smoaks were seen from whence we concluded it to be rather more populous; at night five fires.

[On 22 April the Endeavour was off Point Upright, north of Bateman's Bay and south of Pigeon House Mountain]

22. The Countrey hilly but rising in gentle slopes and well wooded. A hill was in sight which much resembled those dove houses which are built four square with a small dome at the top.

In the morn we stood in with the land near enough to discern 5 people who appeared through our glasses to be enormously black; so far did the prejudices which we 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.

Since we have been on the coast we have not observed those large fires which we so frequently saw in the Islands and New Zealand made by the natives in order to clear the ground for cultivation; we thence concluded not much in favour of our future friends...

[On 23 April the Endeavour was becalmed off the region of Pigeon House Mountain]

23. Calm today, myself in small boat but saw few or no birds.... The ship was too far from the shore to see much of it; a larger fire was however seen than any we have seen before...

[On 24 April the Endeavour was sailing north in the region of Jervis Bay]

24. The wind was unfavourable all day and the ship too far from the land for much to be seen; 2 large fires however were seen and several smaller....

[On 25 April the Endeavour was sailing north between Shoalhaven and Red Point]
25. Large fires were lighted this morn about 10 O'Clock, we supposed that the gentlemen ashore had a plentiful breakfast to prepare ... In the even it was calm. All the fires were put out about 5 O'Clock...

[On 26 April the Endeavour was off Illawarra and to the north]

26. Land today more barren in appearance than we had before seen it: it consisted chiefly of Chalky cliffs something resembling those of old England; within these it was flat and might be no doubt fertile. Fires were seen during the day the same as yesterday but none so large.

[On 27 April the Endeavour was off northern Illawarra, in the region of Bulli, and an attempt was made to land]

27. The Countrey today again made in slopes to the sea coverd with wood of a tolerable growth tho not so large as some we have seen. At noon we were very near it; one fire only was in sight ... After dinner the Capt'n. proposed to hoist out boats and attempt to land, which gave me no small satisfaction; it was done accordingly but the Pinnace on being lowered down into the water was found so leaky that it was impractical to attempt it.

Four men were at this time observed walking briskly along the shore, two of which carried on their shoulders a small canoe; they did not however attempt to put her in the water so we soon lost all hopes of their intending to come off to us, a thought with which we once had flattered ourselves.

To see something of them however we resolvd and the Yawl, a boat just capable of carrying the Capt'n, Dr Solander, myself and 4 rowers was accordingly prepared. They sat on the rocks expecting us but when we came within about a quarter of a mile they ran away hastily into the countrey; they appeard to us as well as we could judge at that distance exceedingly black. Near the place were four small canoes which they left behind. The surf was too great to permit us with a single boat and that so small to attempt to land, so we were obliged to content ourselves with gazing from the boat at the productions of nature which we so much wishd to enjoy a nearer acquaintance with.

The trees were not very large and stood separate from each other without the least underwood; among them we could discern many cabbage trees but nothing else which we could call by any name. In the course of the night many fires were seen......

[Banks and some of the crew of the Endeavour made a successful landing at Botany Bay the following day]

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First Contact

[?1770] Whilst sightings of the Endeavour may have been the first contact local Aborigines had with Europeans, other vessels may also have passed along the east coast of Australia prior to 1788. Refer under 1888 for an account of the first sighting of a European sailing vessel by the Aborigines of Moruya.

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The First Fleet

January 1788: The First Fleet, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, arrives in Botany Bay and Port Jackson, marking the beginning of white settlement in Australia.

Whilst we have no first hand accounts of the Illawarra Aborigines' reaction to news of the arrival of the First Fleet, or details of their first contact with Europeans, nevertheless within the 1839-40 diary of the geologist Reverend W.B. Clarke (Mitchell Library, MSS 139/7/4) we find reference to an Aboriginal song composed to describe this event, and acted out at a corroboree held near Wollongong in January of 1840. As Clarke records:

On enquiry I find the burden of the song to be: "that the white man came to Sydney in ships and landed the horses in the saltwater". It is of such ridiculous subjects that the Blacks of New Holland make their songs - and any trifling event is celebrated by a song.

It is clear that news of the First Fleet's arrival at Sydney Cove would have quickly spread throughout the Colony (refer Ross, 1976), and members of the Illawarra and South Coast tribes, many of whom had visited Sydney Harbour over the years to engage in social activities such as corroborees and initiation ceremonies, would have also been aware of them, despite their geographical isolation. Escaped convicts would perhaps have been the first whitemen to visit Illawarra shortly after January 1788.

Refer under 1840 for a fuller account of the corroboree observed by Reverend Clarke at Wollongong. See also the numerous First Fleet Journals for references to the Aborigines at Sydney in 1788.

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1789

Smallpox at Port Jackson

April 1789: Smallpox ravaged the Aboriginal people of the Sydney area, killing at least half the population and leaving Sydney Harbour strewn with corpses.

Many of the local natives left the vicinity of Port Jackson for areas to the north, west, and south. In their attempt to escape the plague they unfortunately spread the disease far and wide amongst their people - to what extent is still unclear.

It is quite likely that smallpox reached Illawarra - just 50 miles south of Sydney - during this period and may have travelled further south, though the true effects are unknown.

Refer Butlin (1983) for a discussion of the effect of smallpox on the Aborigines of southeastern Australia during this period, and also during the second epidemic of 1829-31.

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1791

Matilda at Jervis Bay

November 1791: The whaling vessel Matilda, under Captain Matthew Weatherhead, visits Jervis Bay - the first European vessel to do so. Whilst there, the captain sketches a plan of the bay, and later back in England Alexander Dalrymple made the following annotation upon the map (Ida Lee, *Early Explorers in Australia*):

.....In the Matilda many natives were seen and canoes on the beach; the natives were armed with spears but they could have no communication with them.

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1794

First Recorded Attempt to Travel Overland from Sydney to Illawarra

14-20 May 1794: A party of two soldiers and an unnamed Aboriginal guide set off on an excursion south of Botany Bay in search of a fresh water river - possibly Lake Illawarra - thought to be in the vicinity of Red Point. They are unsuccessful, failing to penetrate the dense bush south of Port Hacking.

The following account of their excursion is taken from David Collins’ *An Account of the Colony of New South Wales*, London, 1798, 1802 (reprint Sydney, 1975, volume 1, pp.308-309):

......Some natives, who had observed the increasing numbers 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 to 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 at the chart, was supposed to be somewhere about Red Point. The natives 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.

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1795

Gome-boak the Warrior

February 1795: (D.Collins, op cit., p.342) Report on the arrival in Sydney of Gome-boak, a warrior Aborigine from far south of Botany Bay - possibly from Illawarra or the far South Coast:

About the latter end of the month the natives adjusted some affairs of honour in a convenient spot near the brick-fields [Sydney].

The people who live about the south shore of Botany Bay brought with them a stranger of an extraordinary appearance and character; even his name had something extraordinary in the sound - Gome-boak. He had been several days on his journey from the place where he lived, which was far to the southward. In height he was not more than five foot two or three inches, but he was by far the most muscular, square, and well-formed native we had ever seen.

He fought well; his spears were remarkably long, and he defended himself with a shield that covered his whole body. We had the satisfaction of seeing him engaged with some of our Sydney friends, and of observing that neither their persons nor their reputations suffered any thing in the contest.

When the fighting was over, on our praising to them the martial talents of this stranger, the strength and muscle of his arm, and the excellence of his sight, they admitted the praise to be just (because when opposed to them he had not gained the slightest advantage); but, unwilling that we should think too highly of him, they assured us, with horror in their countenances, that Gome-boak was a cannibal.

Gome-boak, we learned, was afterwards killed among his own people in some affair to the southward.

[A fuller description of the fighting and implements used is given in Collins, op. cit., pp.485-8]

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1796

Bass and Flinders at Lake Illawarra

26-29 March 1796: George Bass, Matthew Flinders, and the boy Martin, travel to Illawarra aboard the Tom Thumb, a small sailing boat, encountering Aborigines near Towradgi, Red Point and at Lake Illawarra.

Bass and Flinders are the first Europeans to officially set foot in Illawarra, eight years after the arrival of the First Fleet, though as their account shows, Europeans were already living amongst the natives there.

Bass and Flinders arrived in Illawarra believing the natives to be hostile, and possibly even cannibals, as is revealed from Matthew Flinders' manuscript journal (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; reproduced in W.G. McDonald, Earliest Illawarra, Wollongong, 1976).

The following extract from that journal takes up during the voyage southward, shortly after the Tom Thumb had been swamped near Towradgi Beach, north of Wollongong, and the whole party washed ashore:
Saturday 26 March: ....After viewing each other with some anxiety, we agreed it absolutely necessary to launch the boat again, immediately if possible, lest any number of natives should come down on us in this unprepared state. There were smokes within three miles, which rendered the matter of immediate consideration, and more especially, as the natives to the south-ward of Botany Bay were generally believed to be cannibals.

[After re-launching the vessel they sailed south towards the Five Islands and spent the night in the small boat, all the while cold and wet from their unplanned landing at Towradgi, anchored off Red Point (Hill 60), near Port Kembla]

Sunday, 27 March: It was with no small degree of pleasure we saw the dawning which preceeds the appearance of that luminary, whose warmth we were so much in need of; and not much less on hearing a voice call to us in the Port-Jackson dialect, offering us fresh water and fish. Our guns were still useless, but as there were only two natives, who had no other arms than fish gigs, we rowed towards them, and received a small quantity of water and two fish. In return, we gave them a few loose potatoes, which had been saved from the sea by sticking between the bottom boards of the boat, and two pocket handkerchiefs. Our Friends informed us that they were not natives of this place, but of Broken and Botany Bays; and from their having been at Port Jackson it was that we understood some words of their language; but other natives soon came up, and increased the number beyond what was safe to risk ourselves amongst, we therefore put off without landing under pretence of returning northward, but with the intention to land in a shallow cove off the pitch of Saddle Point [Red Point]. The sea had broken across this small cove whilst the sea breeze blew, but was now smooth.

We here got some provisions cooked, most of our clothes dried, and everything put into some little order, but it was not long before the two natives came upon the point to look after us, and espying us thus busied close under them, came down.

As this cove would not be tenable when the sea breeze should set in, we inquired concerning the places of shelter in the neighbourhood, and learned, that a small distance to the southward, was a fresh-water river. The imprudence of returning towards Port Jackson without having the barica filled with fresh water, together with the appearance of a northernly sea breeze, induced us to accept of the offer which the natives made of conducting us to the river.

The sea breeze freshened up from the northward, and we steered before it, according to the direction of our pilots; who amused us by the way with stories of some white men and two women being amongst them; who had indian corn and potatoes growing. The women, they said, they would bring to us, as well as plenty black ones, and that we should get quantities of fish and ducks in the river.

About noon we came off the entrance of the river [Lake Illawarra]. It appeared to be a small stream which had made a passage through the beach; but we could not tell how it would be possible, even for our small boat, to enter it, as the surf was breaking nearly across, however, by following their directions, in going sometimes close to the surf, sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other, we got in with difficulty; and rowed about a mile up in little more water than the boat drew, against a very strong tide.

Our conductors had gone on shore immediately after we entered the river, and were now walking, with eight or ten strange natives, on the sand abreast of us.

The boat having touched the ground once or twice, and the rivulet still continuing shoal, we began to relinquish the hope of getting up it; and to consider, that there might not be water enough for the boat to go out again till the flood tide should make, which would leave us in the power of the natives, and even as it was, we were in their powers, for the water was scarcely higher than the knees, and our guns were still full of sand and rusty; fortunately the natives were unacquainted with this latter circumstance.

Being thus situated, it became necessary for us to get away from this place as soon as possible; and having agreed upon a plan of action, we went on shore to get more water, dry our powder, get
the guns in order, and mend one of the oars, which had been broken when the boat was thrown
upon the beach.

On asking the two natives for water, they told us we must go up to the lake for it, pointing to a large
piece of water from which the rivulet seemed to take its rise, but on being told that we could not
now go, and again desired to get us water, they found some within a few yards. This circumstance
made us suspect, that they had a wish, if not an intention, of detaining us; and on reflection, their
previous conversation in the boat evidently tended to the same purpose.

The number having increased to nearly twenty, and others still coming, we began to repair our
deficiencies with as much expedition as possible - but an employment more than we expected now
arose upon our hands - the two friendly natives had gotten their hair cut, and beards clipped off, by
us, when in the little cove at Saddle Point [Red Point], and were now showing themselves to the
others, and persuading them to follow their example.

Whilst Mr. Bass, assisted by some of the natives, was mending the oar, and the powder was drying
in the sun, I began, with a pair of scissors, to execute my new office upon the eldest of four or five
chins presented up to me; and as great nicety was not required, got on with them to the number of
eleven or twelve; which were the greatest part of our bearded company; many of the young men
having not yet found the inconveniences of that part of nature's dress.

Some of the more timid were alarmed at the double-jawed instrument coming so near to their
noses, and could scarcely be persuaded by their shaven friends to allow the operation to be
finished but when their chins were held up a second time, their fear of the instrument, the wild stare
of their eyes, - the smile which they forced: - formed a compound upon the rough, savage
countenance, not unworthy the pencil of a Hogarth. I was almost tempted to try the effect of a snip
on the nose; but our situation was too critical to admit of such experiments.

Having completed every thing, as far as the circumstances would admit of, we got our things into
the boat, and prepared to go out again. But to get away peaceably, we were obliged to use deceit;
for they kept continually pointing to the lagoon, and desiring, or indeed almost insisting, that we
should go up into it, and the two Port-Jackson natives seemed more violent than any others.

We appeared to coincide with them, but deferred it till tomorrow; and pointed to the green bank
near the entrance of the river, where we would sleep; then putting on a resolute face, we shoved
off the boat. Most of them followed us, the river being very shallow, and four jumped in. The rest
took hold of the boat and dragged her along down the stream, shouting and singing. We shouted
and sung too, though our situation was far from being pleasant.

On coming from the green bank, they brought us to the shore, and those in the boat leapt out; one
of them with a hat on, but which he returned on being asked. Some of them still kept hold to
prevent us from going further; but as we had no real intention of sleeping anywhere within their
reach, with a menacing countenance, we resolutely pushed away from them: one observing to the
rest that we were angry, let go his hold; and the others immediately followed his example.

Whilst we got down to the entrance as fast as possible, they stood looking at each other, as if
doubtful whether to detain us by force; and there is much reason to think, that they suffered us to
get away, only because they had not agreed on any plan of action: assisted, perhaps, by the
extreme fear they seemed to be under of our harmless fire-arms; though had they attempted
anything, and our musquets been in order, we should have made little resistance to their numbers,
when surrounded, as we constantly were, by them.

The sea breeze blew so strong, and the surf ran so high, that we could not possibly get out of the
rivulet; and therefore came to an anchor just within the surf which broke upon the bar, and not
fifteen yards from the shore on either side. The water was tolerably deep in this place, the stream
from the lagoon ran very rapid, so that the natives would not venture in, to come to the boat, but
three or four of them kept hovering upon the point to the southward of us, amongst whom was
Dilba, one of the Port-Jackson men.
This fellow - Dilba was the principal person concerned in spearing the chief mate and carpenter of the ship Sydney Cove, about twelve months afterwards, for which he was sought after to be shot by Mr. Bass and others - was constantly importuning us to return and go up to the lagoon. He was as constantly answered that "When the sun went down, if the wind and surf did not abate, we would".

As the sun disappeared behind the hills, a party of five or six natives were coming towards us from the other side. At that juncture, we had gotten our guns in order; and having a little powder in one of them, I fired it off, on which the party stopped short, and soon walked away; those on the point too were all retired but Dilba, and he soon followed.

We slept by turns till ten o'clock, and the moon being then risen, - the weather calm, - and water smooth, we pulled out towards Saddle Point; not a little pleased to have escaped so well. Perhaps we were considerably indebted, for the fear they entertained of us, to an old red waistcoat which Mr. Bass wore, and from which they took us to be soldiers, whom the natives are particularly afraid of; and though we did not much admire our new name "Soja" [soldier], yet thought it best not to undeceive them.

[The party spent the following two days (Monday and Tuesday, 28th and 29th March) travelling north along the Illawarra coast. They eventually reached Sydney on 2 April.]

Though this is the first recorded meeting between Europeans and Illawarra Aborigines, the indication that there were 2 white women and some men already amongst them - farming corn and potatoes - suggests that very early in the history of the Colony runaway convicts had found their way to Illawarra and were living with the Aborigines. Unfortunately it is also likely that they brought their diseases with them, including smallpox, influenza, and venereal disease.

As Flinders distinctly notes, by 1797 the Illawarra Aborigines were aware of the red-coated British soldiers and were afraid of the musket, a sign that they had been fired upon and possibly a member, or members, of their tribe had already been killed or wounded. No details of these encounters survive. Perhaps the local people had been told horrific stories by their northern brothers at Sydney.

Flinders recorded a different version of the 1796 excursion to Illawarra in his publication *A Voyage to Terra Australis* (London, 1814, pp.xcvii-cii). The following extract describes the Tom Thumb crew's encounters with the Illawarra Aborigines:

....The sea breeze, on the 27th, still opposed our return; and learning from two Indians that no water could be procured at Red Point, we accepted their offer of piloting us to a river which, they said, lay a few miles further southward, and where not only fresh water was abundant, but also fish and wild ducks. These men were natives of Botany Bay, whence it was that we understood a little of their language, whilst that of some others was altogether unintelligible. Their river proved to be nothing more than a small stream, which descended from a lagoon under Hat Hill, and forced a passage for itself through the beach; so that we entered it with difficulty even in Tom Thumb. Our two conductors then quitted the boat to walk along the sandy shore abreast, with eight or ten strange natives in company.

After rowing a mile up the stream, and finding it to become more shallow, we began to entertain doubts of securing a retreat from these people, should they be hostilely inclined; and they had the reputation at Port Jackson of being exceedingly ferocious, if not cannibals. Our muskets were not yet freed from rust and sand, and there was a pressing necessity to procure fresh water before attempting to return northward. Under these embarrassments, we agreed upon a plan of action, and went on shore directly to the natives. Mr Bass employed some of them to assist in repairing an oar which had been broken in our disaster, whilst I spread the wet powder out in the sun. This met with no opposition, for they knew not what the powder was; but when we proceeded to clean the muskets, it excited so much alarm that it was necessary to desist. On enquiring of the two friendly natives for water, they pointed upwards to the lagoon; but after many evasions our barica (a small cask, containing six or eighth gallons) was filled at a hole not many yards distant.
The number of people had increased to near twenty, and others were still coming, so that it was necessary to use all possible expedition in getting out of their reach. But a new employment arose upon our hands: we had clipped the hair and beards of the two Botany Bay natives at Red Point; and they were shewing themselves to the others, and persuading them to follow their example. Whilst, therefore, the powder was drying, I began with a large pair of scissors to execute my new office upon the eldest of four or five chins presented to me; and as great nicety was not required, the shearing of a dozen of them did not occupy me long. Some of the more timid were alarmed at a formidable instrument coming so near to their noses, and would scarcely be persuaded by their shaven friends, to allow the operation to be finished. But when the chins were held up a second time, their fear of the instrument, - the wild stare of their eyes, - and the smile which they forced, formed a compound upon the rough savage countenance, not unworthy the pencil of a Hogarth. I was almost tempted to try what effect a little snip would produce; but our situation was too critical to admit of such experiments.

Every thing being prepared for a retreat, the natives became vociferous for the boat to go up the lagoon; and it was not without stratagem that we succeeded in getting down to the entrance of the stream, where the depth of water placed us out of their reach.

Our examination of the country was confined, by circumstances, to a general view. This part is called Alowrie, by the natives, and is very low and sandy near the sides of the rivulet. About four miles up it, to the north-west, is the lagoon; and behind, stands a semi-circular range of hills, of which the highest is Hat Hill. The water in the lagoon was distinctly seen, and appeared to be several miles in circumference. The land round it is probably fertile, and the slopes of the back hills had certainly that appearance. The natives were nothing, except in language, different from those at Port Jackson; but their dogs, which are of the same species, seemed to be more numerous and familiar....

Whilst sailing north on the return voyage to Sydney, the Tom Thumb was forced by storms to put into an inlet near Port Hacking, on 30 March:

.....we thought Providential Cove a well adapted name for this place: but by the natives, as we afterwards learned, it is called Watta-Mowlee....

[On 1 April Flinders and party put in to Port Hacking, 4 miles to the north of Watta-Mowlee:

.....Two natives came down to us in a friendly manner, and seemed not to be unacquainted with Europeans. Their language differed somewhat from the Port Jackson dialect; but with the assistance of signs, we were able to make ourselves understood....

[The Tom Thumb arrived in Port Jackson on 2 April]

1797

The Wreck of the Sydney Cove

March - May 1797: During February of 1797, the vessel Sydney Cove was wrecked at the Furneaux Islands in Bass Strait. On 27 February seventeen of the survivors set off in the ship's longboat towards Sydney for help. Unfortunately the longboat was washed ashore near Cape Howe, and the party, headed by the supercargo William Clark and the first mate Hugh Thompson, was forced to walk north along the New South Wales coast towards Sydney.

The party of 17 set out from near Cape Howe on 15 March, and after a walk of almost two months - during which period many of the crew died from exhaustion and starvation along the way, and two
were presumed murdered by Aborigines near Wollongong - the 3 survivors eventually reached Sydney in the middle of May {refer HRA, 1917, Series I, volume II, p.82}.

There are various conflicting reports of the crews' adventures during their trek along the South Coast and through Illawarra. Some state that the Aborigines encountered along the way were friendly and helpful, whilst others speak of their 'savage barbarity'.

The fullest account of the shipwrecked sailors' journey is contained in William Clarke's 'Voyage of the Sydney Cove's Longboat from Preservation Island to Port Jackson' {HNSW1897, volume III, pp.760-768} compiled later from notes taken during the overland trek, and also from memory.

This account points to the general friendliness of the South Coast Aborigines, though there was obvious suspicion on both sides and some skirmishes. Unfortunately Clarke's journal does not describe the final 15 days of the walk, during which period the survivors travelled through the Shoalhaven and Illawarra. It was also during this period that Thompson and the ship's carpenter were supposedly murdered near Red Point.

Relevant sections of Clarke's account which describe the crew's encounters with Aborigines between Cape Howe and the Shoalhaven are reproduced below:

**William Clarke's Journal - Cape Howe to the Shoalhaven**

18 March - 30 April, 1797

[March] 18th. - Forded several branches of rivers. We this day fell in with a party of natives, about fourteen, all of them entirely naked. They were struck with astonishment at our appearance, and were very anxious to examine every part of our clothes and body, in which we readily indulged them. They viewed us most attentively. They opened our clothes, examined our feet, hands, nails, &c., frequently expressing their surprize by laughing and loud shoutings. From their gestures during this awkward review it was easy to perceive that they considered our clothes and bodies as inseparably joined. Having made them a present of a few stripes of cloth, which they appeared highly delighted with, we pursued our journey, and halted in the evening, after a march of 30 miles.

The natives on this part of the coast appear strong and muscular, with heads rather large in proportion to their bodies. The flat nose, the broad thick lips which distinguish the African, also prevail amongst the people on this coast. Their hair is long and straight, but they are wholly inattentive to it, either as to cleanliness or in any other respect. It serves them in lieu of a towel to wipe their hands as often as they are daubed with blubber or shark oil, which is their principal article of food. This frequent application of rancid grease to their heads and bodies renders their approach exceedingly offensive. Their ornaments consist chiefly of fish-bones or kangaroo-teeth, fastened with gum or glue to the hair of the temples and on the forehead. A piece of reed or bone is also wore through the septum, or cartilage, of the nose, which is pierced for the admission of this ornament. Upon the whole, they present the most hideous and disgusting figures that savage life can possibly afford.

19th. - Met with a pretty large river, which we were unable to cross till low water, there being no wood from which we could construct a raft. A few natives on the opposite bank of the river ran off at our approach.

20th. - .....Saw a few of the natives, who, at first sight, advanced, but on a nearer approach they fled and concealed themselves in the woods. Among the different groups of natives it is remarkable we have not yet seen a woman. Walked 16 miles this day......

29th. - On crossing a narrow but deep river one of the natives threatened to dispute our landing, but approaching with a determined appearance no actual resistance was attempted, and a reconciliation was effected by the distribution of a few stripes of cloth. A good understanding being thus established, the men called to their wives and children, who were concealed behind the rocks,
and who now ventured to shew themselves. These were the first women we had seen; from their cries and laughing it is evident they were greatly astonished at our appearance. The men did not think proper to admit of our coming sufficiently near to have a full or perfect view of their ladies, but we were near enough to discern that they were the most wretched objects we had ever seen - equally filthy as the men, coarse and ill-featured, and so devoid of delicacy or any appearance of it that they seem to have nothing even human about them but the form. We pursued our way and walked about 10 miles.

30th. - Crossed a small river this morning, and walked about 8 miles through a country interspersed with hills and covered with heath. We came to a pretty large river, which, being too deep to ford, we began to prepare a raft, which we could not have completed till next day had not three of the native friends, from whom we parted yesterday, rejoined us and assisted us over. We were much pleased with their attention, for the act was really kind, as they knew we had this river to cross, and appear to have followed us purposely to lend their assistance. In the evening we travelled about 4 miles farther, and rested for the night.....

April 2nd. - Travelled 8 miles this forenoon. Between 9 and 10 o'clock we were most agreeably surprised by meeting five of the natives, our old friends, who received us in a very amicable manner, and kindly treated us with some shellfish, which formed a very acceptable meal, as our small pittance of rice was nearly expended. After this little repast we proceeded 6 miles further and halted.....

8th. - Bent our way towards the beach this morning, and travelled along about 9 miles, when we stopped by our old impediment, a river, at which we were obliged to wait until low water before we could cross. We had scarcely surmounted this difficulty when a greater danger stared us in the face, for here we were met by about fifty armed natives. Having never before seen so large a body collected, it is natural to conclude that we were much alarmed. However, we resolved to put the best appearance on the matter, and to betray no symptoms of fear. In consequence of the steps we took, and after some preliminary signs and gestures on both sides, we came to some understanding, and the natives were apparently amicable in their designs. We presented them with a few yards of calico, for they would not be satisfied with small stripes, and, indeed, we were glad to get rid of them at any expense, for their looks and demeanour were not such as to invite greater intimacy.

9th. - Proceeding this morning on our journey, we were again alarmed at the approach of the party who detained us yesterday, and whom we so justly suspected of treacherous intentions. They came on with dreadful shoutings, which gave us warning to prepare for defence, and to give them a warm reception in case violence should be offered. Fortunately, however, from the particular attention we paid to their old men, whom we supposed to be their chiefs, and making them some small presents, they soon left us. This dispersion gave our little party general satisfaction, as we were doubtful how the affair might have terminated. During our conference, and at their departure, several of them had place their spears in the throwing-sticks, ready to discharge at us. We now pursued our route, and walked about 10 miles.

10th. - We were overtaken by a few of the natives with whom we parted yesterday, but seeing us on our guard, with our one gun, two pistols, and two small swords, while others were armed with clubs, and perceiving our resolution not to be imposed upon, they acted with more prudence than heretofore. We did not at this meeting indulge them with any presents, but to one gave a piece of cloth, in exchange for a large kangaroo's tail, with which we endeavoured to make some soup, by adding a little of the rice we had remaining, from which we received great nourishment, being much weakened by the fatigue and want which we had suffered in these inhospitable regions. Our walk of 14 miles this day was performed over a number of rugged and disagreeable heights, until we came to a river, which we crossed, and then betook ourselves to the cheerless turf until the morning.

11th. - Walked 8 miles and came to a river, where we met fourteen natives, who conducted us to their miserable abodes in the wood adjoining to a large lagoon, and kindly treated us with mussels, for which unexpected civility we made them some presents. These people seemed better acquainted with the laws of hospitality than any of their countrymen whom we had yet seen, for to
their benevolent treat was added an invitation to remain with them for the night. They did not, however, lodge us in their nominal huts, but after we were seated around our resting-place they brought their women and children to see us, and certainly, to judge from the attention with which they surveyed us, we afforded them no small share of entertainment. As far as we could understand these natives were of a different tribe from those we had seen, and were then at war with them. They possessed a liberality to which the others were strangers, and freely gave us a part of the little they had, which the others were so far from doing that they would have deprived us of the last article in our possession had they not been overawed by the sight of arms, against which they knew not how to defend themselves. We endeavoured to make our entertainers sensible by signs how rudely their neighbours had behaved to us; to compensate for which both the old and the young were anxious to give us part of their shellfish.

12th. - Met with another party of natives who did not attempt to molest us. Walked 16 miles over rising ground and along the seaside, where we found a dead skate, which, though a little tainted, would not have been unacceptable to an epicure with our appetite.

13th. - Came to a large river, where we met with a few natives, who appeared very timorous at seeing us; but in a short time we came to a better understanding, and they kindly carried us over in their canoes. This was not accomplished without several duckings, for their rude little vehicles formed of bark, tied at both ends with twigs, and not exceeding 8 feet in length, by 2 in breadth, are precarious vessels for one unacquainted with them to embark in, though the natives, of whom they will carry three or four, paddle about in them with the greatest facility and security. After crossing the river, and receiving a few small fish at parting, we walked 10 miles.

14th. - Met with no obstruction during a walk of 18 miles.

15th. - We were joined by our last friends, who ferried us over a very large river in their canoes. Whether this meeting was the effect of chance or one of their fishing excursions, or that perceiving that we should find it difficult they had come to our assistance, we could not determine; but had it not been for their aid we must have been detained here for some time in making a raft. The greatest part of the wood of the country being very heavy will not swim, unless it has been felled for some time and exposed to the sun, a fact which we had already been taught by miserable experience. Having walked 9 miles after crossing the river, we rested for the night, and boiled a few shellfish we had picked up by the way like good economists, making them serve for both dinner and supper, for our little evening's cookery formed the only meal we could daily afford ourselves, unless we ventured to eat a few wild plants which we sometimes picked up.

16th. - Having walked about 12 miles we once more met with our friends, who, a third time, conveyed us over a large river at a shallow part, which they pointed out. On the banks of this river we remained for the night. Our poor unfortunate companions, worn out by want excessive fatigue, now began to drop behind very fast. At this place we were under the painful necessity of leaving nine of our fellow-sufferers behind, they being totally unable to proceed further; but we flattered ourselves they would be able to come up with us in a day or two, as we now often stopt some time with the natives when we found them kind to us, or loitered about the rocks to pick up shellfish or collect herbs...

20th. - Got over the river and had a long walk, about 18 miles, through an immense wood, the plain of which was covered with long grass. We had the good fortune this day to have a friendly native in company, who undertook to be our guide, by whose good-natured assistance we were enabled to avoid several high points and cut off a great deal of ground.

21st. - Had a pleasant walk for about 14 miles, during which we met a party of natives who gave us plenty of fishes. It seems they had met the Moor whose friendship we experienced yesterday, and were by him informed of our distress, so that we were indebted to that kind-hearted fellow for his guidance and this day's protection.

22nd. - The natives accompanied us a few miles and returned, leaving with us a plentiful supply of fish. This day we walked 12 miles.
23rd, 24th, 25th. - Walked 10 or 12 miles each day, without meeting with any natives, and being wholly without nourishment almost perished for want.

26th. - At 9 a.m. observed several natives on the top of a high bluff, who came down to us as we approached, and remained with us for some time. When we had made signs to them that we were hungry and much exhausted, they brought us plenty of fish and treated us very kindly. After we had refreshed ourselves and put up some fish to carry with us, we were preparing to proceed, when about fifty strong natives made their appearance, of whom we soon took leave, giving them such little presents as we could afford, and with which they were apparently well satisfied. We had not parted more than twenty or thirty minutes when a hundred more approached us, shouting and hallowing in a most hideous manner, at which we were all exceedingly alarmed. In a short time a few of them began throwing their spears, upon which we made signs to them to desist, giving them some presents, and appearing no ways dismayed at their conduct - any other demeanour on our part would have been quite superfluous, having only one musket unloaded and two pistols out of repair, and at best were only six opposed to such a multitude, for our little company were daily dropping off. No sooner had we turned our backs on this savage mob than they renewed hostilities and wounded three of us, viz., Mr. Hugh Thompson, myself, and my servant. Notwithstanding this disaster, we, in our painful situation, proceeded 8 miles, to get clear, if possible, of these savages; but just as we came up to a very deep bay they overtook us again. This pursuit induced us all to suppose they intended to murder us - as we were, however, to make a virtue of necessity, and to remain among them all that night, though it may be well supposed that the anguish of our minds and the pain of our wounds prevented the possibility of sleep.

27th. - Our disagreeable and treacherous companions continued with us on our journey until about 9 a.m., when they betook themselves to the woods, leaving us extremely happy at their departure. We continued our route along this extensive bay 10 miles.

29th. - Met with some brakish water, which we eagerly swallowed; indeed, all the rivers we examined were impregnated with salt-water from their connection with the sea. Walked 14 miles.

30th. - We this morning reached the largest river we had met with since we came to this large bay. Its width put us entirely to a stand, and prevented our crossing over until the evening. As we were devising means to accomplish our design six natives very fortunately came to our assistance. They seemed, however, suspicious of us, for when we reached the opposite bank we made signs that we wanted water, and, under pretence of going for some, they set off, but never returned. We were not able to proceed any more than 3 miles this day.

The fifteen following days [1-15 May] of our journey were much the same as the preceding, until we very fortunately met with a fishing-boat about 14 miles to the southward of Botany Bay.

[Clarke's detailed account appears to end in the vicinity of Jervis Bay. The party then consisted of 6 men, though 3 had been injured. Despite his tantalizing comments that the final fifteen day 'were much the same as the preceeding', after the journey through Illawarra there were only 3 survivors who reached Sydney. Upon their arrival Governor Hunter sent out a number of search parties - one led by George Bass to search for survivors in the Illawarra district, and another led by Matthew Flinders to recover the cargo of the Sydney Cove.

A number of contemporary accounts were compiled regarding these search parties, and the original overland trek to Sydney. The first presented here is a brief summary of Matthew Flinders's account, published in A Voyage to Terra Australis, 1801, 1802, and 1803 (London, 1814, pp.civ-cv):

Matthew Flinders's Account

.....There was no other prospect of safety for Mr. Clarke and his companions [after coming ashore near Cape Howe], than to reach Port Jackson on foot; and they commenced their march along the sea shore, scantily furnished with ammunition, and with less provisions.
Various tribes of natives were passed, some of whom were friendly; but the hostility of others, and excessive fatigue, daily lessened the number of these unfortunate people; and when the provisions and ammunition failed, the diminution became dreadfully rapid.

Their last loss was of the chief mate and carpenter, who were killed by Dilba, and other savages near Hat Hill [Mount Kembla]; (this Dilba was one of the two Botany-Bay natives, who had been most strenuous for Tom Thumb to go up into the lagoon, which lies under the hill) and Mr. Clarke, with a sailor and one lascar, alone remained when they reached Watta-Mowlee. They were so exhausted, as to have scarcely strength enough to make themselves observed by a boat which was fishing off the cove; but were at length conveyed in her, and brought to Port Jackson......

Reverend Palmer's Letter

A second summary account of the fate of the Sydney Cove crew is given in a letter by Reverend Thomas Palmer dated 14 August 1797, writing from Sydney to a friend in Scotland, more than three months after Clarke's arrival in Sydney. This letter also mentions the subsequent expedition by Surgeon Bass in search of survivors:

The Sydney-cove, a large ship from Bengal to this place, was wrecked on this coast in lat. 41.47. the mate and others left the wreck in the long boat unfortunately in the tempestuous winter season, and this was again wrecked on the coast. But the super-cargo and two others, after innumerable hardships, arrived safe.

The Country [along the coast] is described as totally different from this, very rich and fertile, abounding in pines and firs, of which there is no one here. In all the intercourse of whites with the uncorrupted natives of this country, they have found them, most kind humane and generous. Where the mate and super-cargo were wrecked, no civilized Europeans could exceed them in kindness. They supplied them in abundance, and successive parties of fresh natives, equally kind, shewed them the way.

The mate, represented to be an amiable man, walked till he could walk no longer. Unfortunately, the carpenter staid to keep him company, and the rest proceeded and arrived safe. The carpenter, churlish and avaricious, and without sense or foresight, seized their fish, would give them nothing in return, and offended them so much, that the first mate, whom they were fond of, fell a victim of his folly, and they both perished.

My most worthy friend Mr. Bass, surgeon of the Reliance, went out on purpose to find these two. He found only their bones. He was accompanied by the most scientific people in the language, though by none more than himself; and the natives of his acquaintance told him the above. He returned only yesterday....

Governor Hunter's Account

Governor Hunter, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks dated 15 August 1797 [Banks Papers, Mitchell Library], gives the following account of the Sydney Cove survivors journey along the coast:

Their journey was attended with so many fatiguing difficulties, that they were not capable for want of an even share of strength of keeping together. Many of the Number perished thro' fatigue and want of Food, whilst others struggled hard to preserve life and get Northward, but were so often Annoy'd by the Savage barbarity of the Natives that their Number decreased to five, and latterly to
three, who get so far near us that a small Boat being out Catching fish a little to the Southw(ard) of Botany Bay & close in shore, saw these 3 people Crawling along the Rocky shore and frequently waving to the boat; they went on shore & picked up these three Men, in most Wretched & Worn out Condition. One was ye Supercargo, one White Seaman, & a Lascar.

They were immediately brought hither, and properly taken care of; they gave an account of having parted Company with the first Mate & Carpenter the day before, & at no great distance from where they had found the fishing boat.....

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**George Bass's Search Party**

August 1797: George Bass and party visit Coalcliff and Illawarra in search of survivors of the Sydney Cove crew. They find the remains of a body, supposedly one of two left behind at Illawarra, and attempt to capture and shoot Dilba, an Aborigine accused of murdering them. This Dilba was the same Botany Bay native who had met Bass and Flinders at Lake Illawarra the previous year, and who had then raised suspicions in Flinders' mind regarding his intentions towards them.

Governor Hunter, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks dated 15 August 1797 (Banks Papers, Mitchell Library), gives the following account of Bass's search party:

"....I ordered my own Whale Boat to be immediately dispatched with a good Crew & to take this fisher Man with them; Blankets Cloathing & such kind of Nourishing food as might be necessary for people in their weakly state, were put into the boat; but when they arriv'd at the place nothing could be discovered of those helpless People except a few trifling things they had with them, part of which being covered with Blood, gave us reason to suppose they had been destroyed by the Natives; the boat was 3 days in search but in Vain.

[Governor Hunter later wrote of Bass's trip:

".....[He was] led by a Native to the place where lay the remains of the two Men, one had his skull much fractured - no doubt Murdered by the natives.

[David Collins, in his *Account of the English Colony of New South Wales* (op cit., p.33), mentions the following with regards to Bass's search for the survivors:

".....He also found in the skeletons of the mate and carpenter of the Sydney Cove, an unequivocal proof of their having unfortunately perished, as was conjectured.

".....To add to the probability of this [i.e. murder by the natives] having been their end, Mr Clarke mentioned the morose, unfeeling disposition of the carpenter, who often, when some friendly natives had presented him with a few fish, growled that they had not given him all, and insisted that because they were blackfellows, it would be right to take it by force."

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December 1797: During this month George Bass travelled along the New South Wales south coast from Sydney towards Bass Strait. His ‘Journal of a Whaleboat trip’ *(HRNSW/Sydney, 1897, volume III, pp.312-333)* contains only a few isolated comments regarding Aborigines seen along the coastline about Illawarra and South Coast during the voyage.
1798

Bass and Flinders at Twofold Bay

October 1798: Matthew Flinders and George Bass visit Twofold Bay en route to Van Diemen's Land, aboard the sloop Norfolk. Bass's brief account of the visit is reproduced in HRA (Sydney, 1897).

The following extract from Flinders' account (Voyage to Terra Australis, London, 1814, pp. cxxxix - cxi) describes a meeting with local Aborigines at Twofold Bay:

[11 October]....In order to make some profit of this foul wind, Mr Bass landed early next morning to examine the country, whilst I went with Mr Simpson to commence a survey of Two-fold Bay. In the way from Snug Cove, through the wood, to the long northern beach, where I proposed to measure a base line, our attention was suddenly called by the screams of three women, who took up their children and ran off in great consternation.

Soon afterwards a man made his appearance. He was of middle age, unarmed, except with a whaddie, or wood scimitar, and came up to us seemingly with careless confidence. We made much of him, and gave him some biscuit; and he in turn presented us with a piece of gristly fat, probably of whale. This I tasted; but watching an opportunity to spit it out when he should not be looking, I perceived him doing precisely the same thing with our biscuit, whose taste was probably no more agreeable to him, than his whale was to me.

Walking onwards with us to the long beach, our new acquaintance picked up from the grass a long wooden spear, pointed with bone; but this he hid a little further on, making signs that he should take it on his return. The commencement of our trigonometrical operations was seen by him with indifference, if not contempt; and he quitted us, apparently satisfied that, from people who could thus occupy themselves seriously, there was nothing to be apprehended.

I was preparing the artificial horizon for observing the latitude, when a party of seven or eight natives broke out in exclamation upon the bank above us, holding up their open hands to shew they were unarmed. We were three in number, and, besides a pocket pistol, had two muskets. These they made no objection to our bringing, and we sat down in the midst of the party. It consisted entirely of young men, who were better made, and cleaner in their persons than the natives of Port Jackson usually are; and their countenances bespoke both good will and curiosity, though mixed with some degree of apprehension. Their curiosity was mostly directed to our persons and dress, and constantly drew off their attention from our little presents, which seemed to give them a momentary pleasure.

The approach of the sun to the meridian calling me down to the beach, our visitors returned to the woods, seemingly well satisfied with what they had seen. We could perceive no arms of any kind amongst them; but I knew these people too well not to be assured that their spears were lying ready, and that it was prudent to keep a good look out upon the woods, to prevent surprise whilst taking observations.
Lieutenant Grant at Jervis Bay

10-14 March 1801: The Lady Nelson, under the command of Lieutenant James Grant, with Ensign Barrallier and the naturalist George Cayley aboard, visits Jervis Bay to survey that port and investigate the surrounding area.

Lt. Grant's diary (HRNSW, Sydney, 1897, volume IV, pp.478-481), which was sent to Governor King shortly after the vessel's return to Port Jackson, describes their encounters with the natives at Jervis Bay:

[Tuesday, 10 March, 1801] At 5 a.m. St George's Head west 8 or 9 miles; being desirous of examining what shelter Jervis's Bay afforded, I worked into it, hoisted the boats out, and sent the chief officer to look out for a proper place to anchor; at 9 a.m. the boat returned, and one of the natives in her. The officer informed me there was good anchorage in the southernmost cove between the islands which lays in the mouth of the harbour and the main. Worked to windward and came too at 1/2 p't 10 a.m. with the best bower in 4 f'ms water, fine sand, and moored with the kedge.

Great numbers of the natives now came round to us in their canoes; some we allowed to come on board. They seem a harmless, inoffensive people, but much more robust than those about Sydney. They all wish to get their beards cut off. They did not thoroughly understand Yeranabie, the native I have on board. Mr. Barrallier and I went on shore with the boat, armed, in order to catch some fish and see how they would receive us, taking Yeranabie with us, who, when he got on shore, shewed evident marks of fear, although one of them, an elderly man, made him a present of a waddee. On my enquiring into the cause of his alarm, he told me they would kill him and eat him; I therefore sent him on board in the boat directly.

We hauled the seine, which the natives voluntarily assisted us in doing very cheerfully, and seemed surprised to see the fish we caught, which were but few though excellent of their kind, being large whiting. As the inhabitants seemed to have a great desire for some of the fish we distributed the whole among them, excepting three I reserved for ourselves; they seemed much pleased, and danced and shouted by turns round us. There was now a great number about us, but what appeared to me strange there was none of them had any arms with them of any kind. They seemed to know the use of the musquet, and appeared frightened at it when pointed. They asked for blankets and bread, and made signs for something to put round their heads, which last article I gave them, and which I made out of an old white shirt torn up in strips like bands, tying the same round their foreheads, with which they seemed much pleased. They expressed much surprise at the looking-glass, searching everywhere to find if there was not someone at the back of it, dancing before it and putting themselves in all the attitudes they could. They are entirely naked, and seemed to pay homage to the oldest, there being amongst them a very elderly, stout man, his hair perfectly grey, whose advice they seemed to follow. Ends in moderate and clear weather.

[Wednesday, 11 March, 1801]: As we approached towards the ship we found a place which had evident marks of being frequented by the natives for the purpose of festivity. It was on a rising ground clear from brush, and no kennel (or habitation of theirs) near it; there were numerous bones of kangaroos, seals, fish &c., scattered on the ground, and amongst others Mr. Barrallier picked up part of a human scull; it consisted of a part of the os frontis, with the cavities of the eyes and part of the bones of the nose still attached to it; a little apart from the spot where he picked the above up he also found a piece of the upper jaw, with one of the molars or back teeth attached to it; also one of the vertebræ of the back with evident marks of fire on it; all the others were free from any such marks. On this spot we counted where there had been fifteen different fires, the grass much beaten down and trod on; several seemed fresher than others; from this circumstances I presume they visit the spot occasionally.
I brought the human bones on board with me, and finding two of the natives on board I called Yeranabie, and shewing him the scull part desired him to ask if that was the part of white man, and if they had eat him. Yeranabie interpreted that it was a white man that had come in a small boat or canoe, and that they had eat him, adding afterwards that he had come from some ship which he said he broke down—been lost to the southward. The natives did not seem alarmed or intimidated at our questions, but pointed to the southward and the harbour's mouth, answering very freely and without reserve. One of the people also who understands pretty well the language of the natives about Sydney agreed in the account Yeranabie had given, and more than once questioned them about it, especially in regard to the colour of the person. This, however, may be thrown a great light on when the bones are submitted to the faculty.

It now blew strong from N.W. with considerable swell even here. We got on board a boatload of excellent wood, which the natives assisted in carrying into the boat, from whence it was sent very cheerfully and of their own accords. It still blowing very fresh from N.E., let go to small bower under foot. Ends in ditto weather.

Thursday, 12 March, 1801. - At 5 a.m. warped the ship further out into a clear birth for getting under weigh. As there was little prospect of getting out I went on shore with Mr. Barrallier and the usual escort to survey the cove we were in, which we completed. Saw a large native dog, of which I believe there are many, as several had been seen at different times. When about to return on board several natives came to us and shewed great inclination to go off with us, also asking for bread and signifying that they were hungary. I ordered the surveying instruments and arms into the boat while I was busy observing some peculiarities about the natives. I went on board; it again blew strong from N.E. and E.N.E., which made it out of our power to start until the wind abated.

Friday, 13 March, 1801. - P.M., having dined I wished much to survey the western side of the is'd which lays in the mouth of this harbour, and shelters the cove from easterly winds, which for the sake of distinction I call'd Ann's Island [Bowen Island]. I found missing the surveying chain, and on strict investigation found it had been left on shore through the neglect of the two soldiers whose hand it was always in during the first part of the day, they being employed in carrying it to measure the distances. I sent a boat with one of them in her to look for it, but without success. On their return they were met by one of the natives in his canoe, holding up the chain in his hand, which he gave them directly and came on board with the boat. Finding the chain complete, except the brass markers, which they had pulled off and kept, but which could be easily replaced, I rewarded the native with one of my blankets, which I believe was the greatest reward I could have bestowed on him, as he seemed infinitely well pleased. Mr. Murray, the first mate, gave him an old hat and shewed him the looking-glass, before which he danced in his new accoutrements with great glee, searching for somebody behind it and making many odd gestures.

We went on shore and took the native with us in the boat, towing his canoe after us. A number had assembled on the island to receive us, and seemed much pleased to find the other had got a blanket, which they seemed perfectly well to know the use of. The elderly man before mentioned came up to me and made signs that he wanted his beard cut off, which I did with a pair of scissors. For the first time we saw their women, at a distance, with their children, which the old man made come nearer and sit down. I observed one of them had fastened to the neck of her child one of the brass markers they had taken from the chain, of which, however, I judged too prudent to take no notice. They seemed to be very timorous of our approach, but on the old man's speaking to them they all compositely sat down again. When I went up to them they examined my buttons and the head of my dirk, and seemed much surprized at my watch-chain, which I began to think they had a sort of inclination for, but this I was soon relieved from on pulling out the watch. They did not seem to like it, and talked very gravely among themselves; they were all anxious to listen to the noise of the watch, yet would they pull their ear from it and look at the watch with symptoms of fear about them, and return to it again. I attempted to point out the use of it, and pointed at the sun, but from this circumstance I am led to think they believed it to be something that we worshipped. The old man particularly pointed to the sun and appeared anxious to know more of it. What leads me to imagine these were their ideas, everything else they saw of ours, after examining it a little, they broke out into a shout or exclamation expressive of wonder, and returned to examine it more minutely, but in the business of the watch they behaved very differently; they made not
exclamations and talked much in a lower tone of voice than usual among themselves, at the same time expressing a sort of fear which they did not show towards anything else.

The women, like the men, are more robust than those about Sydney. One of the women was particularly stout. All we saw had children; and many, both men and women, had evident marks of the smallpox, and knew when I pointed to one of my people whose face was much marked what I meant, expressing it was the same disorder had marked them. The women are very ordinary in features; the men in general are otherwise, and very strait made.

Having finished the survey of Ann's Island on the western side, and found there was plenty of fresh water on it, we returned on board and got all clear for getting under weigh at daylight. A.M., at 5, weighed, light airs and v'ble; at 9 got the boat ahead to tow, and at 10 got clear out; at 11 a moderate breeze from N.E.; set steering sails. It may be worthy of remark that Jarvis's Bay or Sound is much larger and more commodious than strangers are aware of, and that shelter may be had in it from all winds. The Sound itself is capable of containing two hundred sail of shipping and upwards, with plenty of wood and water at hand. During our excursions here we saw no snakes, and observed that many of the men, instead of having one tooth pulled out, as about Sydney, had two, and those in front. They are tatowed and paint their noses and faces, as at Sydney.

A second version of the above account of the Lady Nelson's visit to Jervis Bay was contained in Lt. Grant's 1803 publication The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery performed in His Majesty's Vessel The Lady Nelson,... in the years 1800, 1801, and 1802 to New South Wales (C.Rowarth, London, 1803, pp.104-120).

There are substantial differences between the two accounts, with this later (1803) version containing more detailed descriptions of encounters with the local natives, as will be seen from the following extracts:

[Monday, 10 March, 1801] ....At 4 p.m. of the 10th, the north head of Jarvis's Bay bore W.S.W. eight or nine miles distant.....The weather getting clear, we worked into Jarvis's Bay, or (from the greatness of its extent), more properly to be called, Sound. At seven a.m. I sent my first-mate in the boat to look out for a proper place to anchor in, which would afford us good shelter. At nine the mate returned with one of the natives, and informed me there was good anchorage in the southernmost Cove, between an island and the main; the former sheltering a very extensive harbour lying between the two heads of it...

The native which came on board in the boat appeared to be a middle-aged man, more stout and muscular than those I had seen about Sydney. He entered the vessel without any symptoms of fear, and altogether with that confidence, which shewed he had had frequent communications with our countrymen before. He often repeated the words, blanket, blanket, and woman, woman; probably from the barter, which some of these visitors had received in lieu of the seamen's bedding. He testified much surpize at several articles on board, particularly the compasses in the binnacle. On my conducting him down into the cabin, and placing him before a looking-glass, he expressed more wonder than I am able to describe by innumerable gestures, attitudes and grimaces. He narrowly examined it to see if any one was behind it; and did not seem satisfied of the contrary, till I unscrewed it from the place it was fastened to. The sound of a small bugle-horn had a very great effect on him, and he endeavoured, by applying it to his own mouth, to make it sound but without effect, which surprized him very much.

I forgot to mention that I had on board two natives of Sydney, called Euranabie, and Worogang his wife. These people were also objects of his notice. It is a remarkable circumstance, and as yet has not been accounted for, that the natives of New Holland, be they on ever such good terms together, when they meet after a separation, take little or no notice of each other, perhaps for half an hour or more; making a sign for sitting down with their hands only, if a stranger enters the
house. This stranger, whom I had placed near the natives of Sydney, sat by them without saying a word for above half an hour, soon after the expiration of which time, great familiarity took place betwixt them.

It appeared evident to me that during the silence the stranger's attention was directed to the woman, though like the rest of her countrywomen she was, according to our notions, far from being possessed of any beauty; however, not only this man, but many other natives, who visited us in this place, thought her very handsome; nor was I surprized at this when I saw some of the females here.

Not understanding the language I could not learn the subjects of their conversation, but it appeared as if they did not readily understand each other. From this, and what I discovered in my intercourse with other parties of natives, I am inclined to think the language of New Holland has its different dialects.

The men showed each other the wounds they had received in war or encounters; Euranabie had several which were but lately healed up. The stranger, as already mentioned, appeared enamoured of the woman, made overtures to her husband for her, which were rejected. The latter told me he was apprehensive that the people of this part of the island would carry her off, but I assured him they should not be suffered to do so.

Before we got to an anchor several canoes came round us: in one of which was an old man, whose hair had become perfectly white with age, which joined to a long beard of the same colour made him a very interesting figure. The natives appeared to pay the old man great respect and obedience, of which I saw more afterwards. When we had brought the vessel to an anchor and had furled our sails, I admitted some of the natives on board, but the old man could not be prevailed on to be of the party. They all testified much surprize at what they saw.

All the natives of this part of New Holland are more muscular and robust than those I had seen at Sydney. In the management of their canoes, and some things belonging to them, they differed much from whatever I had seen elsewhere, particularly in paddling, sometimes making use of an oval piece of bark, and at others of their hands, making the canoe go very swiftly by either means. When paddling with the hand they were apt, from it being immersed in the water, to throw more or less water in the canoe, which with a small calibash they dexterously threw out by a backward motion of the other hand without turning their heads. At the heads of their canoes I observed two or three wooden pins, which I supposed were designed to steady their fish-gigs, or to receive the heads of their spears when they carry them from one place to another, or to serve in the same manner as a crutch for a harpoon or lance in one of our whale-boats.

From observing the smoothness of our chins, they all expressed a desire to have their's the same; which some of my people instantly set about, clipping them close with scissors. Not seeing any of these people painted, as is the custom of the Sydney natives, I was desirous of knowing if they were addicted to it; I accordingly got some red paint, which as soon as one of them saw, he immediately made signs for me to rub his nose with it. About our Settlements they are often seen with their noses painted with a red gum, which is plenty thereabouts; and they likewise form a circle nearly round their eyes with a whitish clay. The latter it is said is customary to be used by way of mourning for the death of a friend. They likewise paint themselves when they go out to fight. The women also paint their noses red, and their breasts with a streak of red and white alternately.

Having occasion to leave the deck for a while, on my return I observed one of my young men, (who had contrived to get hold of some of the vessel's paint-pots), very deliberately painting the man whose nose I had rubbed with red paint, with different colour from head to foot, while he grinned his approbation at the motley appearance he made. His comrades seemed to enjoy it as much as he did, and they quitted the vessel in great glee. The circumstance may by some be thought unworthy of notice, but I relate it merely to shew their disposition and customs, of which I shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

The place we came to anchor abreast of, being a fine sandy beach, favourable for hauling the seine, Mr. Bareillier accompanied me on shore armed. We took Euranabie, the Sydney native, with
On our landing the natives gathered round us, appearing to have no fear of us. They began a
conversation with Euranabie, using many words which seemed to resemble the Sydney dialect,
such as Bail, signifying No, and Maun, to take away, or carry off. An elderly man made Euranabie
a present of a waddle, or club, which I supposed was done to shew a particular regard. To my
great surprize he soon afterwards came up to me with evident marks of fear depicted in his
countenance. On being asked the cause of his alarm, he solicited permission to go on board the
vessel, as these natives would kill and pater, that is, eat him. I confess I rather doubted this
assertion, for I had not the smallest idea of the New Hollanders being cannabals; nor can I even
now take it upon me to say they are, though some circumstances, which I shall presently mention,
make it appear possible. To relieve the poor fellow from his apprehensions, I immediately sent him
on board. This conduct surprized me not a little, for he had been anxious to come on shore with
me; but I observed from this time, as long as he remained here, he never again offered to
accompany me, though like all his countrymen he was fond of rambling.

We hauled the seine; in doing which the natives, who were very numerous, assisted us unsolicited.
We caught a few large whitings, differing in no particular from those we have in our seas, excepting
their superior size. I distributed them amongst the natives, reserving only three for our own dinner.
Many more having joined us who seemed anxious to get some fish also, I hauled the seine again;
and having caught more whitings and small snappers, I gave up the whole without division, not
wishing to entice any jealousy, and this found put an end to all clamour.

There number was so considerable, and had by this time increased, that I began to think that many
were concealed amongst the bushes; but as they seemed pleased, and began dancing and
shouting, I had no fear of their proceeding to hostilities. They were all perfectly naked, except one
young fellow, who had a bunch of grass fastened round his waist, which came up behind like the
tail of a kangaroo. He was active, and as far as I could judge from his jestures had a degree of
humour; he would throw himself into a thousand antic shapes, and afforded no small
entertainment. Whether he was selected for this purpose, or did it spontaneously, I could not
determine.

Having sent the boat on board with the seine, I was anxious to get some kangaroos, which from
the appearance of the shore, being of a moderate height, covered with brush and large trees, I
made no doubt were to be found in plenty. I made signs to the natives for that purpose, and one of
them stepped forward and offered his services. We walked towards the end of the beach we were
then on, and entered the woods....

[Grant and his party were unsuccessful in locating any kangaroos, however they eventually
obtained specimens of the Black Cockatoo and King Parrot, amongst other birds. During the
afternoon the party set off on another journey into the bush:

.....We found the track of the natives, and fell in with several of their gunnies, or habitations. They
are constructed with a few boughs stuck up to skreen them from the wind; several bones of
beasts, birds and fish were lying about them.....

[The following day - Tuesday, 11 March - during an excursion in the bush about Jervis Bay, Grant
and his party came upon an Aboriginal ceremonial ground, described as follows:

....On our return to the boat we fell in with a spot of ground very pleasantly situated, which
appeared to have been selected by the natives for the purposes of festivity. It was a small
eminence free from brush, having no habitation near it. We counted the marks of fifteen different
fires, they had been employed in cooking fish and other eatables, the bones of which were strewed
about. Among them we picked up part of a human skull, being the Os Frontis, with sockets of the
eyes, and part of the bone of the nose still attached to it. A little distant from where we found this,
we discovered a part of the upper jaw with one of the molares or back teeth in it, also one of the
vertebrae of the back, having marks of fire, which the others had not. The grass was much trodden
down, and many of the bones of the animals appeared fresh. From these circumstances I
concluded that the natives occassionally meet at this place for festivity.
I brought off the human bones, and on getting on board shewed them to Euranabie. Finding two of the natives from the shore in the vessel, I desired him to ask them, whether these bones had belonged to a white man or not, and if they had killed and eaten him. I was anxious to have this cleared up, as the ship Sydney Cove, from India to Port Jackson, had been wrecked about twelve months before to the southward, and it was reported that some of the crew were killed by the natives near this place. Euranabie accordingly made the enquiries; and [from] what I could learn, both by means of a soldier who understood the Sydney dialect, and through Euranabie, who comprehended and spoke English tolerably well, I found the bones were those of a white man that had come in a canoe from the southward, where the ship tumble down, the expression he made use of for being wrecked. Although the two natives were repeatedly questioned on this subject, they never deviated in the least from their first account.

I also interrogated Worogan, the wife of Euranabie, who spoke English, on this point; and if I was inclined to credit it, I should certainly do it more on account of what she told me than what I heard from the two natives of this place. From her I learned that the Bush Natives, (who appear to be a different tribe of people from those that live by the sea-side), sometimes eat human flesh. At my request, she shewed me in what manner they dispatched their victims, which is done by striking them in the pole of the neck with the waddle, or club; after which with the womera, or instrument they throw the spear with, being armed with a shell at one end, they make an incision from the throat down the breast to the lower part of the belly, and another across the chest. This she shewed me by putting her hand in the pole of my neck, and making me stretch myself on the deck, where she went through the whole process with the very instrument before described. Seeing her so well acquainted with the subject, I was in doubt whether she had not been present on such an occasion. But as far as I could judge from her appearance, she must have been too young to have any such knowledge previous to our first settling in the country, as from what I could learn, she had always lived in the neighbourhood of Sydney, where such customs are not practised, and I am convinced that she only spoke from information. However, from these circumstances, my crew implicitly believed they were all cannibals; and the first-mate entered the following words in the log-book - and without doubt they are cannibals.

The natives on board did not shew any symptoms of fear at our interrogatories at different times, nor were they at all anxious to conceal anything from us, but answered freely and without hesitation.

It perhaps may not be improper to mention in this place, that in Lieutenant-Colonel Collins's Account of the Settlement of New South Wales, he says, that the natives are in the habits of occasionally burning their dead; but whether this extends farther than to their friends or relatives we are yet to learn. After repeated enquiries, I never could find out from any of the natives, Euranabie and others of little note excepted, that they were cannibals; though their relative situation to New Zealand might seem to warrant such conjecture; the question must therefore remain undetermined till we become better acquainted with their manners and customs.

[The human bones Grant found at Jervis Bay were investigated in England by the anatomist W.L. Thomas, however he was unable to determine if they were Australian or European]

....On the 12th, we got into a clear berth for getting under way; but in the morning the wind being very variable and light we were prevented sailing. I went on shore with Mr. Bareillier and our usual escort, in order to make a survey of the Cove we were lying in. When preparing to return to the vessel we were joined by several natives, who appeared anxious to go on board with us. Two of these were strangers, who signified they had come a long way to see us, and that they were very hungry. They were both young stout men, with longer hair than the natives generally have, most of those I saw, either here or elsewhere, having short curled hair, but not at all resembling the wool of the African negroes.

In the afternoon the wind blew strong from the N.E. and E.N.E. but it was needless to attempt sailing until the wind abated, I therefore proposed after our dining to go and survey the western side of the island which lies in the mouth of the harbour, and shelters the Cove from easterly winds. This island I named Ann's Island, in compliment to Mrs. King, the wife of the Governor, as it had not received any name from its former visitors.
In putting the surveying instruments into the boat, the chain was found missing; on making the necessary enquiries about it, we were of the opinion that it had been left on shore by the soldiers who carried it in measuring the distances. A boat with one of them was sent on shore, but after a fruitless search they were returning, when a canoe put off from the island, on which a number of the natives were, with a man in it who held up the chain in his hand. The boat's crew brought him on board to me.

On looking at the chain it was made up in the usual way we did, and tied with a piece of string; but in undoing it I found that the natives had untwisted every bend of the wires which contained the brass-markers, and after taking them off, bent the wires back into their original form, with this difference, that they placed the end which is carried in the hand in the middle. This was the first instance I had experienced of their pilfering anything; and as I did not choose to proceed to extremities, I gave the native a blanket and some biscuit, and the mate gave him an old hat, with which he appeared to be highly pleased. The recovery of the chain was gratifying to me, as I knew there would be much clamour if it was lost.

We immediately got into the boat to prosecute the intention of surveying the island, and I took the native with us, towing his canoe astern. On landing, we were joined by a great number of the natives, who seemed glad that the man had been rewarded for carrying back the chain. The blanket attracted their notice much, the use of which they appeared to know. The old man whom I formerly mentioned was among them; on seeing me he made signs for me to sit down at a distance from the rest, and by pointing to his white beard, signified a wish to have it cut off, which I immediately did with a pair of scissors, and he expressed much satisfaction at being rid of it.

Observing some of their women at a distance, I made signs to the old man that I wished them to come near. He accordingly called to them, upon which they came and sat down near us. These women were much stouter than I had seen about Sydney. I observed one of the brass marks of the surveying chain fastened round the neck of one of their children hanging down behind. I did not take any notice of it as I judged it of more consequence to obtain their confidence and good will, not only for the benefit of my expedition, but for that of the Settlement in general.

All the women we saw had children. A little acquaintance made them lay aside the timidity which they discovered at first. They examined the buttons of my coat, and the head of my dirk, with great signs of surprized; but what appeared to please them most was my watch and its ticking noise. By the assistance of some of our party, who could speak the Sydney language, I explained its use to them; but though both the men as well as the women expressed their satisfaction at other things they saw by loud exclamations and laughing, yet with respect to the watch they talked in a low voice amongst themselves. From what I could judge of their behaviour, they seemed to think it was an object of our adoration and worship.

Among the young people I observed a boy, about twelve years of age, who was a little deformed. He had a sharp pointed stick in his hand, the only weapon of defence I had seen amongst them here; but I found they had weapons not far distant, as will soon appear. Wishing to get some fresh water, I made signs to the Old Chief for that purpose; he readily understood me, and getting up, made me follow him to the side of a hill where some water had settled, but it not appearing to be from a spring, and too trifling for a vessel, I expressed my desire to be taken to a rivulet or constant stream. A native stepped forward, as I supposed, to shew me, but on my following him at a short distance, he turned back and left us. Thinking from the direction we were in, that water was not far distant, I took one of my men with me, to whom I gave my fowling-piece to carry. While going on we saw another native a little way before us, to whom I signified what I wanted. As I approached near to him, by a sudden jerk of his foot he raised and caught up in his hand a spear, which was much longer than any I had seen in New Holland. From the weapon rising within six inches of my face, and the sudden impulse of the moment, I seized the piece from the hands of my attendant. The native put the spear on his shoulder, walked leisurely towards a cliff, over which he looked to the sea, and shortly afterwards joined his companions. I do not supposed that any thing hostile was meant, but as by the direction I was taking, I might have found the spear and kept it, he thought it best to get it himself. This incident may by many be deemed of little use to be inserted.
here; but as it shews they have weapons concealed, it ought to put us upon our guard to prevent a
surprise.

Many of the men and women I saw here were, in all appearance, marked with the small-pox, and
on my pointing to some of the crew that had marks of that order, the natives made signs that they
proceeded from the same disease. From many inquiries I made, I learned that they had a disorder
in this country, which left marks behind it, but whether it is similar to the small-pox of Europe, I
cannot determine, as I never saw any one of them at the time they were afflicted with it. I have,
however, every reason to believe it to be the same disorder; and I am the more confirmed in it, by
the evidence of Mr. Sharp, late Surgeon to the extra East India ship Cornwallis, who while in New
South Wales, collected a great deal of useful information respecting the natives. Since his return to
England, he has most obligingly favoured me with many of his observations, among others, those
he made on the small-pox, which had attracted his notice. Whether it is an original disease of the
Island, or introduced by Captain Cook, or some former navigators, remains yet to be ascertained.

Having completed our survey, and found plenty of good water on this island, we returned on
board.

[The Lady Nelson weighed anchor at 5 a.m. on 13 March, and left Jervis Bay for the southerly
passage along the coast towards Bass Strait]

1802

Ensign Barrallier at Cowpastures

6 November - 18 December, 1802: 'Journal of a Tour to the Cowpastures and Menangle' by Ensign

Ensign Barrallier was accompanied in this journey by a number of local Aborigines, including the
well-known Gogy. The party travelled south west from Parramatta to the Wollondilly River, via
Menangle, the Cowpastures, and Nattai.

Barrallier's journal is full of references to the Aborigines of this area which lies to the west of
Illawarra, and their customs.

See also M. Blackman (1990) for a discussion of this expedition.

1804

Jervis Bay Natives at Sydney

18 March 1804: (Sydney Gazette) Report on the visit to Woolloomooloo, Sydney, of Aborigines
from south of Jervis Bay:

On Thursday a number of Natives assembled in the neighbourhood of Woolloomooloo for the
purpose of deciding animosities, four of whom were from the Southward of Jervise's Bay, & had
never before done us the honour of a visit: they were of a hideous Aspect, wore frightful beards, &
hitherto were estranged to every race but their own & if the report of their civilized countrymen be true, they still adhere to their primitive cannibal habits.

Native Killed at Jervis Bay

22 July 1804: The sloop Contest arrives in Sydney from Jervis Bay on this date, with a report that the crew and a detachment of soldiers had been involved in a skirmish with the local Aborigines. One native was killed, as the following account from the Sydney Gazette reveals:

On Monday last arrived the Sloop Contest, from the Southward, with the Detachment on board all well.

In Two-fold Bay Mr. Draffin went on shore, accompanied by the Master of the vessel, attended by Mongoul, a native of Sydney. Shortly after landing they were surrounded by a numerous body of the natives of that quarter, who were particularly civil to the small party, and especially to the Mongoul.

In the evening he was left on shore at his own request, two soldiers remaining also among the natives, who had formed an encampment near the beach; but shortly after, owing to some sudden misunderstanding, three spears were darted at Mongoul, but were dexterously avoided. The soldiers in order to intimidate them, fired over their heads, and induced them to retreat precipitately. They re-appeared next morning, and renewed their courtesy, but with much caution, and as if intent upon some mischievous design. The first opportunity that offered they found means to carry off a knapsack with its whole contents, and immediately all disappeared. They were pursued, however, with every expedition, and followed by their tracks thro' the Brush to the distance of 12 to 14 miles before they were overtaken; when being discovered dressed in the clothing taken from the knapsack, and dancing, they were instantly closed with, but taking to their spears and other offensive weapons, rendered it necessary to fire upon them - one was killed, the others followed the party back to their boats annoying them with spears at every opportunity, which they continued to do until the whole were embarked.

Lt. Kent & G.W. Evans at Jervis Bay & Shoalhaven

10 March 1805: {SydneyGazette} Report on an expedition to Jervis Bay and the Shoalhaven River by Lieutenant Kent and surveyor G.W.Evans, aboard the vessel Buffalo:

On Sunday last, Lieut. Kent of His Majesty's ship 'Buffalo' came overland from Botany Bay where he left the Anne Cutter, having returned from examining the coast about Shoal's Haven, upon which service he was five weeks employed. The weather was so excessively unfavourable as frequently to render the situation of Lieutenant Kent and his people perilous, which obliged them to put into Jervis Bay from whence Lieutenant Kent went to examine the opening and country about Shoal's Haven.

After walking 18 miles they were so fortunate as to find a small boat lost in a gale of wind, hauled up by the Natives and covered with bark exactly at the place where they wanted to make use of it; they traced the river 18 miles up, when it became impassable. The banks of this river bear a great resemblance to those of the Hawkesbury, but the portions of ground are much less than at the
latter place. Unfortunately the entrance to the river is closed by a bar on which there is a constant surf.

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Wreck of the Nancy near Jervis Bay

5 May 1805: (Sydney Gazette) Report on the fate of the crew of the cutter Nancy, which was wrecked to the south of Jervis Bay on 18 April. Eleven survivors reached that bay on the 20th, and, guided by an Aborigine, later travelled overland to Sydney, whence they arrived on 1 May:

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's 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 the 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 eventually 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 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 resist.

One of these people, whose conduct Mr. Demaria, the master of the vessel, notices as being in all respects opposite to that of his brethren, cheerfully undertook to conduct his distressed party round to Jervis's Bay, for which place they set out 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 advantageous 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 trilling necessary that might have softened in some measure the rigours of a painful travel.

Among the items 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.

The cargo of the Nancy consisted of 3187 skins; she was the largest vessel ever built at Hawkesbury, from whence she was about two years launched by Mr. Thompson, and sold to Messrs. Kable and Company, in whose service she remained to the moment of her dissolution.

Spearing of Europeans at Jervis Bay

27 October 1805: {SydneyGazette} Report on the spearing of Mr Murrell at Jervis Bay, and the killing of 2 natives there:

On Thursday three persons who left the Cove with three others in a whale boat about three weeks ago for King's Island, under the direction of Mr Joseph Murrell, came in over-land from Botany Bay with the unpleasant information of the crew being assaulted by the natives at Jervis's Bay, and Mr Murrell dangerously wounded in the back by a spear.

The account given by these people is as follows; - That everywhere along the coast the natives wore a menacing appearance, and manifested a wish to attack them: that upon making Two-fold Bay they perceived a small group round a fire, who greeted them in a very friendly tone; trusting in which they landed, and proceeded with buckets towards a watering place, but before they reached which, a fight of spears was thrown without mischief; but being speedily succeeded by a second, one of the weapons, most dangerously barbed, lodged in Mr. Murrell's side, which was transpierced; and as the whole of the barb appeared, it was broken off and readily extracted.

They made to the boat, leaving their inhuman assailants to express their joy of the barbarous event by re-echoed peals of mirth, were soon out of their reach.

The travellers next let down on a small neighbouring island. The morning following, four natives visited them, and having begged a jacket or two, left four boys as hostages of their return with fish; but needless of its consequences, these wretches soon returned accompanied by a vast number of others armed in their canoes, and determination was formed to resist their landing: - the blacks in consequence commenced a new assault with their spears, which were answered with muskets, and at length retreated with the loss of two killed, besides several being wounded. They returned the same day from the back of the island unperceived; and in increased numbers taking the little party by surprise, they were obliged to take precipitately to their boat as the only means of preservation: but leaving their provision and necessaries, upon which they left their adversaries voraciously regaling. Unable to proceed for their destination they reversed their course, but could only reach Botany Bay, on account of contrary wind, and have there received from the owner every comfort and assistance.
**Conflict at Jervis Bay**

8 December 1805: [SydneyGazette] Report on Mr Rushworth, master of the Fly, who was speared at Jervis Bay, and of Thomas Evans who was killed:

Information has lately been received of an attack made by a party of the natives at Port Jervis upon Mr Rushworth, master of the Fly colonial vessel, who received several spear wounds, from which he was recovering. Thomas Evans, one of the people who accompanied him, was unfortunately killed on the spot, and so determined did the assailants appear in the prosecution of their barbarous inclinations, that every possible exertion was requisite to the preservation of the vessel, the capture of which was supposed their only inducement to the outrage. We have heretofore repeatedly had occasion to caution our coasting craft against the treachery and wanton inhumanity of the natives of that particular part, where the Contest was attacked with surprising hardihood, and one of her people on shore for water dangerously speared at the very moment that their friendly aspect and demeanor had thrown the boat's crew off their guard; and where, but a few weeks since, Mr. Murrell was also attacked and wounded; and opposed by multitudes with the utmost difficulty did every one of his people escape massacre, with the loss of their whole stock of provisions. After so many instances of faithlessness, it is wonderful that people who have even themselves born testimony, as most of our boatmen oftentimes have, of their natural aversion to strangers, should still inconsiderately expose themselves to hazard by an unguarded intercourse of which the savages are ever ready to take advantage, either from a hope of plunder, however inconsiderable the promised spoil, or from a natural propensity to acts of cruelty to manifest in their unaccountable perceptions of one another.

Prodigious numbers of natives have flocked into Sydney and its environs, for the purpose of instructing punishment on a tribe from the southward, by one of whom it was the fate of young Baker to be wounded. Some of our Sydney and Parramatta inmates already brandish their mischievous weapons in terrorem, and testify their entire approbation of the impeachment by frightfully barbing and preparing their spears for incurable laceration.

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**1806**

**Wreck of the George at Twofold Bay**

January 1806: [SydneyGazette, 16 February 1806; C.Bateson, Australian Shipwrecks, pp.41-42] The sloop George is wrecked at Twofold Bay late in January. When the vessel is beached a large party of Aborigines set the nearby grass on fire and throw spears, however they are dispersed when Captain Birbeck and his men open fire, killing several of them.

A section of the crew later sail to Sydney, whilst the remainder walk overland from Jervis Bay. Further accounts of the fate of the crew of the George are reproduced below.

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**Sealers Kill Natives at Twofold Bay**

15 March 1806: Governor King reports on an encounter between stranded sealers - members of the crew of the George - and natives at Twofold Bay, in which a number of Aborigines are killed [HRNSW/Sydney, 1902, volume 3, p.42]:

...Referring to my recent communication 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 seal-skins was stranded at Twofold Bay, near the south part of the 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 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 to honor, Sir,
to be Your humble & obedt. Servant
Philip Gidley King

Natives Massacred at Twofold Bay

6 April 1806: [Sydney Gazette] Report on 9 Aborigines shot and killed, and their bodies hung from trees, by a gang of sealers at Twofold Bay, members of the crew of the George:

The hull of the George private colonial schooner, some time since wrecked at Two-fold Bay, has been consumed, as no hopes of getting her off remained, and her iron-work brought up in the Venus.

Disagreeable accounts were last week received by the Venus private colonial vessel of the inimical disposition of the natives at Two-fold Bay. The sealers employed there were for many weeks past obliged to act with the greatest caution, two men with muskets being obliged to accompany the water bearers to and fro for fear of assassination, and sentinels being set at night, who were frequently compelled to alarm their companions, from the appearance of the natives near their huts.

About five weeks ago a whole body shewed themselves, with a determined resolution to attack the gang en masse. They advanced with shouts and menaces until within reach of a spear, several of which were thrown; and then the gang, eleven in number, in self defence commenced a fire, by which nine of their assailants were lain prostrate; whereupon all the rest made off.

To intimidate them it was thought advisable to suspend those that fell, on the limbs of trees; but before daylight the next morning they were taken down, and carried off.

Skirmish at Jervis Bay

18 May 1806: [Sydney Gazette] Report on the fate of some of the survivors of the George, wrecked at Twofold Bay in January, who travelled overland from Jervis Bay and were involved in a skirmish with the natives there:

On Tuesday came in after a fatiguing travel from the northward of Jervis's Bay, five men who were left at Two-fold Bay with the wreck of the George private colonial vessel.

About the middle of April they had reason to suspect treachery from the natives, those upon that part of the coast having given frequent testimony of their antipathy to strangers. About the 20th
they missed one of their party, known here chiefly by the name of Yankey Campbell, whom they conclude to have fallen a victim to native barbarity. The same day a number of canoes landed from various directions, the natives that were in them making their rendezvous on an eminence commanding that part of the beach which the white men occupied.

In the course of the day their numbers much increased, and they actually commenced an attack by several flights of spears, thrown from thickets, and were answered by muskets, but with what effect was unknown, as those by whom the spears were thrown were not visible. The first fire produced a general engagement, in which one white man was wounded, but not dangerously, and a number of the aggetators retreated wounded into the woods. They maintained the fight against the fire of muskettry until 27 rounds of ammunition were expended; but in the end rushed like a torrent upon the intended victims of their animosity, who fled precipitately to their boat of only 7 feet keel, which they reached with extreme difficulty. Where beyond the reach of their missile weapons, they saw everything destroyed by their assailants, and the stock they were forced to leave behind massacred; yet thankful for their deliverance determined to coast it up in their little boat; but from the look of the weather were forced to relinquish this project, and on Monday the 5th forsook their boat at Jervis's Bay, subsisting entirely upon the shell fish along the coast - a precarious diet, but sparingly afforded.

From two Sydney natives one of whom a young man by the name of Potter, they received such human assistance when falling with fatigue, as enabled them to complete their tedious and distressing travel in eight days from their departure from the boat.

1808

George Caley's Letter

14 April 1808: Letter from George Caley to Sir Joseph Banks, commenting on the habit of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines of visiting the mountain and highland tribes (Banks Papers, Mitchell Library):

Sea coast natives were said to visit the country near the hill (the Jib at Bowral).

Three Sailors Murdered at Batemans Bay

Sunday, 15 May 1808: (Sydney Gazette) Report that 3 of the crew of the Fly were murdered by Aborigines at Batemans Bay:

On Tuesday the Resource government vessel came in with coals and cedar from Hunter's River. She brought accounts of the arrival there of the Fly colonial vessel, on Monday 2d instant, with the loss of three of her crew out of five, who were murdered by the coast natives at Bateman's bay a few days before.

The Fly sailed from hence for Kangaroo Island some weeks since; but being overtaken by bad weather and contrary winds, was obliged to take shelter at Bateman's bay, and to send on shore for water. The three unfortunate persons whose fate it was to fall under the barbarity of the natives, were sent on shore with a cask, having previously arranged a mode of giving an alarm from the vessel, in case of obvious danger, by the discharge of a musket. Shortly after they landed, a body of natives assembled about the boat, and a musket was accordingly discharged from the vessel - the unfortunate men returned precipitately to their boat, without any obstruction from the natives,
but had no sooner put off from the shore than a flight of spears was thrown, which was continued until all the three fell from their oars. The savages immediately took and maned the boat, and with a number of canoes prepared to attack the vessel; which narrowly escaped their fury by cutting the cable, and standing out to sea. The names of the murdered men were, Charles Freeman, Thomas Bly, and Robert Goodlet.

1809

Young Bundle

3 September 1809: [Sydney Gazette] Report on young Bundle (possibly a native of Illawarra - see Blanket Returns of 1833-42) fraternising with Tedbury, son of the slain Aboriginal warrior Pemulwuy, and attacking settlers to the south and south-west of Sydney and at Parramatta:

Some of the distant settlers have had recent occasion to complain of the conduct of the natives, a few among whom have manifested a disposition to mischievous acts.

A man of the name of Tunks in company with another was attacked near Parramatta by three blacks, among whom was young Bundle and Tedbury, the son of Pemulwuy, who was shot some years since [1803] on account of his murders, and the horrible barbarities he had exercised on many solitary travellers. The son appears to have inherited the ferocity and vices of his father.

Upon the above occasion he pointed his spear to the head and breast of Tunks, and repeatedly threatened to plunge the weapon into him; but other persons fortunately appearing in sight, the assailants betook to the woods.

Several other such attacks have been made, but as Tedbury is stated to have always been of the party, which consisted but of two or three, it may be inferred that a spirit of of malevolence is far from general; and under this belief, it may be hoped the settlers will not permit their servants or families to practice the unnecessary severities which may irritate, and provoke those who are at present peaceably disposed, to join in the atrocities of a few miscreants, whom their own tribe, if not exasperated by ill treatment, would no doubt as they have frequently done before, betray into our hands, and avowedly assist in apprehending.

1810

Governor Macquarie’s Tour of the Cowpastures

November 1810: Governor Macquarie and party tour the Cowpastures and Appin districts, south west of Sydney, visiting also Camden and the Warragamba River.

The following extracts from Macquarie’s journal refer to the local Aborigines met with {Lachlan Macquarie - Journals of His Tours... 1810-1822, Public Library of NSW, Sydney, 1956, pp.6, 9}:

[Friday, 16 November]...We passed through Mr McArthur’s first farm, called by the natives Benkennie, and arrived at our halting place, called Bundie, at half past 1 o’clock in the afternoon, being six miles in a south west direction from the ford. We came in the carriage all the way, through a very fine rich country and open forest, and on the way to our ground 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, came to visit us immediately on our arrival at Bundie.

[Sunday, 18 November]....In the evening Koggie, the Native Chief of the Cowpasture Tribe, and his wife and half a dozen more natives, favored us with an extraordinary sort of dance after their own manner, and with which we were all very much pleased. They were treated a glass of spirits each before they began the dance, with which they were much pleased and which had a wonderful effect on their spirits in performing their dance.

The following are the names of the natives (not including some children) who honored us with their company and attendance during our stay at Bundie: vizt. Koggie and his two wives Nantz and Mary, Bootbarrie & his wife Mary, Young Bundle, Mandagerry, Jindle and Bill: total 9 grown up persons, besides 4 or 5 children of different ages.

During this day's excursion we were attended by some of the natives, one of whom amused us very much by climbing up a high tree to catch a guana, which he did in a very dextrous manner...

[Thursday, 29 November]....One of the natives born near this part of the country, and who made one of our party on this day's excursion, tells us that the real and proper native name of this newly discovered river that we are now exploring is the Warragombie, by which name I have directed it be called in the future. The immense high hill directly opposite to the terrace we breakfasted on, is called Cheenbar, and is well known to the natives....

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1811

Governor Macquarie at Jervis Bay

5-7 November 1811: The Lady Nelson, with Governor Macquarie and party aboard, shelters at Jervis Bay, where the Governor makes a brief tour.

The following brief account of the visit was given by James Jervis in ‘Jervis Bay: its Settlement and Discovery’ {JRAHS Sydney, 1936, volume 22, p.122}:

.....The Lady Nelson anchored under the lee of Bowen Island on 5 November to await a change of wind. The Governor went ashore on the island, on which he remained for about an hour, then crossed to the south shore, where he noticed the absence of runs, or springs of fresh water, but concluded there must be some further inland, as the native population was numerous. The natives went off in canoes with fish, which they bartered for tobacco and biscuits. "They were", remarks Macquarie, "very stout, well made and good looking men, and seemed perfectly at their ease and void of fear."

On the following day, Mr Overend, one of the party, made a survey of the bay and took soundings; when his sketch was finished it was presented to the Governor. His Excellency and Mrs Macquarie went ashore at the head of the inlet in the afternoon, where they saw two native huts close to the beach constructed in a very inferior manner.

A more detailed account is contained in Macquarie's own journal {Lachlan Macquarie - Journals of His Tours...1810-1822, Public Library of NSW, Sydney, 1956, pp.47-48}, with the following extract referring to the local natives:

[Tuesday, 5 November] .....Here we saw nothing like runs or springs of fresh water, altho' we concluded there must be some further inland, as a great number of natives inhabit this part of the bay, having seen many of them at a distance in the course of the day.
The first we saw were three men on Bowen Island as we were passing in through the entrance into the bay; they then hollied to us, and afterwards when anchored, came off to us in their canoes with fish, which they willingly bartered for biscuit and tobacco. They were very stout well-made good-looking men, and seemed perfectly at ease and void of fear......

1812

First Cedar from Shoalhaven

4 January 1812: [SydneyGazette] Report on the arrival of the vessel Speedwell from Shoalhaven with the first official load of cedar:

On Monday last arrived the Speedwell colonial vessel from a place called Shoal's Haven which lies about midway between Jervis's Bay and the Five Islands, whereat she procured a cargo of Cedar said to be of good quality. The above place was first found to produce Cedar by occasional travellers in pursuit of Pheasants and other birds; and was about 6 or 7 years ago visited by Lieut. Oxley of the Navy in the open pinnace from whose report it has not since been noticed.

The people belonging to the Speedwell affirm that they have discovered a river or very considerable inlet not before known, and within the entrance of which they proceeded from 15 to 20 miles. As often as they were obliged to land, they found the most active vigilance necessary to their protection against the natives who appeared to be numerous and athletic. The place appears to have been very properly named Shoal's Haven, as the above small vessel, being only 15 tons, grounded several times and found the utmost difficulty in getting in and out at high water.

G.W. Evans and Bundle

Overland from Jervis Bay to Appin

25 March - 17 April, 1812: Surveyor George William Evans travels overland from Jervis Bay to Appin, via Wollongong, accompanied by the Aborigine Bundle, who later assisted Charles Throsby in his South Coast and Illawarra travels (refer under 1818 and 1821).

Evans's diary - reproduced in W.G. McDonald, Earliest Illawarra (Illawarra Historical Society, 1979) - is sparse, with no real descriptions of the local Aboriginal people. However Evans mentions that he sketched along the way - producing the first European drawings of the Illawarra landscape (apart from Sidney Parkinson’s coastal profile of 1770). He was an amateur, though skilled, artist, however these early Illawarra works have not survived.

The following extract refers to their crossing of the Sholhaven River:

Monday 6th [April 1812]

It was dusk last evening before we crossed the [Shoalhaven] River. I ventured to Swim but felt the Cramp coming on I returned to shore. Two of the men could not swim which Bundle conveyed over in the Canoe. I remained till last, fearful if I had used it first, my weight might swamp her, as it was very low and leaked much.

I striped myself and sent my Cloaths over, it rained hard, and was in that situation nearly an hour, at last it came my turn. I ventured into the Canoe and brought it down within two Inches of Water.
Thank God I landed safe, we were 6 Hours making this Bark and conveying ourselves and Baggage over....

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1813

Wrecks of the Mercury & Endeavour

Saturday, 20 March 1813: [SydneyGazette] Report on the arrival in Sydney of the survivors of the wrecks of Mary Reiby's vessels the Mercury and Endeavour at Shoalhaven, whence they had floundered late in February:

The crew of the Mercury and Endeavour have come in from Shoal Haven, some over-land, and others in a vessel sent down for their relief. The Cumberland arrived from hence yesterday, after much risque in working out.

The Endeavour was wrecked about half an hour before the Mercury; which latter vessel first lost her rudder on a sand-bank extending across the mouth of the Haven, and becoming unmanageable in a rough sea, she struck upon a rock, and broke her keel.

From the previous loss of her only boat, her crew had some difficulty in reaching the shore, which with assistance from the other vessels at the place was nevertheless happily effected. The party who came in by land consisted of Mr. Chase, master of the Endeavour, and four others, who seeing no prospect of relief on account of unfavourable winds, determined on a land travel, without a native guide, a pocket compass, or any knowledge of the trackless wild they were to pass.

On Sunday morning last they left their companions and set out on their journey, with no other dependence than a couple of muskets and a pistol, either for their protection and having already subsisted 14 days on the cabbage tree.

On the night of their departure, and after a 12 hours fatiguing travel, they met with three natives, from whom by dint of menace and intreaty they obtained 2 or 3 pounds of fish. Next morning they had to cross a wide river, and one of the party not being able to swim, a raft was constructed, on which the others floated him to the opposite side. On the evening of the second day another deep river obstructed their progress, and they were too much exhausted immediately to attempt a passage, having eaten nothing but grass during the day. They became hopeless of ever reaching these settlements, and were in the deepest despondency, when the appearance of a native dog once more aroused them into action. They killed and were obliged to eat part of the animal giving the remainder to the three natives they had been with before, and who now re-appeared, but neither offered to molest or to assist them.

Thus miserably regaled, they crossed this river as they had done the former and on the third morning proceeded forward with pain and anxiety, & mostly bare-footed. This day they crossed another river, and found themselves within a few miles of the Five Islands, but could obtain no assistance from the natives, and never broke their fast at all.

Thursday passed over in the same dreadful way, and on Friday morning nothing but the hope that they were within a few miles of Botany Bay could have induced them to proceed a step further. At night, disappointed in their expectation, they abandoned themselves to despair - but Providence still inclining to their preservation they perceived a fire close at hand which some natives had quitted, and by its side were 8 or 9 small fish. Thus encouraged, hope once more returned, and yesterday evening they reached Botany Bay.
The Outbreak of Hostilities
and First Settlement at Illawarra

1814 - 1815

After more than 10 years of 'official' peace between the Aborigines of New South Wales and the white settlement at Port Jackson following the death of the Aboriginal warrior Pemulwuy in 1802 (refer Willmot, 1987) conflict arose during 1814 in areas on the limits of settlement to the north, west and south of Sydney, especially around Appin and the Cowpastures near Camden to the south-west.

The Blue Mountains had been crossed by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth in 1813, and coupled with Governor Macquarie's expansionist ideals the frontiers of white settlement subsequently began spreading in earnest, with the Governor freely dispersing land grants throughout the Colony.

The period 1814-16 was also one of drought in New South Wales, causing the Aborigines of areas close to new settlements to seek sustenance from the settlers crops, stock, and waterholes. During April 1814 the Mountain tribes 'attacked' settlers farms along the Nepean River between Appin and Mulgoa, in search of food.

The initial conflicts of 1814 would culminate in the war of 1816, with numerous deaths to both whites and blacks (though there were at least 10 Aborigines killed for every white person) and stern measures imposed upon the Aborigines by Governor Macquarie later that year.

In most cases it is revealed that hostilities initially arose due to abuses and atrocities (such as indiscriminant shooting, murder and rape) carried out by white settlers who took umbrage at the Aborigines 'stealing' their corn and crops. The Aborigines simply regarded their actions as a continuation of their constant struggle to live off the provisions of the land, as they had done for thousands of years. The whites, in their greed, ignorance, and arrogance, retaliated with guns and swords, and attempted to remove all trace of the original inhabitants from their farms and grazing areas. They viewed the Aborigines as 'pests.'

Such conflicts were subsequently aggravated by the Aborigines seeking of revenge for the murder of their people - which had included men, women, and children - as the local police and Government officials did not punish the whites for murdering blacks. British justice did not apply to the Aborigines, despite Governor Macquarie's shallow words to the effect. Aborigines could not give evidence in Court or defend themselves until later in the century, as they were considered heathens and unable to swear upon the Bible. They were also forbidden to own land, except if specially granted by the Governor and under close supervision by whites.

It was not until 1838 that the first Europeans in New South Wales were brought to trial, found guilty, and hung for barbarities committed against the Aborigines, despite many blatant cases both before and after that date for which the authorities took no action.
A concise summary of the 1814 skirmishes about Appin and Camden and the similar outbreak in 1816 is contained in Carol Liston's *A Bicentennial History of Campbelltown* (Campbelltown, 1988, pp.19-23). As there were many contacts and social ties between the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines and those from areas such as Appin and the Cowpastures (refer E.Dollahan Papers, Appendix 4), these incidents are relevant to our study and therefore included.

The following documents are mostly reproductions of contemporary accounts of the 1814-16 conflicts which ultimately resulted in the decimation of the Aboriginal people of the Campbelltown and Cowpastures districts.

### 1814

#### Natives Attack Farm at Mulgoa

7 May 1814: *[SydneyGazette]* Report on troublesome natives west of Sydney - a portent of things to come:

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 Saturday 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 these outrages.

[The 'outrages' referred to the natives stealing, not to shootings by whites]

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#### Veteran Corps Soldiers & Settlers Shoot Natives near Appin

Four Aborigines & Three Whites Killed

14 May 1814: *[SydneyGazette]* Report on warfare between whites and blacks in the Appin district, including the murder of an Aboriginal woman and three children, plus the death of a soldier - Isaac Eustace - during an attack on a native camp:

Our public duty once more lays us under the painful necessity of reporting violences between the natives and ourselves, which from the tranquility 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 Veterans Corps, in the district of Appin, fired on a large body of 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 determinant spirit, menacing with their spears.

A native boy was unfortunately killed, and the small party was immediately attacked with the promptitude that put it out of their power to reload. 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 also being 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 group of the natives, and fired upon them: - they fled, leaving a woman and two children behind them, dead.

[Of this barbaric reprisal action Liston (op. cit., p.19) writes ‘Seeking vengeance they murdered Bitugally’s wife and two children while they slept - the woman’s arm was cut off and her head scalped, the skull of one child was smashed with the butt of a musket, and their bodies were left unburied for the families to find’. Refer also Charles Throsby’s letter of 5 April 1816]

The next day they made an attack on a storekeeper’s hut belonging to Mrs M’Arthur, when the storekeeper, Wm. Baker, and a woman named Mary Sullivan, generally called Hirbur, were both killed.

Some other atrocities have this day been reported, but we have no present notion 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 time of the year, when the fields of ripened maize were open to the pillage.

Without property, or a wish to obtain anything by industry, they respected it not in others, and the slightest opposition they retorted with the bitterest hostility - which we may at least 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 this 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 the 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 state 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.
Aborigines Threaten to Kill All White Settlers

4 June 1814: (Sydney Gazette) Report that local Aborigines threaten to kill all white settlers in the Appin & Cowpastures region:

The hordes of Natives that shew themselves at a distance in the environs of the Cow Pasture Settlement, excite considerable alarms among the Settlers. Many of their wives and children have forsaken their dwellings, 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.

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: but one circumstance is observable in their present encampment 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, 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. Their chief, whose name is Cowgye, has wholly abandoned them, and gone to Broken Bay, from a personal visit to maintain a friendly footing with us. 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 tribes have gathered, we may hope they will retire; but we cannot 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.

Governor Macquarie Orders an Official Investigation into the Murder of an Aboriginal Woman & 5 Children at Appin

11 June 1814: The Colonial Secretary (Thomas Campbell) writes to the Judge Advocate (Ellis Bent) on behalf of Governor Lachlan Macquarie, calling on him to investigate the murder of an Aboriginal woman and some children at Appin (AONSW, Reel 6004, p.187):

Secretary's Office
Saturday 11th June 1814
Sir

Information having reached the Governor that a Native Woman and five Children were lately put to Death in a Wanton and unprovoked manner by a Soldier of the 73rd Regt. and it having been further represented to Him that Henry McKudding a Constable in the District of Georges River was in company with the Soldier when those Murders were committed, His Excellency has considered it due to Justice to have the Circumstances of the Affair fully and legally investigated and for this purpose He has directed Mr Moon the Magistrate of Liverpool to send all the Persons supposed to be concerned in these alleged Murders (together with such other persons as may be enabled to give information on that subject) to Sydney in order to their being examined this present day before a full Bench of Magistrates.

Mr Moon has been also instructed to attend personally to give such information as may be within his own knowledge.

It is His Exy. the Govr. request that you and the Magistrates of Sydney when assembled today will minutely investigate this business and commit for Trial any Person who shall appear to have been concerned in the Murder of the black Woman and five Children before alluded to.

Gogie a Native Chief accompanied by a few other Natives and also John Wanbey & Jno. Jackson are instructed to attend the Bench for examination touching this business.

I have the honor to be Sir
Yr. Ob. Fait. Servant
Ellis Bent Esqr. Signed Mr Thos. Campbell
Judge Advocate &c. &c.

[The proceedings of this meeting have not been located]

Two Convicts Murdered at Appin

18 June 1814: [Sydney Gazette] Report on the murder of John Price and Dennis Newingham by Aborigines at Appin, in retaliation for past atrocities by the whites:

A body of natives on Wednesday last in the forenoon attacked and killed two of Mr. Broughton's servants, at his farm in the district of Appin. The unfortunate men, whose names were John Price and Dennis Newingham, were not apprised of the attack until the assailants were within 20 yards of them. They were first seen by a little boy, who exclaimed that the natives were at hand, and miraculously effected his escape. One of the unhappy sufferers fell instantly, covered with spear wounds; and the other defended himself to the last extremity - but unavailing was the effort to preserve his life. As soon as both were killed the assailants set up a loud shout, which alarmed the other people in and about the farm, who were distributed by their various employment in different places, and were equally unacquainted with their approach. A shepherd has been reported missing, but we hope may be in safety.

Governor Macquarie Admonishes the White Settlers

18 June 1814: [Sydney Gazette] Governor Macquarie issues a General Order admonishing settlers in the Appin and Cowpastures areas for instigating conflicts with the Aborigines there, specifically referring to the murder of an Aboriginal woman and some children in cold-blood:
Government and General Orders
Civil Department

Government House, Sydney
Saturday, 18th June, 1814

The Governor and Commander in Chief feels much Regret in having to avert to the unhappy
Conflicts which have lately taken place between the Settlers in the remote Districts of Bringelly,
Airds, and Appin, 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 by the natives, in Retaliation for real or
supposed Injuries, but without due Regard either to previous Agression on the part of the
unfortunate Settlers, 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 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 Districts, 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.

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
Agressions of one and other Party, and to punish in the most exemplary Manner every Person,
whether Settler or Native, who shall premeditately violate these Laws.

When it is taken into Consideration that several Years have elapsed since anything 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 the British Settlers to
exercise their Patience and Forebearance, 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 Magistrates of the District, the most active Measures will
be taken for the Apprehension and Punishment of the Aggressors, 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 these Circumstances 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 should 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 have done previous to the present Conflict; they have at the same Time the fullest Assurances from the Governor, that any Complaints 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 Re-establishment 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 Tormentors of those Hostilities will meet the most exemplary Punishment.

This Order requiring the earliest and greatest Publicity, His Excellency the Governor desires that it 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 applied Obedience to this order.

By Command of His Excellency
The Governor.
J.T.Campbell, Secretary.

 Governor Macquarie Reports to England

July 1814: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst (HRA, Sydney, 1917, series I, volume VIII, pp.250-1):

.....Some hostilities have been lately exhibited in the remote parts of the settlement by the Natives, who have killed one Soldier and three other Europeans. In consequence of this aggression, I despatched 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 the 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.

Lachlan Macquarie

 White Children Murdered

July 1814: The Aborigines near Bringelly retaliate against white atrocities (C.Liston, op cit., p.20):

.....The children of James Daley were murdered at Bringelly. [Governor] Macquarie held five mountain Aborigines responsible - Goondel, who had met Barrallier in 1804, Bitugally (Bottagallie), Murrah, Yellooming and Wallah.
It is possible that James Daley was involved in the murder of the Aboriginal woman and children in May, and the Aboriginal men were taking revenge.

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**Governor Macquarie's Punitive Expedition**

21 July 1814: Governor Macquarie orders the despatch of a punitive Military expedition to investigate Native atrocities in the areas west and south-west of Sydney, and to apprehend accused perpetrators. He also issues orders to the Deputy Commissary General, David Allan, to supply his punitive expedition with supplies and ammunition (AONSW, Reel 6044, 4/1730):

**Supplies for the Expedition**

Govt. House
Sydney 21st July 1814

To D. Allan Esqr.
Dy. Comy. Genl.

Sir

It being deemed necessary to send out a Party of twelve armed Soldiers with four friendly Natives as Guides, for the apprehension of some of the Hostile natives who have lately committed proved barbarities against certain Peaceable Settlers and their Families; you are hereby ordered and directed to furnish twenty one days provisions from the King's Stores for the said sixteen men, according to the undermentioned scale of weekly ration, giving charge thereof to John Warbey and John Jackson, to whom the execution of this service is entrusted, viz.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biscuit</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>2 Ounces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pork</td>
<td>6 lbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You will also issue from His Majesty's Store for the use of the Party herein alluded to, the undermentioned arms and ammunition, which are to be delivered in charge to John Warbey and John Jackson; to be by them returned into the King's Store after the present service has been executed, viz.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musquets</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball Cartridge</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck Shot</td>
<td>24 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flints</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun Powder</td>
<td>2 lbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the foregoing provisions, and ammunition, you are to issue pairs of shoes in charge of Warbey and Jackson, for themselves and the other ten Soldiers. The whole of the foregoing articles to be prepared immediately and delivered in the course of tomorrow to Warbey and Jackson.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedt. Servt.

L.M.

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20 July 1814: Commissary Allan sends the following note to Governor Macquarie re supplies and ammunition for punitive Party (AONSW, Reel 6044, 4/1730):

Sydney 20th July 1814

Received into His Majesty's Stores from John Warbey six stand of Fire Arms issued to the Party in pursuit of the Natives.

William Sutton
Store Keeper

Governor Macquarie's Instructions to Warby and Jackson

22 July 1814: Governor Macquarie issues instructions to John Warbey and John Jackson, leaders of the punitive expedition against the hostile Natives (AONSW, Reel 6044, 4/1730):

22 July 1814

To John Warbey 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 a farm belonging to a man named Daley, and there being good reason to suppose that the five following Natives have been the principal actors in, and permeators of all the late acts of Hostility and Murders committed on the European Settlers, and their Families, namely Goondel, Bettagallie, Murrah, Yellaman, 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 take them alive, and bring them in Prisoners to Sydney, in order that they may 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 indemnify 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 inserted with will not be abused, and I feel confident you will both act with mutual cordiality and unanimity, and to the best of your respective Judgements 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
Memorandum

Yourselves and Party - in all 16 Persons - are supplied with a plentiful supply of Provisions (according to the undermentioned scale) for twenty one days; also with Arms and ammunition, and with a blanket and pair of shoes, for each man, from the King's Store at Sydney.

Scale of Ration for each Man per week, viz.

Six pounds of Salt Pork
10 1/2 lbs of Biscuit
3 lbs of Rice
1 1/2 lbs of Tea
20 Ounces of Tobacco

L.M.

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General Order re Punitive Expedition

22 July 1814: Governor Macquarie issues a General Order re the punitive expedition to be launched against the Hostile Natives in the Cowpastures and Appin regions, under the command of John Warbey and John Jackson, and assisted by native guides (AONSW, Reel 6044, 4/1730, pp.224-231):

Government Orders!

To All Persons
Whom it may concern

It being deemed necessary to send out an Armed party of Europeans, with four friendly Natives as Guides, under the direction of John Warbey and John Jackson, as Principal Conductors of this Expedition; and it being their particular wish that the undermentioned Ten Europeans should accompany them on their present Services; the Masters to whom these men are now Servants, are hereby required and directed to permit them to proceed immediately under the said John Warbey and John Jackson, in quest of certain Hostile Natives who have lately committed great cruelties and barbarities on the Persons and Properties of the European Settlers and their Families, and which Hostile Natives it is the object of the present Expedition to seize and bring in Prisoners to Sydney for the purpose of being punished in a legal manner for their crimes.

The Settlers are therefore required not to make any objection to parting with their servants, herein aftermentioned, for this important Service; as they will again soon be returned to them, or replaced by others, viz.

1 Joseph Thompson
2 James Neale
3 William Prior
4 Joseph Bridges
5 Patrick Bourke
6 Robert Briers
7 William Clayton
8 Robert Green
9 -- Jackson
10 -- White

N.B. These men are to be provided with arms and ammunition, some slops, and twenty one day's provisions from the Government Stores at Sydney.
Friendly Natives

1 Mary Mary
2 Budbury
3 Quayat
4 Karryong

The above four men are to go as guides with Warbey and Jackson.

Given under my hand at Government House
Sydney, New South Wales, this Friday
the 22nd day of July 1814

L. Macquarie
Govr. in Chief

Return of the Punitive Expedition

15 August 1815: Commissary Allan writes to Governor Macquarie re the return of muskets issued to the punitive Party (AONSW, Reel 6044, 4/1730):

Sydney 15th August 1814

Received from John Warbey Twelve Muskets returned after pursuing the Natives.
William Sutton
Store Keeper

Macquarie Reports to England

8 October 1814: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst on recent actions against the Aborigines (HRA, Sydney, 1916, series I, volume VIII, pp.367-370):

Government House, Sydney, New South Wales
8th October 1814

My Lord,

I feel peculiar pleasure in submitting to Your Lordship's consideration some reflections, which, in 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 wanderings 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 trick and
treachery, which characterize the Natives of New Zealand and those in the generality of the islands of the South Seas. The Natives of New South Wales have never been Cannibals. In fact they seem to have a great 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 costs afford, the objects of their fare.

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.

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....

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1815

First White Settlement at Illawarra

[1815] Charles Throsby and party move cattle into Illawarra and establish a stockyard and stockman’s hut at Wollongong, creating the first official white settlement at Illawarra.

The following reference to this event is taken from the 1863 reminiscences of Charles Throsby Smith, Dr Throsby’s nephew:

.....In the year 1815 the County of Cumberland was suffering from the effects of drought ... and the cattle were dying daily for want of food and water. My late uncle, Dr Throsby, was then residing at a place called Glenfield a few miles south of Liverpool, and, as he was of an enterprising disposition and fond of rambling, he, in one of his rambles about Liverpool, met with some of the Aborigines who told him there was plenty of grass and water at the Five Islands. From their representations of the area he at once made up his mind to proceed thither and see for himself - and so, accompanied by a couple of men, two native blacks, and a pack-horse carrying provisions, he started on his journey....

The two natives referred to were possibly Bundle and Broughton, who later accompanied Throsby to Shoalhaven in 1818. He was also most likely accompanied by Joseph Wild, his stockman and longtime friend who had possibly visited Illawarra as early as 1805 to collect birds with Robert Brown, and who was made District Constable at Illawarra in December 1815.

See also under 1823 for further extracts from this account, and the Illawarra Historical Society Bulletin (June- July 1990) for an expanded version.

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Cedar Getters Lost at Shoalhaven

18 February 1815: *Sydney Gazette* Report on fears for George Wood and his party, overdue from a cedar getting excursion at Shoal Haven. They had left Sydney the previous December and were now missing for nearly three months:

Much apprehension has for some weeks been entertained for the safety of George Wood, of Clarence-street, and two men who accompanied him to Shoal Haven, for the purpose of procuring cedar.

They went from Sydney nearly a fortnight before Christmas; and a boat went from hence on Thursday the 9th inst. in quest of them, but without any very flattering prospect of restoring them to the society of their friends and families.

The boat which went in search of them was formerly the launch of the Three Bees, fitted for the purpose of assisting in procuring cedar. The persons who went in her were G.Philips, tinman, and son; and Thos. Brady, a fisherman, accompanied, as is supposed, by a native who joined them after leaving the harbour; and who has since returned to Sydney with a confused account, intimating, as some who have conversed with him suppose, the loss of the launch also, at the same time making out that the people who navigated her were saved. Too implicit a belief of this report has passed it off as a matter of fact; whereas it should rather be presumed upon the contrary, that if this native did accompany the launch down, and she had been wrecked, he would have been prevailed upon to stand by the people as a guide, and not have abandoned them, particularly to come to Sydney; from which very circumstance it might even almost yet be hoped, that he had been dispatched hither by Phillips with intelligence of Wood and his party loosing their boats, with a possibility of their yet living though the messenger might be incapable of rendering himself sufficiently intelligible after he arrived.

That there was a heavy squall from the southward about 12 hours after the launch's sailing is perfectly recollected; but had she been wrecked it must have been somewhere about Port Aiken, from when the people would in a few days have walked in. All respecting them is therefore doubt and uncertainty at present, from which it is ardently to be hoped we may shortly be agreeably relieved.

Fears for George Wood's Party at Shoalhaven

25 February 1815: *Sydney Gazette* Report on the supposed outrages by Aborigines at Shoalhaven upon the party of missing cedar getters led by George Wood:

The fate that has unhappily attended the late George Wood and his associates, Jones and Dawson, who had proceeded towards Shoal Haven to procure cedar, is now placed beyond all doubt, by the return of Messrs. Batty and Howell, who went in quest of them over-land.

Wood and his companions had proceeded from hence [Sydney] a fortnight before Christmas, in the employ of Mr Blaxcell, with a fine launch, well found in necessaries best suited to their purpose. As soon as the length of time they were provided for expired, their return was of course looked for, as there was no probability of their augmenting their resources, by fishing, fowling, or foresting; as they had gone provisioned for a certain time to be employed in labour only, and could therefore only depend upon their prudential calculation for their supplies lasting them back to Sydney, whether their return was to be expected the latter end of January. February arrived, however, and no intelligence concerning them; a few days passed over without any very alarming conjectures; but when an entire week, their families and friends became hourly the more anxious; and their
employer, sparing no time in ascertaining the cause of their delay, despatched a party by water, comprising Messrs. Philips, son, and Brady, as mentioned in the Gazette of last week; and another party by land, consisting of Messrs. Batty & Howell, who returned last Tuesday with reliques sufficient to demonstrate that Wood and his companions are no more - while their most ardent enquiries failing in ascertaining the precise cause of their death.

On Thursday the 9th ult. both parties set out; and the launch, the loss of which was also reported, returned last Sunday, without information, but without experiencing any accident. Batty and Howell, however, loading themselves with sufficient provisions and other necessaries which travellers accustomed to the woods know to be the best adapted, persevered in one of the most toilsome pursuits that could possibly have been embarked in, until they arrived at the spot where they found the launch that had conveyed Wood and his associates thither, out of the reach of the tide and the surf. Here they also discovered the mutilated remains of a human body, which some friendly natives who had joined them as conductors, pronounced to be poor Wood's, whom they had well known during his lifetime.

This was indeed a dismal spectacle - the face was gone, but the hinder parts of the head were yet a good deal undecayed, as were also the legs, thighs, and arms, from which the hands were absent. They took a lock of hair from the head, and the bone of the lower jaw, which was loose from the decay of the tendons that had united it; and these melancholy evidence of the performance of their engagement they have brought in with them, together with a powder horn, sewing palm, handkerchief, and part of a jacket, recognized to have been taken hence by one or other of the three ill-fated men.

The bodies of Jones and Dawson were not found, nor were any of their muskets; but there remained on the beach a cask with a quantity of salt pork in it, the hoops of which had been taken off, and a box that had contained their apparel and other necessaries was striped of its hinges.

Their guides, who were now eight in number, advised them not to delay at the fatal place, which was from 25 to 30 miles from the Five Islands, and estimated at upwards of 100 miles from Sydney, as they were in momentary apprehension of being assailed by numbers that were possibly in concealment around them, by whom they were as likely to be killed and eaten as themselves; and to strengthen their persuasions, they attributed the total absence of Jones and Dawson, as well as the loss of the hands from the body under view, to a cannibal propensity in the natives in that part of the Coast; but as this suggestion is utterly inconsonant to the observations hitherto made on the manners and inclinations of any of the native tribes we have occasionally met with, we are inclined to treat it as a fiction resorted to with a view of magnifying the terrors of their situation, and thereby the more readily prevailing on the two persons under their guidance to abandon a spot that exhibited a picture of horror, and was then equally unsafe to all.

The natives of the cultivated districts, to whom our knowledge is almost wholly confined, frequently represent the mountain tribes as particularly barbarous and ferocious, extending the challenge even to the imputation of a cannibal propensity. But of this we have never had an evidence; from a long experience, on the contrary, we are justified in a very opposite belief. That two of the bodies should be undiscovered is not in itself surprising, when the accompanying circumstances are literally considered. By the appearance of the place where they had made their fires, and the small quantity of ashes produced, it was concluded they had been killed a day or two after their landing; and this supposition was altogether justified by the very decayed state of the body that had been found; the others might have been surprised at some trifling distance, and remained concealed by intervening thickets, which it would have been as dangerous as unprofitable to explore. - It was summer; the natives were on the coast, and could procure abundance of fish, which from habit they prefer to any other eatable whatever, and could be in no necessity to resort to so horrible a means: - Nor does the severing of the hands from the more evident victim to their barbarity warrant the abominable idea which the guides had artfully and no doubt sagaciously endeavoured to inspire; for we had had a similar instance among the nearer and less estranged tribes, in the case of the unfortunate Isaac Eustace, who was killed the 7th of May last in the district of Appin (for the account of which, together with the connected particulars, which were extremely tragical, we beg to refer the Reader to the Gazette of that month).
That the natives of all parts which have hitherto been explored of this country have an inimical feeling towards strangers, experience has sufficiently manifested; but it has also been found, that after a short correspondence they were capable of exchanging civilities, and by their unassuming manner appear to evince a capacity of judging between themselves and a civilized society with a sensibility that may have operated against their own emendation, by at once confounding them with the idea that their obstacles would be insuperable, while it was also to be considered, that they had no assistance, no encouragement, or method pointed out whereby they might hope eventually to enjoy the comforts of civilized Society.

It is not impossible, however, that the measures recently adopted for their benefit, though necessarily limited in the origin, may in a short time reward the exertion by giving security to the ship-wrecked mariner upon our coasts; while the progeny of the untaught savage shall lift their eyes to Heaven with a zealous fervour, and bless the day that a true Christian came among them.

[The cutting off of the hands suggests a form of retribution - that Wood had killed two natives]

The Continuing Search for George Wood's Party

11 March 1815: {Sydney Gazette} Further report on the search for George Wood and his party, missing from Shoalhaven since early January 1815, and now feared murdered by local Aborigines:

In the late excursion made by Messrs. Batty and Howell towards Shoal Haven in search of the late G. Wood and his unfortunate companions, they proceeded (within 14 miles of that place) to the spot where they found the launch beached, and the dead body said by the natives to be Wood's.

This was a distance exceeding 100 miles; which they performed with extreme difficulty and occasional danger, in the space of five days and a half. They reached the Five Islands on the 4th days of their travel, and there finding several friendly natives, remained with them a night, and the next morning set out, accompanied by two men, as guides, who readily undertook to conduct them to the launch, which was on a beach about 30 miles off. On their way thither they were met by six others, who also faithfully attended them, and considerably alleviated the fatigue of travel by conducting them through less intricate and difficult parts. At a place called Watermoolly, which the travellers could not have passed without making a considerable circuit round the head of a capacious inlet from the sea, the guides conducted them to a spot which was fordable to the tallest of the two travellers, who could not swim, and passable to the other, who could swim, and was frequently out of his death in crossing it.

On their return they accidentally fell in with a party of about 80 in number; from whose alarming menaces and gesticulations they had little room to congratulate themselves on their safety. The guides were themselves intimidated, not upon their own account, but appeared hopeless of appeasing a wrath which threatened their proteges with certain death. They remonstrated, exhorted, supplicated - but unavailing was their solicitude; till at length those who were the objects of the contest, throwing aside all fear, went in amongst the group, and partly by persuasion, partly by menacing them with the vengeance that would fall upon them from the white people, should their return be long delayed, they became less violent, and at length were tranquillized. Several of the friendly natives accompanied the travellers into Sydney; and experienced from His excellency the Governor marks of favor and liberality with which they were highly gratified, and departed with a promise to repeat their good offices on all occasions that should demand their aid.

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Sealers and Aborigines clash near Twofold Bay

7 October 1815: {Sydney Gazette} Report of an encounter between sealers and Aborigines at Green Cape, just south of Twofold Bay:

We last week mentioned the arrival of the Geordy schooner, Mr M'Carthy owner, from Hobart Town, which she left the 1st of September, and owing to the prevalency of contrary winds was obliged to take shelter in Oyster Bay [Tasmania], where she found a party sealing and swanning, under the direction of Mr Charles Feen, the black swan being at the time very abundant.

Shortly after leaving the Bay a northerly wind obliged her to make for the land. Thirty miles south of Cape Barren an opening presented itself, which proved to be a very fine river, and was of so inviting an appearance as to induce Mr M'Carthy to take the vessel up 5 miles, where she anchored.

The following morning Mr M. penetrated 25 miles further in the vessel's boat, and found immense numbers of swans; the boat's crew caught a great many, and after dieting upon them during the remaining of the passage, Mr M. landed six pair of these fine birds in Sydney. After leaving this very fine river she was driven by adverse winds as far as Port Phillip. She wanted wood and water, and it was determined to procure a supply at the first place that appeared favorable to the purpose.

She accordingly came to anchor off Green Cape, and landed the boat's crew, four in number, at a small cape a little southward of the former. Here an immense crowd of natives made their appearance, and invited them on shore - one, who appeared their chief, at first requesting, but soon after demanding, that Mr M. should leave his gun (which was the only one they had) in the boat.

Becoming very importunate for presents from the strangers, the latter gave them their handkerchiefs from off their necks; but this was not sufficient, they soon assumed a more turbulent, and at length a desperate manner; and as all but Mr M. was unarmed, at one instant all were seized upon, and had no other expectation than that of being immediately overpowered and destroyed.

The chief seemed to have reserved the attack on Mr M. personally for himself; he accordingly seized upon his musket with one hand, while with the other he held him by the arm; they both stood on a rock which was of considerable depth on one of its sides, which circumstances tended not a little to the rescue of the assailed party; for Mr M. still keeping a firm hold of the musket, threw himself off the rock, which freed him from his adversary's grasp.

Collecting himself as soon as he found himself upon his legs, he had the mortification to see that all his companions were captive. - At such crisis one only alternative remained - a determination to oppose force to force. - he fired; the chief, who had made him his particular object, fell, and in a paroxysm of dread which pervaded the assailants, but which in fact was only momentary, all his companions escaped, and made towards their boat.

As soon as the whites had separated themselves from the blacks, the missile war commenced. The whirling spear whistled about their ears in all directions from three or four hundred savages, and one solitary musket was their only impediment to a closer manner of attack, for which it would have been impossible for any to have escaped. The retreat towards the boat was nevertheless so well managed that only one received a spear wound, which was in the arm. One of the spears split a plank of the boat, and after a necessity of answering the attack with seven discharges, Mr M. got into the vehicle, and was soon out of reach of further danger, leaving behind his water casks and axes, the latter of which might have possibly stimulated the native to the desperate aggression.

This instance adds to the numerous previous accounts of the same natives, and some of which have been truly tragical in their catastrophe, that should serve as a caution to our crews against trusting themselves among the natives of these coasts without being sufficiently prepared against attack; which experience has acquainted us is almost certain, when the difference of number, an
unguarded confidence, or any other circumstance affords the prospect of a successful issue to the contest.
Governor Macquarie’s War Against the Aborigines

1816

The hostilities between the Aborigines and white settlers of the Cowpastures and Appin districts during 1814 were a portent of things to come. The bloody encounters were repeated - only on a much larger scale - during 1816, with Governor Macquarie openly proclaiming his intention of ‘terrorizing’ the natives to the south and south-west of Sydney with military parties, and declaring any people captured ‘prisoners of war.’

By the end of 1816 the original inhabitants of those areas had either been murdered or forced off their lands into the mountains to the west and south, thus leaving the rich agricultural and grazing lands near Camden and Campbelltown free for exploitation by white settlers. Some settlers such as Charles Throsby and the Macarthur family continued to provide assistance to the local Aborigines.

The central Illawarra (Five Islands) natives were considered friendly during this period of conflict, though newspaper reports state that the Aborigines from Jervis Bay were partially responsible for inciting the Mountain tribes to violence.

Whilst Governor Macquarie had partially blamed the white settlers for the 1814 incidents, by 1816 his attitude was harder towards the Aborigines. He now saw them as a threat to the agricultural and economic development of the Colony and acted accordingly.

Following reports of native actions against white settlers during March 1816, Macquarie swiftly retaliated by sending out three detachments of the 46th Regiment to capture all Aborigines encountered and terrorise them to such a degree that they would not strike back against the whites, despite the most extreme provocation.

Many Aborigines were killed or taken prisoners of war by Macquarie’s punitive expeditions of April-May 1816, and the Aboriginal children collected were placed in the Governor’s ‘Native Institution’ at Parramatta, isolated from their families. By the end of 1816 the Appin and Cowpastures regions were largely cleared of the scattered Aboriginal families who - it was stated in one of the official reports - ‘infested’ the area.

This episode in Australia’s history has largely been ignored, and is seldom referred to in published histories of Australia despite the fact that it was this country’s first official war - at least in the eyes of the British such as Governor Macquarie and his soldiers - and fought as such.

Macquarie failed to realise that due to the prevailing drought and decimation of their traditional resources, the Aborigines in the vicinity of Sydney were facing starvation, thereby forcing them to ‘impose’ upon the new settlers and their crops. Blame for the subsequent slaughter of Aboriginal people rested with many levels of white society, from the Governor - who failed to prosecute European murderers, or promote humanitarian treatment of the natives - through to settlers and convicts who often indiscriminately shot at and abused the local people.
Four Whites Killed at Bringelly

9 March 1816: [Sydney Gazette] Report on native attacks near Captain Fowler's farm at Bringelly, and the killing of 4 whitemen:

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 group 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, Denis Hagan, stockkeeper 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 distant from the bank of the river, they were perceived and immediately encircled by a large body of natives, who closing rapidly upon them, disarmed those who carried muskets, and commenced a terrible attack, as well by the discharge of 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 Captain 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 Budbury, begged 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 carried off.

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Reprisals by White Settlers

16 March 1816: Letter from Samuel Hassall, of Macquarie Grove near Camden, to Reverend Thomas Hassall, re attacks by Aborigines in the Camden and Appin areas, to the south and
south-west of Sydney, and the resultant vigilante actions by the local settlers (Reproduced in Reverend James S. Hassall's *In Old Australia*, Sydney, 1902):

....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 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 the district, with men to use them. When we assembled at this place on Monday morning, four or five women came with dreadful 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 those natives, at the same time telling us that they would shew fight whenever attacked, which proved to be the case. We had not gone far before our guides told us that they were there, when Mr Lowe desired Budberrah to interpret to them our intent. They would not adhere to what he had said but immediately began to dance, in a manner daring our approach.

We immediately advanced towards them, when they threw a shower of spears amongst 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.

The enemy 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 many of us were not killed. Some even threw off their shoes to enable them to run fast; others, weak and feeble, rolled down the hill, the natives still pressing hard....

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 had gone hither.

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 the following undated letter to Mr Hassall from Macquarie Grove, which place he seems to be in charge of for the time. He informs him of the murder of Doon Brombey, a shepherd at Appin, around this same period:

Macquarie Grove
Monday Morning

Dear Friend

With much regret I have to inform you of the Natives return to this quarter and the awful Death of poor Brombey (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 & assist them, but before we had time to get off, Geo. Ambridge arrived stating that they had cast five spears at him; I gave him a musket & ammunition and he ran back.

Mr Bradley & I rode over as soon as possible and on our arrival there we found Mr Oxley & a few soldiers together with a native guide who was there searching for the tracts of the Murderers, but in vain.

Mr O. told us that they had found a flock of sheep without a keeper and wanted some persons to search for him. Accordingly Mr Bradley & I accompanied by G. Ambridge went round the Cut hills in quest of the Body but to no purpose; we at length got at the top of the hill where we discovered a smoke in two places, one bearing about a mile & the other about two miles to the west of us, but as the sun was then down Mr B. thought it useless for he & I to go over without the Soldiers.

On our return from the Hill we met Hearn & his men who informed us that they had found the body of Brombey. 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 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.
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We then went to where the Body lay and there I saw an awful sight indeed, but Allas my dear friend, I know not how soon I myself may be numbered with the dead for .... having and never to say that in the .... of life we are in death, it therefore becomes us to be watchful and constant in praying to God for his protection.

After we had extended the limbs and placed the Body as regular as we could, Mr B & I then returned home it being too dark to remove the Body before morning. We went over to inform Mr Oxley of what we had seen and what Hearn said respecting the smoke. Mr O. then requested the Soldiers to go on 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 then 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 & 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 around of three miles (by rear of the very high rock upon which the Natives had encamped). They therefore went round but before they eveny. reached the place the Natives had fled nor could they find their tracks for upwards of an hour, but at length they found the track and soon discovered the natives a short distance before them along the riverside, but in travelling over some rocks they again lost the track as well as sight of the Natives. Mr Oxley and his party being both weary & hungry were obliged to return without doing any execution re the natives.

On Saturday one of Mr McArthurs shepherds was chased from his flocks 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 Hills.

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 this house, one of them wishing good morning passed on without taking further notice. Mr L. kindly offered to send his party to our assistance at any hour we chose to send for them.

If you can send us a little powder it will be very acceptable as Mr Saml. left us rather short when [he] went away. Please give my loving respects to your Sister & Brother. Waiting your answer.

I remain Sir yours very sincerely
H.Byrnes

Governor Macquarie Reports Concerns to England

18 March 1816: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst re the outbreak of Native hostilities (HRA,series I, volume IX, Sydney, 1917, pp.53-54):

....I am 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 everything 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 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 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 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 order to prevent the attacks of the Natives; 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.

Two Whites Killed at Nepean

30 March 1816: [SydneyGazette] Report on attack by natives on Lewis's farm at the Nepean:

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 were cruelly murdered. The head of the unfortunate woman was severed 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.

A number of the natives, suposed 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 overpower 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 efficient 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.

Charles Throsby Defends the Aborigines

5 April 1816: Charles Throsby writes a letter to D'Arcy Wentworth, chief magistrate at Sydney, expressing concern about forthcoming retaliatory action against the Aborigines planned by the Governor, and commenting on the servants of William Broughton at Appin farm who had savagely murdered a native women and two of her children in June 1814.
Throsby is one of the few white defenders of the Aborigines during this period, though his plea for understanding goes unanswered by the local administrators {Mitchell Library, D'Arcy Wentworth Correspondence, MLA752, CY699, pp.183-6}:

Glenfield Farm
April 5th 1816

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; Yetтомming; 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 muskett, 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 the 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 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 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, least 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.

To D.Wentworth &c &c
Sydney

I remain

Dear Wentworth
Yours Truly

Chas. Throsby

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Governor Macquarie's War Against The 'Hostile Natives'

The Punitive Expeditions of 1816

On 9 April 1816 Governor Macquarie declared an unofficial war against the Aborigines to the west and south-west of Sydney. He issued instructions to three detachments of the 46th Regiment, under the command of Captain Schaw, to seek out the named 'Hostile Natives' and take all others encountered as 'Prisoners of War', shooting them if they attempted to escape.

Any male Aborigines killed during these operations were to be hung up from prominent trees near where they fell, to strike fear and terror into their surviving families and friends.

The military expeditions were largely unsuccessful as the regiments were in most cases out manoeuvred by the Aborigines' superior tactics and local knowledge of the land. However by early May about four Aboriginal males and more than twenty women and children had officially been killed, whilst a number had been taken to the jail in Sydney to await their 'future disposal' by the Governor. One of them - Duel of the Cowpastures - was eventually exiled to a Tasmanian prison.

Governor Macquarie's war had nevertheless proven a success in clearing the Cowpastures, Bringelly, Airds, and Appin districts of its native tribes - whether hostile or not. Their numbers were always small, and such an action therefore had catastrophic consequences upon the surviving population. Many innocent Aborigines took refuge in the Blue Mountains and in areas along the coast at Illawarra or further to the south, forever forced from their traditional homelands.

Despite evidence of extreme aggravation by the whites, Macquarie nevertheless came down hard against the Aborigines, and took the most extreme action, aiming to clear these people from the coastal plain west of Sydney as far as the Blue Mountains.

The hands of Governor Macquarie - favourably remembered in white history as the most enlightened of our earliest governors - were now stained with the blood of this country's original inhabitants.

Over the following pages the official instructions and reports of Macquarie's punitive expeditions are reproduced.
Instructions for Captain Schaw

9 April 1816: Governor Macquarie issues instructions to Captain Schaw of the 46th Regiment to lead a punitive expedition against the 'Hostile Natives' in the regions of the Nepean, Grose, and Hawkesbury rivers [AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1734, pp.149-68]:

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 indispensibly 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 them, 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 instructions, 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

+1 Wm. Possum
+2 Creek Jemmy
3 Bidjee Bidjee
4 Harry

(N.B. ++ Those two Guides are to join Capt. Schaw's detachment at Windsor.)

and a light two Horse Cart for conveying the Bread and other extra 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 orders 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.

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 compell 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 Karry-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 Mr Secretary Campbell's Farm in the Bringelly District, traveling 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 on your march Prisoners.

In case of resistance or running away, you are to fire on them and compell 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. In your arrival at Mr Secretary Campbell's Farm (called Shankomore) in the Bringelly District, you will be so good as to consult with that Gentleman and Mr 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 Bringelly, 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 Bringelly 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 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 Minkin (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, 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 Mrs McArthur’s Farm, he will be instructed to co-operate 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 Mrs 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 Supdt. 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 Protection at Mrs 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.

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 so doing.

The Depy. Comy. Genl. has received Instructions to furnish 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.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,  

Government House  
Sydney, N.S.Wales  
Tuesday 9th April  
1816  

Your most obedt. Servt.  

L.M.  

Govr. in Chief of N.S.Wales.

P.S.

It having been deemed advisable to send another detachment of the 46th Regt. commanded by Capt. Wallis into the Districts 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; Capt. 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 possible intimation on commencing your operations in that quarter.

Sydney  
9 April 1816  

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List of ‘Hostile’ Natives

[1816] List of Hostile Natives supplied to Governor Macquarie by Mr McArthur of Camden (AONSW, Reel 6865, 4/1798, p.44)

Names of Hostile bad Natives, as per Mr McArthur

1. Murrah  
2. Wallah  
3. Yellaman  
4. Dewall  
5. Bellagalle - Bidjeegurry  
6. Daniel  
7. Goggie  
8. Mary-Mary  

x This is the same man who speared Mr McArthur’s overseer, and who threw spears at the Soldiers at Cox’s River some time since.
Instructions for Captain Wallis

9 April 1816: Governor Macquarie issues instructions to Captain James Wallis of the 46th Regiment, to lead a punitive expedition against the 'Hostile Natives' in the Airds and Appin Districts.

Wallis's expedition is to prove the most successful and the most bloody, despite his complaint of being given native guides who acted as spies in order to protect their countrymen (AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.7-13):

Govt. House, Sydney
9th Apl. 1816

Sir

1. In consequence of accounts received last night and this morning from Liverpool, stating that large Bodies of Hostile Natives have assembled in the Districts of Airds and Appin, and are now committing all sorts of outrages and depredations on the Persons and Properties of the Settlers residing in those Districts; I have deemed it expedient to order a Military Force to proceed under your command early tomorrow morning to Liverpool, and from thence into those Districts infested by the Natives for the purpose of subduing them and protecting the Inhabitants from their further incursions and outrages; in the execution of which duty you will be pleased to be governed by the following Instructions.

2. After refreshing yourself and Party at Liverpool tomorrow, you will set out on your march early the following morning, accompanied by the Guides specified in the margin,

   1 Jno. Warbey
   2 Boodbury
   3 Bundell

for the Districts of Airds and Appin, taking Prisoners all such Natives as you may fall in with on your march thither, and sending them to Liverpool to be confined by the Magistrate there in some place of security until he shall receive my orders respecting their final disposal.

In case you meet or fall in with any considerable Body of Natives, you will desire your Native Guide to summon them to surrender themselves as Prisoners to you, and in the event of their refusing so to do, making any show of resistance, or running away, you are to fire upon them, and compel them to surrender.

Such Native men as may be killed on such occasions, you are to cause to be hanged on trees in conspicuous parts of the Country where they fall.

3. You are to explore the principal settled parts of the Districts of Airds and Appin, and all places where it is supposed the Natives are most likely to be found or met with, acting towards them as is herein already directed, and after having completely cleared those two Districts of the Hostile Natives, you will take up and occupy a central position with your Detachment at Mr George Woodhouse's Farm, at the southern extremity of the District of Airds, where you will remain until you hear of the arrival of Capt. Schaw's Detachment in the Cow Pastures in order to cooperate with him should there be occasion for your so doing, of which you will be able to judge from the information you may receive from Captain Schaw.

Herewith you will receive a List of the Names of the Hostile Natives who are supposed to have been principally concerned in the recent murders, outrages, and Depredations, committed on the European Settlers; and these guilty Natives you are to do every thing in your power to apprehend and bring back to Sydney.
Not having now time to enter into a fuller detail, I beg leave to refer you to my Instructions to Captain Schaw, which you will be so good as to peruse and be generally governed by them in the execution of the Duty you are now ordered upon.

4. Having communicated with Captain Schaw, after his arrival in the Cow Pastures, and that you find there is no .... chance of apprehending any of the guilty Natives, you are to return to Sydney with your detachment, reporting to me on your arrival in writing, the result of your operations during your absence.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

To

Capt. James Wallis
Comg. a Detachment
of the 46th Regt.
ordered on a Particular Service

Your most obedt. Servt.

L.M.

Govr. in Chief of

N.S.Wales.

P.S.

You will march from Sydney for Liverpool with your detachment at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning. On your arrival at Liverpool you will communicate with Mr Thomas Moore Esqr. the Magistrate of that District, and receive from him such information respecting the Hostile Natives as he may be able to afford you, particularly relative to those who a few days since made an incursion into the Districts of Airds and Appin and who committed depredations in those parts of the Country.

Sydney
9 April 1816

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List of White and Black Guides

[1816] List of white and black guides to accompany the punitive expeditions {AONSW, Reel 6065, 4/1798, pp.45, 48}

List of names of White and Black Guides employed with Capts. Schaw & Wallis vizt.

1  John Warbey
2  John Jackson
3  William Parson
4  Thomas Simpson
5  Joseph McLoughlin
6  Thomas Nobles
7  Henry McKudding
8  Tyson
9  Bidgee Bidgee
10 Harry
11 Bundell
12 Creek Jemmy
13 Colebee
14 Tindall

White or European Guides
9 April 1816: Governor Macquarie issues instructions to Lt. Charles Dawe of the 46th Regiment, to lead a Detachment against the ‘Hostile Natives’ in the Cow Pastures district (AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.1-6):

Govt. House, Sydney
9th Apl. 1816

Sir

1. Having nominated you to command the detachment of the 46th Regt. proceeding tomorrow to the Cow Pastures, you will be governed by the following Instructions in the execution of the Duty you are thus ordered upon.

2. You will march tomorrow morning at 7 o’clock from Sydney for Liverpool with your Detachment, along with that of Capt. Wallis, and on your arrival there you will communicate with Mr Moore the Magistrate, and obtain all the information you can from him relative to the Hostile Natives and the parts of the Country they are most likely to be fallen in with. Having obtained this intelligence, and rested your Detachment at Liverpool tomorrow night, you will set out on your march early the following morning for the Cow Pastures, crossing from the River Nepean near the Government Hut, and proceeding direct to Mrs McArthur’s Farm, where you will find and take under your command the small Party of the 46th Regt. at present stationed there.

3. On your march from Liverpool to the Cow Pastures, you are to apprehend all the Natives you fall in with and make Prisoners of them. If they refuse to surrender, or make any show of resistance, or attempt to run away, you are to fire upon them, until compelled to surrender.

Such Prisoners as you take are to be sent back to Liverpool to be confined there, and such adult male Natives as may be killed you are to cause to be hanged on trees in conspicuous parts of the Country they fall in.

You are to spare all Women and Children, and not kill any of them if you can possibly avoid it. If however any should be killed, they are to be interred where they may happen to fall.

You are to remain stationed at Mrs McArthur’s Farm at the Cow Pastures until you hear from Capt. Schaw after he has crossed with his Party to that side of the River, and then act in cooperation with him according to circumstances. But in case you should learn that any number of natives are lurking within a few miles of your station, or are likely to be cut off by your making a movement, you are immediately to march with your whole Detachment against them, and take them Prisoners as is herein already directed.

It is very probable that the Natives who may be driven from their lurking places by Capt. Schaw may attempt to escape by some of the Passes near your station, and it may be in your power to intercept them by making a timely and judicious movement towards such Passes, which your Guides will lead you to. I have inserted in the margin the names of the Guides who are to attend you to the Cow Pastures and to remain with you there.

Jno. Jackson
&
Tindal

I also enclose herewith a List of the Names of such Natives as are known to be hostile, and whom you will do every thing in your power to apprehend and bring Prisoners to Sydney.
4. After Capt. Schaw has completed the Service he is now sent on, he will apprise you there and you will then join him and return with him to Sydney, by way of Parramatta, reporting to me in writing on your arrival at Sydney the result of your particular operations during your absence.

I have the honor to be, 
Sir, 
Your most obedt. Servt. 
L.M. 
Govr. in Chief of 
N.S.Wales. 

To 
Lieut. Charles Dawe 
Comg. a Detachment 
of the 46th Regt. 
ordered on a Particular Service 

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10 April 1816: Note re troopers despatched to keep Governor Macquarie informed of the actions of his punitive expeditions [AONSW, Reel 6065, 4/1798, p.48]

Memos Wed 10th Apl 1816

Henry Newman Trooper is gone with Capt. Wallis; and Thos. Humphreys Trooper is gone with Capt. Schaw; in order to convey intelligence to and from them during the present service.

L.M.

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Macquarie’s Reasons for His Actions

10 April 1816: Governor Macquarie records his personal reasons for the punitive expeditions in his Journal (Mitchell Library, A773, p.1):

.....I therefore, tho’ very unwillingly, felt myself compelled, from a paramount sense of Public Duty, to come to the painful resolution of chastening 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.

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10-30 April 1816: Governor Macquarie's punitive expeditions against the natives are carried out by the three detachments of the 46th Regiment, in the areas from the Grose Valley in the north, to Appin and Bargo in the south. The whole campaign is rather secretive, and not openly reported in the local newspapers.

On 30 April Governor Macquarie recalls the expeditions, and they returned to Sydney on 4 May. In the following week the various commanders present reports to the Governor of their action during the previous month.
Captain Schaw's Report

8 May 1816: Report of Captain Schaw to Governor Macquarie, concerning the expedition under his command against the 'Hostile Natives' {AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.33-41}:

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 attendant 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 gentleman 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 cooperation 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 cooperation 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 Gong 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 Mill. 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.

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, 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. At 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 surprize it at day light. They marched at 1/2 past 2 o'clock in the morning under the guidance of 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 a 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.

Friday 19th

Marched from Col. O'Connell's Farm to Badgerie's Farm, halted for two hours and proceeded to Secretary Campbell's Farm, having sent to all the neighbouring Farms to endeavour to gain information, and halted for the night.

Saturday 20th

Stationed a Corpl. and six men at Secretary Campbell's Farm and marched thence to Mr Oxley's farm, being unable to cross the River lower down; sent an express to Captn. Wallis and Lieut. Dawe. Halted for the night.
Sunday 21st

Capt. Wallis and Lieut. Dawe joined me at Mr Oxley's and having settled my future plan of operation with the former, ordered Lieut. Dawe to proceed down the western bank of the River, as far as the nature of the Country would permit. He returned to Mrs McArthurs at six o'clock in the evening without success, crossed the River with my Detachment, and halted for the night at Mrs McArthur's Farm.

Monday 22nd

Halted the whole of the day to wait for Captn. Wallis, who was to join me with part of his Detachment, and was informed by Mr Oxley's Stockmen, that a large Body of Natives had driven them from their Huts in Wingie Wingie Charabie and plundered them of every article they possessed. Captn. Wallis's Detachment arrived about six o'clock in the evening.

Tuesday 23rd

My Detachment together with Captain Wallis's proceeded on their route to Wingie Charabie, but were obliged to halt at the Stone Quarry Creek to wait for the Carts. Detached Lieut. Dawe to the right by the pass of the Natun Mountains. He joined me at Bargo the following day.

Wednesday 24th

Marched to Bargo, and were obliged to halt, the Carts finding it almost impossible to proceed.

Thursday 25th

Marched to Callumbigles Plains, leaving a Detachment with Provisions and one of the Carts. Halted for the night.

Friday 26th

The Detachment remained at Callumbigles Plains, whilst Mr Oxley and his Stock Keepers went forward to Wingie Charabie, to observe if any of the Natives were in that neighbourhood, but returned without discovering any. At Sunset sent parties to the adjoining Hills to look out for fires, which returned without success.

Saturday 27th

Marched to Wingie Charabie thro' a very difficult Country. The Cart with provisions broke down, and as it was impossible to repair it, Mr Oxley's Cart was sent to bring forw'd such articles as were absolutely necessary. Halted for the night at the Hut near the Stockyard.

Sunday 28th

Capt. Wallis with the Grenadiers proceeded with two days provisions to the eastward, to endeavour if possible to make the Five Islands. Detached Lieut. Dawe with two days provisions to the westward. Went with a small party some distance down the banks of the River, to try to discover the Natives tracks. Returned without success and halted for the night. Sent Parties to the heights at Sunset to look out for fires.

Monday 29th

At eleven o'clock Lieut. Dawe returned with his Party, having fallen in with a Native Camp, where he found part of the things stolen from Mr Oxley's Stock Keepers, but did not see any of the Natives. Captn. Wallis returned at 4 o'clock in consequence of the want of provisions. Halted for the night.
Tuesday 30th
March'd from Wingie Charabie on our return to Head Quarters. Halted at Callumbigles Plains for the night. Found great difficulty in getting the broken Cart forward.

Wednesday 1st May
March'd from Callumbigles Plains to the Stone Quarry Creek; left the Carts behind to come on when they could with a guard. Halted for the night.

Thursday 2nd
Stationed a Corpl. and three Man at Mrs McArthur's Farm, and marched to Mr Oxley's Farm. There found Orders to return through Parramatta. Halted for the night.

Friday 3rd
March'd from Mr Oxley's Farm to Liverpool. Halted for the night.

Saturday 4th
March'd to Sydney, through Parramatta. Joined the Grenadiers under the command of Captn. Wallis, at the junction of the Road. Reached Sydney at 3 o'clock.

W. Schaw  
Captain 46th Regt.

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Captain Wallis's Report

9 May 1816: Report of Captain James Wallis of the 46th Regiment, to Governor Macquarie, concerning his operations against the 'Hostile Natives' in the Airds and Appin Districts {AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.50-59}:

Sydney May 9th 1816

Sir

Accompanying I have the honor to transmit the copy of a journal I kept while employed on the service in the interior you entrusted me with. I hope it may prove to your Excellency my wish to perform that duty according to the best of my abilities, and your instructions.

I have also the honor to forward Lieut. Parker's report from the date of his quitting me till his arrival in Sydney, and I feel much indebted to him for his attention and assistance on every occasion.

To Capt. Schaw's journal I beg leave to refer your Exceley for my movements from 22nd to 28th April and from 30th April to my arrival in Sydney.

On such a service I must have depended a good deal on information and assistance from the magistrates .......... constables and Settlers. To Mr Moore for his anxious wish to prosecute the good of the service I feel much indebted and to your excellency's notice I beg leave to recommend Tyson, a constable who was of the greatest services to me and Thos. Noble, a prisoner.

I have only one circumstance to lament, the loss of my native guides. It had an appearance of want of attention on my part, from which I trust your Excellency will acquit me.
My Detachment, from their steadiness and patient endurance of long marches & privations of every kind, merit my warmest approbations. While they remained at Mr Woodhouse's farm he was very attentive to their comforts, supplying them with fresh provisions, vegetables, steaw, and every thing else in his power.

I have the honor to be
Sir
your most obedt.
Hble Servt.

James Wallis
Captain 46th Regt.

[Journal of Captain Wallis]

10th April

Marched my detachment to Liverpool, received information of a large party of natives being near Cunningham's farm, in the Botany Bay district. Warby my European Guide informed me they were friendly. As Cogee was with them I would have sent a detachment to secure him but dreaded if alerted they would give information of my approach to the more hostile tribes, which would be against my wishes and instructions. I was surprised at Warby's telling me in Mr Moore's presence that he would take no charge of my native guides.

11th

A very heavy fall of rain prevented my leaving Liverpool till eight o'clock a.m. Did not arrive at Woodhouse's farm till near sunset, having received much detention in getting our Cart forward from the horses being quite jaded, and the badness of the latter part of the road. The men being very wet and fatigued I gave them an extra ration of fresh meat. I had all day carefully watched my black guides, and given them privately in charge to my two Serjts., my dragoon, and Lt. Parker. After my arrival I brought them into Mr Woodhouse's dwelling house. I did not judge it prudent to mount a sentry on them, and conceived they are safe in a small kitchen opening to the road. I was in with Warby and McCudden with them. I frequently saw them laying by the fire.

About two hours after our arrival I was a good deal surprised at Warby's asking me whom I had given my black guides in charge to, as they had left the kitchen and taken their blankets. I was exceedingly annoyed and told Warby not to put a worse circumstance on his conduct. That he feared the natives and to court favor had winked at the escape of Bundle and Budbury.

I sent Dugen a constable and young Mr Hume to Mr Broughton's. They returned with information all the worst characters were now found thence.

12th

Marched my detachment to Mr Broughton's farm. Halted then on the hill in rear of the house, and proceeded with Lieut. Parker and Mr Hume to Mr Kennedy's. On my questioning Mr K. junr. he informed me there were some unoffensive 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 unarmed. On enquiring their names and looking in the Governor's list I found two of them were proscribed, Yallaman and Battagalie. 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 Broughton's farm, and that if I took them he must abandon the country. He offered to go down to Sydney next day to see the Governor, and if His Excely. wished he would be answerable for their appearance.
Mr Hume warmly seconded this and said he had seen the Governor erase their names from the guilty list. Given all those circumstances I was induced to defer putting His Excellency's instructions into force.

13th

A son of Kenny (a settler) informed me the natives were just seen at his father's. I immediately marched, and on arrival found they had retired on the rocks of George's River, tho' we had taken a circuit in hopes of surprising them. Sent Tyson to Broughton's to gain information. He did not succeed.

14th

Detached messengers in every direction to gain information. Warby was absent yesterday, and today did not like going out as he said the natives would suspect something were they to see him.

Murphy (a Settler) informed me he came at the desire of McAllister an overseer on Doctor Redfern's farm, to say that if I marched my detachment there, he would point out where he had seen the natives camp the day before.

Wild and Connor (Settlers) I had sent to Dr Redfern's, returned, and corroborated the foregoing statement, and said McAllister could lead us from Dr Redfern's house in fifteen minutes to their camp.

Tyson returned from Mr Broughton's. Says the natives are in force there.

I now determined on proceeding against the camp in rear of Dr Redfern's, by doing so I would clear the more settled parts of the country. The runaways would flock to the Nepean, where another chance of attacking them would appear, and the communication between the tribes cut off.

15th

Marched at 1/2 past one o'clock a.m. Arrived before day at Dr Redfern's farm. Was informed the natives were fired at the night before. A shepherd guided us, and we proceeded about two miles, expecting any moment to see their fires. We experienced a disappointment in not seeing a single native.

I reprobated McAllister's conduct most highly. On our arrival he did not appear, and I can only account for his conduct in deceiving us by ascribing it to personal fear or a wish to scare the natives. I wished much for the power of punishing him for his deportment [?].

Mrs Kennedy brought me a letter from The Governor. I am happy he approves of my conduct with regard to Yallaman and Bottagalie. He directed me to take up a position in rear of Dr Redfern's and endeavour to secure the party I have been so anxious to fall in with.

Heard from Mr Moore, who sent me a guide belonging to the R.V. Compy. [Royal Veteran's Company]. I feel however a settlers son (Acres) knows the banks of Georges river better and had volunteered his services.

16th April

Went to the banks of Georges River, and surveyed the settlement to procure information.

This evening Tyson returned and informed the natives were still at Broughton's. That there were seven murderers amongst them and that as more would arrive in that night. From Thos. Noble, a prisoner with information.

About eleven o'clock he came and informed me Noble had seen their camp at sunset.
17th

A little after one o'clock a.m. we marched. Noble joined us, and led us where he had seen the natives encamped. The fires were burning but deserted. We feared they had heard us and were fled.

A few of my men who wandered on heard a child cry. I formed line ranks, entered and pushed on through a thick brush towards the precipitous banks of a deep rocky creek. The dogs gave the alarm and the natives fled over the cliffs. A smart firing now ensued. It was moonlight. The grey dawn of the moon appearing so dark as to be able early to discover their figures bounding from rock to rock.

Before marching from Quarters I had ordered my men to make as many prisoners as possible, and to be careful in sparing and saving the women and children. My principal efforts were now directed to this purpose. I regret to say some had been shot and others met their fate by rushing in despair over the precipice. I was however partly successful - I led up two women and three children. They were all that remained, to whom death would not be a blessing.

Twas a melancholy but necessary duty I was employed upon. Fourteen dead bodies were counted in different directions. The bodies of Dunell and Kincabygal I had considerable difficulty in getting up the precipice - I regretted the death of an old native Balyin and the unfortunate women and children - from the rocky place they fell in. I found it would be almost impossible to bury these.

I detached Lieut. Parker with the bodies of Dunell and Kinnabygal, to be hanged on a conspicuous part of a range of hills near Mr Broughton's and after to lay in ambush at a ford where it was expected Boodbury was with other natives to pass.

In the camp we found abundance of plundered potatoes and corn, and numbers of spears, clubs &c.

Mr Kennedy offered me much assistance in supplying me with carts, ropes, &c. At his and Mr Sykes request I left a Corporal and three privates to protect them from the revengeful fury of the natives, till I received the Governor's commands. The Prisoners I forwarded on a cart. Warby was to escort them to McCudden's, who was directed immediately to proceed to Liverpool, whereat I hope he will arrive early this evening. In consequence of this opportunity I did not send the dray who had ........ horses out without bathing his horse, with a hurried latter.

I wrote to the Governor, enclosed to Mr Moore.

Lieut. Parker returned without having seen any natives, as I suppose they heard our firing.

18th

According to the Governor's instructions, marched my detachment and encamped near Docr. Redfern's old stock yard in Airds, five miles from where the natives were supposed to be.

19th

This morn despatched Warby, Wild, Acres, Tyson and McCudden to get intelligence. Marched a detachment along George's River three or four miles. Fell in with a Kangaroo Dog, supposed to be Cogie's, and a fresh native track on the ground.

I have no doubt we were seen. I have seldom seen a more difficult, inaccessible country, and without discovering and being led to their camp, we saw little chance of falling in with the natives.
20th
Moved my position farther down the river. Heard from His Exy. the Governor who I am happy approves of my conduct.

21st
Proceeded to Mr Oxley's to consult with Capt. Schaw. We agreed the best place of cooperation to carry the Governor's instructions into force would be to detach Lieut. Parker to the Five Islands, leave a sufficient force to protect the districts of Airds and Appin, and to join him with the remainder of my force.

22nd
Joined Capt. Schaw at Mrs McArthur's in the Cow Pastures with a Serjt. and twelve men, detaching a Sergt. and eight with Lieut Parker and leaving a Corporal and nine privates to protect the settlements.

[From the 23rd to the 27th Captain Wallis and his detachment operated with Captain Schaw's detachment in the Wingecarrabie district - refer to Captain Schaw's journal for details.]

28th
Detached 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. We continued our course to the east about three miles further, the river taking its course to the southward. A heavy fall of rain obliged me to halt and endeavour to get huted.

29th
As we had but one days provision left I judged it more prudent to return then to continue any course to the coast. We nearly retraced our steps, fell in with the deserted camp, where the natives had been a few days before, joined Capt. Schaw in the evening.

Mr Oxley accompanied me those two days march and I feel most indebted to him for his assistance and this as well as every other occasion where his services could be rendered to me and my detachment.

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Lt. Parker's Report

8 May 1816: Report of Lt. Parker of the 46th Regiment, concerning his Detachment's operations at Appin and journey to the Five Islands (AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.60-62):

Report of a Detachment of the 46th Regt. from the 22nd April to the 6th of May 1816.

Sir

Agreeable to the Instructions received from You, I marched to Mr Woodhouse's on the morning of the 22 of April, and received the same evening Duall and Quiet, two hostile Natives who had been taken on Mr Kennedy's Farm in the morning. On the following day I sent Duall to Liverpool in charge of McCudden the Constable and detain'd Quiet, who had volunteer'd to show me that Body of Natives to which he belong's. Tyson and Nobles went with him and returned late that night with intelligence that they had seen the smoke from their fires in the rocks at the back of Mr Kennedy's
Farm, but their situation precluded the possibility of attacking them unless with two considerable bodies of men acting together, which I was unable to procure as I was obliged to march east the following morning to Mr Kennedy's on my route to the Five Islands.

I therefore despatch'd Nobles with Quiet to McCudden's house, with directions to have him forwarded to Liverpool as soon as possible, and proceeded to Mr Kennedy's early on the 24th.

On the 25th, as I could only take McCudden's Cart as far as Kings Falls a distance of about three miles, I procured an additional Horse from Mr Kennedy's, and arrived the same evening at the Hut of Mr Throsby's Stockman [at Wollongong] where I halted for the night, and on the morning of the 26th reach'd the long Point [Red Point], about six miles south of the Hut and as that was the Ground I was to occupy I gave directions for building the Huts and had them constructed before night.

The natives were at first alarm'd but became soon assured of our pacific intentions, declar'd themselves at Enmity with the Mountain Blacks and offer'd every assistance in capturing or destroying them should they descend from their retreats in the rocks.

On the 27th, being in expectation of you joining me & having a small allowance of salt provisions, I ordered a Bullock belonging to Mr Cribb to be kill'd and serv'd out to the Men and a short allowance of Biscuit at four each day per Man.

I remained on my encampment until the 1st of May and not having heard any thing of your Party or hostile Natives, and having only one days bread remaining I proceeded to the hut on my way back on the following day. On the 3rd I push'd on for Mr Kennedy's and on my arrival found some Natives who had deliver'd themselves up the day before.

The salt provision I had brought from the Five Islands I left with the Party at Mr Kennedy's which according to your Orders I augmented to six Privates and a Corporal and completed to hunt rounds of ammunition per man. As there were no conveniences for cooking their victuals, I left the camp kettle and frying pan in their charge and on the fourth arriv'd at Liverpool with my Prisoners and Party.

At Liverpool I received upwards of twenty Knapsacks and belonging to the light Company with orders from Capt. Schaw to have them forwarded to Sydney which with the addition of two white Prisoners and the circumstance of my Party of Natives being mostly Women and Children constrain'd me to procure another Cart from Mr Moore.

On the 5th I arriv'd in Sydney and lodg'd my Prisoners in the Goal immediately. My Party were in perfect health and order.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your obedt. Servt.

A.G.Parker
Lieut. 46th Regt.
Commanding Detachment

Lt. Dawe's Report

8 May 1816: Report of Lt. Dawe of the 46th Regiment to Governor Macquarie, concerning his expedition against the 'Hostile Natives' at the Cowpastures (AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.29-32):
Sir

In compliance with your orders of the 9th April, I arrived at Liverpool on the 10th, saw Mr Moore the same evening, who provided one with a Cart to take on the Provisions for my Detachment.

On my way to Mrs McArthur's Farm, where I arrived on the 11th April, I gained information of a large Body of the Natives being a little below her Slaughter House, about six miles distant. I directed one of her stock keepers (Nicholas Oncal) to go and observe their position, taking care to bring me back every necessary information.

I marched the following morning the 12th at three o'clock in order to surprize them at daylight, and approached to the distance of 120 yards from their Encampment, when one who was apparently stirring the fire raised the alarm, and all effected their escape (only some women ...) excepting a Boy about 14 years old, notwithstanding a smart fired as directed on them, and every exertion used to take them.

I immediately proceeded with my Party to the pass of the River opposite Mr Broughton's Farm, supposing that they may have taken refuge on the other side. On my arrival I found the track of one only which led me to suppose that the remaining three must have been wounded, and I have since heard from Quit - one of the Prisoners taken by Capt. Wallis - that one was killed, and another returned to his tribe badly wounded.

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 - in this I was unsuccessful.

On Wednesday the 17th April I received an account from Capt. Wallis of his having fallen in with a Party of Natives near Mr Broughton's Farm, stating the probability that those left untouched may have escaped by the Pass to the Cow Pastures. I marched there the following and arrived at daylight. Finding that they had not crossed, I concealed my Party at a convenient distance till one o'clock, when giving up all idea of their crossing on that day I proceeded two miles up the River to another place where they are in the habits of passing, but finding no traces of them I returned with my party to Mrs McArthurs.

On Saturday the 20th I communicated with Capt. Schaw at Mr Oxley's and received instructions to march with my Detachment on the following morning through the Country lying between my Post and the Worrogomba. I proceeded with two days provisions until brought up by a range of mountains which form a point about 12 miles down the Nepean near Bents Basin. I considered these impassable for Troops and returned, keeping them close on my right hand.

I saw several large Encampments, in all 70 Huts, some of which appeared to have been foresaken about a week or ten days since. The greater part were in a direction between Mr Wentworth's Farm and Mr Sec. Campbell's in a very thick brush close to the River. I could discover no tracks excepting those communicating with the different Camps.

On Sunday the 21st April Capt. Schaw joined me with his Detachment.

On Tuesday the 23rd I was directed to march with my Detachment to Bargo by the way of Nati in order to ascertain if any Natives had crossed the River from the Cow Pasture side. I arrived at the pass at one o'clock but could discover only there tracks directing towards me. I arrived at Bargo the same evening and joined Capt. Schaw again the following morning. Proceeded in company with him to Wingi Carribie.
On Sunday the 28th I was detached with orders to march due west as far as the nature of the ground and my provisions would direct. About six miles from Mr Oxley's Huts I fell in with the native tracks, and followed them through two Encampments consisting of sixteen Huts, a distance of eight miles. We could discover no fires during the night and my provisions would not allow me to proceed further. I joined Capt. Schaw the following day the 29th. On my way thither I found a frying pan which I have ascertained was plundered from Mr Oxley's stockman at Wingi Wingi Carribie.

I have since acted together with Capt. Schaw's Detachment and arrived at Sydney on Saturday the 4th May.

I feel it a duty incumbent on me to report to you the good conduct of Jackson, and Tyndal, my two Guides, who have behaved in every respect as I could wish. I must also recommend to your favorable consideration one of Mr McArthur's stock keepers by the name of Cornelius Roke by whose direction only I was enabled to fall in with the Encampment in the Cow Pastures.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, Your very obedt.
Humble Servant
To
Major General Macquarie
Commang, the Forces

Macquarie Recalls the Expeditions

30 April 1816: Governor Macquarie issues a circular to Captains Schaw and Wallis, calling on them to return to Sydney and discontinue their punitive operations {AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.20-21}:

Circular: - to Capt. Schaw & Wallis

Government House
Sydney 30th April 1816

Sir

Concluding you have by this time nearly crossed the whole of the Country specified in my Instructions of date 9th Instant, and carried into effect such parts thereat as were found practicable; I have to desire that you will, on receipt of this order, return with your Detachments to Head Quarters by easy marches and by the way of Parramatta, bringing with you Lieut. Dawe and his Detachment, with the exception of the small guard ordered to be left at Mrs McArthur's Farm in the Cow Pastures.

In the event of your having taken any native Prisoners and whom you may have still with your Party, you will be so good as to march them to Parramatta and deliver over charge of them to the resident Magistrate at that station.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedt. Servt.
L.M.
Govr. in Chief

To
Capt. W.G.B.Schaw
Com. of Detachment
46th Regt. employed on a particular service.
Return of the Punitive Expeditions

4 May 1816: Governor Macquarie records in his diary the return of part of the punitive expedition against the 'Hostile Natives' [L.Macquarie Diary, Mitchell Library, CYA773, p.247]:

Saturday 4th May 1816

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 to 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....

Governor Macquarie's Proclamation

Admonishing the Aborigines & Ordering Them To Disarm

4 May 1816: [Sydney Gazette] In the light of the results of the punitive expeditions, on this day a Proclamation was issued by Governor Macquarie. It admonished the Aborigines and imposed strict conditions on their actions whilst near white settlements, including the order to disarm themselves of all offensive weapons - including their hunting implements. It was released on the day of the return to Sydney of the 46th Regiment under the command of Captain Schaw:

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, Women, 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 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 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 peacable, 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 & necessary Public Duty, in prohibiting the Black Natives from carrying or using offensive Weapons, 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 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 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 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 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.

Prizes for the Expedition Members

7 May 1816: Governor Macquarie records in his diary the issue of prizes to those who participated in the ‘Service’, as he termed the punitive expeditions against the Aborigines (L.Macquarie Diary, Mitchell Library, CYA773, pp.248-249):

Tuesday 7 May 1816

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, viz.

Remunerations in Cash

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<th>To</th>
<th>Remunerations in Cash</th>
<th>Curcy.</th>
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<tr>
<td>John Warbey</td>
<td>£12.</td>
<td>do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Jackson</td>
<td>12.</td>
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<td>John Pairson</td>
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<td>Thomas Simpson</td>
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<td>Joseph McLoughlin</td>
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<td>Christopher Anderson</td>
<td>5.</td>
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<td>Henry McThudding</td>
<td>9.5.</td>
<td>do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Nobles</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capt Partridge 46th</td>
<td>Repairing Carts</td>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>Total Lidstone do.</td>
<td>£80.5.-</td>
<td>Cur.</td>
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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 Noncom. Officer and Soldier employed on the late Service, there were issued from the King's Stores one pair of shoes and half a pint of Spirits.

Remunerations to Native Guides

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<th>To</th>
<th>Remunerations in Cash</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bidjee Bidjee</td>
<td>Each a complete suit of slops including blanket. 4 days provisions, half a pint of spirits, and half a pound of tobacco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harry</td>
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<td>Bursdell</td>
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<td>Coolebee</td>
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<td>Creek-Jemmy or Nurrangingy</td>
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I also gave orders to the Stores 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 the Government to defray in part their extra expense whilst employed on the said Service, viz.
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To Captain Schaw) 15 Gallons Each
To Captain Wallis )
To Lieut. Dawe )
To Lieut. Grant ) 10 Gallons Each
To Lieut. Parker )
To Asst. Surgeon Bush )

N.B. To each of the Noncomd. Officers and Soldiers of the 46th Regt. left 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.

Instructions for Sergeant Broadfoot

8 May 1816: Governor Macquarie issues instructions to Sergeant Broadfoot of the 46th Regiment, to proceed to Bringelly to reinforce the military stationed in the area (AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.44-49):

Instructions for Sergt. Broadfoot of the 46th Regt. comd. a Detachment of said Corps ordered on a particular service.

1. The Hostile Black Natives having within these few days renewed their barbarous acts of cruelty, murder, and Robbery on the Peaceable White Inhabitants in the remote parts of the Colony, and particularly along the Banks of the Nepean River, the Bringelly and Cook Districts, I have deemed it necessary for the Punishment of the said Hostile Natives and for the protection of the said White Inhabitants and their Property to detach the Party under your command, consisting of 1 Corpl. & 15 Privates; and you are therefore hereby required to be guided generally by the following Instructions during the period of your being employed on the intended Service, namely:

1st You are to march early tomorrow morning from Sydney for Parramatta, and from thence by easy stages to the Farm of Mr John Blaxland in the District of Bringelly on the East Bank of the River Nepean with your Detachment and the Guides whose names are specified in the margin

Jno. Jackson & Wm. Parson
Creek Jemmy, Colbee & Tindal

who are to remain with your Detachment till the Service it is sent for is executed.

2nd On your arrival at Mr Blaxland’s Farm, you will inquire from his overseer Alexr. Everitt, and receive from him such information relative to the Hostile Natives as he can give you; and in case it should appear that they are in that neighbourhood, on either side of the River, you are instantly to proceed to attack them, and to compell them by Force of Arms to surrender themselves as Prisoners of War, sparing the lives of all the Women & Children if possible, when you have occasion to fire upon the Natives.

3rd Such Prisoners as you may be able to take, you are to secure the best way you can, and send them in to the Jail at Parramatta, Hand-cuffed or tied with Ropes, under a small Escort of 3 or 4 Soldiers of your Party.

4th You are to scour the whole of the Country along the Banks of the Nepean on the western side. Thereof, from opposite to Mr Blaxland’s Farm, till you arrive at the Govt. Stock yard nearly
opposite to Mr Hassall's Farm called Macquarie Grove, in pursuit of the Natives, and from thence return by a further distance from the Bank of the Warragombie, if you can penetrate so far, killing or taking Prisoners all the Natives whom you may see or be able to come up with in your route to the southward as far as the Govt. Stock-yard already named, and as far to the northward as the River Warragombie.

5. Falling of coming up with or meeting with the Hostile Natives on the western side of the River Nepean, you will recross it to the east side, and scour the Country on that side of it lying between Mulgoa on the north to Mr oxley's Farm on the south, so as to clear the whole of the intermediate Country of the Hostile Natives.

6. Having performed the whole of this Service, you are to return with your Party again to Mr John Blaxland's Farm, and there remain till you receive further orders from me, but affording all the Protection in your power to that and the neighbouring Farms.

After returning to Mr Blaxland's Farm you may discharge your Guides, and send them back to Sydney with a written Report of your Proceedings to me.

L.M.

Govt. House Sydney 8th May 1816

Public Report on Punitive Expeditions

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 Wallis, proceeding by Liverpool to the Districts of Airds and Appin, and thence into the Cow Pastures; made his digressions 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 warmed 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.

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Report of Sergeant Broadfoot

23 May 1816: Report from Sergeant Broadfoot of the 46th Regiment, to Governor Macquarie, concerning his military expedition against the ‘Hostile Natives’ in the Bringelly area {AONSW, Reel 6045, 4/1735, pp.72-73}:

Mr John Blaxland's Mulgoa Farm
23rd May 1816

Sir

Agreeable to your Excellency's instructions I proceeded to Mr Blaxland's Farm, & saw Mr Everitt his Overseer, who could give me no certain information concerning the Natives. We then accompanied by him proceeded across the Nepean River to the westward on the 12th & met Mr Lowe with a Party of the 46th Regiment at Bents Basin. Leaving them we proceeded across the Mountains and found a tract of the Natives, which we followed for two days over the Mountains between the Cow Pasture & the Warragombie Land.

We found their Camp, where we found a great deal of husks of corn and other articles, amongst which was a hat belonging (I suppose) to some of the unfortunate people which they have kill'd, but we lost the track by a flock of cattle crossing it and could by no means find it again.

We proceeded into the Cow Pasture along the River as far as the Stock Yard mentioned in your instructions, returning by a farther distance by Mount Hunter, and crossed the Main Range of the Cow Pasture within a few miles of Natai. We then returned to the northward to the land adjoining to the Warragombie, marching through all the Rocks & Gullies, till we made thru' where the Warragombie & the Nepean Rivers combine. Returning to Mr John Blaxland's Farm, proceeding from thence by Mr Cox's Farm at Mulgoa, scouring that part to the northward till we came within a small distance of Sir John Jamieson's Farm [Emu Plains] & then returning by Mr Lord's farm near South Creek, crossing the Country to Mr John Blaxland's 5 Mile Farm, proceeding from thence to Mr Oxley's Farm across the hills between Mr Lowe's & Mr Hook's, till we arrived at Mr Oxley's, returning from thence by the banks of the River till we arrived at Mr John Blaxland's River Farm, but I am very sorry to add that we never could get any intelligence or any track whatsoever more than that which we lost after the first two days. I have every reason to believe that all the Guides did their utmost endeavours to find them.

Immediately on our arrival here I dispatched the Guides to Sydney and am waiting for your Excellency's further instructions.

I am Sir
your most obedient
humble Servant
Robt. Broadfoot
Sergt. 46th Regiment

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Macquarie Issues More Prizes

25 May 1816: Governor Macquarie records in his diary the return of the final detachment of the punitive expedition against the Hostile Natives, along with the issue of prizes to those who participated (L. Macquarie Diary, Mitchell Library, CYA773, p.252):

Saturday 25 May

The two European Guides and three friendly Natives ones who lately accompanied Sergt. Broadfoot's Detachment of the 46th Regt. in pursuit of the Hostile Natives having yesterday returned to Sydney after scouring the parts of the Interior the Natives were last seen in. I rewarded those White and Black Guides as follows, viz:

To Mr Pairson and Mr Jackson, White Guides, I gave £6 curry. each in money, 1 pr. shoes, 7 days provisions, a quarter pound of Tobacco.

To each of the 3 Black Guides, Narragingy, 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 Narragingy, (alias Creek Jemmy) with my Order of merit, by presenting him with a handsome Brass Gorget or Breast Plate, having his Names 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 Pairson 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 indulgences granted Free Settlers.

Governor Macquarie’s Report to England

8 June 1816: Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst re measures to address Native unrest (HRA, Sydney, 1917, series I, volume IX, pp.139-140):

....I have 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 surprized 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, same 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 ulto. 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 encouragements 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 the one hand, and the encouragements held out on the other, will preserve the Colony from the further recurrence of such Cruelties....

Rewards Offered for Outlawed Aborigines

20 July 1816: [Sydney Gazette] Governor Macquarie issues a Proclamation naming ten specific Aborigines as outlaws and offering rewards of £10 each for their capture. The ten outlawed Aborigines included:

1 Murrah
2 Myles
3 Walah, alias Warren
4 Carbone Jack, alias Kurringy
5 Narrang Jack
6 Bunduck
7 Kongate
8 Woottan
9 Rachel
10 Yallaman

Dewal Banished to Tasmania

3 August 1816: [Sydney Gazette] General Order issued by Governor Macquarie re the banishment of the native Dewal (Duel), captured near Appin, to Van Dieman's Land, in remittance of the death sentence imposed upon him.

Shepherd Killed at Mulgoa

31 August 1816: [Sydney Gazette] Report on the murder of a shepherd at Mulgoa by Aborigines:

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 most 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 defenseless creatures having their eyes gored with spears, which were afterwards driven into the head.
Parties went out in quest of the murderers as soon as the melancholy information reached the contiguous settlement; who will, it is to hoped, fall in with 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 connection or correspondence must subsist between the hordes in our vicinity, and those considerably to the northward, and that all within the 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 indiscriminantly satiating itself on the mother and the infant. Pardon, amity, and every effort of conciliation, 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 rendered 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 a 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.

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**Friendliness of Illawarra Natives**

28 September 1816: *{Sydney Gazette}* Report on the friendliness of natives at the new stock settlement at Illawarra:

.....The natives of the new Stock Settlement at the Five Islands are described as being very amicably disposed towards us and the general mildness of their manners to differ considerably from the other tribes known to us. Several Gentlemen have removed their cattle thither, as the neighbourhood affords good pasturage; and it is to be anxiously hoped, that the stockmen in charge of their herds may be able to maintain the friendly footing that at present exists with them.

On 2 December a group of Sydney gentlemen met at Wollongong to have their Illawarra land grants surveyed - these were the first issued in the area and their allocation marks a major turning point in the lives of the local Aborigines. From this point on the white invasion of Illawarra began in earnest.

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Governor Macquarie's War Halted

Official Cessation of Hostilities

1 November 1816: A proclamation is issued by Governor Macquarie announcing the cessation of hostilities against the 'Hostile Natives' which had been operating since April. This proclamation marked the formal end of Macquarie's war against the Aborigines of New South Wales, though massacres and shootings continued. *(HRA Sydney, 1917, series I, volume IX, pp.365-6)*

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Sophia Campbell, Artist, in Illawarra

[1816] Sophia Campbell, wife of the Sydney merchant Robert Campbell, visits Illawarra during 1816 and produces some watercolour and wash sketches. These are the earliest European paintings of Illawarra landscapes, and the following examples include Aboriginal figures:

* Five Islands with Aborigines and lightning
  Watercolour National Library of Australia
  Portrays a group of local Aborigines pointing to some lightning in the sky, possibly near Red Point.

* View of Illawarra
  Watercolour National Library of Australia
  View of same natives by a stockman's hut, which is surrounded by fencing.

Both the above works are reproduced in Kerr & Falkus, *From Sydney Cove to Duntroon*, Richmond, 1982.
Following the widespread issuing of land grants in the Illawarra district during 1816, large numbers of cattle, sheep, and Europeans began to settle there, placing increasing pressure on the local Aboriginal inhabitants who frequently came into conflict with them. Also around this time gangs of cedar cutters were working in the forests of Illawarra and Shoalhaven, and reportedly had a corrupting influence on the local natives.

Governor Macquarie's military actions of 1816 had successfully terrorized and placated the Aborigines of the region west of the Illawarra escarpment around Appin and Camden, and the action of Sydney entrepreneurs such as Merchant Browne, Charles Throsby, and William Wentworth in moving their stock to Illawarra led to further instances in which the local natives were dispossessed of their land and their environment radically altered.

According to surviving records there was no large scale, aggressive opposition by the local tribes to white settlement during this period, though just as in every other frontier in the Colony incidents obviously occurred and the Aborigines of Illawarra would have raised numerous objections to their displacement from traditional homelands without regard to their human rights (for they had no real legal rights). Remember that many conflicts between whites and natives during this period were never officially reported.

Unfortunately the documents reproduced over the following pages do not clearly answer our questions (refer Introduction) regarding the fate of the Illawarra Aboriginal people during this initial period of white settlement, though the few surviving accounts of encounters between whites and blacks during that period point to the arrogance and inhumanity of the white settlers, and their wanton shooting of Aborigines caught stealing their crops or molesting their stock. The Europeans in their ignorance were also often terrified by the local Aborigines, and reacted accordingly by shooting them like wild beasts.

Those lucky enough to have survived Macquarie's campaigns of 1814-16 now faced a new threat from the white settlers and their convicts.

We do not know the number of Aborigines living in central Illawarra at the time of the first land grants (1816), however by 1834 there were officially only 78.

It is between the lines of the following accounts that the true fate of the Illawarra Aboriginal people during this period of invasion is revealed.
1817

Governor Macquarie's Views

4 April 1817: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst on his actions against the Aborigines during 1816 (HRA, Sydney, 1917, Series I, volume IX, pp.342):

Natives

In my despatch 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 advisable to pursue in respect of 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 measures I had then and subsequently adopted have been attended with the desire 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 despatch under date 8th June last.

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European "Discovery" of Illawarra

12 December 1817: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst on the recent discovery of rich land at Illawarra (HRA, Sydney, 1917, Series I, volume IX, pp.713):

.....I have the pleasure to report to Your Lordship that an extensive rich tract of country, fit for the purposes of pasturage and agriculture, has some little time since been discovered, distant about 45 miles to the southward of this [Sydney], on a part of the coast known generally by the name of the "Five Islands", but called by the Natives "Illawarra"....

.....It has been reported to me, both by Natives and a few Europeans who employ themselves on hunting excursions, that between Illawarra and Port Jarvis there is another very extensive tract of land.....

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1818

Charles Throsby & Party at Jervis Bay

March - April 1818: Charles Throsby and a party, including the Aborigines Bundle and Broughton, travel overland from Liverpool to Jervis Bay. Throsby records a 'Journal of a Tour of Discovery to Jervis Bay, 3 March to 13 April, 1818' (AONSW, Reel 6034, Col. Sec. 9/2743, pp.1-77).

On 3 March 1818 a party led by Charles Throsby and surveyor James Meehan set out from Liverpool for Jervis Bay, via Moss Vale and Marulan. On 26 March, after encountering difficulties in
the area of Marulan, the party divided. Throsby's group headed east towards the coast, planning to meet up with Meehan at Jervis Bay. It consisted of Throsby, Joseph Wild, George Grimes, some convicts, and the two natives - Bundell and Broughton. They were also joined by various Aborigines along the way.

For a map of the route followed refer A.K. Weatherburn 'The Exploration and Surveys of James Meehan between the Cowpastures, Wingecarribee River, Goulburn Plains, Shoalhaven River and Jervis Bay 1805, 1818 and 1819,' JRAHS 1978, volume 64, part 3, p.175.

The following extract from Throsby's journal begins with the parting of Throsby and Meehan near Marulan:

[26th March]

...Mr Meehan quitted me taking with him 3 horses and 5 men, leaving me with 2 carts, 3 men and George Grimes, a boy. We passed through a part of the country we went over the 2 proceeding days, by a much nearer and better road than what we took going out, and arrived at Bumbaalaa at 3 o'clock, the station we left 2 nights before. The road we passed through returning avoided every hill, swamp, and creek, and would make a capital road.

Bumbaalaa 27th March.

At daylight fine weather, wind eastward. At 8 o'clock set out. At 1/2 past 11 crossed Urangaalaa Creek, near where we stop on the 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th and 21st from thence through the scrub for about 4 or 5 miles, to a very excellent forest (Sutton Forest) very thinly timbered and fit for any purpose of grazing or agriculture, to near the spot we stopped on the 14th, when we halted at 5 o'clock for the night.

28th March

At daylight cloudy, wind from the N.E. At 8 o'clock passed through a very good forest (Sutton Forest), to the place appointed, at 12, to leave the carts, at which spot we was met by Timelong and Munnaa who had been in search of us. They are 2 natives whom I have seen at Five Islands. Munnaa is one of two strangers whom myself, Colonel Johnston, his son George &c met at the River Macquarie, Five Islands, the first time the Colonel was there, and which was the first time he had seen a white man. On our meeting them they had many jagged spears &c but on my telling them (through Bundell) that the Governor required the Natives not to carry spears when with white people, they very readily consented to leave them, in fact threw them away and assured me that the carts and other things we left would be safe.

Meeting with the Natives and being determined to travel with the horses as long as possible this evening, I thought it prudent to halt for a short time longer than would be required to make the necessary arrangements, therefore took some refreshments and proceeded at 2 o'clock to the creek which prevented us crossing on the 14th. 1/2 past 3 halted to look out for a crossing place, went down the brush to remove rocks &c which occupied our time until nearly sun set, therefore remained here for that night.

Bantanoon 29th March

At daylight fine weather, wind northward. Set out before breakfast to look at the creek towards its source, found it formed by very inconsiderable streams and think it does not extend any great distance, the water falling to the right, it is probable that by keeping more to the eastwards, the pass we came down may be avoided.
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At 9 set out, crossed the creek. 1/2 past 9 ascending, at 10 descending a poor stony hill. A very high barrier of mountainous rocks all round. 1/2 past 10, on the top of a hill, barren land. At 11 o'clock rounding the point of a high rocky hill to the left, high perpendicular rocks to the right. 1/2 past 11 poor forest, rounding the points of range. At 12 barren scrub, going down to a deep gully ahead, high rocks and broken point of range country on the other side. 1/2 past 12 on the top of a steep hill. From the number of loose rocks, I thought it prudent to unload the horse, and carry'd everything down, which occupied our time until 2.

1/2 past 2 down the hill on a beautiful piece of meadow, by the side of a considerable stream of water running to the right (this stream runs from the Kangaroo Ground where Captain Brooks has cattle about 3 miles distant). At 3 along the river. 1/2 past 3 halted in the meadow (land and grass very good) by the side of a stream to prepare a crossing place and secure provisions, the weather being very cloudy and likely to rain. At 5 rain which continued until 12 o'clock.

An old Native with a wife and eight children came to us at this place, tells me this river rises out of a piece of forest grounds close at the back of the Five Islands Mountain which ground I sent Joseph Wild to examine about 12 months since. He informs me he met the old Man and Family there and that the land from whence this river takes its sources is a very large piece of excellent forest and that the sources of it and those of Macquarie River at Five Islands is only separated by the range of the Macquarie Mountains.

Parrourah 31st March

At daylight fine weather, winds west. 1/2 past 9 carried everything across the creek on a tree, and got the horses over. Water about 3 feet deep, bottom good, stream very rapid from the late rains. At 10 winding a range to the top of a very high hill. Country all round broken, many perpendicular rocks & several forest grass hills to be seen through the trees. 1/2 past 10 rounding the point of a very high hill over a range. Country between, brush the whole way. At 11 barren brush (S.E.). 1/2 past 11 barren brush, southward. At 12 barren brush, S.E. Passed the heads of several gullies running to the right. 1/4 past 12 a deep gully, which the Natives say is Shoals Haven main river. At 1 o'clock very thick barren brush; 1/2 past 1 do. At 2 down a steep hill to a valley of good grass and land. A stream running right. 1/2 past 2 ascending a steep hill. At 3 o'clock winding along a range to the southward, very thick barren brush, Shoals Haven ahead. 1/2 past 3 on the top of a point of rocks, a sight of Shoals Haven River running round the point. Beautiful grassy points at the side of the River. Down steep pass towards the River. 4 o'clock in a valley going south to the River. Land very good (grass very high 5 & 6 feet). At 5 o'clock halted by the side of a ford, the water apparently very shallow.

Pharreah 1st April

At daylight fine weather, wind west. Sent Joseph Wild to examine the depth of the water at the ford, who returned, at 1/2 past 7 o'clock, stating the River passable, at a very good stoney ford.

The Native informs me that a Whale Boat was up some time ago, pass this place, to near the spot we stop'd at the night before last, so they must have gone up a N.E. arm instead of the main River.

I set out 3/4 past 9 over Shoals Haven River, at an excellent ford, not 2 feet deep. Current strong from the heavy rains. 1/4 past 10 in a good piece of forest, good grass and land. Timber thin. Apple tree and gum. At 11 ascending and descending round the point of the ranges through a forest not good except for grazing. At 12 Shoals Haven River close to the left running round a short point down a hill to a small Meadow, very good.

At this place we met 5 Native Women, and 3 Children. At our approach they were extremely frightened, or so they appeared from their countenances &c. One of them had a woolly Head of Hair more resembling the African Black, than any I have seen in this Colony, although I am told the Derwent Natives are all so.
1/2 past 12 crossed a swamp in a meadow, and ascended a high hill, rocky not good. At 1 on the top of the hill, descending through very poor brush, high rocks to the right, creek to the left. 1/2 past 1 both horses fell down in the crossing a small creek, obliged to unload and carry the load up a small hill. 2 o'clock brushy high rocks to the right. 1/2 past 2 - forest not good. 3 o'clock rounding the point of a high hill, a creek to the left, one of the horses fell down and stuck fast crossing a creek which took out time up nearly 5 hours when we halted for the night.

This evening we fell in with several families of the Natives, in all about 30 men, women, and children who would all have run away but for one of those .... who were with us who assured them we should not hurt them, and by whom they were prevailed on to shake hands with me, when I made each of them a trifling present, which induced them to give us what Fish they had, for these I paid them with a Fishhook &c.

Tarraurarraa 2nd April

At daylight fine weather, wind westerly. 9 o'clock set out. One of the horses very weak, fell down crossing a creek. At 10 a good meadow but not extensive. At 11 a barren forest. 1/2 past 11 do. At 12 barren forest, along a range 1/4 past 12 the point of range good forest, an appearance of low ground ahead. 1/2 past 12 in sight of Jarvis's Bay from the top of a hill. S.E. by E. Shoals Haven flat to the left, several large pieces of clear meadow to be seen, high forest land to the northwest of it. Down a range of excellent forest until 1/2 past 2, better calculated for agriculture than grazing, from the number of wattle trees, and tall Indigo. Timber thick but not heavy, gums and iron bark. At 3 over a range of forest, not so good, until 5 minutes before 2 to a stream of water which the Natives say runs into Jarvis's Bay. Brush thick on its banks, bottom rocky. Rich land on S.E. side. 10 minutes past 2 over a range of tolerable good forest, timber box, to a fall of water into a basin about 12 feet. At 3 a barren brush, a considerable creek where the tide runs up. On the left rich land and on the northern banks. 1/2 past 3 over tolerable good piece of forest, timber apple tree, to a small run of fresh water. At 4 o'clock by the side of a small swamp running to the left, lands good, timber apple trees. The weak horse very tired which obliged me to halt for the night, although close to the Bay. I observed the appearance of rich flooded grounds on the north side of the creek.

Of the Natives that joined us yesterday one of them accompanied us and am bound to say that he (Honney) had conducted us a way that is much to his credit, that he has gained confidence since we first saw him last night, for at that time every symptom of fear was in his countenance and his whole frame, the whole of those we have met with have invariably approached us without Spears, and I think the Governor's Orders on that head if properly attended may be productive of the best effect, nor have I any doubt that many of the misfortunes that have happened [to] the white people have been brought on themselves.

Jarvis's Bay called by the Natives Cooronbun 3rd April

At daylight fine weather, wind westerly. At 8 o'clock set out rounding swamps for the first half hour. Forest land on the banks of the creek, to the left good very rich, but not extensive. At 10 barren scrub close to a creek to the left, tide ebbing, bottom sand. Sent a Native in search of the Natives of this place to enquire if there was any account of Mr Meehan. Several Natives joined us who informed us that a vessel sailed from thence this morning or yesterday with one of Mr Allan's sons in her and several Soldiers. That they had sailed to the southward. We went by the creek side for 10 minutes, arrived at the point when very heavy rains and thunder set in. Here we halted. At this point the creek emties itself into the bay.

North head E. by S. 1/2 S. This creek we came down is not noticed in the chart, its entrance is nearly shut by a very long narrow point or neck of land, the creek itself being more considerable than I was taught to believe, and that laid down bears no sort of resemblance of its entrance. About 4 o'clock the weather cleared, I therefore rode round until sun set. Found the Country (with the
exception of small spots say 60 acres together) very barren poor lands, but mostly covered with
forest grass, about sun set fell in with a small creek, its banks covered with mangrove.

Returned at dusk to the flat where I found many Natives without Spears &c, but I would
nevertheless much rather be without such numerous visitors considering our small party, and
having heard of the disposition of Jarvis's Bay Natives.

Cooroomboon 4th April

At daylight fine weather, wind northward. At 9 o'clock set out to ascertain correctly the spot
appointed by Mr Meehan to mark a tree &c and to look round the S.W. part of the Bay. I am here
informed that a River called Berrewery takes its rise a short distance from hence. That it runs to the
southward passed the Pigeon House and emplies itself onto the sea.

At 20 minutes passed 9 crossed a small creek, tide ebbing round the Bay until 12 then opposite the
anchorage therefore finding no other creek so considerable in the Bay, than the one we halted at
last night, am convinced the one we slept at is the one Mr Meehan intended we should stop at. A
number of beautiful green pieces of forest to be seen on the north side of the Bay, which appears
much superior to the side we are now on. The Natives point S.S.W. as the direction of the River
Berrewery, above mentioned, say the land there is good, not like what we are now on. That the
grass is all good &c. Mr Meehan not being here and the small party I have with me prevents me
looking about the Country as I otherwise would do. 1/2 past 12 to the S.W. a poor barren rocky
scrub. At 1 barren heath. 1/2 past one a large extent of barren heath. At 2 still poor forest. At a
small creek obliged to stand for the baal through a poor forest. At 3 tolerable good forest close to
the Beach. To the Huts at 40 minutes past 4 o'clock.

5th April

At daylight fine weather, wind southward, North head E. by S. 1/2 S. South head S.E.

Being desirous to get a sight of the river mentioned by the Natives yesterday, I ventured after some
precautionary measures to set out (accompanied by a Native named Turong, who from his
conduct I think the best of the whole of Jarvis's Bay Natives that I have seen). At 10 o'clock with
Wild and young Mr Grimes travelled along the beach, to the south side of the Bay. Crossed the
beach near Bong Point and ascended a hill over a rocky poor country. At one o'clock saw the
Pigeon House S.W. 1/2 W. A beautiful view of a very extensive sheet of water (This is the sheet of
water mentioned in my journal of Deer 1821) extending from S. by W. to W. A long tract of country
apparently forest for a great distance with lofty broken country at the back, extending from S. by
W. to W.N.W. This sheet of water must have communication with the sea, and from its extent most
likely a good harbour. In looking attentively with the glass I perceived several patches of grass. At
1/2 past one, north side of Jarvis's Bay E. by S. Pigeon House S.W. 1/2 W. furthest point of land in
sight S. by W. but not being satisfied as to the safety of the 2 men I left, I am prevented going down
to it, and therefore made the best of our way to the Hut, through a very poor country, except some
few patches near the beach of good forest.

Arrived at the Hut at 4 o'clock. Found a number of Natives there. This day the Natives increased in
number and are certainly the most impudent I ever met with in the Colony. They will get us no fish
without paying double the price at any other place. If we attempt to give one a bite of bread &c the
whole immediately demanded the like, and which from their numbers and manners we were from
policy almost obliged to comply with. This morning young Grimes went out to shoot ducks, but
only one got. A native named Tarrangalla who was with him, took it and carried it to the Hutt,
wrapped it up in his cloak and laid it by his side, and when I asked him for it, with much impudence
demanded tobacco, as well as the bread I had offered him. Just after dark Wild and myself being
on the beach observed 2 young men bring over Spears &c from the opposite side of the creek and
put them in the bush, then removed them a short distance nearer the water. Several of the Native
women went away this evening - a very suspicious circumstance. Kept watch all night.
Cooroomboon 6th April

At daylight fine weather, wind southward. The number of Natives whose demands have pressed hard on our provisions and other circumstances, made me resolve to remove about 3 miles distance at the junction of 2 small creeks, branches of the main one. Set off at 1/2 past 11. Arrived at the spot intended at one o'clock, whence we halted. Country round mixture of forest and brush, some good patches. One branch N. by E. other about S.W. Main creek down about S.E. In the afternoon I set off to look at the country round, found it all mixed forest and scrub, some very good spots fit for cultivation in all directions.

7th April

At daylight fine weather, wind west. Wrote the following letter which I left in case Mr Meehan should arrive

Dear Meehan

I arrived here on Thursday evening and have remained until this day 12 o'clock having been yesterday and the day before round to S.W. Country bad. A large sheet of water called Benewerry, about 5 miles from the part of the Bay where vessels anchor, from a height above which I have got the bearings of Pigeon House, and Northead of this Bay with other remarks &c. Am induced to remove from hence, from the number of visitors whom I think suspicious, at all events their conduct is so. Shall stop at a fall of water, at the head of this creek, about 3 or 4 miles for a day or two. The place called Tootooah, look round me there &c the pass we came and have to return over is bad, as much so in one place as the Five Islands Mountains. The bearer will find you a Guide. You must pass the following places, which were the stations we stop at coming here (1st from hence) Tarrawarra 2nd Pharreah, 3rd Burourah, 4th Yarrangha, 5 Broughton's Point which point may be avoided by keeping to the right and coming out at Toombong. If you are pressed for time I would advise your going by Five Islands (after you get over Shoals Haven a very good ford at Pharreah) from thence to Boonguree (the spot Mr Berry my friend told me he intends taking his farm) then Mee Mu Murrah, through some good land. Your time will be saved, and have a much better pass.

Yours &c
Chas. Throsby

Our provisions reduced from the quantity I was obliged from motives of prudence to give the Natives, and from the length of time we have been absent from Mr Meehan, having been 2 days longer on our journey here, than he and myself calculated on in the event of my succeeding, I give up all hopes of his arriving, altho' the Natives tell me there is a pass from the place we left the Carts (my last trip proves the acct. of the natives to be correct), that he had 2 creeks to pass, one named Taalong and the other Boondoomdoonwa, but from the peculiar nature of the country I think it next to impossible for a white man to find the passes, although I have no doubt there may be many.

At 10 o'clock I fired a signal for Mr Meehan, and set off in a westerly direction (supposing that must be the way he must approach) towards the range of Shoals Haven. 1/2 past 11 on the top of a hill, having passed through a track of excellent land fit more for cultivation than grazing. A large extent both right and left of good forest, but more particularly towards Shoals haven, in sight of North head of Jarvis's Bay about E. by S. 1/2 S., an island in Croix Haven about N.E. by E. 1/2 E. a beautiful view of the meadows about Shoals Haven. The sea about 14 miles, and nearly the whole extent of Jarvis's Bay forming the most picturesque appearance I ever saw, and a large extent of good forest land. 1/2 past 12 made a signal for Mr Meehan, but not having any hopes of seeing him, conceiving from his stock of provisions, that he must be returning by another route, and ours very much reduced from the cause before mentioned as well as having a long journey after we
arrived at the carts before us, and the appearance of the weather very suspicious, which from fearing that rain should set in, we should be prevented crossing (Shoals Haven). I determined to get to the carts as soon as possible, without examining the country between Shoals Haven and Five Islands, as was my intention, had Mr Meehan joined. At 10 o'clock I went to the northward, on the edge of an extensive forest of excellent lands, crossing the small runs going to Shoals Haven. At 2 do, 1/2 past 2 do, 3 do, 4 do, 1/2 past 4 by the side of a creek. Stopped for the night at Bu Wongalla. From the forest mentioned a good road may be made to Jarvis's Bay, through a flat good country to the westward and to Croix Haven, all good.

This evening Timelong joined some strange Natives, who informed him they had seen Mr Meehan, that they left him 3 nights since and said something about bullocks (they might be horses) which I could not understand, it being so improbable a story that Mr Meehan had returned, with one of Yellowman's party; that the dogs he had with them were much cut or killed by Kangaroos; that the name of place Mr Meehan returned from was Jackqua (this proved to be correct), horses very weak, down twice.

Bu Wongaalaa 8th April

At daylight cloudy, wind westerly. Bu Wongaalaa, a creek close to land running into Shoal Haven river, a large tract of good forest, flooded ground on the opposite side of the river, several cedar trees to be seen. At 8 o'clock set out. At 12 crossed Shoals Haven, at Parriah, having come by a much nearer route than we went.

(At this place I saw a party of the Natives who informed Timelong about Mr Meehan, who confirmed in substance what is above stated, that Mr Meehan met 2 black men named Ree Wigugal, and Maulancy &c. The party above alluded too are the most robust and healthy looking Natives I have ever seen in the Colony. The whole of them shook hands with me and offered us honey of which they had great quantities.)

Through a broken country, many patches of very good land on the runs into the river. At 2 o'clock into a good valley with excellent grass and land named Boolaa. At this place Timelong the Native who had been with us from the place we secured the carts, left us in a very unexpected manner, from which as well as many other circumstances, I think it will be necessary to keep a particular look out, as should nothing occur against us, I am fearful the carts have been plundered and from every occurrence, I am perfectly satisfied I did right by leaving Jarvis's Bay when I did, for I must confess that in all my journies amongst the Natives of New South Wales I never felt the anxiety and distrust that I did at Jarvis's Bay. Their manners are in every respect daringly impertinent, compared with any others I ever before met with and I would advise who ever may go there to act with great precaution.

At 3 o'clock through the same country we passed in our way out, but from the scrub being treded down as we went we are able to travel much faster. Arrived at a creek running into Pharrourah at 5 o'clock, where we halted for the night, one horse very tired. This evening about 7 o'clock, the dog belonging to the Native who left us at Boolaa, came to us, which still makes us suspect all is not right, and that he with a party are in the neighbourhood. (My suspicions as to Timelong's fidelity proved perfectly groundless).

9th April

At daylight fine weather, wind westerly. 1/2 past 7 o'clock set out......

[Throsby and party subsequently returned to Liverpool.]
James Meehan at Jervis Bay

March - April 1818: James Meehan, surveyor, accompanies Charles Throsby et al. on an overland journey from Bong Bong to Jervis Bay, though the party divides near Marulan.

Meehan's 'Memorandum of a tour from Sydney to Jervis Bay' records the following encounters with Aborigines:

Monday, 30th March 1818

[Upper Shoalhaven River] Two natives came to the hut. I had them shaved and at their own request gave one of them a jacket. They indicated could not cross river; each had 2 children and would return with them.....

Tuesday, 31st March

Hume who had been searching for horses returned accompanied by two parties of the Natives. The first fled. The second had one of the two men who were with me at the tent. Showed them he was shaved and then were within 1/2 mile of the horses, on their trace, from which circumstance it is not improbable they were in quest of them. They appear very friendly and are good looking men.....

Cornelius O'Brien & Lt. Weston's Vigilante Action

Against Illawarra Aborigines

8 October 1818: Charles Throsby writes to Governor Macquarie complaining about the action of Cornelius O'Brien (overseer on William Browne's property at Yallah) and Lt. Weston (owner of a property near Dapto) in leading a vigilante action against some Illawarra Aborigines. The matter is subsequently investigated by the Sydney Bench of Magistrates.

The O'Brien & Weston Case

24 October 1818: The Sydney Bench of Magistrates, led by D'Arcy Wentworth, investigates charges against Cornelius O'Brien and Lt Weston re their abuse, and possible murder of Aborigines at Illawarra (Wentworth Papers, Mitchell Library, A753, CY699, pp.243-252):

John Stewart Stock keeper to Mr George Johnston sworn saith on the 27th of September or thereabouts Mr O'Brien and Mr Weston re several others came to the Hut in which I live, to inquire after the Natives. Mr O'Brien and Mr Weston were armed with Muskets some others of the party were armed with Cutlasses and Bayonets, or long sticks. They said they came to get back some fire arms which Mr O'Brien had lent the Natives = Two Muskets = They said they were not going to hurt them but merely to recover their fire arms.

I accompanied them in search of the Natives. We saw no Native men but the Native Women who, as soon as they saw us coming, ran away. One of the Women left her Child behind. I brought it
away with me, and another Child followed me Home. Mr O'Brien returned Home in the afternoon and the Natives then returned also. They said they were very much frightened.

While I was with Mr O'Brien as aforesaid I heard two shots fired and another was fired by his Party on their return home. I never heard from the Natives that any one of them was injured or wounded; nor do I believe that any Person was hurt by Mr O'Brien or any of his Party. The Natives have since returned to their usual places and their accustomed habits.

I have heard the Natives say that sometimes Mr O'Brien is a good Man and that sometimes he beats them. Mr O'Brien's Muskets were brought to my House the Day after this transaction by five or six Natives.

Sworn before us this 24th day Octr 1818

Signed John Stewart

Joseph Wild, District Constable at Illawarra, sworn saith on the 26th of Septr. William Richards alias Charcoal Will came to my Hut and asked me to lend my two muskets. He said Mr O'Brien had sent him, for that the Natives were "very savage". He said that nobody had seen them (only their smokes). I said as they had done no Damage I would neither go myself nor lend my Muskets.

The next day Bundle a Native came and told me that the Natives (Men and Women) at the river [?Minamurra] were all killed, he said a Black Woman had told him so. It was about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Next day I went over to Mr O'Brien's and asked him why they had shot the Natives who were doing no harm.

McAlese said he had shot one who had howled like a Native Dog, and that he would shoot all before him even if the Governor stood by, if they ship'd a spear at him. I asked Mr O'Brien why he went after the Natives with Muskets and Cutlasses and Bayonets stuck on long sticks, he said he went to get his Muskets back. He said he saw no Black Men only Women. McLese said he had seen only two or three. The Black Women said that one little Boy was shot in the forehead with a slug. I have ascertained that no Person else was hurt, nor have I seen the Boy that was wounded.

In about a week they returned to their usual habits and residences. I have heard the Blacks say that Mr O'Brien was not good sometimes, because he would not give them Patta. I heard from a Black woman that McLease had fired at the Blacks. The Boy was a Native of Mine Mura.

Sworn before us same day

Signed Joseph x Wild

Mark

Joseph Wild further saith that Mr O'Brien said his object in sending for me was that I should use my influence with the Natives to recover the Muskets.

John McArthy sworn saith. I was one of the Party who accompanied Mr O'Brien in search of the Natives. We left Mr O'Brien's soon after breakfast. There were Mr O'Brien, Mr Weston and about seven others. The chief part of us had Muskets, there were two cutlasses and one Bayonet fix'd on a long stick. We went to Stewarts Hut and from thence to Mr Johnstone Meadow where we fell in with a few Natives, Men, Woman and Children "about five or six" when they saw us they ran away. Mr O'Brien called to them to come as usual instead of which they ran off. We followed them to try if we could find where the Muskets were, and whether the Natives intended to do us any harm. As I was the best runner I caught a woman and told her we only came to get the Muskets back from Phillip. She said "there is Phillip". Mr O'Brien and Charcoal Will then came up and we let the Woman go and a Child the Woman left behind was brought up to her by either Charcoal Will or Mr O'Brien. We pursued Phillip and the other Natives but they got away from us.
On our return home our party separated. Soon after I heard a shot fired. We went towards the place and found McLease and Charcoal Will and another man. McLease said that a Native had ship'd a spear and he had fired at him. The Woman who ran away was so alarmed that she left her child and called for the Natives to assist her. I do not think that any of the Natives were either killed or wounded on that day. On our return home Mr O'Brien fired at some Parrots on a tree and said he was going to shoot Bucks. The Natives were not friendly for about a fortnight, it might not be more than four or five days. They have now returned to their old habits.

I think Mr O'Brien behaves as well to the Natives as he does to his Government Men. In consequence of a Rumour that some White Men are to be sent to the Coal River [Newcastle] on their account they have got saucy again. Two days after the muskets were returned, the Blacks returned to Mr O'Brien's House and were well fed.

Sworn before us same day
Signed D.Wentworth
S.Lord
R.Brooks

William Richards (alias Charcoal Will) sworn saith I have seen the Boy who was wounded in the Head and he told me that he had been shot by Phillip who was shooting at a Kangaroo and the shot having been extracted the Boy is as well as ever. In three or four days the Natives returned to Mr O'Brien's as usual and have continued on friendly terms, ever since. I left 'Frying Pan Jack' at Mr O'Brien's in the Five Islands. He refused to come to Sydney with us. He is on the most friendly terms with Mr O'Brien's family. I confirm the preceeding Depositions which I have heard read, in all the other particulars.

Sworn before us same day
(Signed) D.Wentworth
S.Lord
R.Brooks

A True Copy
D.Wentworth J.P.

The Magistrates having carefully investigated the allegations contained in Mr Throsby's letter of the 8th October addressed to His Excellency the Governor, are of opinion that the same have not been proved, farther than that Messrs. O'Brien and Weston appear to have acted with great indiscretion in going in search of the natives, Armed and Attended as they were. The Magistrates are further of opinion that McAlese, fired his Musket in consequence of the apprehensions excited by a Native having shipped his Spear at him.

D.Wentworth, J.P.
Court Room October 24: 1818

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**Macquarie's Displeasure re O'Brien & Weston Case**

1 November 1818: Governor Macquarie writes to D'Arcy Wentworth, head of the Sydney Bench of Magistrates, expressing surprise, regret, and displeasure at the Sydney Bench's treatment of the O'Brien - Weston case with so much levity and indifference, and calling on further action to be taken (Wentworth Papers, Mitchell Library, A753, CY699, pp.207-209):
Sir

I herewith do myself the honor to return you the Depositions taken by the Bench of Magistrates at Sydney relative to the late attack made by Mr O'Brien and certain other white men on the Natives of Illawarra and which you delivered to me yesterday at Sydney for my perusal. I have accordingly perused those Depositions from which it appears most clearly proved that a Party of White Men headed by Mr O'Brien, armed for the purpose, proceeded, in hostile array, to attack most wantonly and unprovokedly, the poor unoffending Black Natives of Illawarra, and actually fired on them, it being also in proof that one Native Boy was wounded.

After much clear proof of those circumstances, I cannot help expressing, and thus conveying to you, Sir, for their information, my surprise, regret, and displeasure, at the Bench of Magistrates treating this wanton attack on the Natives with so much levity and indifference; and as I consider it my indispensible duty to protect those unfortunate Natives from similar acts of outrage and barbarity in future, I most desire that you will issue your Warrant forthwith for the apprehension of the Convict named Macaleise, now in the service of Mr Brown at Illawarra (and whom it is proved fired on the Natives) and have him lodged in Sydney Jail to be afterwards dealt with as I may judge expedient.

I have the Honor to be
Sir

Your most obedt. Servt.

D.Wentworth L.Macquarie
Supdt. of Police, Sydney

[The fate of Macaleise is unknown, though it is likely he was simply transferred from the district]

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Allan Cunningham, Botanist, in Illawarra

October - November 1818: Allan Cunningham, Colonial Botanist, visits Illawarra to collect specimens and is assisted by native guides. Illawarra was to become Cunningham's favourite locality in the Colony for the collection of botanical specimens, and he visited there a number of times between 1818-40. Unfortunately his journals contain few references to the local Aborigines.

The following are relevant extracts from the diary recording his visit in 1818 {AONSW, Reels 46 & 47}:

[23rd October, Friday] ... We arrived at the farm about 3p.m. In the environs of this I intend to employ myself for about three weeks, in the examination of the botany around. This farm, for which the native name Illoowree or Allowree is retained, is the property of David Allan, Esqre., Deputy-Commissary-General, and comprises 2,000 acres of fine grazing land, whose [eastern] boundary or extremity is the Red Point of Cook and the charts. The good land extends inland from the sea westerly 10 miles, till it terminates at or near Point Bass, southerly towards which, in either direction from Illawarra, the land gradually decreases in breadth.

24th Saturday. I destined the whole of the day to examination of the country around me, and especially to the westward, inland. From thence alone it appeared I would be most likely to meet with botanical novelty, and accordingly we left the farm-house in a north-westerly direction, taking with us an assistant and guide, the nephew of the chief of the Lake Allowree, 1 whose services I purchased for the day, for a small piece of tobacco....

25th Sunday. Visited the last farm southerly, in this range of country, about 10 miles from Illawarra, situate on the small river called Merrimorra by the natives....

28th Wednesday. I have examined the shaded hollows or bottoms westerly, towards the mountain belt. On land occupied by various settlers, for the most part as runs for cattle, I find I am generally
a month too early for flowering specimens. I have, however, procured a few in rather an
unexpanded state, and others have afforded me ripe fruit. I now purpose to spend two or three
days on or immediately under the range; and this morning I removed my headquarters to the
stock-keeper's hut near the mountain, taking with me a sufficiency of salt provisions and
abundance of paper for the limited time I intend being absent.

About 8 a.m. we left the hut, with an intention, if possible, to reach Mt Kembla, the summit of Hat
Hill, bearing about 8 or 9 miles (apparently) W.N.W., and as a guide through the more intricate
woods, I had induced an intelligent native to accompany me.

About 11 a.m. we had penetrated through much confined thicket and small patches of clear open
forest-land alternately, when my native guide, seeing the more rugged and difficult part of our route
before us (and in truth not caring to be absent long from his wives and children), complained of
sickness and finally abandoned us, returning back to the hut with all possible speed....

[9th November]...The native, our guide, espied, on a tree, an opossum (Didelphis), having many of
the habits of the ring tailed species (caudivolva). It was a female and her cub. They were asleep,
hanging by the claws, among the topmost shoots of a slender Eucalyptus piperita. It has no tail; it
has the thick bluff head of the wombat, with strong incisor teeth, but does not burrow in the earth
as that harmless, easily domesticated animal. The length of the mother was 28 inches, and its
weight upwards of 30 lbs. The cub was about half grown, its length not exceeding a foot. It was
covered with a fine thick grey fur.

The Australian killed the parent in order the better to carry her down the range, but the young one,
at my suggestion, and request, was suffered to live, and was carefully brought to the Farm hut.

The heat of the day had brought out snakes from their retreats in the hollow trunks of fallen timber,
and it required the utmost caution to avoid treading upon them as they lay basking in the beaten
paths among the high grass.

At dusk we returned to the farm hut, having had a fine day for the ill-paid excursion we had made.

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Banning of Spirits for the Aborigines

Saturday, 7 November 1818: [Sydney Gazette] Governor Macquarie issues a General Order
prohibiting the giving of Spirits to Aborigines:

Government and General Orders

Secretary's Office, Sydney
7th November, 1818

Civil Department

The Practice of giving Spirits, and the Washings out of Spirit Casks, to the Black Native, which has
been long since prohibited and discontinued, having lately been revived by some few Persons,
Dealers in Spirits, whereby the said Natives have become riotous and offensive to the better Part of
the Society, by their fighting in the Streets, and committing wanion barbarities on each other; and
the late disgraceful Outrages thus occasioned rendering it necessary that the most rigorous
Measures should be adopted to restrain their Recurrence; His Excellency the Governor is pleased
thus to express his strong Disapprobation of such Practices, at once so injurious to the Public
Peace, and subversive of the common Principals of Humanity; and to notify, that any Persons who
shall hereafter be discovered to give Spirits to the Natives, or what they themselves call "Bull", will
incur His Excellency's highest displeasure, and be prosecuted, as Excitors and Promoters of
Public Disturbances.
And it being the Duty of the Officers of Police to prevent and suppress all Breaches of the Peace, and Riots, they are hereby specially enjoined to apprehend and secure the Rioters, of whatever Description, in Order to render them amenable to the competent Jurisdiction, to be dealt with according to Law.

By His Excellency's Command,
J.T.Campbell, Secretary.

Governor Macquarie's Banquet

Monday, 28 December 1818: Governor Macquarie hosts a banquet at Parramatta for the Aborigines of the Colony, including those from Illawarra, the South Coast, and beyond the Blue Mountains. Of the almost 300 in attendance, it was noted {Sydney Gazette, 2 January 1819}:

.....There were other tribes from the North and South, who had travelled a distance of upwards of 100 miles.

This event was held by Macquarie for a number of years, and representatives from all over the Colony attended.

1819

Charles Throsby's Aboriginal Guides Rewarded

10 April 1819: Mille and Warrell, two of Charles Throsby's guides, recommended for rewards for their assistance in his journeys of exploration {AONSW}

31 May 1819: Charles Throsby's Aboriginal guides rewarded for assistance with exploration {AONSW}

September 1819: Report on awarding of Breastplates to two of Charles Throsby's guides {AONSW}

Timbery

18 November - 25 December 1819: Jacques Arago, artist aboard the French Uranie expedition, visited Sydney and Botany Bay during this period and produced a portrait of an Aboriginal man at Botany Bay known as "Timbere". This portrait was later reproduced in the published account of the voyage.
Refer La Perouse (1988, pp.4-5), and Sotheby's Fine Australian Paintings catalogue of 29 October 1987, no.148, for reference to Timbery and his connections with the South Coast and La Perouse. See also Return of Blankets issued at Wollongong 1832-42.

Surveyors in Illawarra

[1819]: James Meehan and John Oxley, 'Transverses and general Observations, Counties of Camden and St Vincent', New South Wales Surveyor's General Department, Fieldbook No 142 (AONSW).

Surveyor's fieldbook, containing isolated references to local Aborigines and names of localities.

[1819]: James Meehan and John Oxley, 'Observations on the Coast Line of Illawarra, NSW', New South Wales Surveyor's General Department, Fieldbook No 156 (AONSW).

1820

10 January 1820: Surveyor General John Oxley, in a report to Governor Lachlan Macquarie, gives the Aboriginal name for the Minamurra River, north of Kiama (HRA, 1917, Series I, volume X, p.254):

...The District of Illawarra is naturally bounded on the south by a high range of rocky hills, in which the waters, falling southerly into Shoals Haven River, have their source; these rocky hills terminate on the coast, a small salt water creek, called by the Natives Meme mora, dividing them at that point from the granted lands in the Illawarra district....

30 April & 3 May 1820: Charles Throsby writes to the Colonial Secretary re alarm in new Country (Goulburn district) at restlessness of Aborigines and despatch of Soldiers (AONSW, Reel 6034, 9/2743, pp.139-46)

1821

Conflict at Twofold Bay

23 June 1821: [SydneyGazette] Report on the crew of the wreck of the Mary, who are attacked by natives at Twofold Bay, prior to their escape in a dinghy:

Loss of the Colonial Vessel Mary. - The Mary, Captain Richard Heany, sailed from Port Jackson for the Settlement of Port Dalrymple, on the 29th ult. with a choice cargo on board, the value of which was estimated to be about £3,000.
Five days after her departure Captain Heany made Ram head, when the wind set in from the southward, and drove them back to the northward of Two-fold Bay. In a short time the wind so much altered its course as to enable the vessel to get off Cape Howe, the nearest haven of possible shelter. The topsail was carried away by the violence of the wind and the vessel ran through the sea with such swiftness that she was soon moored to both anchors, apparently safe, within Two-fold Bay.

The gale increasing, and veering round to E. which was direct into the Bay, Captain Heany deemed it advisable, becoming apprehensive for the safety of those on board, to loose no time in lowering the boat. One man reached the shore with a line which he made fast; the boat, in the interim, being overset, the two men that were in her, were compelled also to make for the shore. It was about 8 in the morning when they made the bay, and about 11 the larboard cable parted, which was soon followed by that of the starboard, when the little vessel quickly drove on shore.

Captain Heany, Mrs Heany, with the servant maid, and the residue of the crew, were compelled to swim for their lives; and, providentially, all succeeded in getting to land. The vessel soon parted, and became a complete wreck. The following morning the chief part of the cargo was lying on the beach, which was secured as commodiously as circumstances would allow.

The natives delayed not in visiting them, and evinced much friendship, which was however of short duration, as will appear.

On the sixth day after the loss of the vessel, the natives crowded to the wreck. Most of the crew, which consisted of nine persons, exclusive of Mrs Heany and servant, were fortunately under the shelter of a rock overhanging the sea, which happily saved them from falling victims to savage ferocity. Huge stones were rolled down the rock, and a number of spears were thrown, which were not attended with any other effect than slightly wounding the cook and one of the seamen. Whilst one party of the natives were thus barricading in the shipwrecked mariners, another force was plundering the cargo, and after satisfying themselves, they decamped - leaving the spirits, of which there was a great quantity, wholly untouched.

No time was lost by the distressed Commander in getting the boat repaired and launched; in that one object being centred all their hopes of escaping a cruel destiny at the hands of savage barbarity, and of being restored to family and friends. The little bark being afloat, the crew, with Mrs Heany, embarked; but the wind proving unfavourable to their departure, the boat was blown to the opposite shore, still keeping within the bay.

The natives again made their appearance, and threw some spears, on of which entered a great coat worn by Mrs Heany, and another passed Captain Heany's legs, who immediately fired at the assailants, one of whom fell, and the others betook themselves to flight.

That night they were compelled to lie off the shore, in an open boat only 15 feet overall, exposed to the inclemency of the weather; and in danger, every instant, of being carried on shore with the heavy swell of the sea.

Daylight presented hosts of the ferocious tribes to notice; numbers were attired in the cloathing they had obtained from the wreck; and they seemed, from being equipped with spears and waddies, to be in fond expectancy that the boat, with those on board, would soon be at their disposal; but a gracious and benign Providence, ever watchful of its creatures, hovered over and preserved them.

On the 9th instant, Captain Heany bid farewell to the scene of his calamity, and shortly after reached Montague Island off Mount Dromedary, where they remained a few hours in order to
refresh. Provisions soon became exhausted, having been compelled to leave the wreck so
suddenly as to preclude the possibility of procuring sufficient supply, or even thinking of it, when
existence seemed dubious; and had abundance been their portion at this critical juncture, the boat
was too small to admit any greater bulk than it contained. So reduced the sufferers became at
length, that they were constrained to subsist on shell-fish, or any other article that might obtrude
itself on the beach; and what contributed to render their situation the more forelorn and terrific, was
that of beholding the shores as they passed lined with the barbarous tribes.

On Montague Island some nuts were found in a native hut, recently abandoned; eagerly and
ravenously they were devoured; but they disagreed with those that partook of them, so much so,
that Captain Heany declares he has not yet recovered from the pernicious effects produced by
them.

After a sustenation of remarkable hardships, in which hunger was a principal one, they fortunately
succeeded in arriving at the Five Islands, which grateful occurrence happened this day week, after
a miserable confinement of ten days and as many nights. On landing Captain Heany proceeded
(as well as he was able) to the farm of John Oxley, Esq. where Mrs Heany with her servant maid
was kindly received, and the famished and worn out crew comfortably lodged and hospitably
entertained.

To the overseer on the above Gentleman’s estate, as well as all the men under his charge, every
possible commendation is due; and it is Captain Heany’s wish that their benevolence and humanity
should be recorded, which we feel happy in complying with.

Yesterday afternoon Capt. Heany, wife, servant maid, and three men, came to Sydney over-land;
and the boat, with the other six men, arrived at the King’s Wharf in the evening; the whole of whom
are, considering all circumstances, in tolerable health.

The Sinbad, Mr Simpson master, we are informed, proceeds immediately to the wreck of the
schooner Mary, in order to recover the cargo left on the beach by Captain Heany.

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Aboriginal Tribes of the Sydney District

15 November 1821: The missionary W. Walker writes to Reverend Walton in England describing the
Aboriginal tribes in the vicinity of Sydney {Mitchell Library, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 52, pp.998-9,
CY1514}:

Wesleyan Mission House

Parramatta 15th Novr. 1821
To Revd. Richard Walton

My very dear Father

It appears most probable that I shall fix my first tabernacle at Bethel, among the Aborigines. This is
very necessary, inasmuch as the females who have been married out of the Native Institution, will
all run wild, if some measure be not adopted, to prevent them.

I have got two boys to live with me. My Instructions authorise me to live with no more than one.
However, when it is considered, that it is one of the most difficult tasks imaginable to prevail upon
one of these Aborigines to stay in company with Europeans, and that when two may be prevailed
upon, I shall be indulged with two. The expense of keeping will be considerable, but I hope not
more than their improvement and as ultimate usefulness may merit. They are making rapid
improvement in English; they attend all our means of grace in Parramatta; they are attentive to and
delighted with all they see and hear.
The tribes adjacent are as follows:

*Kissing Point* - some of whom I see every day, and have reason to believe they will settle at Bethel. Probably not like the whole of them, as they are a most bigotted race of people to the ground on which they were born. This tribe is very small. **Bidjee Bidjee** is the Chief.

*Windsor* - whom I have only seen once since I came into the Colony. Last Sunday I rode to Windsor expecting to meet them, but was disappointed.

*Hawkesbury* - part of which tribe have settled at Bethel. The Chief's name - **Jemmy**.

*Mulgoa* - the tribe is not very large - the Chief's name **Mary Mary**.

*Liverpool* - not more than 15 to 20. Chief's name **Cogie**. These blacks I think will soon settle.

*Botany Bay* - not numerous, but very immoral.

*Broken Bay* - numerous. Chief's name **Boongarie**.

*Cow Pasture* - numerous. Chief's name (as nearly as I can pronounce) **Boodberrie**.

*Five Islands* - numerous - fierce - cannibals.

Probably the last mentioned will be among the last that shall be civilized.

The language of all these tribes are different so much so that one tribe rarely understands another in every particular. Some of the former tribes speak the English very moderately. But I think it most likely to conduce to usefulness to establish the English among the former tribes.

Yours &c. &c.

W.Walker

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Charles Throsby to Jervis Bay

25 November - 9 December 1821: Charles Throsby travels overland from Sutton Forest to west of Jervis Bay in order to survey a possible overland route to the coast. He also kept a journal of the trip [AONSW, Reel 6034, 9/2743, pp.225-34].

The following extracts make reference to the local Aborigines encountered during the expedition, and the actions of Throsby's own native guides:

**Wu-rin-gu-raa**

Saturday Novr. 29th

Day light cloudy, heavy thunder during the night, set out eastward down the meadows, crossing several points of poor forest, where the natives discovered the track of a person with shoes on, and two natives without; on following which they found a blue cup that had been dropped a day or two before....
At day light cloudy heavy thunder and rain during the night with appearance of rain, we therefore removed up the stream to find some stringy bark trees; of the bark of which got the natives to make two Canoes. These we secured together by two sticks across them, and passed the river in them, with all our provisions &c. in perfect safety, having swam the horses over by the same assistance....

Day light cloudy, light rain all night. Set out at 9 ock. to the eastward, through a poor and rotten brush, for about 2 miles, to a good forest, with a considerable stream running to the left; out of the broken mountainous Country, to the southward passing this stream. At about 4 miles we got into so dreadfully a barren, rocky, and broken country that we was obliged to return, and recross the rivulet, to attempt a passage lower down, when we found a Tribe of Natives (some of whom I had seen at Sutton Forest several times) consisting of five or six men and a number of women and children. The weather setting into rain, halted near the natives Camp for the night.

The natives who accompanied us, having got into conversation with the tribe near us, was told by them, that they had seen the white person, and the two natives, whom we had previously seen the tracks of; that the white Person's name was Hametton (Hamilton Hume I judged) the two natives with him was Cowpasture Jack (Brother to Duel) the other named Udah-duck.

This man had been kept, and fed at my request, by Mr Jenkins stockman, at his establishment in Argyleshire, for more than a month previous, for the purpose of accompanying me, but to my great surprise, on my arrival at Mr J's place, I found him gone a few days previous; with the Cart we had seen the track of. The Natives further informed us that the white man and two Natives had gone from this place.

We had the day before seen the Huts they slept in, to the top of a very high hill then in sight, called Bur-rou-oah, and Tombie had then micalighe, that is, looked all around.

The white man had a Book in which he wrote something, and then returned by a Country call'd by them Naa-roo-kaa, then through the rocks to Tallaawaa where Mr Jenkins stock are stationed.

The tribe of natives we were with consisted of five men, thirteen women and 17 children. Several of the elder women were much marked by Small Pox. On making some inquiries respecting the great proportion of Women to Men, they informed me a number of Men had died the Winter before last, and that one of the Men then there had four Wives and of them and another three.

There appears a distinct difference in the mode of employ of the sexes in procuring the food for their subsistence. The Men take the task of looking for opossums, hunting Kangaroo, and in fact procuring all the animal food they eat, the women procuring a sort of small yam, native Carrots, and picking berries that are very insipid to the taste. They are ripe at this time season of the year, of which they devour prodigious quantities, and are very fond of them.
Exploration of the Clyde River


They arrived off Batemans Bay in the cutter Snapper on 29 November, and, as Lt. Johnston reports, proceeded to investigate the Clyde River flowing into the Bay:

....On my way up I saw several Native Fires near the banks. At one place I landed, taking with me the two Natives who accompanied me from Sydney, upon which we were met by a Tribe of them, who showed no symptoms of hostility towards us, but entered freely into conversation; and, through my interpreters, I learnt the particulars of the melancholy loss of Mr Stewart and his boat’s crew; as also of a Man by the name of Briggs, and his companions, who some time since deserted from the Colony in a whale boat; viz., Stewart, losing his boat near Two-fold Bay, was endeavouring to make his way back by land, in which effort he was cut off by the Natives of Two-fold Bay. Briggs, and his companions, were lost in Bateman Bay, by the boat having upset; and being so far from the land, were not able to reach the shore.

This was the account received from them; but, from my own observations, seeing Knives, Tomahawks, and part of the boat’s gear in their Huts, I am induced to think they suffered the same Fate as the unfortunate Stewart.

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The Bigge Enquiry

[1821] Charles Throsby gives evidence to Commissioner Bigge regarding the Aborigines at Shoalhaven (Mitchell Library, Bonwick Transcript, Box 5, pp.2217-2218):

Q Are the natives numerous at Shoalhaven
Ans More so than in the interior, but the number altogether is very insignificant
Q Have they diminished lately
Ans I think they have
Q From what cause
Ans I think from the use of spiritous liquors in some degree and from a different sort of food to which they have been unaccustomed
Q What are the diseases by which they are particularly affected
Ans Inflammation of the lungs principally, it attacks them in the cold weather and it hastens by the use of spiritous liquors
Murder, Scientific Curiosity, and Religious Imposition

1822 - 1829

1822 was a year containing two relatively significant events in the history of Illawarra. One is well known, and has appeared in most histories of the area. The other is somewhat of a mystery. Both concern the local Aboriginal people.

Firstly - early in 1822 Governor Macquarie visited Illawarra just prior to his return to England, and had a brief meeting with the local settlers and Aboriginal people.

Macquarie's visit has been portrayed as significant in the history of the district, yet the second incident - the murder of an Aboriginal woman by Seth Hawker - occurred later in the year and was probably more important in revealing the state of relations between whites and the local Aborigines.

Also during this year Alexander Berry made his first visit to the Shoalhaven River, in anticipation of settling there. He was subsequently to play a major role in the fate of the local Aboriginal people, setting up a major agricultural and dairy establishment at Coolangatta, eventually encompassing over 10000 acres.

The period 1823-29 saw further expansion of white settlement into Illawarra and along the South Coast, along with increasing numbers of visitors interested in the picturesque qualities and scientific aspects of the district. This latter group included a French scientific expedition and a Wesleyan missionary in 1826, both of whom recorded valuable summary accounts of aspects of the culture of the local Aborigines during their brief visits.

1822

11 January 1822: [Sydney Gazette] Report on Hamilton Hume's overland journey from Appin to Jervis Bay during November-December, wherein he was accompanied by the Aborigines Udaa-duck and Cowpasture Jack.
Governor Macquarie at Illawarra

15 January 1822: Governor Macquarie and party briefly meet with a group of approximately 100 Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines at Allans Farm, near Red Point (Lachlan Macquarie, Journal of Tours, Public Library of New South Wales, Sydney, 1956):

"...We crossed the entrance of Tom Thumb's Lagoon which was at this time dry, and soon afterwards arrived at Mr Allan's lands, meeting there with about 100 natives, who had assembled at this place to meet and welcome me to Illawarra. They were of various tribes, and some of them had come all the way from Jervis's Bay, and they appeared to be very intimate with Mr O'Brien. They all knew who I was, and most of them pronounced my name (Govr. Macquarie) very distinctly. They were very civil, and I regretted exceedingly that I had no tobacco for them.

Having remained with them for about ten minutes, we resumed our journey to Mr Allan's establishment.

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30-31 January 1822: Alexander Berry visits Jervis Bay (Berry Papers, volume 3, no 7, Mitchell Library)

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January 1822: Alexander Berry 'Journal of a voyage in the Snapper from Sydney to Montagu Island (Berry Papers, volume 3, no 6, Mitchell Library, A291)

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William Kearns - Lake George to Batemans Bay

30 January - 16 February 1822: A party, consisting of William Kearns, Messrs. Marsh and Packard, and Aboriginal guides, travel overland from the southern end of Lake George towards Batemans Bay, to investigate the possibilities of a road to the coast and survey the intervening land.

Kearns kept a journal (AONSW, Reel 6034, 9/2744, pp.1-15) which refers sparingly to the local Aborigines. He did not observe their fires until 8 February, and recorded the following on Sunday, 10 February, near Budawang:

"...After traveling about 5 miles SE we left our Horses & ascended a high Hill, from which we discovered the Sea about 8 or 10 miles off to the East S E at the same time we saw the Pigeon House bearing by Compass N N E 7 or 8 leagues; between us and the Pigeon House we saw Batemans Bay about ten miles distant. There appeared to us a Bight of the Sea a little to the Southwd. of us.

On account of the great number of Native Fires we then saw in all Directions and our Party being small we thought it most prudent not to approach the Sea Coast any nearer. We therefore return'd knowing that the Natives in this Quarter are very hostile...

[Monday, 11 February] At 8.30 AM loaded our Pack Horses & resumed our Journey. On our return after travelling up the side of the Run of Water to the West until 10 AM we discovered several Natives on the opposite side of the Stream.
On our nearer approach the Natives we had with us spoke to them when we found they belonged to the Coast but had come up here to hunt. After speaking to them for some time they came across the Stream when we gave them some Bread which they afterwards took back again to their Wives. They agreed to come and shew us a good road to Jacquau (where Mr Inch are stationed).

On enquiry they told us the name of the Hill we were on, next to the sea, is called Manero. The name of the place we slept at Kimby, and the name of a remarkable Hill across the Shoal Haven River to the Westwd. is called Gooing Juing.

We got two Natives, a Man and a Boy, to accompany us. The name of the one was Terralilly, the other Murrah bingah, & the Boy Currambah. They informed us that the River which we supposed to be the Shoal River Haven was really it. They also inform'd us that the River in which we found the Limestone is Jullergung & the Native names of the Plains we discovered are Mooling goolah. They also inform'd us that Murrumbidge River runs into the Sea on the West side of New Holland where there is abundance of such stone as we shew'd them (Lime Stone) near the sea....

[The following night they slept by the Shoal Haven River at a place called 'Wanahtookbidga']

8 April 1822: Charles Throsby despatches a letter to Alexander Berry via the native Broughton, expressing interest in Berry's plan to cut cedar and establish a settlement at Shoalhaven.

15 April 1822: Seth Hawker murders an Aboriginal woman at Illawarra. See below for detailed account.

**Alexander Berry at Shoalhaven**


The Aborigines were found by Berry in 1822 to be ferocious and were driven away by the sawyers and woodcutters. For a year or two they stole maize and potatoes. Several weeks after the first arrival of the party at Shoalhaven about 20 came and camped near Berry’s settlement. There were two chiefs - Wagin, chief of Numba or Shoalhaven, and Yager, chief of Jervis Bay. Berry took the two as part of the crew of a cutter to Sydney and return.

[For details of the initial settlement at Coolangatta refer Berry's reminiscences of 1838 and 1871.]

21 June - 23 July 1822: Alexander Berry 'Diary of expedition to the Shoalhaven River, June 21 - July 23, 1822' (Mitchell Library, B897, CY Reel 1267)
The Trial of Seth Hawker
For the Murder of an Aboriginal Woman at Illawarra

1822

Sequence of Events

15 April 1822: Early in the morning of Sunday, 15 April, the convict Seth Hawker (per Lord Eldon, 1817), an overseer at Captain Richard Brooks’ farm at Illawarra, in company with John Neale and Thomas Binskin, shoots at, and sets his dogs upon, an Aboriginal woman, supposedly in the act of stealing his master’s corn.

Hawker then returns to his hut, reloads his gun, and again confronts the woman, asking ‘Name, name, name.’ When he receives no answer, he shoots the woman in the stomach and watches as the dogs maul her.

Other convicts arrive and call both Hawker and the dogs off the woman, before returning to their huts.

The woman dies in the field shortly thereafter, unattended, apparently from a large gunshot wound in the stomach, and large dog bites in the left thigh and stomach.

Later that morning Hawker and others in his party return to the scene and upon finding the woman dead Hawker is immediately despatched to Appin to report to the nearest Constable, namely Joseph Dansfield.

16 April: Seth Hawker reports to Constable Joseph Dansfield at Appin. He states that he shot and killed a black woman, and that William Graham had previously cut off the hand of one of the black natives. Dansfield reports to Captain Brooks and later arrests Hawker and Graham.

24 April: The Bench of Magistrates at Campbelltown sit and take the Deposition of Joseph Dansfield, Constable of the Five Islands. Magistrates present include Charles Throsby, William Howe, and Thomas Reddall. Hawker and Graham are granted bail.

10 May: The Colonial Secretary (Major Goulburn) writes to the Judge Advocate (John Wylde) requesting information on the Seth Hawker murder case.

25 May: The Colonial Secretary writes to Thomas Reddall requesting information and depositions.

27 May: Constable Robert Burke arrives in Illawarra to carry out further investigations.

28 May: Thomas Reddall despatches the first lot of Depositions to the Colonial Secretary. The Deposition of Robert Burke is also taken at Campbelltown on this day.

3 June: The depositions of John and William Neale (Captain Brooks’ overseers), and Thomas Toole and Thomas Binskin (Captain Brooks’ servants), are taken at Macquarie Field, before Thomas Reddall.

5 June: The deposition of William Graham Junior is taken at Macquarie Field. Thomas Reddall despatches a second lot of depositions to the Colonial Secretary.

9 June: Trial of Seth Hawker at Sydney Criminal Court. Seth Hawker is subsequently acquitted and William Graham is never brought to trial.

Over the following pages the surviving accounts of the Seth Hawker incident, including transcripts of evidence, are reproduced. Unfortunately the transcripts of evidence / statements given by both Seth Hawker and William Graham have not been located. The majority of documents are located at AONSW, Col. Sec. 4/1758, reel 6054.

A discussion of this case by the editor is located at the conclusion of the transcripts.

[NB: In the following transcriptions, punctuation has been added to remove ambiguity.]

**Trial Transcripts and Depositions**

24 April: Deposition of Joseph Dansfield, Constable of the Five Islands, taken at Campbelltown:

The King and the Prosecution vs Seth Hawker

Joseph Dansfield

Murder

The Deposition of Joseph Dansfield.


The Witness Josh. Dansfield is a Constable residing at the Five Islands and Robt. Burke resides in the District of Airds

Committed 24th April 1822 By the Revd. T. Reddall

The King on the Prosecution of Joseph Dansfield agst. Seth Hawker

For shooting Black Native Woman at the Five Islands

Deposition taken before the Revd. T. Reddall, Charles Throsby and William Howe Esqr. in the Court room at Campbell Town the 24 April 1822.

Joseph Dansfield being duly sworn on his oath states that he is a Constable at the Five Islands. That on the 16th day of this present month, Seth Hawker came to this Deponent and informed him he had shot a Black Native woman on the preceeding morning about the time the moon was rising and desired this Deponent to go up to acquaint his Master Captain Brooks (with whom the Prisoner lives as an Overseer), and in the event of his Master not being at the farm, to report it to the first Magistrate he could find.

The Prisoner at the same time informed this Deponent that when he shot the woman she was coming out of a paddock with some Corn in a Net, which Corn she had stolen from the Premises, and that another person of the name of William Graham had previously cut one of the Black Natives hands off.

And this Deponent further states that he immediately came up the Country and reported the matter to Captain Brooks who gave him an order to apprehend the Prisoner Seth Hawker and the said William Graham, whom he took without resistance and came here without any hesitation or trouble to Deponent.

Questions by the Court

Were you ever cautioned by the Overseer to caution the Natives from stealing his Masters Corn?
Answer - No

Have you been to the house of the Prisoner or near to the spot the Native is said to have been shot since the transaction?

Answer - No

10 May: The Colonial Secretary (Major Goulburn) writes to the Judge Advocate (John Wylde) requesting information on the Seth Hawker murder case:

Judge Adv. Office
10 May 1822

Sir

Having this day received certain information as to the death of two black Natives near three weeks since in farms at Illawarra in consequence of wounds from guns fired at them by certain persons on the spot and in respect of which no depositions have been yet forwarded to this office, I take the liberty of communicating the circumstance, as also to submit whether proper directions from the Colonial Government should not be issued immediately to obtain the most full and determinate information upon the subject.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

humble servant

Jno. Wylde
Judge Av. NSW

Having done myself the honor to forward your letter of 18 ult to the Bench of Magistrates before whom the investigation took place relating to the death of certain Natives in the district of Five Islands, I have been given to understand that the requisite depositions have lately been forwarded to your office, any further inquiry upon my part will be unnecessary.

[Major Goulburn]

28 May: Reverend Thomas Reddall, magistrate at Appin (then called Macquarie Field) despatches depositions re the Seth Hawker murder case to the Judge Advocate:

Macquarie Fields
May 28th 1822

Sir

I had the honor to receive, late last evening, your favor of the 25th inst. with the accompanying letter, to your address, from the Judge Advocate, and I lost no time in transmitting, to you, the required proceedings touching the unfortunate circumstances alluded to by that gentleman.

When your favor came to hand Depositions were being prepared for despatch to the Judge’s Office, of which the enclosed are true copies of those, which relate to the murder of the black
native woman at the Illawarra, by Seth Hawker, and to the injury sustained by a blackman there, from William Graham.

On perusing these Documents, it will, I think, appear, that no blame whatever can be imputed, in this case, to either of my brother Magistrates, who did me the honor to form a Bench with me, on the day the first investigation took place, with respect to the rash proceedings of those men.

If any subsequent neglect has taken place, with reference to the transmission of the enclosed papers, I alone am chargeable with it, although I am not sensible of having fallen into any; and I would indeed be most happy if His Excellency be not under an impression that I have done so. Indeed I have been most anxious to obtain every possible information on the subject, and was desirous to send the whole to the Judge Advocate’s Office together: wherefore on hearing that the black man, whom W.Graham wounded, had died of the wounds he (Graham) had inflicted on the poor man, I immediately despatched an Officer, to the Five Islands, to take into custody, the said W.Graham, (who was admitted to bail on the 24th ult for his appearance when called for) - to bring him before me to be forwarded onto Sydney, to procure whilst on the spot every additional information in his power, - to bring with him any person, or persons he might find from circumstances to be essential witnesses in the case, - and to make known if possible, to the natives, the necessity there wd. be for two or more of them, who might be present when the black man was injured by Graham to proceed, without delay to Sydney, to give their evidence on the trial.

I shall do myself the honor to make further communications to you, immediately on the arrival of my Constable from the Illawarra. In the mean time,

I have the honor to be

Sir
your very obedient
humble Servant

Thos.Reddall J.P

To F.Goulburn Esqr
Coln.Secretary
&c. &c. &c.

28 May: Deposition of Robert Burke taken at the Court Room in Campbell Town:

The King against Seth Hawker
For shooting a Black Native Woman

Robert Burke being duly sworn on oath saith that he is a constable in the District of Airds. That on the 24th Day of April last he was sent (by the Reverend T.Reddall and other Magistrates assembled at Campbell Town) to the Five Islands, to make diligent inquiry and endeavour to ascertain the cause of a Black Native Womans Death, who it was supposed had been shot by one Seth Hawker.

That in pursuance of such Authority this Deponent did immediately repair to the Five Islands where he arrived on the 27th of April and being accompanied by Patrick Hopkins, Peter Hall, William Davis, and Joseph Dansfield, proceeded to the Place where the Black Native Woman was Buried, which was about one hundred Rods from the fence where some Corn was growing, and Forty Rods from the place where it is said the Black Native had been shot.

This Deponent then with the before named Persons removed the soil which covered the Body of the deceased, and when properly taken away the corpse was well washed. Deponent than in the presence of the above named Persons examined the Body and found several wounds on the Abdomen which appeared to have been made with large shot and also a large hole on the left side
of the Belly near to the thigh, which appeared to have been bitten by a Dog, the left thigh had also
the appearance of Bites by Dogs, which Deponent believes was the cause of the womans Death.
Deponent further saith that from the Putrid state of the Body the Corpse could not be removed and
that the Body was then re-covered with soil.

Deponent further saith that he believes from the conversation he had with one Thomas Binskin who
lives at the Five Islands and is a servant to Captain Brooks is a material witness to prove the cause
of the deceases death.

Questions to the Deponent

Did you make any inquiry when you went to investigate the aforesaid Case (as desired by the
Bench) of The Black Man that was cut and maimed by William Graham a settler at the Five Islands?
Ansr. Yes I did.

Did you find that the report respecting the injury the Black Man had sustained from the said William
Graham to be correct?
Ansr. Yes I did.

Did you see the Black Native man that was injured by the said Wm. Graham?
Ansr. I did not.

Why did you not?
Ansr. Because the Blacks ran away on being informed that the Constable had arrived and that they
had gone so far into the interior from alarm that pursuit was fruitless.

Did you understand through any channel that the wounds the man had received were likely to
prove fatal?
Ansr. Yes I did from one Charles Matthews a Stock keeper to Mr Badgery.

Did you find from any inquiry that the attack by William Graham on the Black Native was
unprovoked?
Ansr. No I did not

(signed) Robert Burke

I do hereby certify that this is a true copy of the Deposition sworn to by the Deponent Robert Burke
before me at the Court Room in Campbell Town this Twenty Eighth Day of May 1822

Thos. Reddall J.P.

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William Neale being duly sworn on his oath saith that he is an Overseer to Captain Brooks at
Denham Court and that he is stationed at Mr Brooks' farm in Appin. That about the middle of the
month of April last he went with his Brother to Mr Brooks' farm at the Five Islands and that very
early on the Monday morn, after their arrival Dept. heard the Dogs making a great noise and he awoke Thomas Binskin who got up and went out of doors, and immediately he heard the report of a Gunshot.

In a short time John Neale and Seth Hawker, who had left the house before he awoke, returned bringing with them a net containing Corn. That Seth Hawker then loaded the Gun and with great speed repaired to the place where the Dogs continued to bark. Dept, who was then in the rear, heard Seth Hawker call out very loudly "Name, Name, Name", and saith that on no answer being made he heard a Gun fired.

Dept, John Neale, and Thomas Binskin then came up to Seth Hawker and Thomas Poole to the spot where the black native lay, the Dogs being in the act of worrying her. Dept. saith that his Brother then told them to take the Dogs away and ordered then to return to the house taking the Dogs along with them.

That at daylight, in the morning, Dept in company with the aforenamed persons went out to see if they could find any black persons about, and for a Dog belonging to Dept which was missing, and not being able to find the Dog, they went to the spot where the deceased Black Native was left in the early part of the morn, near to which place they found a net filled with Corn and the Woman on the spot where she was left after being shot.

That Seth Hawker went to the Woman with an intention to turn her over to see if he knew her. Dept. further saith that John Neale desired him not to name the woman but to let her remain in the position she then lay until the case was reported to the constable. That he Dept. with the others then returned to the house and soon afterwards proceeded on their journey to the Kangaroo Ground.

Questions to the Deponent

When you returned from the Body after she had been shot, were the Dogs that you brought to the house shut up or secured from going at large?

Ans. No.

Do you think that the Woman was dead when you left the first time?

Ans. I do not think she was.

How near did you approach to the body in viewing it by daylight?

Ans. About two rods.

Did you discover from the distance you were from the body whether she had been shot?

Ans. No I did not.

Did you perceive an wounds on the body? at all?

Ans. Yes, wounds made by Dogs.

Where they such wounds according to your judgement as to produce the death of the woman?

Ans. I cannot well say, but she was in a sad mangled state.

Have you reason to believe she was shot?

Ans. I cannot positively say as I did not examine the body.
Did you hear when you were down at the Five Islands whether the Black people were accustomed to steal Corn from the Settlers?

Ans. Yes, and that it was so frequently repeated as to be a serious injury to the Settler.

Do you know whether the natives were cautioned against these practices?

Ans. I do not know whether they were or not at that station.

his

William Neale

Mark

I do hereby certify that the above is a true Copy, Thos. Reddall, J.P.

The Deposition of John Neale

The King vs Seth Hawker

Court Room Macquariefield June 3rd 1822 Before The Revd. Thomas Reddall J.P.

The Deposition of John Neale.

John Neale being duly sworn on his oath saith that he is an overseer to Captain Brooks at Denham Court. That about the 12th day of April he arrived at R. Brooks Esquires Farm at Illawarra and that about 2 o'clock in the Morning of the 15th he was alarmed by the Dogs barking. Deponent then immediately got out of Bed and called Seth Hawker up desiring him at the same time to get the Gun and go with him out for there was a great noise made by the Dogs; the said Seth Hawker then immediately arose and went in Company with this Dept. (taking with him a Loaded Gun). This Dept. having no Instrument of Protection, and being naked, did not Proceed to the place where the Dogs were barking, but the said Seth Hawker went there and in a few minutes cried out "hold him!" "hold him!"

Thomas Binskin, who was sleeping in the house, hearing the exclamations thought there was some body about and immediately came out and said his Old Bitch he was sure had got something in the Corn.

Deponent and Binskin were running to the Spot where they supposed Seth Hawker to be from the Barking of the Dogs, but before they had arrived Seth Hawker had proceeded from the Corn, over the fence, into the standing Timber, and at some distance ahead of Deponent he, the said Seth Hawker, fired his Gun and in a few minutes returned with a net full of Corn and said he has shot a Black Person.

That the said Seth Hawker still kept encouraging the Dogs and seemed inclined to pursue the Natives but Dept. dissuaded him from doing so saying it was dangerous to go without ammunition.

The said Seth Hawker then went back with Dept. to the house, and loaded his Musket and again went out in Company with this Deponent, Binskin, Thomas Toole, and William Neale (the Dogs still barking). Seth Hawker ran forward and to the best of Deponents knowledge was accompanied by Thomas Toole; and after they had Proceeded a short distance Deponent heard Seth Hawker say "Hold him!" "Hold him!"

Deponent then call'd to them and saying "Catch them if you can, and Handcuff them", and in a few minutes after Dept. heard the report of a Gun. He then ran to the Place where he thought the Gun had been fired and saw a Black Native apparently dead.
Dept. then desired the said Seth Hawker and the said Thomas Binskin to take their dogs away; they then all retired to the House (leaving the body where Dept. first saw it) and remained in the House until daylight when Dept. accompanied by Seth Hawker, William Neale, Thomas Toole, and Binskin, went to the spot where Dept. saw the Body after the second firing the Gun, and found the Body of a Female Black Native, and the said Seth Hawker on approaching the body which lay with its face downwards, was going to turn her round to see if he could identify her Person but Dept. told him he thought she had better remain in the Position she was then in until the Constable arrived to examine the Body. Dept then enjoining them to give immediate information to the Constable of the Transaction, proceeded on his journey to the Kangaroo Ground, where he had further business to do on his Master's account.

Questions to the Deponent

Did you notice whether the deceased Black Native was Shot when you saw her lying on the Ground the second time when it was light?

Ans. I did not Notice that she was Shot.

Was she Shot to the best of your Belief?

Ans. I cannot say whether she was or not, because I did not examine the Body; but I can presume she was.

Did you see any other wounds on the Body which had not the appearance of wounds caused by the discharge of Shot from a Gun?

Ans. I did.

From what cause do you think that those wounds had been occasioned, if not from being Shot?

Ans. By Laceration from Dogs.

What distance from the Dwelling House did this event take place?

Ans. About 60 Rods.

Was this in the Corn or in the Standing Timber?

Ans. In the Standing Timber.

Do you know whether the Body was Intered on the Spot where you saw it, or removed to any distance for that Purpose?

Ans. It was neither removed nor buried whilst I was there.

As two Shots were fired, do you know whether any other Person was Shot besides the woman you found Dead in the Morning?

Ans. I do not know of any other.

Did you make any search in the morning for any other Person you supposed might be Shot from the first discharge of the Gun?

Ans. Yes, I did.
Did you find on inquiring, or from Information whilst you were at Captain Brooks Farm at the Illawarra, whether the Black People had been in the habit of stealing Corn from the said farm, or whether generally they were addicted to that habit in the Neighbourhood?

Ansr. Yes, I was Informed by different People that they were continually taking the Corn and whatever they could lay their hands upon.

Do you know whether they had been cautioned against such injustice by Seth Hawker or by others in the Neighbourhood?

Ansr. Yes, both by Seth Hawker, and others, and are considered as a nuisance in this respect.

Signed. John Neale

I do hereby certify that this is a true copy of John Neale's Deposition.

Thos. Reddall J.P.

The King Court Room Macquariefield

v June 3rd 1822 Before

Seth Hawker the Revd. Reddall

The Deposition of Thomas Toole.

Thomas Toole being duly sworn on his Oath saith that he is a servant to Captain Brooks at Denham Court. That in the month of April he went on business (with his overseer John Neale) for his Master to the Five Islands. That about the second day they arrived at Captain Brooks farm in that neighbourhood and that early on Monday morning after their arrival, the Dogs making a great noise, John Neale got up and went out in company with Seth Hawker, and some time after they had gone out Deponent heard a Gun fired.

That immediately after, they came back to the house to load the Gun, bringing with them a net, similar to those used by the Black Natives, containing Corn in the Cob with some shell'd, some grass, a fish line, and one bone, and desired Deponent to get up for the Natives were stealing the Corn.

Dept. states that he then got up and went out with John Neale, William Neale, Seth Hawker and Thos Blinskin, and with shot as he was in fear of being speared by the natives. He was anxious to go with Hawker who had the Gun, supposing it would be a protection, and consequently proceeded with him, passing by the others and went thro' the Corn to the place where the Dogs were barking in the standing timber, and perceived something like a Black Native running at about twenty yards distance.

That Seth Hawker then called out very loud "What name? What name? What name?" and on no answer being made he, Seth Hawker, fired off the Gun. That Dept. then with the said Seth Hawker approached the Body and found all the Dogs worrying the said Black Native.

Deponent further saith that John Neale coming up at the same time desired them to call the Dogs away and told all the others to go to the house. That they then retired to the house and there remained till daylight, and that about six o'clock they all went out together to look if the black native who had been killed was still remaining on the spot. That on their arrival they found the black native who was a female laying with her face on the ground, and that John Neale then desired to said Seth Hawker to go and report the transaction to the constable and would not suffer her to be removed or her position altered until the Constable had viewed the Body.

Deponent saith he then returned with the said John Neale to the house and from a dread of the natives they hurried away on further business to the Kangaroo Ground.
Questions to the Deponent

Did you hear when you were in pursuit of the natives in company with Seth Hawker any one calling to you and saying catch them, and handcuff them?

Ansr. Yes.

Who called out to you to do so?


What distance was the Black Native off when Seth Hawker fired the Gun at her?

Ansr. About twenty yards.

Do you think that this Black Woman could have been taken into custody without shooting her?

Ansr. I cannot say for we at that time were in great fear and expected that there were other natives at hand who would spear us.

Do you think that Seth Hawker was under that influence of fear when he fired at her?

Ansr. Yes I do.

What induced you to believe that there were other natives on the spot and that you were in danger of being speared?

Ansr. From the great noise the Dogs continued to make, we were induced to believe there were some more natives and that we anticipated danger from the treachery of those people.

Did you hear whilst you were there that the Black Natives were in the habit of stealing Corn from Captain Brooks or generally in the Neighbourhood?

Ansr. Yes, I did.

Do you know whether the natives had been cautioned against such unjust practices, and warned from acting so by Seth Hawker?

Ansr. Yes.

When did you hear the caution given by Seth Hawker to the natives?

Ansr. At the time I was down before.

How long is that ago?

Ansr. I think it was in March last.

Thomas X Toole

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy.

Thos. Reddall J.P.
The King vs Seth Hawker
Court Room, Macquariefield
June 3rd 1822 Before the Reverend Thos. Reddall

Deposition of Thos. Binskin

Thomas Binskin being duly sworn on his oath saith that he is a servant to Captain Brooks' residing on his farm at the Five Islands. That about two o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 15th day of April last he was awoken by William Neale who said the dogs were making a great noise. That the Dept. then got up and went out of doors and heard the dogs still continuing to bark, and going into the Corn about eighty yards from the house called out to the Dogs "Hold them, Hold them" and immediately afterwards heard the report of a Gun.

Dept. saith that he shortly after met Seth Hawker with a Net full of Corn which he said he had found, and that they all returned to the house leaving this Dept. in the Corn searching for other Black people. That in a short time they returned to the Corn and passing thro' it in pursuit of the natives into the standing timber. Dept shortly heard Seth Hawker call out "Name, Name" several times and no answer being returned a Gun was fired.

Dept. then went near to the place where the Dogs were worrying a Black Native and John Neale desired the Dogs might be taken away and all of them to return to the house where they remained till daylight next morning.

Dept. further saith that as soon as it was day light they all went out in search of a little Dog which they had missed and coming to the spot where they had left the Black Native the early part of the morning they found her lying there and dead. That they were then ordered by John Neale not to touch the body until it had been received by the Constable. That Seth Hawker gave the necessary communications to the Constable, as soon as he could, but that in consequence of other duties the Constable had to attend, he could not see the body before it was necessary to inter it, which was done by this deponent.

Questions to the Deponent

How far was the body from the Corn when you found it?
Ansr. Twenty thirty rods.

Did you examine the body at the time you intered it?
Ansr. I did not particularly.

Did you see any wounds on the body?
Ansr. Yes, I did.

What was the nature of the wounds you saw on the body of the deceased?
Ansr. The wounds appeared to be caused from being bitten by Dogs.

Did you not examine the body in conjunction with Robt Burke, a Constable, sent to examine into the state of the transaction?
Ansr. No, I only uncovered the body, and did not examine it.

Can you say as you now stand upon your oath that you discovered wounds (that could be distinguished from the others) occasioned by shot from the discharge of a Gun?
Ansr. No, I cannot say that I did.
Did you remove the body far for internment from the spot where you first saw it lie dead?
Ansr. Yes, I buried it about 2 yards from the spot.

When Seth Hawker was in pursuit, a second time, of the Black Natives, did you hear any one call to handcuff them?
Ansr. Yes I did.

Who was it who thus called to him?
Ans. John Neale.

Was this before or after he fired the Gun the second time?
Ans. I cannot recollect.

Are the natives troublesome about there with respect to their generally stealing from the settlers?
Ans. Yes they are.

What are they in the habit of generally stealing?
Ans. Corn, potatoes or anything else they can lay their hands on.

Have they ever been cautioned against this conduct?
Ansr. Yes, frequently and generally in the neighbourhood.

Have you ever experienced any violence from the natives?
Ans. No, but they have frequently threatened to kill me, to burn the wheat, and fire the house.

Why have they done this? Is it because you have refused to supply their wants?
Ans. I believe it is, which cannot always be done, on our limited allowance, and about three months ago they forced me to dig up my potatoes for them, threatening to spear me if I did not.

Did you dig them up?
Ansr. Yes I did and gave them to them.

Thomas X Binskin
mark

5 June: Thomas Reddall transmits further depositions and details relevant to the case:

Macquarie Field
June 5th 1822

Sir
I have now the honor to transmit to you a further detail of proceedings arising out of the cases of Seth Hawker, and William Graham.
I hoped to have done so, and should have had that satisfaction, a few days sooner; but a principal witness being left behind at the Illawarra, by a mistake of the Constable who had been dispatched there with summonses, obliged me to send again to that distant Station, and has caused the delay I was anxious to avoid.

At the request of Daniel Brady a Settler in Airds, who sometimes ago had a man of the name of Daniel McGinley transferred to him out of Brisbane's Road Party. I inclose a certificate he has procured from Brisbane. As this Certificate was sent to me only an hour or two ago, I have not had an opportunity of making any inquiries on the subject; but should you wish any further information to guide you with respect to this man, I would with great pleasure procure, and transmit it.

Mr Woodhouse, in the District of Appin, is badly in want of a shepherd; and Edward Taylor, and John Bumstead, in the District of Airds, want a laborer each.

To
F.Goulburn Esqr
Colonial Secretary &c &c &c
Sydney

I have, the Honor,
to be, Sir,
your obedt. humble Servant
Thos Reddall J.P.

Sydney

The King Court Room Macquarie field
vs June 5th 1822
William Graham Senr Before the Revd T. Reddall J.P.

The deposition of William Graham

William Graham Junr being duly sworn on his oath saith that about the middle of April on going into his Father's Corn, he observed that a considerable quantity of it had been taken and that a lusty Black Native of the name of Murrany informed his Father William Graham in Depts presence that three Black Men had stolen the Corn they had miss'd, the said Murrany informing them at the same time that the said three Black Men, with five others whom they intended to bring with them, would come in four days time to take more Corn out of his Father's field.

In consequence of this information Dept with his Father and Mother watched the Corn till about 12 or 1 oclock on the night the Black Natives said they intended to come for the purpose of stealing it; but not coming by that time they left the field and went to Bed; and soon after they had retired to rest, the Dog made a noise and this Deponent saith that his Father immediately got up and went out taking with him a Gun and went to the Corn.

Deponent saith he also went out with a Gun accompanied by his Mother to the upper part of the Corn, whilst his Father went to the lower but they did not see any Natives in the Corn, they having as it would appear made their escape, as some Corn was again taken and as Deponent's Father, when he came up to the deponent and his Mother, said he heard them talk at a short distance over the creek.

Deponent further saith that they continued watching for some time and finding that they did not return & the moon then giving a considerable light, they all went again to Bed, and in the morning going to the Field found the Corn to have been taken in a considerable quantity from the stalks from almost every part of where the Corn was growing.

After having miss'd it this Deponent further saith that he and he Father went in pursuit of the Natives each having with him a Gun and shortly met with two Black Native men fishing, Murrany and Nolloger. Deponent's Father told Murrany that his Corn had been taken and asked him if he
knew who had stolen it. Murrany said he did not, but accompanied them to the field and requested deponent's Father to shew him the footmarks and having seen them he immediately gave in Depts presence the names of the persons whose foot marks they were.

The Deponent further saith that amongst the number named by Murrany were Conta Conta and his wife, and the said Murrany told this Deponent and Father to come after him and he would soon find them, and after some pursuit which was directed by the footsteps and Corn lying here and there in their track, they at length arrived at the place where some Black Natives were.

That on their near approach the Black Natives who had accompanied this Deponent and his Father ran to them for the purpose (as he supposes) of giving them information that they might make their escape. That Deponent and his Father on a nearer approach discovered five men two of whom they came up with. The others were running away at a Distance. That on coming up very near to Conta and another to whom Deponent's Father call'd to stop & to give up the Corn which they were carrying away with them, and they not paying attention to his request, he the Deponent's Father shot at one of them and wounded him in the legs and he fell, but instantly getting up, and leaving the Corn ran away. Conta Conta then ran and got four spears and being in the act of preparing to throw one of them at Deponent's Father, he, Deponent's Father, immediately ran up to him and taking the spears out of his hand broke them to pieces; the said Conta Conta then ran and took up a Tomahawk which lay on the ground and with it made a blow at his Father, who at the same time struck the said Conta Conta upon the shoulder with a cutlass which blows made a deep incision. Conta Conta them made another blow with the Tomahawk at the lower part of the Body of this Deponent's Father, who warded it off by another blow with the cutlass which cut off part of the said Conta Conta's arm a little above wrist.

Conta Conta then ran away leaving a net of Corn securely tied up with stringy bark, a Tomahawk, and two bundles of Green Tobacco, which Deponent and his Father took home with them.

Questions to the Deponent

Who grows Tobacco in the neighbourhood you reside?

Ans. Nobody grows it in that neighbourhood but my Father.

Had you miss'd any Tobacco before you went in pursuit of the Natives?

Ans. Yes

In what state was the Tobacco which was left by the Natives at the place where the conflict happened between your Father and the Black Man before named and which you and your Father took away with you?

Ans. Green & fresh.

Did it appear to have been recently pluck'd from the stalks?

Ans. Yes

Were the Natives much in the habit of stealing Corn or other things from your Father?

[Ans.] Yes, Corn & Potatoes.

Have you seen Conta Conta or the Black Man that was shot on the legs by your Father since the conflict with them took place?

Ans. I have not seen either of them since.
Do you know or have you heard whether the wounds inflicted by your Father on the aforesaid Black Natives have proved fatal to either of them?

Ans. From what I have heard the wounds have not proved fatal but I have understood that both the men are fast recovering.

signed W.Graham Junr.

The Prisoner being call'd upon for his defence does not deny the charge.

signed by the Prisoner Wm. Graham Senr.

The Court Case

14 June 1822: The following report of the trial of Seth Hawker at Sydney Criminal Court for the murder of the Aboriginal woman at Illawarra in April 1822, appeared in the Sydney Gazette:

Criminal Court. - Monday. - Seth Hawker was indicted for the wilful murder of a black native woman, at Illawarra, or the Five Islands, on the 15th April last.

The principal features attending this case are as follow: - The prisoner was an overseer upon an estate at Illawarra, belonging to Captain Brooks (the Magistrate that had committed the prisoner to take his trial for the offence with which he now stood charged before the Court); and, upon the night of the 15th, was alarmed by the violent barking of the dogs upon the farm.

The prisoner was induced to arise, and in company with others proceeded, without hesitation, in the direction to which the watchful animals conducted them. The prisoner was lost sight of for a few moments by his companions, in which interim the discharge of the muzzle was heard, which he had seized in the house upon the first alarm.

When he returned, the prisoner said he thought he had shot something or somebody. He was desired to return to the dwelling with his companions, and reload the piece; and again went in pursuit, the dogs continuing to bark. The prisoner, with another man, proceeded through a cornfield, which was enclosed, and just as they had quitted it, on the off side, a figure was beheld in the act of endeavouring to effect its flight. The prisoner fired and the poor object fell, which (to be brief) turned out to be an unfortunate black native woman. The poor thing, it is supposed, was shot dead, as the body was found next morning much mangled by the dogs. Two nets, such as the natives carry their food in, were found containing shelled maize, one of which was full and held about a peck.

The prisoner was properly advised, by a brother overseer in the same concern, to hasten to the district constable with all speed, and inform him of the unhappy circumstance, so that the nearest Magistrate might become acquainted with the fact, and proceed accordingly. It was proved by the constable that the prisoner followed the directions given him, and hence became committed.

From the whole of the evidence on the part of the prosecution it was easily observable, that no murderous intention had existed in the mind of the prisoner; nor did any circumstance transpire, during the arduous examination of the witnesses by His Honor the Judge Advocate, to enfix even the most remote degree of manslaughter upon the prisoner.

As was the case in former times, and many years since well to be remembered in consequence of the decisive measures that were resorted to by the Government for the protection of the settler, and his family, the natives are excessively troublesome and annoying in the neighbourhood of the Five Islands, during the corn season. This last season they had been remarkably active in committing depredations; in the space of one night 100 or two of them would take the liberty of clearing a field of every cob and thus ruin the hopes of a poor hard-working man's family. This
species of bitter robbery had been oft repeated, and the natives became worse daily, purloining everything that came in their way.

One man, in the name of Graham, who had a wife and a large family, was near being killed in the act of pursuing those sable robbers. One night a party had stripped his field of its produce; and in the morning himself, and eldest son, went in pursuit. They fell in with five of the natives, who had two nets full of the preceding night's spoil. He required them to surrender the corn, when they made off. Graham then fired at the legs of the natives who had the net; when one of them, armed with a bundle of spears, was preparing to throw at Graham, who lost no time in making up to him, and with the butt end of his musket broke all the spears, which would have been immediately discharged at him, had not one of the other natives, who had flown, taken the wammarah with him; to which circumstance Graham and his son, may doubtless owe their lives. The native then took from his girdle a tomahawk, with which he endeavoured to cleave the head of Graham, when the latter, at the same instant, seized from the hand of his son a sword, with which he cut off the hand of the native that held the tomahawk, when the black immediately made off, with the loss of his limb.

This circumstance came out, among others, upon the trial, which shewed that the prisoner was only endeavouring to protect that property that was confided to his care, though it was to be lamented that a life in such a case had been untimely destroyed.

His Honor the Judge Advocate wished it to be properly and lastingly pressed upon the minds of all, that the aboriginal natives have as much right to expect justice at the hands of the British Law, as Europeans; and that such ever would be the case; in this instance it was exemplified.

The prisoner was acquitted; but previous to being liberated from custody, received that pathetic and energetic admonition, which, it is to be anxiously hoped, will ever remain indelibly and profitably stamped upon his conscience.

Comments

Frank McCaffrey, an Illawarra historian, recorded the following in one of his notebooks during the 1920s:

Old terrible Billy Graham and James Graham his son were very cruel to the blacks - the blacks afterwards hated Scotchmen.

The whole case is a sad indictment on 'British justice' during the nineteenth century. The unsavoury aspects of this case are many, yet they are so typical of the time that they were not then questioned. They include:

* Despite the abundance of testimony from white people involved in the incident, there was no representation or testimony from a member of the Illawarra Aboriginal population at the time. As Aborigines were considered heathens, they could not swear on oath on the Bible, therefore their testimony was not acceptable in Court. With no Aborigines present, and therefore no real prosecution, the case was bound to be prejudiced.

* The questions put to the witnesses were leading, to say the least, aiming to highlight any blame which could be placed upon the local Aborigines, and the dead woman!

* The plea of protecting one's property was seen as a sufficient excuse for murder. Seth Hawker's fear of attack by Aborigines - whether unfounded or not - was proposed as reason enough for his actions.
There were obvious discrepancies in the testimony, yet these were not investigated by the Court.

In the many instances of conflict between whites and Aborigines in New South Wales around this time, it was quite common for women and children - the frailest and slowest of their race - to be killed by white shotguns. That such should be the case is a terrible indictment on the perpetrators who supposedly feared for their lives when they shot innocent natives dead, and in the case of the Seth Hawker's crime, all for a few pieces of corn.

1823

**Barron Field at Illawarra**

October 1823: Barron Field visits Illawarra and Shoalhaven, later describing the trip in his *Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales* (John Murray, London, 1825). Extracts referring to the Illawarra Aborigines are printed as follows:

October 20th - Rode to Shoalhaven, thirty six miles still further to the south, six or seven were through a mass of vegetation, requiring pioneers to penetrate it. The vines wreathed the trees, like a boa constrictor, and festooned the way....Here we first saw the seaforthea elegans, a palm equal in size to the cabbage tree, with pinnate fern, or cocoa nut leaves; from the stalks of which the Natives make their water buckets, by tying up each end, like their bark canoes; in the same manner, the dairy farmers make milk pails and cream pans; and of the leaves they make hats and thatch.....

In the first part of our journey, this day, we crossed the shallow entrance from the sea of Lake Illawarra - a large opening a little to the south of the Tom Thumb's lagoon. The Lake was *illustrated* by Natives in their canoes, looking very characteristic and beautiful, now that the process of English civilization has disarmed this part of the coast of those savage dangers with which it threatened Mr Flinders and Mr Bass, when they were here in the 'Tom Thumb' open boat.

The view was so picturesque - the lake, the hills, and the Aborigines, the spirit of them all - as to deserve a painter...

21st October - Ascended with Mr Berry the mountain called by the Natives 'Coolangatta,' under which he is building his house....

22nd October - Went to see the natives fish by torchlight. They make torches of bundles of bark, beaten and tied up and with the light of these scare the bream into motion that lie among the rocky shallows, when they either spear them with the fiz-gig, or drag them from under their hiding places with their hand, bite their heads, and throw them high and dry on the shore. The torch is flashed in one hand and the spear pointed in the other - though there were few natives present, the majority being absent feasting upon a whale which chance had thrown upon the coast. The natives attribute the whale to the kind providence of the spirits of their fathers, whom they believed to be transformed into porpoises after death, and who in that shape drive the whales on shore. With this view, the natives obsecrate the porpoises by songs when they see them rolling. I found that the Aborigines of New Holland were strictly divided into two classes, the hunters and the fishers. The above took place at Red Point.
Charles Throsby Smith settles at Wollongong

[1823]. Charles Throsby Smith, nephew of Doctor Charles Throsby, decides to settle at Wollongong around this time.

The following account is taken from his 1863 reminiscences (Illawarra Mercury, 3 October 1876):

...In those days men acted on the principle of free selection before survey, and accordingly, in the year 1823, about 40 years since, I located myself hereabouts [Wollongong] with my wife, and with four Government men [convicts] commenced clearing the land, in defiance of the blacks, who at times were disposed to be very troublesome. I always, however, treated them with great kindness and we soon became friends.

...The country thus gradually settled was - as may be imagined even by persons who have seen it only in later years - very heavily timbered in the early days, with fine trees intertwined with creepers, and underwood, so as to be almost impassable. Where my house now stands [on Smiths Hill, Wollongong] was densely timbered; and so was the site of Wollongong, except a portion towards Tom Thumb Lagoon, which is of a swampy nature, and partly clear. There were very few other places naturally clear except the headlands, and about the Macquarie River, at Johnston’s and Terry’s Meadows - in the vicinity of which there were large clumps of cabbage trees, that looked very picturesque.

The timber generally was of very good quality; and there was abundance of cedar and sassafras in the gullies. There were also blackbutt, ironbark, box, and stringybark, swamp and forest oak; and cabbage trees and the bangalow grew wherever the soil was rich. In former years there was a considerable trade in timber from this district - and there was great waste of timber with the early settlers, which, if now standing, would be valuable.

The Aborigines were never particularly hostile to the whites. The Wollongong tribe numbered about one hundred. They were very much finer looking than one would suppose by the few miserable specimens now left [in 1863]; but in the early days they had abundance of fish, kangaroos, ‘possums, ducks, and other wild fowl. On one occasion, I saw a blackfellow spear a kangaroo between the two large trees now standing in front of my house.

The Aborigines owned the authority of Chiefs, in a certain degree. ‘Old Bundle’ was the name given to the chief who claimed Wollongong as his particular domain - and no end of tribute have I paid to his Majesty, in the shape of tea, sugar, flour, meat, &c. Another Chief, called ‘Old Timbery’, ruled another portion of the tribe; but these chiefs and their adherents were by no means confined to particular localities. Timbery, however, claimed Berkeley. They roamed through the district. At this time they were at war with the Kiama and Shoalhaven blacks.

[The claims of Bundle and Timbery to ownership of their traditional lands at Wollongong and Berkeley were never addressed. Refer also under 1863 to further reminiscences by C.T. Smith]

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1824

A Tribal Gathering at Sydney

29 February 1824: On this day a gathering of tribes from the north, south, and west of Sydney - including representatives of the Five Islands tribe - gathered in the bush between Sydney and Botany Bay for a ceremony in which a number of Aboriginal men and women were publicly admonished and punished for the breaking of certain tribal laws. Some of the guilty party were also members of the Five Islands tribe. This was followed by a skirmish between the Kissing Point and
Five Islands natives over an incident in which a Five Islander was accused of strangling the Kissing Point native at the Parramatta orphan school over some clothing.

The following account of events that day was recorded by Jules Dumont d'Urville, the French explorer, in 1830 (refer Rosenman, 1988, pp.85-90). Within that account d'Urville noted the 1824 incident as a follow-on to a similar one which had been described by Captain Collins and which had occurred at Sydney during 1795:

.....[Collins's] is an account of a similar execution that I myself saw during my stay in Port Jackson in 1824 and which was attended by some remarkable features.

On 28 February 1824, in the evening, with M. Uniacke (a government employee) and Major Marley, I had gone to visit Bungari's camp on the peninsula on the north side of Sydney harbour. Several other tribes were meeting with his and he informed me that the next day a great gathering would take place near Sydney to punish several natives accused of various crimes. I promised him some brandy, that he was mad about, and he undertook to let me know the next morning at the ship on his way to the battleground.

So on the 29th, at 6 a.m., the two boats carrying Bungari's tribe and his allies passed close to the corvette; I honoured my promise and, followed by a few others from the ship, made my way to M. Uniacke's house. We did a tour of the town, and some natives that we saw wandering in the streets informed us that the session would not take place until 10 o'clock. Bungari having again promised to let us know before his departure, we ate at M. Uniacke's place.

We had scarcely finished before the chief, followed by his wife and one of his friends, came to tell us it was time to leave. In fact on the way out of town, we saw him at the head of all the warriors of his tribe moving out, leaping and prancing through the bush in all directions. It was a very strange and picturesque sight, rather resembling those flocks of little imps we sometimes see in our operas.

We followed them at a distance, and in this way arrived on high ground about two miles from the sea, from where the view takes in both the vast harbours of Port Jackson and Botany Bay.

The combatants had probably chosen this spot because it offered an immense area of flat land free of scrub. Several tribes were already camped in and around the bush; Bungari's arrived on the battlefield, performing war dances and parading threateningly, as if to challenge their enemies and work themselves up for combat. Others following them did the same on their arrival.

At a general signal, all the tribes got up and went to the arena in groups of from fifteen to twenty men, all armed with spears, shields, clubs, and boomerangs. Already there were the people from Parramatta, Kissing Point, Sydney, Liverpool, Windsor, Emu Plains, Broken Bay, Five Islands, Botany Bay and even from Hunter River etc. etc. All were distinguished by the designs of their body paintings, black, red or white; but there were only five or six complete tribes, and others had merely sent representatives who had gathered under allied chiefs.

Amongst these various crowds, the men from the Cowpastures were the most remarkable. They were rather short, but stocky, strong and superbly built. The painting on their bodies, resembling some kind of coats of mail, added even more to their martial attitude and to their bellicose stance.

To start with, six women were placed in a semicircle in the arena, each armed with a long stick for support and at the same time to ward off the blows they were going to receive; while two men were stood up a short distance away in the same line and only defended by the long narrow wooden shield they call a heloman.

From as much as we could understand of their language, they were accusing these various individuals of having caused the death of a man from the Windsor tribe, which was allied with the Liverpool tribe commanded by Cogai, and all were to receive punishment for their crime. For the women it consisted of withstanding a certain number of blows from clubs wielded with some force,
and the men from powerfully thrown spears. Cogai and his warriors were to mete out this vengeance.

Some natives made speeches, then the executions began. First one man approached the women to strike them, but they had only to present their sticks transversely and he merely hit them; however, at the fifth woman, instead of directing his blow at the stick, he bashed her right in the throat. The unfortunate woman immediately fell to the ground, but lost no time in getting up again to endure the rest of her punishment. The sixth one was treated like the first four. Several men and women who followed did the same, and I noticed that each of them set upon the one who had already been so knocked about; nevertheless only two assailants, a man and a woman, were still cruel enough to hit her with their clubs, one on the chest and the other on top of her head. At each blow she fell and immediately got up again supporting herself with her stick.

[According to the published account of R.P.Lesson (Voyage autour du monde, 1830, volume II, p.286), a shipmate of d'Urville's at the time, this woman, who was singled out for special treatment:]

....was a sorceress, and a sorcerer according to the black Australians is said to have supernatural powers. This woman through her evil spells was believed to have caused the death by drowning of the tribe's best fisherman. She was accused of yet another crime: a chief who fell out of a tree and was badly hurt had a dream in which the unfortunate woman was represented as having used her power to make him fall....]

The men's turn having come, about fifteen savages stepped forward and hurled their spears in turn, which the condemned men parried with amazing dexterity, and lucky for them, for, of these shafts, some dug into the earth about thirty feet beyond them and others penetrated an inch or two into the heloman. One man was gathering up the spears and sending them back to their owners. Often the natives being punished threw them back themselves, challenging their enemies and mocking them for their lack of skill.

While this was going on, they returned from time to time to the punishment of the women, and occasionally the savages made their boomerangs curl and whine all around them; anyway this instrument is more suited to frightening someone than actually causing harm. Finally, when the two men had endured what was almost a barrage of about sixty spears each, they were set free, as were the women, and no further notice was taken of them. Only the unfortunate woman that I indicated seemed overwhelmed by the blows she had received; she could hardly stand up and was dragged off into the bush by the women of her tribe. The reason for this excessive severity was another crime, separate from the one that was shared in common with her accomplices whom they had merely terrorized and publicly humiliated.

The ceremony had begun at 10 o'clock and the punishment of the culprits had lasted about half an hour. A few minutes later several warriors entered the arena and were followed in their turn by others, so that general fighting started with about twenty men against an equal number; moreover, the spears were thrown from each side with admirable order and precision, and the fight resembled rather an organized tournament than a confused free-for-all.

The savages fought with laudable seriousness, coolness and courage; all the thrusts were awaited and parried without flinching, while the women ran through the ranks to stir up the men. I watched one of them; she was stark naked and the grace and beauty of her figure made a perfect whole. She approached one warrior who bowed his head before her while she hit him twice with a club in a deliberate and dignified manner; she returned two or three times to the fray, then she disappeared from the gathering and I could not be sure if her face matched the beauty of her form.

While the spears were flying in almost equal numbers from all sides, I noticed a young man from the Five Islands against whom all the shafts from the opposing side seemed to be concentrated, and who seemed to be deprived of the right of retaliation, for he appeared to attempt it only two or three times. Bidgi-Bidgi, the chief from Kissing Point, seemed particularly set against him and urged his warriors to vengeance. As the two parties changed position continually, and in
consequence the spears their direction, to avoid being hit the spectators had to move pretty smartly, and nobody waited to be asked to shift. The force with which the spears penetrated the shields showed us what would have happened if we took the risk of being hit. Furthermore, the combatants took not the slightest notice of the Europeans surrounding them; only the chiefs of the tribes who were not involved in the fighting took the trouble to warn us and to get us to keep a wary eye.

For about fifteen to twenty minutes this fight went on without any remarkable incident. I decided to take myself round the battlefield and visit the few groups of women and children in the surrounding bush. For some time I examined their unattractive faces, their flat noses, their beautiful teeth, their wild eyes, their bodies, occasionally graceful in the young girls, always ugly in the women who had nursed children, their lively active children and their numerous dogs.

On one side, in the bush I came upon one of those robust savages, whose vigorous physique had already surprised me. At first he gave me only short and evasive answers to my repeated questions; he was quite uninterested in my curiosity, and I was just about to take my leave of him, seeing that he was quite uncommunicative, when all of a sudden, as if remembering something, he had the bright idea of asking me for money to buy bread. A shilling which I gave him produced a marvelous effect, his face brightened up, he became expansive, treating me with respect and answering precisely and intelligently the questions I put to him in English.

So I learned he was called Douel, and that he was chief of the bellicose Mericon tribe that lives on the Cowpastures plains; he commanded sixteen warriors, all as strong as he was. The plains in his district, which are far more fertile than Sydney, abound in kangaroos and possums. His tribe does not eat human flesh, but the mountain tribes have no scruples about it. Finally, he was quite uninterested in the present combat and remained merely a spectator.

The approach of some Englishmen put an end to our conversation and I continued my tour. I wanted to see what was the condition of the unfortunate woman who had been so badly knocked about, but I was unable to locate her, she had probably been taken well away from the battlefield. I was looking for any place she might have found shelter, when shrill cries and ominous groans suddenly arose from the centre of a group not far from me. At the same time a confused noise, a general babble and loud cries came from the middle of the arena; I thought for a moment that all the conversations were going to be broken and that the fight was becoming serious, since I knew this sometimes happened.

Already most of the spectators were getting ready to beat a prudent retreat, and I too was looking around in the bush for the spot through which I was going to duck out. But calm was soon restored, and I watched a badly wounded man being led away from the battlefield while the spears continued to fly from all directions. I saw then that only the relatives of the injured man went on making pitiful wailing noises while the others remained silent.

I came near and saw that turning aside to avoid a shaft had caused him to be struck in the lumbar region where the spear had penetrated quite deeply. One of his friends was supporting him in his arms; the spear had been withdrawn and the blood had been sucked from the wound, after which it had been bandaged. The poor fellow, however, although pale and weak from loss of blood, made no sound and even attempted to walk by leaning on his spear.

I then learned that this young man who had more regular and attractive features than most of his companions and was a native of the Five Islands as were the other guilty persons, was accused by Bidgi-Bidgi of having strangled his nephew at the Parramatta school to get possession of his clothes.

What is odd is that while there was, it is true, a strong presumption of his guilt, the most convincing alleged proof for condemning him rested on a dream of one of the chiefs. That was why he had been sentenced to receive so many spear thrusts without the right to return them; those who fought alongside him, all his friends and relatives, did it as a point of honour or out of self-esteem rather than from any very strong urge for vengeance. In fact, as soon as he was wounded, the fight was much less willing, lasting scarcely eight to ten minutes longer, and was without any further
incident. Probably it was enough for the aggrieved tribe to have spilt the blood of the guilty person, whose allies were not keen to pursue the matter any further. A few natives made speeches again, women wailed and fresh warriors made threatening gestures with spears and boomerangs, but it all quickly subsided; at 11.45 everyone returned through the bush to his own side.

...Everything was nearly back to its normal calm and we were returning back to Sydney....Bungari, Bidgi-Bidgi and Cogai assured us, however, that that evening there would be a marri-corroboree, that is, a general dance of all the assembled tribes, and I was getting ready to enjoy this spectacle, for me more interesting than all the balls of Europe, but this day and the ones following we had foul weather and these savages, bored with waiting around and not keen to dance in bad weather, disbanded and made their way back to their homes, leaving as usual, Bungari's and the Sydney tribe the sole inhabitants of these parts....

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Massacre at Emu Plains

12 August 1824: (Sydney Gazette) Report of a trial of 5 whitemen for the manslaughter of three Aboriginal women at Emu Plains. All the Europeans were subsequently acquitted. The newspaper contains a detailed account of the trial and the legal arguments presented.

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Abuses at Lake George

7 September 1824: Charles Throsby writes a letter to the Colonial Secretary re the state of relations with the Aborigines, also relating the tale of two native women kidnapped and raped by Captain Richard Brooks' stockmen in the neighbourhood of Lake George. The stockmen subsequently refused to give the women up. (Throsby Papers, AONSW; C.Liston, 1988)

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1825

Illawarra Aborigines

6 January 1825: 'Information Regarding the Aborigines of NSW - The Five Island Tribes' collected by a London Missionary Society delegation in Sydney (Tyerman and Bennett, 1840; Threlkeld, 1974, volume 2, pp.340-1):

Five Islands
(6 January 1825)

One of the deputy-surveyors here informs us that the natives are, comparatively, numerous in the vicinity of the Five Islands, and, being less debauched by intercourse with the worst class of white men than in some other parts of the colony, they have preserved more of their primitive character and manners.

They come from the interior, to the above mentioned quarter of the coast, to obtain fish, oysters, water-fowl, grubs, &c. He speaks on the whole, favourably of them, except in respect of the hard usage of their wives, whom they compel to fish for them, and, when they are unsuccessful, cruelly beat them. They have not many children; but there is no reason to suspect that they destroy any of
them, either from indolence or hard-heartedness; indeed, they appear fond of their offspring with the instinctive attachment of all animals to their young, whether human or brute, in a wild state.

They bury their dead in the ground, marking the place (and, probably, their name and the time of their decease) by certain hieroglyphics on the bark of the neighbouring trees; besides which, in honour of distinguished persons, they cut the rude figure of a man, with his legs stretched out, on each side of the grave.

They have a notion of the rights of real property, the lands which particular families occupy being marked out and bequeathed from the father to his children. Like all savages, whose subsistence is precarious, they can go long without food, frequently fasting for several days together; but, when they have abundance, gorging enormously. They rarely think of the future, so as to provide for its necessities; yet in one instance they show singular sagacity even of this kind. They get the limb of a large tree, the thickness of a man's thigh, and plant it in the water. Presently a kind of grub bores into this stake, where it thrives and multiplies so rapidly that, in no long time, the wood become like a honey-comb, full of cells, containing these delicacies. The natives then take it out of the water, cleave it in pieces, and riot on its animal contents.

They throw the spear with amazing precision and force, often killing wild-ducks, herons, and other birds on the wing.

They generally broil their fish or flesh slightly, by laying it upon the fire before they eat it, and (which is very remarkable) reject any food that is tainted. Their smell in detecting this is exquisitely acute. The same may be said of their sight and hearing, from the nicety and intenseness with which they have occasion to exercise those senses.

A short time since some property had been stolen from a house in the country: certain natives were employed to discover the thieves, when, though the latter had taken a very circuitous range of the forest to secure their escape, the pursuers followed the gang of bush-rangers (for such they proved) to the very place where they had deposited their booty, though the white constables, who joined in the chase, could not perceive the traces of the footsteps or passage on the grass or through the underwood.

When they discover a kangaroo feeding, one, expert at the practice, steals upon it by slow marches. The animal generally sits upon its haunches, but, when it feeds, stoops down with the head and short fore-legs to crop the grass. While in that position, the black man creeps gently towards the spot, and the moment the kangaroo raises its eye from the ground, he stands stock still. Appearing, probably, to the creature like a dark-coloured stump of a tree, of which there are many in the woods, it continues to feed, without fear - he always moving a few steps while it is looking down, and becoming motionless as soon as it looks up. He thus gradually approaches, and at length comes within the cast of a spear from his victim. Its fate is then almost inevitable.

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1826

Establishment of Illawarra Military Garrison

5 July 1826: {Sydney Gazette} Report on the establishment of a Military Garrison at Illawarra to keep the peace and

.....[to] increase the value of Colonial possessions, but also tend to the preservation of good order, and render that part somewhat more peacable than it has been since gangs of sawyers have been in the habit of frequenting those regions, and disseminating drunkenness, and every other misery far and wide - even adding to the contamination of the degraded aborigine.
[Though initially set-up to protect the natives and white settlers, later writers have mis-interpreted the reasons for sending soldiers to Illawarra, erroneously stating that they were despatched to protect settlers from 'hostile natives']

The Journal of Mr Harper

7 October - 8 November 1826: John Harper, a Wesleyan missionary, visits Aborigines at Bowen Island, Jervis Bay, and Batemans Bay, with the aim of setting up a mission in the area. He recorded the encounter in his journal {Mitchell Library - Bonwick Transcripts, Box 53, CY1529, pp.1555-1570}

Mr Harper's Journal

1826. Oct. 7th. Jervis Bay. A heavy gale of wind arose from the southward which continued all day. At sunset the wind abated. I then went on shore at Bowen’s Isle to see some of the blacks who were employed in fishing; and found that their language had very little affinity to that with which I am acquainted. I distributed a few fish hooks among them, and went with them into a cave at the side of a great rock which was situated by the sea side. Here I took an opportunity of speaking to them on the doctrine of a future state: they believe in this doctrine, but their ideas are very superstitious. I found they were very superstitious in taking off the scales from a fish. They believe that if the scales are taken off before the fish is laid on the fire, that, water "jump up", or, the waves of the sea will arise, and so, will "be prevented from catching any more fish that day."

These natives appear to be a very litigious and contaminated race, and they are never satisfied give them whatever you will. This is owing to the [cruel] conduct of the whites.

Oct. 8th. In the forenoon I performed Divine Service, after which I went on shore to speak with some of the Natives who were upon the Main Land. I distributed a few biscuits among them, in order to keep them together. They were exceedingly dirty and filthy, and as much contaminated as those upon Bowen’s Isle. The number that was present, was fifty six, including women and children.

Oct. 9th. I took an excursion with a few blacks to a limited distance, but was not able to return again before night, on account of having to travel through a thick scrub. When I returned I found that I was not able to get off to the Vessel, on account of the wind being too high. I therefore took up my night’s lodging in the open air along with the blacks. The number of blacks present when I returned was ninety six. After amusing them with some phrases used by the Wellington tribes, and endeavouring to make out what I could, of their language, I lay, down to rest; and slept as sound and as comfortable as I should upon a bed of down. I found these blacks were acquainted with a particular song which I learned from the blacks at Wellington the interpretation of which no black would ever inform me.

Imma imma nye, noorey wurrum nye
Gniyar biyar
Carmalannee dawn gurrer dhye. (chorus Imma & :-)

These blacks roam without a fixed habitation, and only find a temporary shelter under the branches of a tree, the hollow of a rock, or under two or three sheets of bark, laid in a reclining position against each other. They are very idle and but very seldom employed, except in fishing and hunting the Kangaroo and Opossum. Their weapons are spears and clubs. They are very dexterous marksmen, and will hit a bird flying or a guanna on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance.

Polygamy is common among the natives here, and Marriage is performed in the same well known way. But who, except an untutored savage would be guilty of such an unmanly act as to raise his hand against a woman.
In the morning when I arose, I took a walk alone on the sandy beach to ruminate upon the condition of these poor creatures. The following reflections occupied my mind:—Does not that Being, thought I, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, the various objects around me, in this obscure place, notice these poor creatures made after his own image, and may I not hope that he will here long be glorified, in the conversion, and salvation of some of these younger sable brethren. Sure am I that the refinement of civilization will never bring them to the knowledge of God; for the Greeks and Romans declined just in proportion as they advanced in the knowledge of the arts, and these nations of antiquity, while they were more licentious in their conduct than the rest of the heathen world around them, were like these degraded sons of Ham, is without God, and without hope in the world.

Oct. 14th. We arrived at Bateman Bay, it is forty miles from Jervis Bay. A black ran along the beach, setting fire to the grass at about every two hundred yards in order to hail us by the sight of the smoke.

Oct. 15th. The black who ran along the beach the preceding night, came on board; I gave him a blanket and some biscuits and dispatched him to fetch some more blacks; this I was obliged to do by making signs, as he could not talk one word of English. Neither did he understand the Wellington language.

Oct. 16th. A number of blacks hailed us from the north side of the Bay, I immediately sent the boat to fetch some of them off to the Vessel. Five of them came but they knew not one word of English. I took this deficiency as a very good omen, and immediately went on shore to see the rest of them. They appear to be much cleaner than any other blacks I have yet seen in the Colony. One man particularly attracted my notice for his monstrous size; and another old man for the seeming authority he had over the rest. I was much surprised to find that the latter acted as King or chief among them a circumstance I never knew among the blacks at Wellington. Ships are not in the habit of putting in here; the consequence is the blacks are uncontaminated. I distributed a few presents among them for which they shewed every token of satisfaction and contentment. If I meet with a good prospect of usefulness here, I shall confine myself to this tribe and proceed no farther.

Oct. 17th. I took an excursion with the blacks, whom I saw, and conversed with (in the best manner I could) the day before. As we had to pass through a thick Scrub, the blacks went before me, and broke down the sticks and (?) that were in my way. They seemed to be highly amused at every trifling thing which I did. No man of pure motives need be afraid of travelling with the blacks, even in the most obscure place. Attho' this assertion is not credited in the Colony by some people, yet I know from experience more than thousands who would object to it. For my part I never was afraid of meeting blacks who had never seen a white man before: neither will I ever be. Let the whites reform their conduct and they need never be afraid.

Oct. 19th. I told the Master of the Vessel to proceed to Twofold Bay as soon as possible.

Oct. 20th. We weighed anchor, and were leaving the Bay, when I found myself very much dissatisfied for leaving this place so suddenly; but my reason for leaving was, because I could not meet with a sufficient number of natives to confine my labours to. This was my only objection to this place. But while musing with myself whether I should stay a day or two longer, the wind set in from the Southward, so that we were under the necessity of staying.

At this moment we were unexpectedly hailed from the South side of the Bay by a great number of blacks. I immediately got the Vessel moored, and went on shore to see the blacks, and took with me a few presents to make them. One of these blacks had been over to the new country (the most southern part of the Colony), and could speak English sufficiently to interpret what I had to say to the rest of his countrymen. I gave him a blanket and some biscuits and fishhooks among the rest of them. I then took this black on board and got a number of blankets, fishhooks, and biscuits, all of which I got the black to carry to a place about two miles off, where he told me there were numbers of blacks.

On my first approach to the new tribe, they all, both men, women, and children, lifted up their hands - a custom which denotes peace.
I stood for some time ruminating upon the objects before me, considering whether I should do right to confine myself to this tribe, should I meet with anything promising, as my instructions were for Twofold Bay. I then began to converse with them through my interpreter, telling them the object of my visit, and the kindness of the good people in Sydney, in sending me to them. I then distributed my little presents among them, with which act they were highly pleased. I knew several of the words which they spoke, but I knew not whether they bore the same signification. The women made me several presents which consisted of kangaroo teeth, shells, and red ocre. The kangaroo teeth are fastened to a string, made from the hair of the Opossum, with gum which answers the purpose of varnish or glue. They were completely in a state of nudity. This was done out of good humour, but I must own that I was very much disgusted with the smell of them. After the women had left the men and began to converse with them through my interpreter upon various subjects; after which I wrote down the following observations:

1st. They are the cleanest blacks that I have yet seen in the Colony: they have no cutaneous sores upon them.

2ndly. They are very kind to their women and children; the blankets, which I gave to the men they gave to their wives and children. On my first approach to this new tribe, I was not a little surprised to see an aged man and woman, walking arm in arm, towards me. At the same time the man was pointing his finger at me; their hair was nearly white. They were a very venerable pair.

3rdly. The men appear to be of the middle size; some of them, however, are rather tall: most of them appear to be very athletic. The women are rather short, but, I believe this generally arises from carrying immense burdens. Both men and women are remarkable for their docility; I do not think they are very refractory.

4thly. They are not contaminated by the whites.

5thly. My interpreter tells me they are on good terms with the rest of the surrounding tribes.

6thly. They do not appear to be so vagrant as the tribes at Jervis Bay, Shoals Haven, but it is impossible that they should be free from it, otherwise, they could not get a subsistence. Their principal manner of living is in catching fish, and marine animals, (seals) and in procuring the fruits that grow wild in the woods on which they chiefly subsist. They generally repose at about a half a mile from the sea coast. They have temporary huts, ornamented with a tuft of grass fastened to a stick, and projecting from the front part of the top.

The number of blacks present is 87 men, 36 women, 23 children; making in all 146 besides others who are not far distant, as may be seen by the smoke ascending in various places. The land is pretty tolerable in some parts and thickly covered with timber, tho' in some parts it is very mountainous.

There is some very good red ocre here, which is quite briturable.

Oct. 22nd. I have made up my mind to proceed no farther to the Southward, for the following reasons, viz-

1. I have every reason to believe, that, I should not meet with natives so mild pacific, and uncontaminated as these.

2nd. I have learned from good authority that the blacks at Twofold Bay are already contaminated, and are made so by the whites who go there in Vessels; and illtreat them.

3rdly. These natives are rather numerous and more localised than any others I have yet known.

4thly. This place is very seldom frequented by Vessels, on account of its being open to the sea.

5thly. The land will answer the purposes of the Mission.
6thly. It will save me from incurring further expense.

Oct. 23rd. I took an excursion with a few blacks to the south side of the Bay. We had not gone far, before we met a black, who, on his first sight of me, began to shew a number of tricks, by dancing, jumping, swinging himself round, and beating himself with a stick; then running backwards, and forwards. At last he stood still and began gazing at the sky, with his head quite back, at the same time mouving his Stick in all Directions. I really thought the man was mad, and more particularly as he had a very ordinary countenance. This man looked very sternly at me, and viewed me till he was almost tired. I went up to him and asked him to shake hands, he then offered me the upper part of his arm. This black was very friendly to me afterwards and brought me a large fish.

Oct. 25th. I have been walking alone in the woods, inspecting the land, and have been rather fortunate in discovering a site, that will just answer the purposes of our Mission. I have taken a draught of the place, which will help to throw some light upon it.

A geographical way for taking the Land, viz - It would be best to take the north Head of Bateman Bay, for our Southern boundary, and to take the land five miles from South to North - that is along the coast in continuation to the northward - and, ten miles 400 acres from East to West, that is from the coast, back into the interior. The North Head of Bateman lied in about 35 + 43 South latitude. The land is very good, tho' in most parts thickly covered with useful timber. It is also well watered.

Oct. 27th. I have taken my leave of the blacks, they will anxiously expect my return.

Oct. 28th. We left Bateman Bay. When we were sailing out, the blacks waved their hands, as much as to say "Goodbye".

From Oct. 30, to Nov. the 8th, I have occasionally conversed with the blacks at Jervis Bay, and travelled the bush.

Nov. 10th. I arrived in Sydney.

Thus, I have given you the particulars of my journal, allow me to make a few general observations upon what has been stated: - and,

1st. It must be acknowledged that, altho these tribes are uncontaminated by the whites, yet, they are degraded as to Divine things, almost on a level with the brute. I could not find, when speaking to my interpreter that they had any knowledge of a Supreme Being whatever. And in nothing, surely, does the blinding and perverting influence of a vitiated heart, more strikingly appear, than in this failure among the Aborigines, of the knowledge of God. They are in a state of moral unfitness for heaven and its blessed and holy society: they are dying by hundreds and by thousands, and passing into eternity the unregenerate subjects of all their original and contracted pollutions, as completely unfit for heaven, and as incapable of enjoying its society and its pleasures, as darkness is incapable of dwelling with light. While the Aborigines therefore perish, "it is without law".

2ndly. We have at Batemans Bay a wide field of usefulness, as other tribes are contiguously situated, Viz, The Pidgeon house tribe, the Tawebee tribe, the Bammouth creek tribe; besides those tribes which may be contiguously situated in the interior about the new Country.

3rdly. To my mind it is most encouraging to know that the Gospel is now, as it has always been, under the special providence of God. If we had the means of sending it to every tribe in New Holland, and of sending a distinct Missionary to each tribe, we might justly conclude that He, who supplied us with the means, would not withhold the influence by which alone they can accomplish their end.

John Harper.
The French Meeting with the Aborigines at Jervis Bay

26-29 November 1826

Between 26-29 November, 1826, a group of French sailors, soldiers, naturalists and artists - all members of the expedition under the command of Jules Sebastian Cesar Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842), aboard the corvette *Astrolabe* - put into Jervis Bay, on the south coast of New South Wales. This was the third port of call in Australia for the *Astrolabe* (after visiting King George Sound, Western Australia, early in October; and Western Port, Victoria, during early November) en route to Port Jackson, where the vessel arrived on 2 December 1826.

The stop-over at Jervis Bay, though relatively brief, was important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Bay was accurately surveyed by the French; secondly, the visit was characterised by a very amicable encounter with the local Aborigines; and thirdly, an account of the visit was contained in Dumont d'Urville's journal (published in 1830), and in sketches taken by the artist on board the *Astrolabe*, namely Louis Auguste de Sainson (1801-1887).

The visit also allowed the expedition to study a group of Aborigines relatively uncorrupted by the European society then spreading out from Port Jackson, though not unaware of the ways and language of the whiteman.

Dumont D'Urville's Journal

The following extracts from the published account of the voyage of the Astrolabe, by J.C. Dumont d'Urville, describe the Aborigines of Jervis Bay as observed during November 1826. The transcription is taken from H.Rosenman (Melbourne, 1988, pp.66-67), and begins with an account of the arrival of the Astrolabe at Jervis Bay:

[26 November] ......At 3 o'clock I dropped the starboard anchor in nine fathoms, fine sand and shells, three cables from the beach. The shore, slightly undulating and everywhere covered with beautiful trees, offered a most picturesque prospect.

The smoke from several fires also indicated the presence of natives. It was no time before we saw five of them appear opposite the corvette, carrying some fish; they seemed to be waiting for us to come ashore.

MM. Jacquinot and Lottin went immediately ashore to observe hoary angles, and establish communication with these natives. Some of them jabbered a few English words; all gave evidence of being amicably disposed. One of them slept on board.

[27 November] ......I made another excursion into the woods with Simonet. Again I admired the beauty of the eucalyptus and killed several birds, but the plants and insects hardly came up to the expectations raised by the first sight of these beautiful places. I would say that the scarcity of both must be due in great part to the frequent burning off carried out by the natives, which each year must kill off many species of plants and insects.

Our relations with the natives here continue friendly. However, we have only seen some of the men of this tribe, seven in number, and two children eight to ten years old; the women have remained out of sight. These Australians obviously belong to the same type as the Port Jackson natives, but
they are better looking, stronger and, in particular, better proportioned, due probably to a greater abundance of food. Several of them have a tattoo of scars on their backs, the cartilage of the nose pierced and their hair parted into strands decorated with kangaroo teeth or paws.

[28 November] ....At this mooring there is a plentiful supply of fish; a single cast of the net brought in a huge catch; also the natives, fascinated by such a novel spectacle for them, indulged in extravagant exhibitions of delight. And especially when they saw that the sailors were leaving for them so many of the coarser species, like small sharks and trigger fish, their joyful shouts were so loud that hearing them on board, I was afraid that some unfortunate incident had occurred.....

Before concluding my remarks on Jervis Bay, I must mention two native huts built near our observatory. In form they were like an oblong beehive about six or seven feet high, built of wide strips of eucalyptus bark, set upright and brought together at the top, covered with grass and marine plants. Clean and spacious inside, each of them could easily house a family of eight to ten individuals, and evidence a degree of intelligence on the part of these savages superior to any I had so far encountered.

We have seen the drawings of cutters and launches that they have made on the sandstone rocks on the coast and they are quite well done. M. Lottin, who left behind a walnut wood rule, found it again the next day decorated with similar drawings.

In their dealings with us they have, without fail, consistently displayed honesty, gentleness and even a circumspection quite remarkable for this class of person. Not one of them has attempted the slightest larceny, and it gives me pleasure to do justice to their impeccable conduct.

[The Astrolabe sailed from Jervis Bay at 8 a.m. on the morning of 29 November, and arrived at Port Jackson three days later, on 2 December]

Monsieur Quoy's Report

The expedition's doctor and naturalist, Jean Rene Constant Quoy, recorded the following brief notes on the Jervis Bay natives (Rosenman, 1988, p.74):

....At the place where we moored, there was a native dwelling. From their appearance, their build and their development, it was obvious the natives were affected by the proximity of the English. One of them even spoke enough of that language well enough to make himself understood. The superior construction of their hut and a canoe for fishing proclaimed a more advanced level of civilization and a more certain and abundant food supply to which their physique manifestly bore witness, particularly when we compared them with the inhabitants of King George Sound.

[In comparing the Jervis Bay natives with those of King George Sound, Quoy had stated (Rosenman, p.49):

....Several inhabitants of Jervis Bay, near Port Jackson, who have frequent contact with the English colonists, have shown physical improvement, whereas the tribes of King George Sound, whose only shelters in a severe winter are miserable kennels open to every wind; and who have for clothing only a thin kangaroo skin covering their shoulders, and for food only lizards and scraggy roots, can do no more than lead an aimless life on a soil that denies them everything.
Louis Auguste de Sainson's Sketches

A number of de Sainson's sketches from the Jervis Bay area depicting the landscape and local inhabitants were subsequently reproduced as lithographs and published during the 1830s within the French and German accounts of the voyage.

The following is a brief description of the relevant lithographs and original works depicting Jervis Bay's Aboriginal inhabitants and related artefacts. They are based on the sketches by de Sainson and bear the original French and German titles:

1. *Nouvelle Hollandes de la Port du Roi Georges et du Baie Jervis*  
[New Holland Aborigines from King George's Sound and Jervis Bay]

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm  
Part of Plate 12, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Historie, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. This plate portrays a group of three King George Sound natives in the left half of the picture, whilst those from Jervis Bay are to the right. The Western Australian natives are clothed in animal skins, whilst 2 from Jervis Bay are variously naked or in European apparel, such as old jackets. The latter are also holding fish.

2. *Cabanes de la baie Jervis (6 pieds de haut)*  
[Native Huts of Jervis Bay (6 people per hut)]

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm  
Part of Plate 18, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Historie, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. (This plate contains comparison views of four native huts - two from New Holland (King George Sound and Jervis Bay) and two from New Zealand, with the Jervis Bay hut to the top right.

3. *[The Astrolabe moored in Jervis Bay]*  

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm  
Plate 25, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Historie, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. A view of the Astrolabe moored in Jervis Bay, with a group of local Aborigines on the beach in the left foreground, and the French scientific observatory upon the cliff to the right.

4. *Baie Jervis, Nouvelle Holland (Les marins de L'Astrolabe partagent leur pêche avec les Naturals)*  
[Jervis Bay, New Holland. The sailors of the Astrolabe sharing their catch of fish with the Aborigines]

Lithograph 19.4 x 29.3cm  

5. *[Native Weapons and Artefacts of New Holland and New Zealand]*

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm  

6. *Die Matrosen des Astrolaba theilen ihren fischfang mit den Eingebornen*  
[Members of the crew of the Astrolabe sharing their fish with the natives]

Lithograph 26 x 35.5cm  
Plate 8, from the German edition of *The Voyage of the Astrolabe*... which was published by Schaffhausen in 1836. This impression appears to be taken from the same plate as the French lithograph of 1833 (see no.4 above).
8. Natives of King George Sound, and of Jervis Bay

Lithograph 26 x 35.5cm
Plate 5, from the German edition of The Voyage of the Astrolabe... which was published by Schaffhausen in 1836. Portrays a group of Jervis Bay natives with fish in hand.

[View of Jervis Bay, New Holland]
Colour sketch 25 x 35cm
Res. S.G. fol 4, no.22

De Sainson's view (No.4 above) of the cordial meeting between the Jervis Bay Aborigines ("les Naturals") and the sailors ("les marins") of the Astrolabe is well known, and often reproduced. As Geoffrey Dutton noted of this work in his survey of the portrayal of Australian Aborigines in art, it is almost the only portrayal that exists of white men and Aborigines joining together in a celebration and dance. It is a most jovial painting, showing a group of sailors and Aborigines bringing ashore a huge catch of fish and sharks at Jervis Bay in New South Wales, while in the foreground a sailor does a hornpipe in front of some Aborigines doing a dance of joy. (Dutton, 1974, p.31)

The view specifically shows three of the Astrolabe crew unloading a catch of fish from a small boat onto a beach upon which is gathered a group of about 18 Frenchmen and 9 Aborigines. In the top left of the view a man (?de Sainson) can be seen sketching the scene before him, whilst in the left foreground one of the sailors shares a dance with some natives. The central and right foreground display natives pulling in the fishing net, sorting the fish, and even eating some raw specimens.

D'Urville had recorded the following in his journal regarding the incident:

...At this mooring [Jervis Bay] there is a plentiful supply of fish; a single cast of the net brought in a huge catch; also the natives, fascinated by such a novel spectacle for them, indulged in extravagant exhibitions of delight. And especially when they saw that the sailors were leaving for them so many of the coarser species, like small sharks and trigger fish, their joyful shouts were so loud that hearing them on board, I was afraid that some unfortunate incident had occurred. (D'Urville, 1830)

Such instances of conviviality between whites and blacks were rare at any locality in Australia during colonial times, and even more rarely expressed pictorially. Lieutenant Grant had encountered similar behaviour amongst the Jervis Bay Aborigines when he visited there in March 1801.

Another distinguishing feature of this lithograph is the complete lack of clothing displayed by the Jervis Bay Aborigines - it was usual for an artist or lithographer of the time to partially cover naked bodies in the name of decorum, even though reality was otherwise. However in this print the natives are portrayed as they were - naked apart from some instances of small girdles wrapped around their abdomens and the wearing of European jackets. It is known from other sources that the Jervis Bay Aborigines were usually so scantily clad, but they also employed opossum rugs for warmth during winter and at night. As the encounter with the French occurred during the southern summer, there is no doubt that the natives were attired as portrayed in the lithograph.

In a similar lithograph depicting a meeting between the crew of the Astrolabe and the natives at King George Sound - based on a drawing taken just over a month previous - those natives are portrayed wearing skin rugs which are strategically (and awkwardly) placed over their private parts in the finished lithograph. The Jervis Bay print, for an unknown reason, displays no such prudery. The Aborigines in the King George Sound view are also portrayed as small, cowering, and
animal-like, with almost neanderthal facial features; whereas in the Jervis Bay view the native figures are more true to life, and human - standing tall, dancing, eating and talking, laughing, and one even aggressively brandishing a spear to the viewer (this despite Governor Macquarie's order of 1816 that Aborigines were not to carry spears or other 'offensive' weapons when in close proximity to Europeans, and were not to gather in groups of more than six!)

The two French lithographs portray differences not only between the Western Australian and Jervis Bay Aborigines - with the former portrayed as weak and timid savages; the latter as strong and bold Australians - but changes in the attitude of the French artist de Sainson, who had perhaps become more sympathetic to the native Australians by the time he reached Jervis Bay, and realised they were not as primitive and animal-like as portrayed in the Western Australian view. We should also remember that just as it took European artists many years to accurately draw unfamiliar Australian animals such as the kangaroo, koala, and platypus, so also de Sainson experienced difficulties in correctly portraying the features of the Australian Aborigine. Like many other artists of the time, he gave the Aborigines European facial features.

It appears that the numerous French explorers who visited Australia prior to 1850 (e.g. La Perouse, Baudin, Freycinet) generally had better relations with the Aborigines than the British settlers - perhaps this is explained by the fact that their encounters were usually brief and connected with scientific expeditions.

The French crew and scientists were intrigued by the natives, offering them trinkets and baubles in return for information and artefacts; and the French king himself had issued instructions that conflict was to be avoided at all costs. The British on the other hand were daily living with the Aborigines, and though relations were superficially civilized, numerous conflicts arose, with bloodshed on both sides resulting in the widespread decimation of the native people. Even the relatively isolated Jervis Bay Aborigines knew the effect of the British musket by the time the French visited them in November 1826. They were some of the first to be aware of it, for Jervis Bay had provided a safe haven to whaling vessels since even before the arrival of the first fleet in 1788.

During the 1820s the Jervis Bay Aborigines were identified amongst the white population as some of the fiercest Aborigines in the Colony. They had been hardened by their numerous encounters with whites which had resulted in the killing of their people. Yet de Sainson's lithograph suggests otherwise.

We may well ask - why were the French able to achieve an intimacy and ease with the Jervis Bay Aborigines so quickly, when the British had been in conflict with them for over thirty years? Apart from the aforementioned reasons, the answer may also lie in an incident which had occurred at Shark Bay, Western Australia, during September 1818. Jacques Arago - artist aboard the French vessel Uranie then under the command of Louis de Freycinet - and some of the ship's officers and crew were confronted by a group of angry Aborigines, shaking their spears and looking very dangerous. Suddenly Pellion, one of the ship's officers, had the idea of dancing, and he and the rest of the men began dancing in a circle, with Arago playing the castanets for accompaniment. Suddenly the Aborigines began laughing at the gaiety of the Frenchmen and joined in the festivities, thus averting what would undoubtedly have been a bloody clash.

The officers and crew of the Astrolabe would have been aware of this method of breaking the ice with indigenous natives, and perhaps copied Pellion when they initially encountered the Aborigines of Jervis Bay, using the gift of fish and a song and dance to show their friendly intentions.

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Monsieur Gaimard's Vocabulary of the Jervis Bay Aborigines

An important record of the French visit to Jervis Bay in 1826 is the brief vocabulary of the local language collected by the ship's surgeon and naturalist, Joseph Paul Gaimard, and published in
the volume on Philology published in 1834. It is reproduced as follows, with the addition of approximate English translations, where known:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French</th>
<th>Aboriginal</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actinie</td>
<td>Mekourara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aile</td>
<td>Kran</td>
<td>Wing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arbre</td>
<td>Koundo</td>
<td>Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascidie</td>
<td>Gniour</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arche (coquille)</td>
<td>Bourda</td>
<td>-(shell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aujourd'hui</td>
<td>Metann</td>
<td>Today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aveugle</td>
<td>Kounn ho</td>
<td>Blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbe</td>
<td>Walo</td>
<td>Beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battre</td>
<td>Iourougner</td>
<td>To beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beau</td>
<td>Peann</td>
<td>Beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec d'oiseau</td>
<td>Noukoro</td>
<td>Bird's beak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanc</td>
<td>Pann</td>
<td>White</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blessure</td>
<td>Karanra</td>
<td>Wound, hurt</td>
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<td>Bleu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bon</td>
<td>Kana</td>
<td>Good</td>
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<td>Kame</td>
<td>Mouth</td>
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<td>Arm</td>
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<td>Bulle (coquille)</td>
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<td>Bon a manger</td>
<td>Bodjera?</td>
<td>Good to eat</td>
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<td>Mange</td>
<td>Hut</td>
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<td>Barounga, til</td>
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<td>Chanter</td>
<td>Lanka</td>
<td>To sing</td>
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<td>Tirar</td>
<td>Hair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chier</td>
<td>Joune</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clavicule</td>
<td>Kogo</td>
<td>Collar bone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coit</td>
<td>Adai, kala</td>
<td>To lie low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Collier</td>
<td>Kouroun</td>
<td>Necklace</td>
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<td>Cone (coquille)</td>
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<td>Corbicalaao</td>
<td>Kolaroga</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Elbow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Courir</td>
<td>Taware</td>
<td>To run</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cracher</td>
<td>Nougne</td>
<td>To spit</td>
</tr>
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<td>Crepidule (coquille)</td>
<td>Paoule</td>
<td>-(shell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cri</td>
<td>Kame</td>
<td>Cry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuisse</td>
<td>Tara</td>
<td>Thigh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cul</td>
<td>Bele</td>
<td>Bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danser</td>
<td>Krabre</td>
<td>To dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demain</td>
<td>Nogoro? boulaara?</td>
<td>Tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent</td>
<td>Ira</td>
<td>Tooth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dente (coquille)</td>
<td>Tarowann</td>
<td>Toothed (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diable</td>
<td>Kanan</td>
<td>Devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dieu</td>
<td>Iendere?</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doigt</td>
<td>Maramol</td>
<td>Finger</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dormir</td>
<td>Kounoun</td>
<td>To sleep</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dos</td>
<td>Prale</td>
<td>Back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fransk</td>
<td>Warnisch</td>
<td>Danskt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douleur</td>
<td>Tchilinetane</td>
<td>Pain, sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eau</td>
<td>Atchoun</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enfant</td>
<td>Goulouga</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ennemi</td>
<td>Tourare</td>
<td>Enemy, hostile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epaule</td>
<td>Kouko</td>
<td>Shoulder</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epervier</td>
<td>Tchonoutchonot</td>
<td>Sparrow-hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estomac</td>
<td>Bendje</td>
<td>Stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eternuer</td>
<td>Tiranagala</td>
<td>To sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etoile</td>
<td>Mounra</td>
<td>Star/decoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eucalyptus</td>
<td>Ouredja</td>
<td>Eucalyptus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faim</td>
<td>lougn</td>
<td>Hunger</td>
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<td>Femme</td>
<td>Kala</td>
<td>Woman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feu</td>
<td>Kambi</td>
<td>Fire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feuille d'arbre</td>
<td>Kirambo</td>
<td>Leaf of a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flairer</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>To smell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fleche (arme)</td>
<td>Kama</td>
<td>Spear (weapon)</td>
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<td>Frere</td>
<td>Wawareno</td>
<td>Brother</td>
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<td>Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fuseau</td>
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<td>Omonn</td>
<td>Knee</td>
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<td>Girelle (poisson)</td>
<td>Kourara</td>
<td>- (fish)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haliotide (coquille)</td>
<td>Biaouli</td>
<td>- (shell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamecon</td>
<td>Kounkai</td>
<td>Fish hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homme</td>
<td>Miki</td>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huirte</td>
<td>Ieroko, madaii</td>
<td>Oyster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambe</td>
<td>Kouloro</td>
<td>Leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeune</td>
<td>Kragne</td>
<td>Young</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joue</td>
<td>Bera</td>
<td>Cheek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kangarou</td>
<td>Kangourou</td>
<td>Kangaroo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lait</td>
<td>Awanhan</td>
<td>Milk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Langue</td>
<td>Talen</td>
<td>Tongue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lune</td>
<td>Tahouawann</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langrayen (oiseau)</td>
<td>Ioungan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main</td>
<td>Maramale</td>
<td>Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamelle</td>
<td>Amgnann</td>
<td>Breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manger</td>
<td>Taingn</td>
<td>To eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcher</td>
<td>Iandili</td>
<td>To walk, go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauvais</td>
<td>Kanan</td>
<td>Evil, ill, bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menton</td>
<td>Walo</td>
<td>Chin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mer</td>
<td>Ti</td>
<td>Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montagne</td>
<td>Poumara</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordre</td>
<td>Bersh</td>
<td>To bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulle (poisson)</td>
<td>Morann</td>
<td>- (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murex tuberculeux</td>
<td>Makouingre</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murex a larges cotes</td>
<td>Tarounda</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin-chasseur</td>
<td>(a tete verte)</td>
<td>Toukouloua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nager</td>
<td>Walinniri</td>
<td>To row, swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natice (coquille)</td>
<td>Tianbigara</td>
<td>- (shell)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nerite noire  Mara
Nez  Nokora
Noire  Mourak
Non  Aiann
Nuit  Poumara?
OEil  Ierinn
Oiseau  Tchougouroua
Ongles  Berenou
Oreilles  Kouri
Oui  Aou
Oursin  Pagnand
Parler  Kame
Parmophore (mollusque)  Wanana
Patelle (coquille)  Maroumbra, oleingol
Patte d'oiseau  Tanna
Peau  Bagagno
Peigne (coquille)  Korongo
Perroquet à tête rouge  Gatandjan
Perruche à tête bleue  Perka
Philedon gris  Koukarakan
Pied  Tona
Pierre  Koroba
Pisser  Panda
Platycéphale (poisson)  Tagala
Pleurer  Pedri
Plume  Gulieila
Poil  Tirar
Poisson  Tagn
Poitrine  Bengal, pengal
Queue (d'oiseau)  Kelella
Rainette de Jervis  Karangale
Rocher trompe (coquille)  Marangale
Roi  Ira
Rond  Tola
Scinque  Kouroumboua
Siffler  Wendal
Sillago argente (poisson)  Waraboun
Soleil  Ore
Squale (grand) de Jervis  Paro
Telline (coquille)  Madjawa
Testicule  Moura
Tete  Holo
Tiens cela? prendscala?  Kalamana
Tousser  Kadabou
Traquètlelegant  Karakara
Tresse (pour les cheveux)  Balambai
Trochus (coquille)  Tola, taoura
Turbo (bouche d'argent)  Wanda
Ventre  Pinque
Venus (coquille)  Wooura
Volute (coquille)  Tehal
Vulve  Brelanga

Oeil  Eye
Nez  Bird
Oreille  Fingernail/claw
Ongles  Ears
Oeille  Yes
Oeille  Sea-urchin

Parler  Seak, talk
Parmophore (mollusque)  - (mollusc)
Patelle (coquille)  Limpet (shell)
Patte d'oiseau  Bird's foot
Peau  Skin
Peigne (coquille)  Comb (shell)
Perroquet à tête rouge  Red headed parrot
Perruche à tête bleue  Blue headed parrot
Philedon gris  -
Pied  Foot
Pierre  Stone
Pisser  Penis
Platycéphale (poisson)  - (fish)
Pleurer  Crying
Plume  Feather
Poil  Hair
Poisson  Fish
Poitrine  Breast
Queue (d'oiseau)  Bird's tail

Rainette de Jervis  -
Rocher trompe (coquille)  Rock horn (shell)
Roi  King
Rond  Circle
Scinque  -
Siffler  To whistle
Sillago argente (poisson)  - (fish)
Soleil  Sun
Squale (grand) de Jervis  -
Telline (coquille)  - (shell)
Testicule  Testicle
Tete  Head
Tiens cela? prendscala?  -
Tousser  To cough
Traquètlelegant  -
Tresse (pour les cheveux)  Plait (for the hair)
Trochus (coquille)  Trochus (shell)
Turbo (bouche d'argent)  -

Nose  Abdomen
Black  Venus (shell)
No  Helix (shell)
Night  Vagina
151

[Where ‘ - ’ is located in the last column, the English translation is not known]

[1826]: 79 Aborigines at Kangaroo Valley.

Murder at Hell Hole

8 October 1826: A convict is robbed and murdered near Mount Keira by fellow convicts whilst on his way to the hospital at Liverpool.

A local native, Charley Hooka, who initially guided the victim towards the road near Mount Keira, later located the body in an area known as ‘Hell-Hole’ and submitted written evidence to the subsequent trial in Sydney. (Refer W.G.McDonald, A Horrid and Bloody Murder done at the Hell Hole..., Illawarra Historical Society, 1966)

1827

Rape of an Aboriginal Woman at Sydney

3 January 1827: [Sydney Gazette] Report on the rape of an Aboriginal woman in the streets of Sydney:

On Monday evening last, as Mr. James Pearson, of Castlereagh street, was crossing the old Race-ground, his attention was attracted by the cries of a female, and, on approaching the spot whence the sound proceeded, he perceived an aboriginal native woman on the ground, surrounded by seven or eight ruffians, one of whom held her down, whilst another was in the act of effecting his brutal purpose.

Mr. Pearson immediately went in search of some constables, whom, after some little lapse of time, he succeeded in procuring, and having conducted them to the scene of outrage, found only two of the fellows remaining with the unfortunate woman, one of them still holding her, whilst another was in the very act of effecting his brutal purpose.

After some struggle, they were secured, but on the way to the watch-house, one of them, whose name has since been ascertained, James Wright, effected his escape; the other, named James Hunter, was yesterday brought before the Police, and the depositions of Mr. Pearson and the constables having been taken, the case was remanded, in order to take the opinion of the Acting Attorney General, as to the mode of procedure.

[It appears that no further action was taken in this case, and once again reveals the low regard with which Aborigines were held in New South Wales at the time. British law offered them next to no protection, whether they were residents of Sydney or on the edges of settlement along the frontier]
Thuruwal - Cabbage Tree

4 March 1827: Martin Lynch and family arrive in Illawarra, settling near Fairy Meadow. Writing in 1889, Mr Lynch remembered:

We settled on the south bank of Towel Creek, the aboriginal name, no named Cabbage Tree. The reason why it was called Cabbage Tree - the first Burdge that ever was over it was built with Cabbage tree sleepers and slabs, was built by Mr William Wilson, the owner of Balgownie....

[The ‘Towel’ in ‘Towel Creek’ was obviously Mr Lynch’s interpretation of the local Aboriginal word ‘Thuruwal’, meaning ‘Cabbage Tree’. This word was later adapted to name the town of ‘Thirroul’, and is also generally applied (Eades, 1976) to the language once spoken by the Aborigines of Botany Bay and Illawarra]

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Augustus Earle, Artist, at Illawarra

May 1827: Augustus Earle, artist, visits Illawarra, producing the following works with Aboriginal subjects:

* A bivouac in New South Wales, daybreaking [1827]
  Watercolour National Library of Australia

* A Bivouac of Travellers in Australia, in a Cabbage Tree Forest, Daybreak [1838]
  Oil National Library of Australia

Both works are reproduced in R.Ritchie (1989)

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Supposed Murder of O'Brien Brothers

29 October 1827: [SydneyGazette] Report that the O'Brien brothers (Cornelius and Henry) had been killed by natives at Batemans Bay:

From information received in town, we are sorry to learn that serious apprehensions are entertained for the lives of Mr Cornelius and Mr Henry O'Brien, who are alleged to have been murdered by the natives at Bateman Bay. It appears that the brothers had gone some distance into the interior, and the report of their death was conveyed by one of the friendly natives. We sincerely hope that this information may turn out to be untrue.

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2 July 1827: Deposition given by the Aboriginal Charley Hooka re the murder of a convict at the Hell Hole near Wollongong in October 1826, and his role in locating the body {AONSW}
1828

16 Whalers Supposedly Killed at Twofold Bay

Wednesday, 24 September 1828: {Sydney Gazette} Report that 16 European whalers had been killed by natives at Twofold Bay.

This notice was subsequently proven to be false - see also report of 3 October 1828 below:

The Honorable Mr Berry, at an early hour yesterday morning, received a communication from Mr Wollstonecraft, at Shoalhaven, announcing the melancholy information of the destruction of 16 men out of a gang of 25, belonging to Mr Raine’s whaling establishment at Two-fold Bay, by the natives, who, it is said, surprised the Europeans, and slew two thirds of their number before they had time to defend themselves!

Mr Wollstonecraft, with the most benevolent promptitude, endeavoured to despatch the little cutter, the Sally, with a detachment of the military stationed at Illawarra, to the rescue of those who might still be alive; but, on account of the continued tempestuous weather to the Southward, it was found utterly impossible for Mr W. to carry his views into effect, and he therefore despatched the vessel to Sydney with such particulars as had come to his knowledge.

It seems some of the natives have been the bearers of this dreadful intelligence, which was quite unexpected, as it was reported that a good understanding prevailed between the natives and the Europeans in the vicinity of Two-fold Bay. Some doubts are yet entertained of the truth of this dismal account, as the report goes to state, after killing the adventurous Europeans, the aborigines devoured them!

The fact has never been properly ascertained that the natives of New Holland are cannibals, and as this part of the information is thought to be exaggerated, perhaps it may be as well to suspend our judgement until we hear something more authentic, though the names of some of the parties said to be killed are enumerated. Mr Wollstonecraft, however, most certainly writes under the impression that every iota of the intelligence is too correct.

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Natives Friendly at Twofold Bay

3 October 1828: {Sydney Gazette} Notice re the erroneous report of the murder of 16 Europeans at Twofold Bay:

On Wednesday last arrived, from Twofold Bay, the brig Ann, Captain Bennet, with a cargo of oil, whalebone, &c. - We are happy to state there is no foundation for the report of the natives having murdered a great part of the crew of this vessel; they having, on the contrary, evinced a friendly disposition towards them the whole time they were in Twofold Bay.

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Reminiscences of Alexander Stewart

Tribal Gathering at Spring Hill

November 1828: Alexander Stewart, a young convict, arrives in Illawarra.

In 1894 he was interviewed by John Brown, and stated the following regarding the local Aborigines at the time of his arrival in Illawarra {Reminiscences, Illawarra Mercury, 1894}:
Mr Brown: Do you remember anything about the blacks here in the early days?

Mr Stewart: Yes. When I first came down here (to Illawarra), in 1828, I resided for three months at Spring Hill, not far from the old Dapto Road, where I carried on my business of bootmaking. The blacks were very numerous in the district at that time, especially about Tom Thumb Lagoon, Mullet Creek and the Lake, for they lived mostly on fish.

Whilst residing at Spring Hill about 100 Blacks, including gins and their children, assembled one afternoon in front of my house, and not far distant. This gathering was made up of blacks from different parts of the district, but were only portions of those from the different parts.

They assembled to punish one of their number, a blackfellow, for taking away another man’s gin. They were all painted, after the fashion of savage warriors, with pipeclay, and they wore feathers and other things to give them a warlike look.

On inquiry I found from the most intelligible of them that the culprit was to stand a certain number of spears being thrown at him. This was his punishment. The man whose gin was taken was the man who threw the spears. The culprit was allowed a shield behind which he could nearly hide himself.

The thrower had his spears - about a dozen - slung on his back. They were a sort of reed, pointed with a stone or iron.

The crowd formed into two wings, the two principals between, one at each end. The man with the spears often pretended to throw to see if he could catch his opponent unawares, and the culprit would dodge and crouch down behind his shield. Some of the spears went over his head and some were broken on the shield. The blacks were good marksmen, being very quick in the eye, and they were just as quick in using the shield. The thrower did a good deal of “yabbering”, but what it was all about I could not tell.

When all the spears had been thrown the man who had been the target walked away unhurt. As he was safe and sound he was considered victorious.

It then began to get dark, and the gins lit the fires. They stripped the bark off titrees, and lay down upon it beside the fires. When the darkness came on they held a corroboree. The gins played upon sticks and sang, and the blackfellows danced. The culprit was taken back into the fold and welcomed by his fellows with open arms.

The corroboree was kept up till 9 or 10 o’clock, and when it was over they all lay down, and remained there till next morning, when they dispersed to their respective localities.

Samuel Foley, the only blacksmith here at the time, and the first in Illawarra, with his family, witnessed the event as well as myself, but no other white people saw it. Foley’s house was beside where I was living.

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Reverend Kendall at Ulladulla

[1828], Reverend Thomas Kendall settles at Ulladulla, also known as ‘Woollahderra’ or Wasp Harbour. W.A.Bayley (Shoalhaven, p.34) records that:

Kendall on arrival found a blacks camp on the north side of Millard’s Creek which flows into the harbour.
28 July 1829: The Foxhound sinks off Coalcliff and Illawarra Aborigines find some of the wreckage, reporting this information to the police and guiding them to the spot.
Rock engravings from a shelter near Milton
(Etheridge, 1904)
Louis Auguste de Sainson - Sailors from the Astrolabe sharing their catch with the Natives (lithograph, 1833)
Natives of Jervis Bay – after de Sainson, 1826 (lithograph, 1833)
The Battle of Fairy Meadow & Massacre at Murra Merang

1830 - 1832

This period is marked by a number of examples of the destruction of the local Aboriginal people - the first at their own hands (if the account is to be believed) and the second at the hands of white settlers.

Around 1830 the ‘Battle of Fairy Meadow’ occurred between the Wollongong and Bong Bong Aboriginal tribes, in which a number of warriors were killed on both sides.

In 1832 there was a massacre of defenceless natives by white settlers at Murra Merang in retaliation for the spearing of cattle and a bullock.

It is also possible that the smallpox plague which spread throughout New South Wales during 1829-30 (Butlin, 1983) may also have had a destructive effect on the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines.

1830

The Battle of Fairy Meadow

[c1830] When interviewed by Archibald Campbell in 1897 (refer Appendix 2), Martin Lynch - who had arrived in Illawarra in 1827 - described the ‘Battle of Fairy Meadow’, a tribal encounter between the Wollongong & Bong Bong Aborigines. It took place at Fairy Meadow, just north of Wollongong.

Lynch also included an account in a later letter to Mr Campbell. Both are reproduced below - the first as recorded by Campbell in 1897; the second is taken from the letter by Lynch of 1898:

Aborigines

Mr Lynch in his early boyhood - about 1830 - witnessed a battle at Fairy Meadow, between the Illawarra blacks and the Bong Bong blacks, over something in the lady line.

The battle took place in a naturally clear spot - the real Fairy Meadow - situated immediately on the North and East of what is now the junction of the Main Road and Mt Ousley road. Mr Lynch
declares that several hundred men on each side took part in the battle, which consisted of a series of intermittent onslaughts, which extended over three days and nights.

During the continuance of the battle some of the men and women would go abroad hunting for food.

The battle was won by the Illawarra blacks. Many blacks on both sides were killed and more wounded. The killed were buried in the Tea Tree Scrub between the site of the battle and the sea (between two arms of Fairy Creek). The weapons were mostly spears, "nullah nullah's", and "waddies" of one shape or another.

Mr Lynch explained that the dead of both parties were buried along the northwest bank of Fairy Creek, east of the North Illawarra Council Chamber. About 70 men were killed in the battle, including both sides, and all the corpses were buried by the victorious Illawarra tribe.

The graves were dug along the bank of the creek, which was somewhat sandy, the depth of each being about three or four feet. The blankets, tomahawks, "billy" cans and all other articles owned by each of the deceased were buried with them, some wood also being placed on top of the corpse. The explanation given by the survivors was that the wood and other articles would be required by the departed "in another country".

He (Mr Lynch) witnessed the burial of several of the men killed in the battle. The place of the burial was not the usual locality for interment by the blacks - the slain in battle only being placed there. The usual burial place in that quarter was in the sandy bush land on the south side of Fairy Creek - now Stuart Park - east and west of the Pavilion. The sand banks, near Tom Thumb Lagoon, Bellambi, and Towradgi, were likewise burial places, where many bodies were interred from time to time. He had witnessed nearly twenty blacks buried in the spot near Fairy Creek already mentioned. As a rule they did not desire white people to know where they (the blacks) buried their dead, but after the district became somewhat settled their burials could not be kept secret.

The blacks carrying out the burials and the deceased's relatives used to stripe their bodies and heads and necks and limbs with pipeclay, as marks of mourning for the departed.

Regarding the battle, he had witnessed it each of the three days over which it extended - hostilities being suspended at nightfall. His mother and step-father also viewed it each day from the elevated ground between Mr Bate's brickyard and Mrs Aquila Parsons's residence.

The Illawarra tribe fought on the north side of the Meadow, and the Bong Bong tribe on the south. Spears were thrown thick and fast between the combatants, and repeatedly he had seen men struck with them on both sides, sometimes causing the man struck to fall mortally wounded, while in some instances the wounded person would struggle to withdraw the spear - not always successfully.

In close quarters "nullah nullahs" and other hand to hand weapons were used furiously in the mortal combat - one of the persons so injured not infrequently having his skull crushed or limbs broken.

The dead were left unburied until the battle was over, after which the victors carried the bodies to the place stated and buried them there as already mentioned.

The cause of the battle was the taking away from the Bong Bong blacks a young "jin" of their tribe by an Illawarra black designated "Dr Ellis" by the whites. He induced her to leave her tribe with him, and carried her away captive unknown to them, and hence the rupture between the two tribes, resulting in the battle and bloodshed narrated. The captive maid was in the immediate vicinity of the hostilities all the time as were the "jins", the latter carrying about and supplying to the male warriors the deadly weapons and other requirements of the ongoing engagement.

The young jin who was the cause of all the bloodshed did not hide her desire to flee to her own tribe, even while the battle was proceeding, but from doing so she was forcibly prevented, and
beaten again and again most brutally, until her head was almost in a state of jelly and was covered in gore - the brutality being inflicted mainly by her captor ("Dr Ellis"). So frightfully was she beaten and battered that his (Mr Lynch's) mother took compassion on her and took her to her own home and doctored her there for some time until she recovered sufficiently to rejoin her lord and master and his tribe.

The Bong Bong blacks came down the mountain range from their own country, making the descent opposite Dapto, to wage war with the Illawarra tribe, at whose hands they sustained defeat in the pitched battle as stated - the survivors returning again by the same route over the mountain to Bong Bong to tell their tales of blood and daring deeds by the way.

The young woman, or "jin", concerning whom the battle took place, remained in Illawarra all the remainder of her life and passed away, as did the whole of her race, from time to time in rapid diminution, unknowing and unknown in an historic sense. Sanguin was the mortal tribal conflict that had taken place regarding her, and numerous as were the slain that bled or fell in her interest.

Her remains, like those of the sable warriors who died concerning her, were interred in the usual crude grave in Illawarra soil, without a stone or any other sign to show her last resting place.

Mr Lynch states that he never remembered the blacks having actually murdered any white persons in the district, though several were scared by them now and again. He mentioned however that Mr Hicks, subsequently of Bulli, was decoyed into the bush in the Shoalhaven district under the plea of showing him some cedar, and that he narrowly escaped being killed by his false guide or guides. He saved his life by jumping over a precipice, falling on suspended vines and thereby being saved from being smashed in the fall.

In a letter written by Martin Lynch in 1898 he states:

.....Recollect to see the fight between the Bong Bong Aboriginal tribe and Wollongong tribe. Both tribes in number wood be fully 15 hundred. 1000 500. The number killed would be over 100. This was origianated by Aboriginal Dr Ellis taking a gin away from the Bong Bong tribe. The fight was on Mr James Towensend paddock, which is accultiry Para Meadow. They burried the dead at the bottom on Towensend paddock on an arm of Fairy Creek.

[Doctor Ellis is listed in the Blanket Returns of 1836 and 1840 as a member of the Bong Bong & Berrima tribes, though he was in Illawarra in 1858 to receive a blanket. Refer also to Archibald Campbell Papers, Appendix 2]

The Execution of Broger
for the Murder of a White at Shoalhaven

26 August 1830: {Sydney Gazette} Report on the trial and execution of Broger, a Shoalhaven Aborigine, who is hung at Campbelltown for the murder of one of Alexander Berry's men at Coolangatta:

Campbell Town Assizes

We have been favoured with the following complete list of prisoners tried before the Honourable the Chief Justice, at the adjourned Sessions of the Supreme Court, held at Campbell Town.
Friday, 20th.

Broger, an aboriginal native, was indicted for the wilful murder of John Rivett at Shoalhaven, on the 6th February, 1829 - Guilty, Death. Ordered for execution on Monday the 23rd instant.

Alexander Berry’s Account

In 1871 the following account of Broger’s crime and punishment was published, based on the reminiscences of Alexander Berry:

There was a Native Chief of the name of Brogher, who was the brother of Broughton, a great friend of mine. (They gave their names to Broughton’s Creek and to Brogher’s Creek).

One day Brogher and another Native went to two sawyers, and promised to show them a quantity of cedar trees, but they suddenly attacked the sawyers in the bush, and killed one of them. The other escaped. A constable was sent from Sydney, who apprehended the two blacks, took them on board one of my vessels, fastened them with a padlock to the chain cable, and then lay down to sleep. But Brogher noticed that he put the key in his pocket, and as soon as he was sound asleep, the Natives abstracted the key from his pocket, opened the padlock, and then swam ashore. Unfortunately for themselves, however, they did not leave the district, but boasted of the feat they had committed, and they were again captured. On their arrival in Sydney they were put into a watch-house near Darling Harbour, and one night the companion of Brogher escaped, and endeavoured to cross the upper part of the harbour, but the tide was out, and he stuck in the mud, in which he was found dead next morning.

When Brogher was brought to the Police Court, I was on the Bench, along with Mr Windeyer, the Police Magistrate. Poor Brogher smiled when he saw me. I addressed him and said, ‘I am sorry to see you here, accused of killing a white man. I did not think you would have killed anyone, I have more than once walked with you alone in the bush when I was unarmed and you were armed with a spear, and might have easily killed me, had you wished’.

Brogher replied, ‘I would not have killed you, for you was my Master, and was always very good to me’.

Mr Windeyer said, ‘He is an ingenious fellow this, and I should be sorry to see him hanged.’

But he was tried and convicted.

His defence was that the sawyers threatened him, and that he killed him in self-defence.

He was kept long in gaol before the sentence was carried into effect. Meanwhile, the Chief Justice visited him there, when he made a confession, and said that he had eaten the tongue of the sawyer ‘that he might speak good English’. Some days, however, after his execution, a party of natives came to me, and said that they had witnessed the hanging of Brogher, but that, according to what they understood of the matter, he had suffered unjustly, for that he had killed the white man in self-defence.

Lt. Breton’s Account

[Another account of the circumstances surrounding Broger’s murder of a whiteman is contained in Lieutenant Breton’s Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Dieman’s Land during the years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833, (2nd edition, Richard Bentley, London, 1834, p.168).]
During his visit to the Colony, Breton visited Illawarra, and at some point recorded the following fantastic tale of the murder of a whiteman by a Shoalhaven Aborigine, obviously Broger:

....At Shoal Haven River there occurred, some years since, so curious an instance of superstition, that it may be worthy of mention. Three natives persuaded a convict servant to accompany them in search of cedar, an ornamental and useful wood that is found in this part of the country.

The man, naturally expecting no treachery was intended, as he, in common with others, had been accustomed to such expeditions, set off with them without hesitation - for the blacks, being much better acquainted with the localities, save both time and trouble to those who have occasion to penetrate into the "bush".

The guides, watching a favourable opportunity, pushed him over a precipice, and he was killed upon the spot. One of them cut out his tongue, and ate it, in the supposition that as he had eaten the tongue of a white man, he would in consequence be enabled to speak English!

I readily grant this is somewhat marvellous; but there is not the smallest reason to doubt the word of the gentleman who related the circumstance to me. He added, that the body was subsequently found, and one of the blacks described the cause and manner of death.

[Whilst British justice was swift in its dealings with Broger for murdering a whiteman, as we have seen (c.f. Seth Hawker, 1822; Joseph Berryman, 1832-3) the same was not true when a white person was involved in the murder of an Aborigine. In such cases acquittal was the norm, if they bothered to go to trial. Broger was of course denied traditional Aboriginal justice.

See also Alexander Berry's reminiscences of 1838 for another reference to Broger's trial and hanging.

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**W.R. Govett in Illawarra**

[1830]. William Romaine Govett was surveying in the area between Bulli, Appin, and Bong Bong in 1830. In his *Sketches of New South Wales*, 1848, he comments:

The swamps appear green, are in many places furrowed as if with a plough, and very watery and nearly destitute of timber. (The emu frequents, as well as the wild turkey, these swampy plains, and were seen at various times by myself and party)....

....The most western stream is called by the natives Tuggerah (cold) Creek, which unites with Georges River, in an acute bend near the town of Liverpool.

[Refer also W.R.Govett 'Notes and sketches taken during a surveying expedition in N.South Wales and Blue Mountains Roads', Mitchell Library manuscript]

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**Robert Hoddle at Illawarra**

[1830] Robert Hoddle was a surveyor and amateur artist who worked in the Illawarra and Kiama area during 1830.

In 1860 a Melbourne artist - Henry Gritten - produced a number of oil paintings based on Hoddle's sketches, including one entitled 'Kiama, Illawarra, N.S.W.' depicting an Aboriginal family of two
adults and five children, camped by their bark hut in the forests near Kiama. Refer Ritchie (1989, p.36) for reproduction.

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**Alexander Harris in Illawarra**

[c1830] Alexander Harris is a somewhat mysterious literary figure who was in Illawarra for a number of years between 1828-38, possibly under the name of H.A.B. Bennett.

Following his return to England around 1841 he published the autobiographical works *Settlers and Convicts* (London, 1847, re-issued Melbourne, 1954) and *Religio Christi* (reissued as *The Secrets of Alexander Harris*, Melbourne, 1961).

Whilst at Illawarra Harris is known to have worked as clerk to the Bench of Magistrates at Wollongong, and his two books make a number of references to the local Aborigines. Harris himself was somewhat racist and fearful of the Aborigines - he strongly supported the 1838 petition calling for the acquittal of the perpetrators of the Myall Creek massacre, though in his writing he also clearly expounded the validity of Aboriginal resistance to the white invasion.

The following incident, in which Harris becomes trapped on a rocky, seaside ledge, is taken from *The Secrets of Alexander Harris* (op. cit., pp.146-8), and occurred in the northern part of Illawarra - near Coalcliff or Stanwell Park - sometime in the early 1830's. Perhaps Harris was being taken to the location of the wreck of the *Foxhound* (refer under 1829) when he became trapped:

At this period I met with one of those hair-breadth escapes from sudden death which I have already referred to as having at last turned my thoughts effectually to the question of the reality of an after-life.

I strolled off one morning with the chief of a partly civilized tribe of aborigines as my guide, for a day's fowling. We took our way along the beach, and for some miles had good travelling. At length the sandy beach gave place to a level surface of rock, several rods wide, running along the base of a precipice, a sort of natural pavement. After a while this level surface divided into two parts, one of which kept about the level of the sea, whilst the other became a broad inclined plane, gradually but steadily rising along the face of the precipitous bluff. The aboriginal, going first, took this latter course, and I, supposing he knew best where he had lived all his life, followed him without any apprehension of being led into danger. It was not till our course had carried us many feet above the level of the sea, that a single thought passed through my mind of the rising platform having been much narrower. Nor, when I did notice it, did the thought more than pass transiently through my mind. I was thinking of matters not connected with either the time or the place, and the slight cautionary idea passed away again unheeded. The rocky path was, to the best of my recollection, then about two feet wide.

Forward we went, the aboriginal about five or six steps ahead. The path became narrower, but my guide kept on, whilst I, still under the influence of the single idea of following him, kept on also. All of a sudden, my progress was checked; I had made a few steps too far to return, and stood already on the commencement of a path which it seemed impossible to traverse without falling. I was, in fact, already in such a critical position that I had instinctly passed my gun, as I moved on, from my right hand (which was on the outside) to my left, lest its weight should overbalance me.

At the spot where I stood, one of my feet the length of a short step before the other, the ledge was certainly no more than between four and five inches broad; it was of such rotten material (a small stratum of coal or black shale), that its loose fragments crushed beneath my tread; and the outer edge was considerably lower, I should think about an inch lower, than the inner. The face of the rock outside me fell as straight downward as a plumb-line to a great depth; and the sea was breaking in heavy surges against the base. On the left the rock rose by my side so steep as not to
vary from a perpendicular, in the distance from my feet to my shoulder, by more than five or six inches.

I saw in an instant that I could not turn on my toes, or face the cliff, without throwing my weight outside the brink of the precipice, if I happened to roll in the slightest degree; nor yet on my heels, leaning back the little I might, without having them slip off the oblique crumbling ledge. There was no time for indecision, for the sea was jarring the cliff itself to such a degree that for the first instant or two after stopping, I felt as if that would shake me off. I saw that I had but the single choice - forward or downward.

Leaning the gun against the rock, I lifted up first one foot to the other knee, and unlaced the boot and drew it off (in Australia at that time laced boots chiefly were worn in the rural parts); then, holding that by the lace with my teeth, got off the other in like manner, tied the strings together, and slung them round my neck. I took up my gun and looked forward; it was but a few paces; the aboriginal had sprung across a chasm of about three feet wide at a break of the cliff, and stood on a little green knoll, the top of a land-slip made by the other section of the cliff beyond the chasm. But, near the end of those few paces, I could see a spot which was rather worse than where I stood; the rock on the left more nearly perpendicular, leaving less room to lean inward, the footing narrower and more shelving.

...My guide sat crouched close to the ground on the little verdant flat ahead, intently watching me; and beyond him, miles away, the dark blue polished sea marked its clear and beautiful curve along the soft azure sky.

Onward! The gun in my inner hand, to keep my balance as secure as possible; foot beyond foot in the spirit of "Do or die"; a spring across the chasm, and it was accomplished. The aboriginal, I found afterwards, had given it over as a lost case; would not speak for fear of dividing my attention and destroying any little hope that remained. Learning to travel this path when so small that there was plenty of space for him, and now traversing it without boots or clothing, or incumbrances of any kind, he had never reflected on the peril to a white man involved in traversing it under circumstances so different and disadvantageous.

I am sure there are but few who will not concede that this was a lesson of some weight, provided the subject of it were not quite a fool. Most minds would vindicate me from the imputation of weakness, in now feeling that the immorality of the soul and its destinies hereafter constituted a question no longer to be trifled with.

That night I had to remain on the landslip, which was one of considerable extent, and having an easy grass-grown declivity down to the sea. I had, therefore, nothing to attract my thoughts from the subject. The aboriginal went back to his camp. Making his way across the chasm with a leap, and holding on with both arms to the corner of the rock till he had steadied himself, he tripped as lively as a cat along the edge, and turning an instant to laugh and say, "I believe blackfellow best man", was soon out of sight....

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Other instances of Harris's contact with the Illawarra Aborigines are contained in his *Settlers and Convicts* (London 1847):

The Mullett creek where we passed it must have been nearly five and thirty feet wide; and the bridge was one of those slender cabbage trees grown on the bank and flung by some bushman or black across the creek with his axe, either with a view to using it as a bridge or for the sake of the interior part of the head, which is very similar when dressed to cabbage, and is a favourite article of food with many ... The agility and ease with which the blacks trot across these cabbage tree bridges is quite astonishing; even the gins (women) with their piccanninnies on their backs seem to cross quite at ease..... (p.26)
At about 2 o'clock, or a little after, the man who had been left at our hut with me, on hearing our dog bark, ordered me to call him off, giving at the same time that shrill clear coo-eeh which the whites have learnt from the blacks... (p.36)

.....I was not then aware that the aborigines are so well acquainted with the bush as to be able to point out the most practical tracks in any direction (p.42)

[See also under 1837 for a description of Harris's experiences at St. George's Basin around that time]

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'Aboriginal Outrages' at St. Vincent

1830-1831

By 1830 large numbers of cattle and sheep had been moved onto land along the South Coast of New South Wales, placing stress on the resources of the local people.

During the later half of 1830 conflict arose along the south coast between whites (recent settlers and their men) and the local Aborigines who were occasionally spearing cattle and bullocks. The whites considered these deeds 'atrocities' and called on the Governor to send soldiers to the area, and in the mountains to the west, or permit the locals to take action against the natives.

The following extract from Gibbney's history of Eurobadalla (1980, pp.22-23) gives a concise summary of the events:

....The problem of race relations soon reared its head. In September 1830 William Turney Morris, JP, of Murramarang, complained to the Colonial Secretary that all coastal settlers were losing cattle to native spearmen. Thompson at Batemans Bay had lost six, Flanagan had lost two and Captain Thomas Raine's men on his station near Mt. Dromedary had lost several. Thompson and his men had been threatened and Flanagan's supervisor J.Egan, would only venture out with a musket. Thompson and Egan, Morris asserted, had always been particularly kind to the natives. Flanagan himself reiterated the complaint.

I most humbly beg further to state, that although no person can entertain more charitable feelings for our unenlightened brethren, or be more inimical to coercion than myself, nevertheless I beg to suggest the necessity .... of their being made to see our superiority of power ....

Morris continued to agitate for permission to shoot ringleaders or for a protective guard of soldiers. The Governor refused to sanction either course, but in December instructed Lieutenant Lachlan Macalister to take a patrol into the disturbed area.

Macalister was an unusually intelligent officer. He sought pacification not punishment and, fortunately upon meeting the offenders sat down to talk to them. He discovered that relations between settlers and the coastal people were uniformly excellent. All the trouble came from mountain raiders who felt themselves neglected because government had not given them blankets like their coastal compatriots. Blankets were provided and the war was at once over. Even Morris ceased to complain and the Aboriginal people never again attempted resistance....

[Unfortunately the above account glosses over the more unsavory aspects of this affair - it does not describe the European atrocities. The original letters and documents, from the Archives Office of New South Wales, describing these events are transcribed below.]

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24 September 1830: W.T. Morris to the Colonial Secretary (AONSW, 2/8020.4, 30/7388), asking for permission to shoot local Aborigines accused of spearing cattle:

Mooramoorang 24 Sept. 1830

The Honorable
The Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to inform his Excellency the Governor that several acts of hostility have been committed by the native Blacks in this Country. The grossest of which are killing 6 Cows & Bullocks of Mr Thompson's at Batemans Bay, five belonging to the station at Nathangera near Buttawong, two belonging to Mr Flanagan on the Moroyo River, & several on the station of Capt. Raine near Mount Dromedary, beside numerous others that they have speared & hunted but not killed.

They have also threatened the lives of Mr Thompson & his men & Mr Egan (Mr Flanagan's overseer) and his men, so that they dare not go abroad without a musket. In fact they seem to show greater hostility to Mr Thompson and Mr Egan than to any other persons in the neighbourhood and I consider their lives are in Danger if something is not quickly done to suppress the present fast increasing practice among the Mountain Blacks of slaughtering Cattle in the Bush lest it be followed here as it was at Bathurst by killing the White People also.

If permission was given to those aggrieved to shoot such of the Blacks as are known to be ringleaders in these atrocities it would make an Example to the other Blacks and be in my opinion a means of preventing further loss of property & perhaps life.

The parties here spoken of as being in the greatest Danger have always shown particular kindness to the Blacks. I am therefore the more surprised at their ungrateful conduct.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant
W.T. Morris

Laid before Exve. Council 19th Novr. 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT.

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29 September 1830: W.T. Morris to the Colonial Secretary (AONSW, 2/8020.4, 30/7683):

Mooramoorang St. Vincent 29th [Sept] 1830

The Honorable
The Colonial Secretary
&c. &c. &c.

Sir

Since the last time I had the honor of addressing you of the date of the 14th of this month, the native Blacks have committed further hostilities on Mr Thompson's farm at Batemans Bay, having killed since then six head of cattle and attacked the horses for the same purpose, threatening at the same time to destroy him & his huts and I am afraid lives will be lost there if a few soldiers are not quickly sent there as he has only three men on the farm.
I have also discovered that three head of cattle belonging to Sydney Stephens Esqr. and four of mine have been killed by Blacks with whom I am well acquainted and I have the honor to request you will let me know what steps I am to take to punish them as I am very certain that until the chief instigators are severely punished these acts of Robbery will be increased among them, who moving about among the mountains are only seldom to be met with by the White People.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant
W.T. Morris

Laid before Exve. Council 19th Novr. 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT.

4 October 1830: Francis Flanagan to Governor Darling {AONSW, 2/8020.4, 30/7473}:

Kent Street Sydney
4th Ocr. 1830

His Excellency Lieut. Genl.
Ralph Darling
Governor in chief of the Territory of
New South Wales

Sir

May it please your Excellency

It is with feelings of the deepest regret I am compelled to trouble your Excellency, but being informed that the Aborigines in that part of the Colony wherein my Farm is situated, viz. the County of St. Vincent, have been very recently committing outrages upon the whole of the Settlers on the Coast of that County, occupying a space of about 60 miles, by destroying their Cattle and threatening the lives of two persons, of whom my Overseer, a very trustworthy Man, is one, and who actuated by his own feelings as well as my orders always treated the Natives with great kindness; - with a firm conviction that your Excellency is ever watchful over the Interest of the Colonists and desirous of affording them every assistance for their security, I am encouraged most humbly to beg, that some active measures will be immediately adopted for the protection of our Persons and Property.

I most humbly beg further to state, that although no person can entertain more charitable feelings for our unenlightened Brethren, or be more inimical to coercion than myself; - nevertheless, I beg to suggest the necessary for our mutual protection and security, of their being made to see our superiority of power, and to that end, I conceive it absolutely necessary that some mode of punishment be adopted for such of them as commit any outrageous act, and I think your Excellency will also see the necessity of it when you consider that a short time since, an outrage of a similar kind was committed on some Cattle the property of Alexr. McLeay Esqr. in the same neighbourhood, and the Authors of it finding they cou'd do it with impunity, there having been no coercive measures resorted to at the time, it has encouraged them to commit the outrages now complained of and to a more alarming extent.

Trusting that your Excellency will have the kindness to take the affair into your consideration,

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Humble Servant
Francis Flanagan

Laid before Exve. Council 19th Novr. 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT.

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5 October 1830: Governor Darling reports to Sir George Murray in Britain (HRA Sydney, 1922, series I, volume XV, p.770):

....I am sorry to observe that the Natives have also manifested a disposition of late to be troublesome. They have killed cattle at several stations, which has hitherto been unusual, and have menaced the settlers on the borders of Argyle and St. Vincent. The almost boundless extent of this Country will render a large Mounted Force necessary, should the Natives proceed to the same lengths as at Van Diemans Land...

11 October 1830: Edward Wollstonecraft to the Colonial Secretary transmitting a letter from W.T.Morris [AONSW, 4/820.4.30/7664]:

Sydney 11th Oct. 1830

Honorable Alexr. McLeay
Col. Secretary &c &c

Sir

On the other side, I have the honor to transmit a Copy of a letter from Mr Morris the Magistrate of Ulladulla St Vincent, to Mr Berry at Shoal Haven, but which had not reached the hands of Mr Berry and has only this moment come into my possession.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your very obt. Servant
Edwd. Wollstonecraft

Copy

Feltham 2nd Oct 1830

Honble. Alexr. Berry

My dear Sir

Being in an unpleasant Dilemma, I would be glad of your experienced advice.

The Blacks have killed three of my Cows and I strongly suspect more. I know all the Blacks who have assisted in killing them. I should be glad to know what conduct to pursue towards them, in order to prevent further atrocities. If you thought it would be right to send any to Sydney, I could easily take them, if I had handcuffs.

I am not the greatest sufferer. My neighbour Mr Thompson of Batemans Bay has lost 12 head of Cattle, and they threaten to destroy him and his place. Mr Stephen has had one Cow killed.

I have written one letter to the Governor about it, and I would feel obliged if you would forward the accompanying one, by the first opportunity you have, for I fear for Mr Thompson.

Yours truly
W.T.Morris
15 October 1830: W.T. Morris's third letter to the Colonial Secretary {AONSW, 4/8020.4, 30/8020}:

Mooramoorang Oct. 15th 1830
St. Vincent

To the Honorable the
Colonial Secretary
&c &c &c

Sir

I am sorry to have again to revert to the audacious acts of the Blacks and to request his Excellency would send some means of stopping their increasing practice of slaughtering cattle in this neighbourhood. They have lately killed two head on your estate at Currubia beside one on Mr Kendall's and yesterday in the middle of the day a party of Blacks rushed Mr Stephen's cattle into the mountains while two white men were on the grounds and saw them. I am not aware that they killed any tho' one Bullock came home with five spears in him. Of my own I am positive of the Death of nine and am constantly making the Blacks tell me of other Cattle having been killed; so great has been the slaughter that I shall immediately remove the Orphan School Cattle (of which they have killed several) and such of my own as I do not want at home, to a distant place.

Mr Thompson has had fifteen of the best of his cattle killed by them and they threaten to destroy him.

It has lately come to my knowledge thro' one Black, that the Stockkeeper at Allaloon, for whose murder together with some house robberies three Bushrangers were hung some months since, was not murdered by them but by one black who is sometimes in this neighbourhood.

I have the honor to request you will have the goodness to inform me if I should apprehend him if it lays at any time in my power.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant
W.T.Morris

Laid before Exve. Council 19th Novr. 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT.

4 November 1830: David Reid and Robert Futter to the Colonial Secretary {AONSW, 2/8020.4, 30/8439}:

Inverary Argyle 4 Nov 1830

The Honorable
Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to enclose a copy of the deposition of Constable Hunter who at the request of Mrs Reid in Dr Reid's absence was sent by Robert Futter Esqr. to Jemcaban to ascertain the particulars of a report that had been received of an attack having been made on one of Dr Reid's shepherds and the dispersion of the flock under his charge by the Black natives; and as it appears by the deposition they were driven into the mountains and a considerable number put into a pen
for the purpose of killing them, and eating them at their leisure, and that they were in the act of roasting three lambs at the time the party came up with them.

We feel anxious to know his Excellency's pleasure & what steps the magistrates are to take, should similar acts of aggression be repeated.

I have the honor

to be Sir,

your most obt Servants

David Reid J.P.

Robt. Futter J.P.

William Hunter Ordy. Constable being sworn deposeth - That in consequence of information received by Mrs Reid in the absence of Dr Reid of an attack having been made on a shepherd at Jemicabane and a flock of sheep having been taken away by the black natives, Deponent was ordered to go up there and ascertain the facts, and accordingly went in company with William Lester, Dr Reid's overseer.

On arrival there they found the shepherd had been severely cut in different parts of the head and neck apparently by a tomahawk and that the shepherd stated that whilst feeding his flock about a mile and half from the hut five black natives came out of the bush and told him they were very hungry and wanted something to eat. The shepherd told them that if they would go to his hut he would give them some victuals. They said they would not go to his hut but that he must come to their camp. The shepherd then went to head the flock and one of the black natives struck him on the head with a tomahawk and he fell on the ground and they struck him several blows whilst down and repeated the blows.

When he recovered his senses and arose up he found about half a dozen Ewes bleating for their lambs. He then made the best of his way to the overseer's hut and stated to the men what had occurred. Two of the men then went in pursuit of the Blacks and came up on the tracks of the sheep and found the flocks deficient of 102. The next day they went out again. They saw a fire on the mountain and found 46 sheep in a pen made by the Blacks and 3 lambs roasting on the fire, 38 being still missing. On our approach the blacks got behind trees and said that they would come back for some more another time.

On Deponent and Mrs Reid's overseer arriving at Jemcabane they mustered all the force they could, three others and themselves, and went in pursuit of the Blacks in the direction of Batemans bay. About five miles to the Eastward of Buckingbower they came up with 150 to 200 of them but before they could reach them they ran away and they were unable to follow them any farther. They then went to Mr Thompsons at Buckingbower, who informed them that the Black natives had killed 15 head of his Cattle. They then returned next day by different directions the next day but could not find any more of them.

Sworn before me at
Inverary Argyle
1st Novr. 1830

David Reid JP
Robert Futter JP

19 November 1830: The Executive Council meets to discuss the 'Aboriginal Atrocities' at St. Vincent and other localities in the Colony. They decide to send a military party to the area to investigate.
8 December 1830: Colonial Secretary writes to Lt. Macalister requesting him to investigate the 'Aboriginal Atrocities' at St. Vincent and in the mountains to the west.

24 January 1831: Report of Lieutenant Macalister re meeting with the Aborigines at St. Vincent {AONSW, 2/8020.4, 31/636}:

Bong Bong 24th Jany 1831

The Honble.
The Col. Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I arrived here last evening after visiting Bateman's Bay, and the other stations mentioned in your letter of the 8th Decr. last. The result of my communication with the Black natives, I shall in a few words state for the information of his Excellency the Governor.

In the vicinity of Jemacabane the natives were exceedingly alarmed on perceiving my party. But when assured the Governor had sent me amongst them, more with the view of affecting a good understanding between us (and to advise and caution them against the serious consequences to themselves should they not instantly cease their depredations) than to punish them for past offences, they communicated with me, with astonishing confidence, and with much apparent joy promised not to kill anymore cattle, nor molest the settlers in any manner, for the future.

On the mountains between Jemacabane and Bateman's Bay I was fortunate enough to fall in with twenty of the Mountain Tribe (and the one tribe that has been troublesome). Only one man ventured near me, until I fully made them acquainted with the object I had in vein, after which several men of the Tribe met me by appointment at Mr Thompson's the following day.

I parted with them after effecting a good understanding between us, so much so that two or three volunteered to accompany me as guides round Bateman's Bay to Moorramoorang, a service which they performed with much cheerfulness, through a broken and intricate country.

Mr Thompson has been the one sufferer to the Eastward, his farm being immediately under the mountains, as all acts of aggression have been solely confined to the Mountain natives and should these strange people hereafter break the apparent good faith my visit amongst them has produced, and thereby render the adoption of the intended arrangement expedient, to keep them in check, Jemacabane and Mr Thompson's farm are the only places at which I would recommend to station Military, at both places soldiers can be victualled and accommodated.

A perfectly good understanding has invariably existed between the Settlers and the Coast Natives, therefore to station military at the farms of Messrs. Morris & Flanagan (on the coast) cannot in my opinion effect any desirable result.

The Mountain Blacks having complained to me that they are neglected, in not receiving Blankets or Rugs, and I have promised them on the part of the Government, that Twenty four Blankets or Rugs would be forwarded to Mr Thompson's station (by Inverary) for the purpose of being distributed amongst them. I therefore beg ..., to call your attention particularly to this matter, and have only to add that His Excellency the Governor's instructions to me are perfectly made known and understood by all the Black Natives who have been concerned in the depredations.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most obt. Servt.

J.Macalister J.P.
Attached comment by Governor Darling:

Inform him that his Report is very satisfactory and that the Blankets shall be forwarded as he suggests. Write to Mr Thompson and desire he will follow up the conciliatory line of proceeding adopted by Mr Macalister, which I have no doubt with a proper distribution of the Blankets amongst the most influential Natives, will [have] affect by confirming the ..... of these people to the Govt. Let the Blankets be issued immediately.

R.D. Feby 5th.

[Refer to the Joseph Berryman case (1832-33) for details of further conflicts between whites and Aborigines of St. Vincent]

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1831

Aboriginal Whalers at Bulli

28 October 1831: [The Australian] Report on Cornelius O'Brien's whaling establishment at Bulli, wherein he was using Aboriginal boys to man his whaling boats:

We are exceedingly gratified to find that Mr Cornelius O'Brien of Illawarra, who has built several vessels there, intends commencing a whaling establishment by boats immediately. For this purpose he has several boats well equipped and manned, chiefly by native lads with all the necessary gear and apparatus. We cordially wish Mr O'Brien the success which his unwearied activity and praiseworthy enterprise richly merit.

Henry Osborne and the Aborigines

[1831] Henry Osborne and family settle at Marshall Mount, west of Dapto, in 1831. Osborne was later to acquire a substantial amount of land in Illawarra and become one of the wealthiest men in the Colony by the time of his death in 1859. His treatment of the local Aborigines is referred to in the following extract [S.Thomas, The Town at the Crossroads, 1975, p.13]:

At the time Henry Osborne came to Marshall Mount [1831], there were numerous Aborigines in the district, but he and his wife treated them kindly. He used to supply them with meat and fruit every Christmas as it was their custom to camp opposite to where the school now stands. They spent their time throwing spears, boomerangs and other forms of sport, although the older settlers told of skirmishes along the banks of Marshall Mount Creek at times, but added that they were mostly a friendly lot and did nothing that would destroy the natural beauty of this lovely area.

The last line is a somewhat ironic comment, when we consider the whiteman's destruction of the Australian environment over the years since 1788.

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1832

Overland to Illawarra

October 1832: Around this time a man attempted to travel overland from Botany Bay to Illawarra, expecting to receive assistance from the local Aborigines, however he was unable to find them, and subsequently returned to Sydney [Sydney Gazette, 3 September 1833]:

It was in the month of October, 1832, when I started with my two assigned servants from the farm of Mr Conelly, on the south shore of Botany Bay, to proceed near the sea-coast to the Five Islands. The provisions which I was able to carry with me were small, as I hoped to reach in a day or two some habitation.

An overseer of Mr Conelly's (an old soldier) conducted me to a place, from whence it was, as he believed, only one mile to Port Hacking's River; and, after crossing it, he said, I would find some black people to give me some further information. Both these suppositions proved to be false.


Mr Morris was a settler at Murra Merang, south of Ulladulla. Refer also 'The Joseph Berryman Case' below.

1832-33

Massacre at Murra Marang

The Joseph Berryman Case

Sequence of Events

10 December 1832 - A milking cow is wounded by an Aboriginal spear at Mura Marang.

17 December 1832 - Late in the evening Jacky Louder, a local Aborigine, informs Joseph Berryman that other Aborigines had speared three head of cattle, and that day a working bullock.

18 December 1832 - A party of convicts and freemen, led by their overseer Joseph Berryman, cold-bloodedly murder a number of Aborigines at Murra Merang, including a young woman with child and an old couple.

A local contractor, Hugh Thompson, witnesses part of the incident and is horrified at Berryman's actions. He decides to report the incident to the authorities at Wollongong.

24 December 1832 - Hugh Thompson arrives in Wollongong and presents a statement to Francis Allman, resident magistrate, accusing Berryman and his party of willfully murdering a group of Aborigines at Murra Merang.

29 December 1832 - Capt. Allman travels to Murra Merang and obtains a statement from Joseph Berryman, who he subsequently arrests and removes to the Wollongong goal.

2 January 1833 - Francis Allman writes to the Colonial Secretary reporting the incident and enclosing statements. His also asks for further directions.

8 January 1833 - The Governor, Richard Bourke, reads Allman's letter and enclosed statements, and refers the matter to the Attorney General for comment.
29 January 1833 - Captain Allman writes to the Colonial Secretary requesting a reply to his letter of the 2nd.

30 January 1833 - The Governor asks why no reply had been sent to Allman, and orders immediate action.

7 February 1833 - The Berryman documents are finally sent to the Attorney General.

19 March 1833 - The Attorney General replies to the Colonial Secretary and the Governor, suggesting that Captain Allman obtain more information to verify Thompson's account.

23 March 1833 - The Governor accepts the Attorney General's recommendation.

30 March 1833 - Captain Allman is asked to obtain more information and further statements regarding the incident.

17 April 1833 - Joseph Berryman is transferred from Wollongong to Penrith.

It seems likely that no further action was taken on this case, after 3 months of dithering by Government and legal officials. Whether Captain Allman returned to Murra Merang to obtain additional interviews is unknown.

The incidents described in the following transcripts occurred near modern-day Murramarang Point, about 20 kilometres south of Ulladulla. Murramarang Point and the adjacent Brush Island are presently part of a nature reserve.

On 8 and 9 December 1829, surveyor Robert Hoddle had surveyed 1920 acres for a Mr Morris and 2560 acres for Sydney Stephen at Murramurang. It was upon these properties that the murders occurred.

The following transcripts are of letters and documents in the Archives Office of New South Wales (Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, 4/2206.2, 'Police - Wollongong 1833', being covering letter 33/910 plus enclosures), and are arranged chronologically to aid in comprehension.

The Statement of Hugh Thompson

33/125
Wollongong, District of Illawarra, New South Wales
To Wit

The Examination of Hugh Thompson, Free by Servitude, taken upon oath before me Francis Allman Esqr. one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the said Colony, this 24th day of December 1832.

Who saith, that for the last five months he has been working for Sydney Stephen Esqr. at his Estate, called the Retreat Farm, Murra Marang County of St. Vincent, under a certain contract for Cultivating Tobacco.

That on Monday Morning the 17th inst. he went up to Mr Stephen's Overseer Joseph Berryman to obtain men to assist him in his labour according to contract; and on his way thither he heard several shots. He enquired of William ..... one of the Assigned Servants on the farm what was the
meaning of the gun shots, who replied they were shooting the Blacks. Examinant supposed that
the Overseer and his assistants were shooting the Blacks.

Examinant then went to the Overseers House, where he saw the Carpenter Joseph Harris a free
man. Examinant asked him were the shots he heard at the Blacks, who replied yes, he believed
they were, and gave as a reason that the Blacks had speared a Bullock the night before, belonging
to the farm.

When examinant and this man were talking the Overseer Berryman and a party of six or eight
came up all armed towards the House. When they arrived near the House, two Black Men ran out
of the Government Men's Hut, also near the House, and ran away.

Examinant had understood that these two Men Blacks had been kept prisoners in the Hut while the
Party went to the Blacks Camp, where Examinant had before heard the firing. But previous to these
two Blacks running from the Hut, Berryman drew up his Party in order between the House and the
Hut, and when the said two Blacks ran from the Hut, Berryman gave the word fire, when the Party
fired at the two Blacks, and one of them fell, but Examinant cannot say whether wounded or not,
but he got up again and ran, as also did the other towards the Beach a distance of about a quarter
of a mile, where they were pursued by the firing Party, by the orders of Berryman, altho' he did not
accompany them.

The two Blacks ran upon a point of land still pursued by the same Party, and both leaped into the
Sea and swam to an Island a little distance from the main land. The Party again fired at the said two
Blacks when they were swimming in the water, but Examinant does not know that they were
wounded. He heard that firing, but as he did not follow them he did not see the Blacks take the
Sea, or the firing at them there, tho' it is in proof by others.

This firing Party then returned to the House, when two of them "Grinning Jack" the Milkman and
"Stockkeeper Jack, both assigned servants to Mr Stephen, and who had then followed the firing
Party under the orders of Berryman, and they told Examinant how such Party had pursued the
Blacks to the water and fired at them in the water, and of their escape to the Island. Another of the
Party was "Cabbage Tree Tom" "Dick ...., James Roach, and several others. There was also a
Ticket of Leave man named Michl. Goode also in the employ of Mr Stephen along with this Party.

Examinant then went to the Overseer, and said Berryman have you been shooting the Blacks, who
replied yes, I would shoot my Mother this Morning, and said Examinant ought to be dragged thro'
the water for interfering in it. Examinant told him to do it at his peril.

Examinant then asked him for men to work and let them be armed, as after what had passed, he
Examinant living a mile and a half from the farm house thought he should not be safe, but subject
to the revenge of the Blacks.

The Overseer refused this request, and the Examinant walked down to the Blacks Camp which was
on Mr Morris's Estate adjoining to Mr Stephens, where he saw Three Blacks - two Men, one being
very old, and one woman being old - all lying dead from Musket ball wounds and the bodies not
cold.

The old man and the old woman were man and wife and called "Mene Mene".

Examinant inspected the bodies and then went home. He then got dinner and after that two Blacks
came and asked him to go with them to assist in burying a Blackwoman who had been shot by
Joe, meaning Berryman the Overseer. He went with them and took with him John McQuick an
assigned servant to Mr Stephens who was with him at the Hut, and they were brought to the body
of a Black woman lying at some distance from the Camp, and appeared to be dead from Musket
ball wounds.

The Blacks drew off a Blanket which had covered her, and Examinant saw that she had been killed
with Musket balls. She was a young woman, and appeared to be large with Child. Examinant and
McQuick buried her and the Blacks were present but did not assist. They were on the watch least they should also be shot and they ran away as soon as she was buried.

Examinant then went to Mr Fletcher's House, Overseer to Mr Morris's and asked him what he thought of it, who replied he thought it was bad work, and added that he had sent them flints the night before which the Overseer Berryman had sent for, and said that in consequence of this Outrage (or words to that effect) he should be afraid to live in his own house, and that he would not take £100 to live there in the Hut where Examinant resided.

The Dairyman a Servant of Mr Morris's, name unknown to Examinant, was there present and said he saw Berryman pull the old woman (Meme Meme) out of the hut to be shot, saying the damned old whore, she could eat a fat Bullock as well as another. This was the old woman Examinant had seen lying dead at the Blacks Camp.

Signed H. Thompson

Sworn before me this twenty fourth day of December 1832.

Signed F. Allman J.P.
Resident Magistrate

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The Statement of Joseph Berryman

33/12529th Decbr. 1832

Statement made by Joseph Berryman overseer to Sydney Stephen Esqr. at his Farm at Murry Merang County of St. Vincent New South Wales relative to the unfortunate occurrence which took place on the said Farm and on Mr Morris's farm adjoining on the 18th instant December 1832, in a recontre between him and a party of Mr Stephen's Assigned Servants and a party of Native Blacks.

In Sept. last on mustering the Cattle he found three short, & as he suposed the three to be a Cow, & two Heffers, he then spoke to three Blacks, one of them named "Working Man Tommy" to go with his men to search for them, to which they agreed, and he fed them provisions to their starting, but when so fed they went off instead of going with the men to search; and Tommy told a Black Girl who always lived on the Farm & was supported by Berryman, that the others Blacks had killed the three missing Cattle at a place called Durra.

Note - Berryman previous to this transaction had never any quarrel with the Blacks but always endeavoured to keep on good terms with them.

Berryman then turned out his Herd, again & again collecting them, repeating this twice in hopes the estrays might join them, but they did not.

The whole tribe of Blacks had then quitted the neighbourhood altogether but returned in Octr. (next month) and encamped on Mr Morris's farm adjoining, and afterwards upon Mr Stephens farm, but Berryman never saw the Black "Working Man Tommy" afterwards.

The Blacks continued as usual to do jobs for the men on the farm and some of them employed by Berryman in grinding &c. until about the 6th Decr. when they removed to Mr Morris's farm again, but this did not excite any surprize in Berryman as they often move about and they did not go in consequence of any anger, or misunderstanding; they came backwards & forwards until I found (the detail is here changed to the first person) that a Cow was dangerously wounded. This was on the 10th Decr. It was a milking Cow & the anguish stopped her milk. The wound had every appearance of being made by a Jagg spear.
I did not mention this to the Blacks but on the 17th Decr. Jackey Lowder (a Black who had great authority in the tribe and in whom I put great confidence and with whom I always endeavoured to keep good terms) came to me late in the evening (about 10 o’clock) and informed me as a secret that the Blacks had killed the three Beasts before missed and had that day speared a Working Bullock (The shaft Bullock of great value being the only one I had which could shaft on our roads & passes) and that he would come the next morning and assist me to search for it, as after it was wounded it had run away; he also informed me that it was they who had killed some Pigs which I had missed some time before and about which time some Pig bones had been found in some of their Bags.

The circumstance of Jackey Lowder coming so late at night, I knowing their aversness to be out after dark, and having heard that there had been some unpleasant quarrels between them and the whites before I came to the Farm, I became apprehensive of some violence on their part, and I deemed it prudent to guard as well as I could, against the worst, & being unprovided with any arms which were effective I sent that same night to Mr Morris’s to borrow two gun flints, which were sent to me, and I prepared two muskets for defence.

I continued in much alarm, & uneasiness of mind all night, and the next morning I went to Michl. Goode a Ticket of Leave, who worked on the farm, to go with me to ascertain if the information I had received was correct; and we went and found this Shaft Bullock which was in very good condition, with about 9 or 10 inches of a spear in the thick part of his thigh; we took him to the yard, threw him & with great difficulty drew it out with a Hand vice, & dressed the wound.

There were no Blacks on the farm then. I then took Goode and Thomas Sparks, Abrm. Widdick, and Richd. Nipatich, three assigned servants to my master each armed with a musket, but two of them useless for firing. We went to the camp on Mr Morris’s farm and found a marry Blacks there. I put my piece agt. a Tree and made the men stand back. I went forwards myself and asked for Jackey Lowder; they said he was not in the camp. I sent Widdick with a Black man to look for him. After they were gone a few minutes I saw two Black men each ship his spear (making it ready for throwing). I slipped back to regain my musket, and in stepping back, one of the spears was thrown, and stuck in the ground alongside me; the other struck the tree & glanced from me, or it wod. have struck me.

When I recovered my musket I saw a many Blacks shipping their spears & preparing to approach me. I being much alarmed fired my piece, but not with any intention of injuring them. Goode and the other men were then at some distance from me (might be about 15 yards) but as soon as I had fired, I heard them also discharge their pieces.

There had not been any previous agreemt. betw. me and them as to firing; but I supposed they considered both me & themselves in the greatest danger. I ran into some bushes and reloaded my piece, and being much agitated, as I again moved towards my men the trigger of my piece was caught, & it went off by accident, and whether it did any injury or not I dont know, but the Black then quickly fled.

I found a bundle of spears which I broke. I then joined my men, and without going further into the camp. we went home; when I arrived there I found Jackey Lowder in the Govt. Hut. I asked him to come up to my place, as I wanted him. He said he would. I then went towards my own House, and soon as I got there, I heard a shot in the direction of the Govt. Hut. I thought Lowder was followg. me. I ran out and saw him running over the Hill, towards the sea Beach. I asked the meaning of it from the men who told me that as Lowder had run away instead of coming to me, the shot was fired to bring him back.

I only saw this one Black there and he continued to run until out of my sight. I believe two of the men followed him, being anxious to get hold of him, that I might extract from him the information which I wanted. They retd. and told me that he had got clean away.

The Camp was about a mile from my place, and that day I was informed that two men and one woman Blacks were found dead there. I sent two men to see if that was the fact, and if so to bury
them, but if any Black fellows wanted to see them or take them away to let them by all means. They informed me they buried the three bodies.

When I went to Mr Stephen's farm I found it in an unprotected state, and heard that cattle had been destroyed belonging to Mr Morris's, and that once he a Magistrate had gone out with his men after the Blacks & had fired upon them.

I always endeavoured to keep upon good terms with the Blacks, and submitted to many little bits of aggression, rather than quarrel with them:- I had my master's property to protect, and when at length thro' repeated acts of violence on their part I was induced to take out the men armed with a view to get hold of Jackey Lowder, for the purpose of causing him to inform me of the aggressors, and I was compelled to fire in my own defence, it was then only done to frighten them, and not with any intention of taking life.

These are the facts of my case, and I was going to Sydney to lay the whole before my Master.

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Captain Allman Reports the Massacre

33/1255 January 1833

To The Honble.
The Colonial Secretary

Sir

In consequence of having heard that some Aborigines had been shot by a party of Government Men and others under the direction of an Individual named John Berryman T.L. Overseer to Sydney Stephen Esqr. at St. Vincents, I lost no time in taking the examinations of one of the most intelligent of the freemen employed on Mr Stephen's estate at the time, and herewith beg to enclose it for the opinion of H.M. Attorney General.

I have in consequence of Hugh Thompson's information, taken Berryman into Custody, whose statement of the case I also beg to transmit; from what I can learn of Berryman's general character and the terms he always lived on with the Natives, I cannot think that he meditated such consequences as unfortunately happened, on going to the Blacks Camp. I am of opinion that when the Blacks threw their Spears at him he got alarmed and with a view of intimidating them and protecting himself, fired, the other men being at a distance, magnified the danger and without waiting for any directions from Berryman fired instantly; unfortunately with too much effect.

Should it be deemed proper for the ends of Justice to put Berryman on his trial I shall immediately on receipt of such information transmit him to Sydney Goal, and in the interim shall collect every information I can obtain on the subject.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most Obedient Servant
Francis Allman J.P.
Resident Magistrate

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Comment by Governor Bourke

33/1258 Jany. 1833

The Police Magistrate, Wollongong, transmits statements relative to the shooting of two Native Women and one Man by the Overseer and Servants of Mr Sydney Stephen.
For information and reference to the Attorney General - If Thompson is to be believed, there can be no doubt of Berryman & others having been guilty of murder. But as the Natives doubtless did slaughter cattle, this may be a case showing the iniquity of enacting a law which, by ?prescribing a remedy for such acts, deprives Europeans of all excuse for inflicting punishment with their own hands.

The Governor's decision

Referred to the Attorney General.

See33/347

Why has this not been done

33/347 is no answer - Let it be sent quickly

Atty. Genl. to report.

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29 January 1833: Francis Allman writes to the Colonial Secretary seeking information on what is to be done with Joseph Berryman:

Police Office
Wollongong
29 January 1833

Sir

I have the honor to call your attention to my letter of the 2d January respecting the Case of Joseph Berryman, confined in this Lock up house on a charge of Shooting certain aborigines. Wherein I requested the opinion of H.M. Attorney General which has not been received.

The place of confinement here being I conceive unsecure for the safe keeping of a person placed in his situation, and as I am inclined to think that H.M. Attorney General will not proceed with the charge, may request your instructions, either as to having Berryman released or his being forwarded to the goal at Sydney.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your very Ob. Servant
F. Allman J.P.
Resident Magistrate

[Attached comment by Governor Bourke:

If not already done refer to the Attorney General, as directed on 33/125. This ought not to have been delayed. Immediate.

Mr Kinchela 7 Feb 33

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Recommendations of The Attorney General

20 March 1833: The Attorney General finally replies to the Governor's request for recommendations as to action to be taken against Berryman and his associates:

33/211920 March 1833
Attorney General's Office
19th March 1833
Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 7th ultimo, transmitting to me a Letter from the resident Magistrate at Wollongong, enclosing statements relative to the shooting of two Native Women and one Man in St. Vincent's, by John Berryman the Overseer, and other Servants of Mr Sydney Stephen, and by the direction of His Excellency the Governor, requesting I would state my opinion on the proceedings proper to be taken in the above Case, as Berryman is in confinement at Wollongong pending my report.

In reply I have the honor to state for the information of His Excellency, that if the Deposition of Hugh Thompson (which differs so materially from the statement made by Berryman) is to be believed, the conduct of Berryman was so highly criminal, that I conceive he ought to be made answerable for his conduct; for however true his statement may be as to his fright and alarm, when he advanced alone to the Black's Camp, which might induce him to fire off his Musket, yet if the statement of Thompson be true, that on Berryman's return to his Huts, he drew up his Men, and when the Blacks ran from the Huts, directed the Men to fire at them, such an act shews such a wanton disregard for the lives of the unfortunate Blacks, as to lead to an opinion that his attack on the Blacks in their Camp, was equally unwarranted.

I have been informed by Mr Stephen Sydney that Thompson is somewhat deranged, and that therefore his evidence is not to be relied on. The Magistrate however can form a correct judgement as to the state of Thompson's mind, and from some of the other parties, I conceive, information might be got, that would enable him to form an opinion as to the probable truth of either of the statement.

Thompson has also maintained that Mr Morris's Dairyman informed him that he saw Berryman pull the old woman out of the Hut to be shot; this man should be found out and examined, and if he will support this statement of Thompson's, there can be no reliance on the statement of Berryman; if however it shall appear in evidence, that the Blacks threw their Lances at Berryman, before a shot was fired, it would be a question whether the shots were not fired in self defence, in which case the verdict of a jury would be Justifiable Homicide, and the Prisoner would be acquitted; therefore before I can decide whether Berryman should be brought to Trial, I would request that the Magistrate will make the further enquiries that I have above suggested, and further that he will report his opinion as to Thompson's state of mind.

I have the honor to be,
Sir
Your most obedient servant
John Kinchela

23 March 1833: The Attorney General's reply reaches the Governor, who agrees with it and refers the matter back to Allman for further action:

33/211923 March 33
The Attorney General recommends, in the case of the Natives shot by the Servants of Mr Sydney Stephen, that the Magistrate be instructed to ascertain further particulars, as specified.

Copy to be sent to Capt. Allman accordingly.

[The subsequent action of Captain Allman is unknown, however according to Joseph Berryman's ticket of leave, in late April 1833 he was transferred to Penrith from Wollongong, and appears to have escaped any trial over his actions. In all probability the matter was dropped.

The foregoing letters and documents show that it was commonly held - from Governor Bourke down to the convicts - that such extreme action was acceptable in defence of the property of the white settlers.

With no real prosecution - the family and friends of the slain Aborigines had no recourse, and the statement of Hugh Thomson was questioned - Berryman's acquittal was assured.

Hugh Thomson would have to have been a brave man to pursue a murder charge against a fellow European in such circumstances. It was ultimately up to the Governor and his administration (including the Attorney General) to protect the Aborigines. In this instance they failed in that duty, and it was not until the famous Myall Creek massacre of 1838 that they pursued the rights of Aborigines in a court of law to the fullest extent.

The circumstances of the Murramurang massacre were repeated numerous times throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was the exception for their details to be reported officially, and so fully.]
Blankets and Alexander Berry's Reminiscences

The years 1833-42 are some of the richest, historically, in our study of the Iliawarra and South Coast Aborigines, for during this period the first census information of the local Aborigines was compiled in connection with the issue of blankets. They revealed a great deal of personal information on the native population.

The majority of the extant blanket issue forms, from the Archives Office of New South Wales Colonial Secretary Letters, record the following information with respect to individual Aborigines, namely:

- English name
- Native name
- Age
- Number of wives and children
- Place of residence or resort
- Designation of tribe

Though blankets had been issued earlier, it is only from 1833 that returns have survived for the Iliawarra and South Coast people. With such detailed information many of the Aborigines mentioned in historical accounts are brought to life for the first time. The family history value of this material is also significant, as Aborigines were not again included in Australian census until the 1960s. The Aborigines Protection Board lists of 1882-1960s merely indicated numbers, not individual names.

This period also saw the issue of a significant collection of reminiscences on the Aborigines of Shoalhaven, by Alexander Berry.

1833

Shooting at Minamurra

22 May 1833: (Archibald Campbell Papers, 4.1) Notes re shooting of some Aborigines at Minamurra, extracted from official records which no longer survive:

Two blacks found dead, after some shooting at Minamurra - supposed to have speared a bullock night before - shots....
Blankets for South Coast Aborigines

12 August 1833: Captain Allman, magistrate at Wollongong, writes to the Colonial Secretary re a parcel of blankets for Aborigines at Illawarra which had erroneously been sent to Mr Elyard’s (?at Ulladulla). They were subsequently retrieved by Constable Edward Corrigan [AONSW, 4/6666B.3, 33/5289]

Return of Nullandarie Aborigines

8 October 1833: Return of Aborigines at Nullandarie, St Vincent [AONSW, 4/6666B.3], the property of Francis Flanagan near Moruya:

Nullandarie, St. Vincent
8th Octb. 1833

[All are designated as belonging to the ‘Burgurgo’ tribe]

1833: Assistant Surveyor Elliott records the following Aboriginal place names on his ‘Plan of Road through the District of Illawarra’ [refer W.G.McDonald The Oldest Road, 1979, p.21]:

* Ballambi
* Touradgee

No | English Names | Native Names | Prob Age | No. Children of M wives | F | District of Usual Abode
---|--------------|-------------|----------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------
1  | Warrinda     | Warrinda    | 50       | 1                       | 1 | Burgurgo                
2  | Snow-ball    | Muthar      | 33       | 2                       | 1 | Kivora                  
3  | Peter        | Callumboo   | 35       | 2                       | 1 | do                      
4  | Jemmy        | Abba        | 20       | do                      |   | do                      
5  | Jemmy Buuwin | Buuwin      | 40       | 3                       | 2 | do                      
6  | Paddy        | Wambut      | 25       | 1                       |   | do                      
7  | Charley      | Thurwood    | 35       | 1                       | 1 | do                      
8  | Dickey       | Kowal       | 18       | do                      |   | do                      
9  | Joe          | Alwoonigal  | 20       | do                      |   | do                      
10 | Tommy        | Biddimogul  | 30       | 1                       | 1 | do                      
11 | Browley Dickey | Muddoogali | 16       | do                      |   | do                      
12 | Paddy        | Thaboora    | 15       | do                      |   | do                      
13 | Jerry        | Boogal      | 35       | 1                       |   | do                      
14 | Jackey       | Gumboa-a    | 20       | do                      |   | do                      
15 | Thurama      | Thurama     | 60       | 2                       | 3 | 4                       | River
16 | Billy        | Jugroo      | 25       | 1                       |   | 1                       | Moorooya
17 | Bumiel       | Bumiel      | 18       | do                      |   | do                      
18 | Lazy Sandy   | Karbierly   | 35       | 1                       | 1 | do                      
19 | Coborabull   | Yowgoau     | 35       | 1                       |   | do                      
20 | Joey         | Bur Jungaila| 18       | Mullandaru              |   | do                      
21 | Warrinda Tommy | Moothooga | 20       | do                      |   | do                      
22 | Jack         | Kovara      | 30       | 1                       | 1 | Arralooin               
23 | Big Sandy    | Allumroo    | 35       | 1                       | 2 | Wagunga                 
24 | Jemmy Eagan  | Koora       | 50       | 1                       |   | Kariery                 
25 | Pretty Dickey | Mimmina    | 20       | do                      |   | do                      

[All are designated as belonging to the ‘Burgurgo’ tribe]
Campbelltown and Cowpasture Aborigines

[1833] List of Aboriginal males who received blankets at Campbelltown and Cowpastures {Liston, op. cit., p.26}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Budbury</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duall</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundal</td>
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<td>Kurryong</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacky</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Caro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonclai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naredgin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary of Blankets Issued to Aborigines

1833: Tabular extract from the summary of blankets issued to Aborigines in New South Wales during 1832 and 1833 (AONSW, 4/6666B.3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1832</th>
<th>1833</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>South and South Western District</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Morris</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr James Imlay</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Flanagan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Rylie</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Plains</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inverary</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumley</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrima</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home District</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burragurrrang</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stonequarry</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Paulsgrove Diary

Teusday 18 June: The blacks came to husk the corn.

Wednesday 19 June: Blacks husking corn.

Thursday 11 July: Timothy the black shooting for Mr M. Spearing.

Wednesday 24 July: Blacks picking potatoes etc.

Friday 16 August: Went with Mr Spearing and Jerralong to the five island's for some black swan's eggs.

Saturday 17 August: Jerralong brought the black swans eggs.

Saturday 28 September: Killed a cow. Murphy brought some musk plants and gigantic lilies and told us of the death of old Timbooree who died from the bite of a black snake.

[According to the Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong (see under 21 May 1834 below) 'Timothy' and 'Jerralong' could refer to the Aboriginal 'Tommy', native name 'Jerrengong'; whilst 'old Timbooree' was obviously 'Timbery', listed as 50 years old]

1834

The Paulsgrove Diary

March - April 1834: Paulsgrove Diary (op cit.) mentions contact with local Aborigines:

Sunday 16 March: Phillip the black brought Mr Marcus some birds sent Phillip to get some for myself.

Sunday 6 April: Timbourie brought me three pheasant tails from Phillip.

[According to the Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong (see under 21 May 1834) 'Phillip' was the native 'Moodelong', aged 30 years. It appears that Timbourie had survived the snake bite.]

Search for a Missing Mailman

11 April 1834: [Australian] Report on the search for the Campbelltown - Wollongong mailman, Dan Sullivan, who was drowned on 31 March whilst attempting to cross a swollen creek on the road to Wollongong. Mr Brown, the contractor

...despatched both blacks and Europeans to the mountain to search for the unfortunate postman, and the mail, and after two days search, the body was found in a deep hole, a distance from where he had attempted to cross, but the mail has not yet been discovered....
Aborigines at Mooramoorang

28 April 1834: Request for blankets for the Aborigines at Mooramoorang [AONSW, 4/6666B.3]:

Mooramoorang 28th April 1834

Sir

I have the honor to request that, as the Winter is fast approaching, his Excellency will not forget the poor Aborigines with his usual donation of Blankets to this neighbourhood which I believe one of the most populous. I should not have taken the Liberty of writing on this subject but that there is a vessel coming to Ulladolla soon, which would bring those intended for the Blacks here and also those for Mr Thompson of Batemans Bay. If sent to Mr Birdekin of York Street he would forward them to me.

I have the Honor to be
Sir
Your most obt. Servant
W.T.Morris

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Blankets for Illawarra Aborigines

28 May 1834: Letter from the resident Magistrate at Wollongong re blankets issued to local Aborigines [AONSW, 4/6666B.3, 34/3691]

Police Office, Wollongong
28th May 1834

Sirs

In accordance with your Circular of date 18th April last I have the honor to state that the forty Blankets intended for distribution to the Black Natives were received at this station on the 19th inst. and distributed according to the instructions therein ordered.

I beg to enclose a list of the Wollongong Tribe as also a receipt for the forty Blankets.

I have the honor to be Sir
Your most obt. Servant
W.N.Gray
Resdt. Magst.

To the Honble.
The Colonial Secretary
Sydney

-------------------

28 May 1834: Receipt for 40 blankets received at Wollongong for distribution to local Aborigines [AONSW, 4/6666B.3, p.97]

Police Office, Wollongong
28th May 1834

I do hereby acknowledge to have received the undermentioned number of Blankets for distribution to the Black Natives.

40, forty Blankets
W.N.Gray
Resdt. Magst.

-------------------
Return of Illawarra Aborigines

21 May 1834: Return of Aborigines at Wollongong who received blankets (AONSW, 4/6666B.3, pp.37, 37a)

This is the earliest extant listing of the Aborigines of central Illawarra, compiled in association with the issue of blankets by the Colonial administration.

During 1834 a total of 78 Aborigines received blankets, a relatively small number for such a large region. Unfortunately we have no idea of the numbers of Aborigines at Illawarra in 1788, prior to the arrival of whitemen, and cannot determine the degree to which their numbers were reduced, or if they were always small in number. Not all Aborigines living in the district received blankets, either through choice or circumstances, and the number is therefore usually low.

Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Wollongong on 21st May 1834

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
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35 Capt Brooks Munnah 50
36 Paddy Rungading 16
37 Paddy Kibarra 16
38 Fisherman Colromball 14

W.N.Gray
Resd.Magst.

Summary

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[A final column not included in the above table was titled 'Place or District of Usual Resort', however all entries were given as 'Wollongong', though evidence suggests the Aborigines were dispersed throughout the region - see also 1837 Return]

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Return of Campbelltown Aborigine

24 May 1834: Return of Aborigine at Campbelltown who received a blanket (AONSW, 4/6666B.3):

Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Campbelltown on 24th May 1834

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Resident at Narellan

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Return of Aborigines at Shoalhaven

4 June 1834: 'Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven', with covering letter by Alexander Berry (AONSW, 4/6666B.3, 34/4446). Of 160 Aborigines in the district, 60 only received blankets:

Sir
I have the honor to enclose you two Lists received from Shoal Haven.

No 1 contains a general List of the Natives of that District.

No 2 a List of the natives to whom the Sixty blankets sent by the Government were distributed.

I have the honor to be

Sir
Your mo. obt. Servt.
Alexr. Berry
Honble A.Macleay Esqr.

Sydney 11th July 1834
No 1

Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven on 4th June 1834

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</table>

[All the above were designated as resident at Shoal Haven]
1. Carroll Charool 28 1 2 Gerongong
2. Billy Boorah 22 1 1
3. Jack Ratling Terrimelle 26
4. Billy Robert Gunmilate 22
5. Charley Water 26 1

[The above Gerongong tribe were designated as resident at Blackhead]

1. Joe Nunjaroo 26 1 1 Woregy
2. Dunn Mail-gully 27 1 1
3. Peter Wetalie 28 1
5. Jem Cotton Ellit 28
6. Tom Bailey Moolooroo 26 1
7. Dick Woolowra 30 1
8. Joe Cool oom bin 31 1 1
9. Dick Jangright 27
10. Johny Booran mung 22
11. Sam Nunbigal 19
12. Paddy Paddygong 50 2
13. Paddy-Bluet Bluet 50 1
14. Joe Jambajung 46
15. Neddy Dierong 28
16. Jackey Harrimet 26

[The above Woregy tribe were designated as resident at St. Vincent]

1. Sam Conduwhite 25 Murroo
2. Davey Boolah 25
3. Jerry Coowbaret 45 1 2
4. Abraham Tullawhile 28
5. Sam Fisherman Nuuri 39 1 2
6. Davy Temierale 50
7. Jemmy Mejick 21
8. Jem Wha ga lung 16
9. Sam Miriwah 36
10. Minga Waria 25
11. Tommy Minua 40 1 3 1
12. Sam Yamy 50

[The above Murroo tribe were designated as resident at Murroo]

Recapitulation

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77 46 30 17 170

Chas. J. Campbell
Supt.
Return of Blankets issued to Aboriginal Natives at Shoal Haven on 4th June 1834

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<th>No</th>
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<td>Yackin</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Armor</td>
<td>Sandigong</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Carman</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Jackey</td>
<td>Underjung</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Tygee</td>
<td>Tunong</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dick</td>
<td>Buttong</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Charley</td>
<td>Tindle</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gundy Gundy</td>
<td>Gundy Gundy</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[All the above were designated as resident at Shoal Haven]
[The above Gerongong tribe were designated as resident at Blackhead]

46 Joe Nunjarooow 26 1 Woregy
47 Dunn Maligully 27 1
48 Peter Wetallic Meidalath 28 1 1
49 Nelson Newungully 24
50 Jim Cotton Elliot 28
51 Dick Jungright 26 1
52 Tom Bailly Moooolooroo 31

[The above Woregy tribe were designated as resident at St.Vincent]

53 Sam Conduwhite 23 Murroo
54 Davey Boorah 25
55 Sam Fisherman Nanri 39 1 2
56 Jemmy Neejue 21
57 Sam Menwar 16
58 Miuga Miuga 40 1 3 1

[The above Murroo tribe were designated as resident at Murroo]

Chas. J. Campbell
Supt.

[A total of 60 blankets were issued, with two to Broughton]

---------------------

Theft of Blankets for Aborigines at Moruya

12 July 1834: Francis Flanagan to the Colonial Secretary re request for more blankets for the Aborigines at Moruya (AONSW, 4/6666B.3, 34/4637):

Nullandarie, St. Vincent
12th July 1834

Honble. Alexr. McLeay
Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular of the 18th April last, and a Bale, which arrived this day, containing Twelve double, or Twenty-four single, Blankets to be distributed amongst the Blacks, and not Thirty as stated in your Circular.

My agent, Mr Galway of the Company Packet Office Sydney, writes me that one of the two Bales deposited with to be forwarded hither was stolen; consequently, only one Bale arrived here, and the label being torn off in its way, and not knowing therefore, whether it was for me or for Mr Hunts, (who has also received a Circular stating that Thirty Blankets would be sent to him) I have divided the contents with that Gentleman; consequently, we have only Six double, or Twelve single, Blankets each for distribution.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble Servant
F. Flanagan
[Attached comment by Alex. McLeay:

The Bale deficient is that respecting which Mr Gallway was written to. He has replied, I believe, but I have not seen his letter.

The other Bale should have contained 30 Blankets - & no doubt did when sent from hence. But I am aware of no means of making the Persons answerable in such cases. The vessel taking Mr Flanagan's own Stores was considered the best conveyance for sending the Blankets.

-------------------

Blankets for the Aborigines at Lumley

14 August 1834: Return of blankets issued to the Aborigines of the Lumley area {AONSW, 4/6668B.3,34/7031}:

Lumley Argyle
14th August 1834

The Honble. The Colonial Secretary

Sir

Referring to your letter dated 18th of April last regarding the Annual issue of Blankets to the Aboriginal Blacks of this district, I do myself the honor to inform you that owing to the usually long absence of these people from this part of the country up to the 7th instant, no opportunity was afforded me of distributing the Blankets to them, which has now been done as far as practicable in conformity with the instructions in your letter.

Fourteen Blankets were given to the men and seven to the women.

A nominal list of the Tribe is herewith enclosed.

I have the honor to be

Sir
Your most Obedt. Servant
Robt. Futter J.P.

Return of Aboriginal Natives, taken at Lumley on 7th August 1834

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>English Names</th>
<th>Native Names</th>
<th>Prob Age</th>
<th>Number of M wives</th>
<th>Child F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chief of the Tribe</td>
<td>Cue</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>Burrawan</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tommy</td>
<td>Minia</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jacky</td>
<td>Konanda</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tom Coen</td>
<td>Tomal</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tommy</td>
<td>Coite</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jacky</td>
<td>Mergual</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mr Tom</td>
<td>Meria</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>English Names</td>
<td>Native Names</td>
<td>Prob Age</td>
<td>Number of wives</td>
<td>Child M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thurama</td>
<td>Thurama</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>Jugira</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Buunel</td>
<td>Buunel</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Boolby</td>
<td>Boolby</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Billymoke</td>
<td>Billymoke</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cobarabull</td>
<td>Cobarabull</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lazy Sandy</td>
<td>Capparli</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tommy</td>
<td>Mootooga</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Joey</td>
<td>Burjungala</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>Wambut</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jerry</td>
<td>Puckull</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Koombooa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Koondurra</td>
<td>Koondurra</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Joey</td>
<td>Alloonigal</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Karli</td>
<td>Karli</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Dickey</td>
<td>Cowwol</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>Tabara</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>Boougal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25 November 1834: Walter Thomson to the Colonial Secretary re blankets for the Aborigines at Batemans Bay [AONSW, 4/6666B.3,34/8931]:

Batemans Bay 25 Novr. 1834

Sir

I have the honor to transmit to you a list of the Black Natives, who I have distributed Blankets to. The number of Blankets I received from the Government were thirty, & you will observe by the list enclosed that there is only the Names of twenty three of the Blacks given, but among these were several old people, with families, who suffer much more from the inclemency of the weather, than those single men who are not so much advanced in years. I thought it expedient therefore to give the very old people double Blankets each, which accounts for the number sent to me.

To the Honourable I have the honor to be
Alex McLeay Esqr Sir,
Colonial Secretary Your most obt. Servant
&c. &c. &c. Walter Thomson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>English Names</th>
<th>Native Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jackey</td>
<td>Jananagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hughy</td>
<td>Bunnarga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>Trooidgal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jackey</td>
<td>Kananna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bold Rodney</td>
<td>Aliagga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wandra</td>
<td>Wandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tom Ugly</td>
<td>Kullarraga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Milking Dick</td>
<td>Belliora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>Moondia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dickey</td>
<td>Koodaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>Mobbaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tom Brien</td>
<td>Kulgra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mr Daly</td>
<td>Roodooluga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bobby</td>
<td>Kegara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nerang Billy</td>
<td>Yiranbla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>Bunnen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nerang Bobby</td>
<td>Woollely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Jerry</td>
<td>Buggail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Stupid Jamie</td>
<td>Moora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>Pindalrama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Mullulla</td>
<td>Mullulla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aborigines at Batemans Bay

Return of Aboriginal Natives, taken at Bookenbour on 12 July 1834
Summary of Blankets to be Issued

[1834] Summary return of blankets to be issued to Aborigines at Illawarra and along the south coast (AONSW, 4/6666B.3):

List of Natives to which Blankets are to be forwarded for distribution in 1834

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South and South Western district</th>
<th>South and South Western district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Thomson's station</td>
<td>Bateman's Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hunts' ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Flanagan's ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Morris's ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulladulla</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr W. Laren's station</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Ryrie's station</td>
<td>Shoalhaven River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bench of Magistrates</td>
<td>Strathalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Elrington</td>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Plains</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverary</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bong Bong</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home district</th>
<th>Home district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burragarang</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stonequarry</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoalhaven</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penrith</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[In all, 1055 blankets were distributed to the Natives of New South Wales]

Charles Rodius’s Aboriginal Portraits

1834: Charles Rodius (1802-60), a Sydney artist, produces lithographic profiles and portraits of Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines. They were printed in Sydney by J.G. Austin during 1834.

It appears that Rodius took the following portraits of Illawarra Aborigines in Sydney, and did not actually visit the area. Rodius’ portraits of the Aborigines display both their natural dignity and subsequent degradation by white civilisation.
1 Waglay, Shoalhaven Tribe (profile)
Pencil & Charcoal 18.4 x 13.6 cm

2 Sangrado, Pilot of Shoalhaven August 1834 Sydney N.S.W.
Pencil & Charcoal 26.7 x 18.7

3 Morirang, the Lady of Sangrado - Pilot of Shoalhaven
Chs. Rodius del Sydney August 1834
Pencil & Charcoal 19 x 26.4

4 Neddy Nora, Shoalhaven Ch. Rodius Sydney 1834
Lithograph 28.9 x 22.5
Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p212), McAndrew (1990, p34).

5 Tooban, Ginn or Wife of the Chief of Shoalhaven Tribe
Lithograph 28.9 x 22.5
Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p213.3).

6 Morirang, Shoalhaven Tribe, N.S.Wales 1834
Lithograph 28.6 x 22.5

7 a. Culaba, Five Islands Tribe
b. Profile of Culaba
c. Punch, Ginn of Culaba, Broken Bay Tribe
Lithograph 24.9 x 29.9
Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p213.1).

8 Nunberri, Chief of the Nunnerahs 1834
Lithograph 28.6 x 22.5

Copies are located in the Dixson Library collection, Sydney.

H.F. White’s Map of Illawarra

1834: Surveyor H.F. White’s ‘Map of Illawarra’ [AONSW] records the following original Aboriginal names for Illawarra localities and geographical features:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
<th>Modern Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ballambi</td>
<td>Bellambi - township and point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernwurra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulli</td>
<td>Bulli - township</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burelli (mountain)</td>
<td>Burelli Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrimal (mountain)</td>
<td>Corrimal - township</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geringalla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keara</td>
<td>Keira - mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kembla</td>
<td>Kembla - mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para Ck.</td>
<td>Fairy Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towrudgi</td>
<td>Towradgi - point and township</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waniior Pt.</td>
<td>Waniora Point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windang</td>
<td>Windang - island and township</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolongong</td>
<td>Wolongong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woonora (mountain)</td>
<td>Woonona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1834: Major T.L. Mitchell's 'Map of Illawarra' records the following Aboriginal names for Illawarra localities:

* Tureeree, or Long Bush - extends along the northern spurs of the Saddleback Range, south-west of Kiama and south of Jerrara.

1835

Distribution of Blankets at Wollongong

April 1835: According to A. Campbell's notes (4.6, Appendix 2) 70 blankets were distributed to Aborigines at Wollongong:

...Mr W.N. Gray (Commandant) acknowledges 70 blankets per schooner Sarah to be distributed among the native blacks.

Summary of Blankets Issued

1835: Table of distribution of blankets to Aborigines on the South Coast of New South Wales during 1835 (AONSW, 4/2219.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Blankets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Twofold Bay</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batemans Bay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Thomson</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hant</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Flanagan</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulladollah</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Shoal Haven, at Mr Ryrie's</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Shoal Haven, at Mr Berry's</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Reiby</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong, Illawarra</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

July 1835: Conrad Martens, artist, visits Illawarra. Apart from producing a large number of topographical sketches, he produces one small pencil portrait of a local Aborigine with a waddy in hand.

Complaint re Aborigines from Kiama Residents

20 August 1835: [Sydney Monitor] Kiama residents complain about crop and stock losses due to the thieving of local Aborigines, including Captain Brooks and Black Harry:
The Illawarra Blacks

Sir, - We, the Undersigned, have, for a long time past, suffered great and grievous losses from the depredations of the Black inhabitants of this quarter. We have not unfrequently, after our year's toil and anxiety, had the mortification of finding whole acres of our corn, swept away in one night by them, by them, we say, because that fact we can clearly ascertain by the peculiar prints of their feet. But although we have suffered much in the loss of all things out of the house, still we have suffered most in the loss of our pigs; of the two farms alone of Mr Campbell and Mr Hindmarsh, no less than twenty have been taken and destroyed in the last three months; and their wonderful adroitness in the art of stealing has baffled all the vigilance up to the 18th of this month, as to the identical individuals, when Mr Otton's stockman met their chief, Black Harry, with a pig of about one hundred weight on his back, and accompanied by another of his tribe, called Captain Brooks, carrying a bunch of spears and a tomahawk.

On being questioned by the stockman, Harry immediately plunged into the bush again, carrying off the pig, while Captain Brooks, with his spear brandished, turned and gave front to the stockman, and so covered Harry's retreat, on which the stockman went and immediately reported the circumstances to Mr Hindmarsh, who, with a few others, followed, and guided by the smoke of their fires, came up to their camp, where a large oven was prepared in a particular way to roast the pig, and where Captain Brooks had arrived, but not Harry. However, next morning early, on our going to the place again, the watchfulness of their dogs gave them alarm in time to get off leaving behind them about one half of the pig, cut up and partly roasted, together with a quantity of Mr Campbell's potatoes and Black Harry's jacket, with some spears &c.

Now Sir, as silence or supineness on our part, in this case would undoubtedly (in their mind) establish their right to plunder and rob us with impunity, and so render our property insecure and our farms of no value, we humbly hope that you will see the necessity of taking such steps as will appear to you best calculated to put a stop to such daring outrages in future; and as we are now able to identify two individuals, we hope we can put the thing within your reach, and we wait ready to co-operate with the Police or Constable under your orders.

We are Sir,
With respect,
Your most obedient humble servants,

To W.N.Gray Esq.,
Police Magistrate,
Wollongong,
Kiama, 26th July 1835

Thomas Campbell, Patrick Marra,
Michael Hindmarsh, John Ritchie,
Prudenc Otton, Michael Hyam,
William Browne, J.M.Gray.

Assault & Kidnapping of an Aboriginal Woman at Shoalhaven

5 December 1835: A charge of Assault and kidnapping of an Aboriginal woman at Shoalhaven is brought before the Illawarra Magistrates at Wollongong (Illawarra Bench of Magistrates Casebooks, IHS). Two convicts are found guilty and given 75 and 50 lashes respectively:

Thomas Keat, Lord Bentinck
7 yrs 1832

Thomas Parsins, Henry Tanner
7 yrs 1824

Henry Thompson, Asia
14 yrs 1831

Assigned to Alexr. Berry Esqr.
Joseph Neil deposes, and in the Supt. of Alexr. Berry. Deposes on Friday the 20th of last month I was sitting eating oysters when the prisoners Parsons & Thompson came up and I asked if they would have some oysters. They said they did not come after that, and Thompson took hold of a Black Woman. He tore my shirt off her. I then went in for my ... when Parsons took up a stick and said if I showed the least resistance that he would knock me over. They dragged away the woman. I could hear her cries half a mile off. Thompson came back to my Hut the next night and demanded the Child. I refused to give it. Shortly after I saw a Police Man who I told to take the Prisoners in charge. The woman had been living with me about eight weeks.

his
Joseph x McNeil
mark

Robert Monahan Mounted Police deposes: when he was at Shoal Haven, he saw the Prisoners passing & Keats had hold of a Black Woman, and Thompson walking after them. The last witness told me to take them in charge. I could not as it being on other duty at that time.

his
Robt. x Monaghan
mark

Sworn this 5th Decr. 1835
W.N.GrayJ.P.
H Otway J.P.

A Black Native called Muira states that she lives at Numba with McNeil. I want to live with McNeil. Do not want to live with the Three Prisoners. The three prisoners took me away from McNeil. I did not tell Thompson to take me away. They took me to the Clear Ground to their Hut. They kept me there four days. They did not beat me. I could not go back the next day. Thompson kept me. I cried when I was taken away from McNeil.

Parsons & Thompson Guilty of taking a Black Native away forceably from Joseph McNeil.

Parson to receive 50 lashes
Thompson 75 do.

1836

Reward for Black Natives

May 1836: Local Aborigines discover the clothes of a murdered convict and are recommended for reward {Archibald Campbell Papers, Appendix 2}

...Mr W.N. Gray recommended that the reward offered for the murder of the late Patrick Fox in Illawarra be not paid to the parties claiming such. He stated that he did not consider any persons but the Black Natives who found the clothes of the deceased had any claim for a reward - such clothes have been the chief evidence against the murderer - James Tobin.

Wollongong & Kiama Aborigines

20 May 1836: Return of Wollongong and Kiama natives for 1836 {AONSW, 4/2302.1}
Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Wollongong on 20th May 1836

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[All the above were designated as belonging to the ‘Five Islands tribe and Kiama tribe’, with their usual place of resort at ‘Wollongong & Kiama’]

Summary

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Return of Shoalhaven Aborigines

21 June 1836: Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven. Compiled by Alexander Berry

(AONSW, 4/2302.1)

June 21st 1836
Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven
and to whom Blankets have been given

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### Return of Erowal Aborigines

4 July 1836: Return of Erowal natives for 1836. Erowal is located at St George's Basin, on Currumbene Creek, and just south of Jervis Bay (AONSW, 4/2302.1)

#### Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Erowal on 4th July 1836

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[All the above are designated as belonging to the Erowal tribe]

[All the above are designated as belonging to the Bherewarrie tribe]

Summary

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**Backhouse & Walker in Illawarra**

September - October 1836: Reverend James Backhouse, a Quaker minister, and his companion George Washington Walker, visit Illawarra, Shoalhaven, and Bong Bong. They encounter a group of local Aborigines at Kangaroo Valley, Backhouse noting that they were on their way to a corroboree in Sydney, to exchange songs.

In March 1837 the pair briefly visited Jervis Bay whilst en route to Tasmania - see under 1837 for the relevant extracts of that encounter.
During their travels both Backhouse and Walker kept detailed diaries, and Backhouse published an account of their travels in 1843, based on the diaries.

Extracts from the manuscript journals of both Backhouse and Walker (Mitchell Library) are reproduced over the following pages, along with excerpts from Backhouse's published account.

Reverend James Backhouse's Journal Extracts

[Wednesday, 21 September, Wollongong]....The Blacks in this district are not numerous: a group of them (many of whom were affected with sores) were seated on the ground near one of the settler's houses....

27/9 mo: 3rd day [Tuesday 27 September]. Having engaged a native Black as guide, through the medium of Elizh. Williamson we proceeded with him to Kiama: his Colonial name was Tommy: he had a depressed nose, rather enlarged on one side from some injury, his eyes were drawn obliquely downward towards their inner angle; and he wore the pinion bone of a duck or larger fowl thro the cartilage of his nose for an ornament. Through an aperture in this feature they will sometimes stick a tobacco-pipe when they lack pockets or other convenient places for carriage. Our guide however was attired in a suit of mean ragged European clothes, and as a part of his wages, we furnished him with a new suit of slops such as are used for prisoners consisting of a grey woolen jacket, canvas trousers and striped shirt, which we obtained of our host H.Osborne for their fine wholesale cost of 2/6 each: these with a straw hat made him quite spruce, and he formed his old ones into a bundle and tied them about his shoulders; we passed a few other blacks on the way with some of whom Tommy divided his provender reed, at Marshall's Mount [Henry Osborne's home]: the females had their hair ornamented with teeth twisted into the ends of the ringlets with some sort of wax. In this district of Illawarra they are, as in a diminishing race: it is said they are not more than one third of what they were a few years ago.....

[Wednesday, 28 September]....We passed more Blacks this morning near Kyama: several had collected at Thos. Kendall's, with whom our guide seemed to be in good understanding: he spent the night with them, preferring the shelter of a few sheets of bark to that of T.Kendall's kitchen...

[Thursday, 29 September]....Alexr. Berry informed us that having once fired at and wounded a porpoise when in a boat with some Black men, they appeared displeased, and on landing told their women what had been done, on which they began to cry; and he learned that they esteemed the porpoises, ancient chiefs of the neighbourhood, who when they had died had undergone a change into these animals.....

1/10 mo: 7th day [Saturday 1 October 1836]. We crossed Shoal Haven with Jno. and Wm. Berry, being rowed by three Blacks, one of whom named Lewis recognized us, having met us at Jno. Batman's, in VDLand: he is one of those who were employed in collecting the natives of that Colony and was dressed in an old suit of Col: Arthur's clothes. A Black came from a sawing establishment of A.By. where he has learned to work and said he had cleared a piece of land and sowed some pumpkins: he asked also for some seed potatoes to plant, and said he thought it much better to have a settled habitation than to lead a wandering life like his countrymen. A.Berry was much pleased with this spontaneous attempt on the part of the Black to settle, having often in vain tried to persuade some of these people to adopt such a course...

2/10 mo. 1st day [Sunday 2 October]. About 90 persons assembled at 11 o'clock under the verandah at Coolingatta, which was seated with planks laid upon small casks for the occasion, and we had a satisfactory meeting with them: Alexr. Berry and his brothers and Jas. Dickson were also of the company having availed themselves of the adjacent passage. The only native Black in the congregation was Lewis. It was pleasant to observe the kindly feeling exhibited toward the natives here; who from the first settlement of the place have been kept on good terms by the kind-hearted proprietor.
3/10 mo: 2nd day [Monday 3 October]. Being kindly supplied with provisions and also with some articles of wearing apparel for two Blacks named Lewis and Sam, whom we engaged for guides to Bong Bong, we commenced our journey after breakfast.....

Before ascending a mountain range we met half a dozen Blacks, partly dressed in blankets or European clothing and armed with fishing and hunting spears and weapons of war, some of which were of remarkable figure [rough sketch given], and all of heavy wood: one of them was a young man of strikingly fine features and expressive countenance....

Before sunset we arrived at a station on the Kangaroo-Ground belonging to a person of the name of Brooks; where we were recognized by a person in charge that was a prisoner in the Windsor Bridge Party when we visited it, and by a native youth who was at the meeting at Dapto on the 25th ult.....It contains a plain of a few hundred acres and some grassy open forest land of considerable extent, occupied for cattle by R. Brooks and H. Osborne: it is a place of resort for the Blacks, three tribes of whom are now upon it.....

4/10 mo: 3rd day [Tuesday 4 October]. We set forth for Bong Bong; having in addition to Lewis and Sam, Tommy, our former Black guide to assist in carrying our luggage. Since he left us at Shoal Haven he had been engaged in a fight, had got his head broken and had made peace with his antagonist!

Eight other Blacks also joined our party and kept with us. One of the tribes here had in it forty men: the three tribes were from Shoal Haven, Bong Bong and belonging [to] the Kangaroo-ground: they are all about to visit the Cow Pastures to learn a new song! [a corroboree?] an object for which they sometimes travel far.

Several of them could speak tolerable English: they were generally attired in skin garments fixed over one shoulder and under the other, or in blankets or in some articles of British dress. Occasionally those who had shirts would put off their trowsers in the hot part of the day. The parting between some of them and Lewis was very brotherly: he is going with some Europeans to Port Phillip. Few of them had any covering for their heads; some had fillets of network round them, one or two had netted caps and Lewis wore a hat manufactured from young leaves of the Cabbage tree, which is here abundant. All the men had undergone the ceremony of having a front tooth knocked out of the upper jaw.

An aged woman who has lost the use of her limbs was under a small shelter near R. Brooks's hut, and is chiefly sustained by the White people there, tho' she has three sons.

After some time had been spent in conversation, which we found it necessary to submit to patiently, our company commenced their march, carrying with them their arms, consisting of spears, waddies, boomerangs and a musket.

One of the spears (a) was barbed with broken green bottle glass, stuck in with Grasstree gum; with which also they secure the joints, the shafts being of Grasstree flower stems and hard wood. Another (b) had a single wooden barb. Two of the waddies (c & d) were of hard wood, as was also a boomerang (d) which is thin, and sharp edged. A throwing stick or womera (f) is used by fixing its barb against the end of the spear, by which additional impulse is imparted to it, the womera being retained in the hand from which the spear is thrown.....

.....at length we reached the noble mansion of Charles Throsby [at the present-day Moss Vale], by whom and his wife we were kindly received, and who supplied our numerous sable attendants with food also, maintaining a kindly feeling toward the race, who are here quiet, peaceable people toward the whites, more intelligent and less of depraved appearance than many of their countrymen.

[Wednesday 5 October].... We passed some of the Blacks who accompanied us yesterday; also some others, among whom were a man and his wife and two young children, one of which was evidently of European extraction. The Blacks of this part of NSW bring up their half caste children, and thus some of the descendants of Europeans are left to the uncivilized training of a people
denominated savages; but here as in many other cases the cruelty is on the part of the unnatural fathers.

George Washington Walker's Journal Extracts

[Tuesday, 27 September]...we commenced our journey accompd. by our Black, named by the Europeans Tommy, whom we had engaged to conduct us to Bongbong. The Aborigines are very skilful as guides....

28/9 Mo. Fourth day [Wednesday 28 September]. Our black guide, whom we find very useful and attentive, had joined a party of his countrymen in the bush during the night notwithstanding its inclemency, but cast up in due time in the morning.

[Friday, 30 September],...One of the three Blacks who assisted G.A.Robinson in communicating with the V.D.L. Aborigines, and whom we saw when last at J.Batman's, arrived at Shoal Haven today: his name is Lewis. Our former guide having left us, it is probable we may engage him to conduct us to Bong Bong.

[Monday, 3 October],...A great many Aborigines from various districts, Bongbong, Kangaroo ground, were assembled about this place, it was said, to proceed to the Cowpastures to learn a new song that had recently been invented by the Blacks of those parts. Many of these people were fine, athletic men, and bearing marks of a more than common share of intellect, was it but rightly cultivated and expanded. We saw our former guide who had left us abruptly, to deliver a message with wh. he had been entrusted before he met with us, by a person residing at the Kangaroo ground, wh. we were willing to regard as sufft. apology for his defection, and we agreed that on his accomp. us to Bong Bong the following day, he shd. receive his 2/6 [two shillings and sixpence] wh. we had promised him on his arrival with us at the place. He had been fighting since his return and had rcvd. two violent cuts on the head - the cause of this quarrel with one of his tribe was respecting a woman....

[Tuesday, 4 October]....Our kind entertainer Chas.Throsby rewarded our 11 blacks with a plentiful repast from his well-furnished kitchen, to wh. we added some money, of wh. the Aborigines in these parts well understand the use, so as to provide themselves with tea and sugar &c.

While recurring once more to these people, I am reminded of a circumstance of pleasing nature that occurred whilst we were at Shoal Haven. One of the Aborigines applied to Alexr.Berry for some seed potatoes, alleging that he had cleared some ground a few miles up the Shoal Haven River, where he had already sowed pumpkins, being determined to settle down and abandon the vagrant habits of his countryman. Whether he may persevere or not is to be proved, but the disposition to make the attempt is one of the rare instances that it is pleasing to have to record.

The Blacks on this coast feed voraciously on the flesh of Whales that are cast ashore from time to time, and sometimes they partake of it when in such a state of decomposition and in such quantity as to render themselves exceedingly ill. We saw a number of these people about Shoal Haven, and the same degrading intercourse that prevails so much in other parts between the females of the various tribes and the assigned Servants, Stock-keepers &c there is reason to believe exists in these parts. We saw several half-caste children, and in this instance, wh. is far from common, boys, as well as girls.

The Blacks of this district believe in the transmigration of souls. Alexr. Berry was out one day in a boat, having a number of Aborigines with him. In the course of the day several porpoises came alongside, and the blacks seeing him make preparations to shoot at one tried to dissuade [him] from his purpose, he however shot one, at wh. they appeared much disturbed. On returning home, the Blacks related the circumstance of his having killed (or wounded) a porpoise to the women who had been left behind, on which they shewed symptoms of extreme dissatisfaction and horror, and immediately began to wail. It appears that they have an idea that the souls of their deceased Chiefs, inhabit the bodies of porpoises after death. Hence their reluctance to kill, or injure any of these animals. This Alexr. Berry learned from the Blacks themselves in answer to his enquiries.
They do not appear to have been acquainted with all the roots, or vegetable productions calculated to afford sustenance to the human race. Among others the Cabbage-tree appears to have been unknown to them as a means of food, until they were taught to eat it by Europeans. One of the blacks of the party who accompd. us from the Kangaroo Ground, climbed up to the top of a Cabbage, or Palm tree, and cutting off[i] the top or crest including about a foot of the upper part of the stem with his tomahawk it fell to the ground. He then descended, stripped off the outer covering, or sheath, consisting of the base of the leaves composing the crest, and took the central part from it for the purpose of food. It tastes sweetish, not unlike a new hazel nut, and is far from unpalatable.

The Palmtree is used by Europeans for a variety of purposes. The timber is not considered a durable wood, but from its convenient form and size is much used in the Illawarra district for fencing, but is generally appropriated to the rails that are inserted into the upright posts that are fixed in the ground. The latter coming in contact with the damp earth would render the Palm-tree ineligible for such a purpose from the cause I have alluded to. The leaves of this tree are clothed near the base, with a fibrous skin, or covering wh. looks somewhat like coarse cloth, or fine matting, and is very useful in packing, and the leaves themselves are used for thatching the roofs of huts &c &c. They are also split up into thin strips, and are used in place of straw for the manufacture of hats, wh. are worn very generally in the districts where the palm-tree abounds and are both neat and durable. The heart of the Seafortithia is also eaten by both Blacks and Whites for food, but I do not know that it is useful for other purposes.

We met with a party of Aborigines returning from "Kangaroo ground" yesterday, one of whom had a large mass of substance that looked rather like paste that had been mixed up with some colouring substance, like dirt. We were told on enquiry that it was prepared from the nuts, or seed of the Xamia wh. are in size and shape, as well as colour, not unlike a horse chestnut, and grow in large clusters the size of a mans head from the centre of the plant. When perfectly ripe the seeds separate and drop out onto the ground, in this state they are of a bright red, and it is in this state that they are used by the Blacks, who either roast them, and pound them into a paste, steeping them in water to rid them of their acrid and hurtful properties, or get rid of these by longer period of steeping in water, so as to render them fit to be eaten in a raw state. The Black who carried this substance, had wrapped it up in a leaf of the Palmtree....
[28 September 1836]. The day was showery, but we prosecuted our journey, in the course of which we passed several Blacks, with whom our guide was acquainted, and called on a few settlers...

[Backhouse and Walker eventually reach Alexander Berry’s settlement at Coolangatta, on the Shoalhaven, the following day.]

...From the first settlement of this place, Alexander Berry has succeeded in maintaining a good understanding with the natives, who, he says, believe in transmutation, after death. This first claimed his notice, when he had wounded a Porpoise, which some Blacks, who were with him in the boat, tried to dissuade him from firing at. On landing, the men told the women what he had done, at which they made great lamentation; and he learned from them, that they regarded the Porpoises, as having been the ancient chiefs of the neighbourhood, who, when they had died, had changed into these animals; and who, they said, drove fish on shore for them, sometimes whales, when the people were very hungry!

...One of the Aborigines, who has learned to saw, at A. Berry’s sawing establishment, came to Colomgatta to-day, and asked for some seed potatoes. He said, he had cleared a piece of land, and sowed some pumpkins, and wanted to grow some potatoes, and “sit down”, for it was “no good” to wander about, as his countrymen did. A. Berry was much pleased with this spontaneous offer to settle, he having often tried in vain, to persuade some of these people to adopt such a course.

[2 October 1836]. About ninety persons assembled under the verandah at Colomgatta, with whom we had a satisfactory meeting. The only native Black who was present, was Lewis, a man we became acquainted with in V.D.Land, and who was employed in assisting to collect the Natives.

No families in N.S.Wales, who assemble for public worship, appear to take any pains to collect the Blacks along with them. The idea that the Blacks cannot understand a dissertation in English, is one obstacle, and their want of personal cleanliness is another; but neither of these are insurmountable difficulties. I feel persuaded, that if worldly emolument was to be had by civilizing and instructing the Aborigines, they would soon be civilized and instructed; but generally, there is a great neglect, on the part of the white population, with regard to their own spiritual state, and consequently with respect to those around them, especially the Blacks.

[3 October 1836]. We again proceeded on our journey, having two Blacks, Lewis and Sam, as guides, Tommy having left Shoalhaven, without notice. We were so amply provided with food for two days, by our kind host, that the services of one of these men was required, to carry it on his head, in a sack.

...At the foot of the Camberwarra mountains, we met half-a-dozen Blacks, dressed in blankets, and in the old clothes of Europeans. One of these sons of the forests had an expressive countenance, and remarkably fine features; he spoke English tolerably, and said that he went occasionally, as a seaman, on board a vessel belonging to A. Berry. These people were accoutred with hunting and fishing spears, and weapons of war, some of which are here represented. Figure 1, is a heavy, wooden, offensive weapon; Fig.2, a throwing stick, or womera, used for projecting spears; the after extremities of which, are placed against the hook, behind the combatant, as represented at page 380: Fig.3, a single-barbed spear, used in war; Fig.4, a death-spear, barbed with a row of pieces of glass. Fig.5, a shield, of wood, having a handle in the centre, under which is a piece of soft, tea-tree bark, to defend the knuckles. This shield was whitened, and marked with red lines: sometimes they are blackened with blood and soot, under the idea of rendering them proof against injury: and on this black surface, the figure of a hand is occasionally depicted, by means of a white powder, thrown on before the black is dry, or the whole is dotted with white. At Moreton Bay, the shields were oblong, and made of light wood, of the Gigantic Nettle. Figs. 6 and 8, are clubs of heavy wood. Fig.7, a Boomring, Boomerang, Barragan, or Kyler, described at page 319. Fig.9, a four-pronged fishing-spear, described at page 288.

[The party now travels on to Kangaroo Ground, present day Kangaroo Valley]
In passing through some of the more open forest, on the Kangaroo River, and contiguous plain, Buttercups, Violets, and geraniums, resembling those of English fields, but not identical with them, reminded us pleasantly of our native land, while Red-tailed Black Cockatoos, numerous Aborigines, and many plants of truly Australian features, proved that we were still at the antipodes of the land of our birth.

The men residing on the Kangaroo Ground, had no Bible. The only religious treatise in their possession, was a Prayer Book; but they were not destitute of compassion for the afflicted. A poor, aged, black woman, who had lost the use of her legs, and was living near their hut, under a slight shelter, formed of a few sheets of bark, was chiefly supported by milk and scraps of food, which they gave her.

[4 October 1836]. We found our old guide on the Kangaroo ground, where he had been engaged in a fight, had got his head severely broken, and had then made peace with his antagonist.

Three tribes of Blacks were assembled here last night: one belonging to the neighbourhood, and the others to Shoalhaven and Bong Bong. There were forty men in one of these tribes. They were going to the Cow-pastures, to learn a new song, that had been invented by some of their country people there! For an object of this kind they often travel great distances. Several of them speak tolerable English. They were attired either in skin garments, fastened over one shoulder and under the other, or blankets, or in articles of European clothing; one having on a pair of trousers, another a shirt, a third a jacket, and so on. Few of them had any covering for their heads, and none had shoes.

All the men had undergone the ceremony of having one front-tooth knocked out, on being admitted to the privileges of manhood; and they had the cartilages of their noses perforated, and bones, the thickness of a quill, and about four inches long, through them. They wore fillets of network around their heads, and beads, formed of short pieces of reed, round their necks.

They prop up large sheets of bark with sticks, for shelters to sleep under, having fired in front. They are very peaceable, when kindly treated. We felt no fear when sleeping in a rude hut, without a fastening to the door, which blew open several times in the night, though about 200 of them were only a few yards distant.

In the morning eight of them, in addition to the three we had engaged, choose to accompany us on our journey. Our party did not commence their march until after a considerable time had been spent in conversation between our sable companions, and their countrymen. To this delay we were obliged to submit patiently. They carried with them, their arms, and a musket, which one of them had received as a present from a settler, for whom he had done some service....

One of the Natives ascended a Cabbage Palm, and with a hatchet, cut off its head, which he soon stripped of leaves, to afford us the opportunity of tasting the heart. Not having that of the Seaforthia to compare it with, at the time, I could not decide that it was superior, though it is generally reputed to be so. The Natives informed us that they were not aware that the hearts of these Palms were wholesome, till White people came among them; they now form a considerable item of their food, in this part of the country. The Blacks were greatly afraid of being poisoned, by eating articles to which they have not been accustomed. Though sometimes pressed with hunger, they seem not to have tried several vegetable productions, likely to afford sustenance; and those of V.D.Land will not eat any kind of fish, but shell-fish, probably from fear of being poisoned by them....

Some Pheasants and a Kangaroo were espied in the bush by the Natives, who were very cheerful companions. They were amply supplied with food, on arriving at the noble mansion of Charles Throsby, at Throsby Park, near Bong Bong, where we also were received with great hospitality.
## Return of Aborigines at Bong Bong

15 November 1836: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Bong Bong. This return also includes Aborigines from Shoalhaven and Kangaroo Ground [AONSW, 4/2302.1]

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There were no blankets for these

Females

English
- Polly
- Mary
- Biddy
- Maria
- Sally
- Betsey
- Jenny
- Polly
- Nancy
- Old Jenny
- Susan
- Jenny
- Nancy

Native
- Juleong
- Boona
- Enrikingal
- Aroa
- Carryingle
- Uallonja
- Doombye
- Noolong
- Kierling
- Tingoro
- Onat
- Worrianja
- Wolwonja
- Nancy

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W.H. Fernyhough’s Profile

[1836] W.H. Fernyhough, artist, produces profiles and portraits of New South Wales Aborigines, including:
- Bill Worrell, Five Islands Tribe
  Lithograph
Backhouse & Walker at Jervis Bay

19-21 March 1837: Reverend James Backhouse and his companion George Washington Walker briefly visit Jervis Bay whilst en route to Tasmania from Sydney.

The following account of the native huts observed there is from Backhouse's 1843 publication *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London, 1843, pp.468-469):

[20th March 1837] .....We saw some Blacks fishing: some of their hooks were formed of pieces of shell, but they preferred English ones, of steel. In the evening, one of them commenced making a shelter for the night, of slabs of bark set up against sticks in the form of a pyramid, such as is represented in the accompanying cut.

[Here follows a woodcut engraving of two of the huts]

Shelters of this kind, or of bark, raised in the form of a roof, are amongst the best habitations of these people, in this part of Australia; most commonly, they only prop up a large sheet or two of bark, with sticks, and thus make a shelter to windward, with a fire in front.

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Return of Aborigines at Shoalhaven

2 May 1837: Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven, by David Berry (AONSW, 4/1133.3)

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3  Nelson  Noorangully  27
4  Jem Cotton  Ilitt  31  1
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6  Joe  Cullumbine  31  1
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8  Padde gong  Munjaa  53  1  2
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7  4  7  29

The 100 Blankets per Schooner  Edward the 15 day April 1837.

General Total

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Every Black that received Blankets, had their native name stamped on the Blanket.

David Berry

Aborigines at Wollongong

8 May 1837: Return of Aborigines at Wollongong. This Return is very descriptive in its allocation of ‘Place or District of Resort’ within Illawarra, revealing the ‘home’ localities of many of the Aboriginal family groups {AONSW, 4/1133.3, 37/4430}
Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Wollongong on 8th May 1837

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<td>Chipporine</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Dapto</td>
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</table>
In addition to which there were Seven Widows & Two Female Orphans

A.Holden
Police Office Wollongong
8 May 1837

[All the above are designated as belonging to the 'Five Island Tribe']

A Convict 'Harboring Gins' at Wollongong

30 November 1837: William Childs, a convict, is charged with harboring Gins on the property of Colonel John Thomas Leahy, at Wollongong [Illawarra Bench of Magistrates Casebooks, IHS]:

Thursday the 30 November 1837

William Childs
Mary 1833 7yrs
Assigned to J.T.Leahy Esq

Charged with loosing his firearms (with which he was entrusted as a special constable) caused thro' design or neglect, also with inducing black gins to come to his hut and harbouring them contrary to his master's orders.

John Thomas Leahy being duly sworn states shortly after my return from Sydney last week I was informed that the watch man Wm. Childs left his firelock under the blanket in his bed in consequence of it being a wet night. I asked him how he could have left it there knowing that I had repeatedly spoken to him on the impropriety of taking the firelock to the hut at all, having frequently seemed in a position by the hut that any person might have run away with it.

He acknowledged his error & seemed to think some of the men did it for spite, & consequently spoke very harshly to the men in the hut on the neglect and to the men in general saying that a joke of the kind might bring trouble on the .... of them and recommended them to return the firelock.

I ordered Childs to move from that hut & go into the garden hut; the day after he went there one of the men came to me & said "we do not want to excuse ourselves from having done many bad things for whenever you are away from home notwithstanding what you have said to Billy Childs he has the black gins about the place and he has been long anxious to get to the garden hut as he thought on the vegetables & his rations he could keep one of those jins, and if you go down tonight you will find the gins at the back of the garden hut."

That evening my overseer will prove that he found Childs with the black gins in the garden hut. My orders to Childs were that when he hadn't the musket on only he was to give it up to my servant Cusack to take care of.

Sworn before me
A.Holden JP.

Jno. Thos. Leahy
Charles Pulham sworn states - I am Colonel Leahy's overseer & am aware that my master has ordered Childs not to have the black gins in his hut. On Monday evening I went by his orders to Child's hut to see if any gins were there, and found two there & the prisoner Childs with them.

Sworn before me
A.Holden JP

Prisoner states that he has nothing to say in his defense but insists on the truth of his statement as to having put the musket under his blanket and in that way having lost it.

Guilty of disobedience of orders
14 days Solitary Confinement

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Alexander Harris at St Georges Basin

[c1837] According to Alexander Harris's *Settlers and Convicts* (London, 1847) around this time he became lost in the vicinity of St Georges Basin, near Jervis Bay, whilst attempting to rendezvous with a friend. After a day or two in the bush, resulting in near exhaustion and starvation, he was finally saved by the discovery of an Aboriginal camp. His describes his fate as follows:

...Far in the night as I rose out of one of these [blind creeks] on to the hip of a scrubbby hill, there gleamed out bright before me, not half a quarter of a mile off, the fires of a black's camp; and the dogs at the same instant, attracted by the cracking of the bush, sprang forward yelping by scores.

I knew there were none but quiet tribes here, and, filled with new strength, was in a few minutes among them, as heartily pleased as ever I had been at any thing in my whole life.

They gave me plenty of baked fish and cabbage-tree, and a "bangola" of "sugar-bag" (water sweetened with native honey), for which I rewarded them with nearly the remainder of my tobacco - about half a pound.

They were about a hundred of them; several of them I knew well from their coming to my hut some years before [c1827-8], when in the Long-Brush, behind Kiama. They put me in one of their best gunyahs (a sort of hut of bark, shaped much like those of the English gypsies), and gave me two very large opossum cloaks for the night, with many an exclamation of

"Poor fellow you, binghi (brother); most dead you, I believe; what for you stupid like that? what for you not fetch 'em gun and shoot 'em parrot, and patter (eat)? bail boos got it chop (the bush has got no shops)."

For an hour the camp was all astir with the white fellow's adventure; the young men shouted and laughed, triumphing in their superior faculties; the old men talked gravely and shook their heads; and the gins, true to their sex, passed to and fro among themselves, from fire to fire, their exclamations of pity with each new bit of information about my mishap, as one or other of the blackfellows, by some fresh question, extracted it from me. Human nature is the same from the throne to the gunyah.

At length all slept except myself. It was long before I could forget myself, though I was very careful to take only a few mouthfuls of food. When I did shut my eyes it was only to pass into a state of delirious consciousness; my mind was even more awake than before I slept....

In the morning, though dreadfully tired, stiff, and weak, I set off under the guidance of two of the old men for the rendezvous. I easily made them understand where I wanted to go. You can scarcely name any particular tree in the bush but the blacks know it. The hut they recognised immediately I described it; and I found that my opinion of its original use was perfectly correct.
They told even the stockman’s name who used to "sit down" (live) there. He had been dead sometime, or they probably would not have done so.

Instead of going all round by the roads, the blacks took me a short cut; and on my arrival I had the gratification of finding R— was behind his time, and not yet there. As I made full sure it would not be much longer before he made his appearance, we knocked up a fire in the hut, and I passed the remainder of the time in explaining to my guides that I wished them not to say anything to other white men of my being there. This they promised, and they are people with whom a promise made under such circumstances is very rarely, if ever, broken. In my many years' dealings with them I never knew an instance.

The two blacks left me a couple of hours before sundown, giving me one of their tomahawks in case R— failed to come; also a good bundle of cabbage-tree for my supper, and an opossum’s skin cloak; these cloaks are a rare possession in the bush.

An opossum's skin is about as large as that of a cat, and when stretched out and dried, cuts to about 15 in. by 8 or 10. Thus dried, and with all the hair on, the blacks sew them together to the number of from 30 to 60; white men also have learned the art; so manufactured they make a capital protection from the weather, either by day or night. By day they are worn as shawls, by night the wearer wraps them all round him, and lies down completely enveloped. The damp of the ground penetrates them very slowly and very slightly. I have worn one doubled through a whole day's pouring rain without becoming wet.

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1837-48

Robert Westmacott, Artist, at Illawarra

Robert Marsh Westmacott, a local settler at Bulli and amateur artist, produced numerous sketches, watercolours, and lithographs depicting the local Aborigines during his ten year residence in the district. The following is a list of known works with Aboriginal subjects or motifs:

* The Bourke Falls, Illawarra 1838
  Lithograph
  [View of two natives, with spears and shield, looking up at the Bourke Falls]

* View from Bourkes Pass, on the Maneroo Range 1838
  Lithograph
  [A party of Europeans and natives in the foreground]

* Green Point and Five Islands, Illawarra
  Pencil
  [A group of Aborigines is seen fishing in the creek in the right foreground, with a native hut (termed by Westmacott a "gumoya") nearby on the bank, native figures in foreground by a campfire]

* Bulli Bay on the Coast
  Pencil
  [View from Bulli Point with two native figures in foreground by a campfire]

* On the Coast near Stanwell Park
  Wash
  [Two native figure on rock ledge in foreground]
Menzies Falls Illawarra Wash
[Aboriginal figure with spear in left foreground]

Waniora Rover, Co. Cook, NSW Pencil
[Aboriginal figures by river, one with spear poised in hand]

Aboriginal Huts Wash
[Front and rear view of a grass hut, showing internal and external structure; woman and child in left hut]

Natives Watercolour
[2 male figures - 1 man standing, and a youth seated. Both wear headbands, whilst the man is wearing a rug coat, and the boy a cloth girdle]

Mountain Pass from "Jamberoo" to "Bong Bong", Illawarra NSW Pencil
[View of mountain pass with two natives in foreground]

Para Creek, Mount Kembla Pencil
[Three native figures by the creek, one immersed fishing]

Mount Keera, Belambi Pencil
[Four native figures, with one in a canoe and another in the water fishing]

Native Women of the Murray River N.S. Wales Watercolour
[Crouched woman, wearing a fur rug and tooth ornament on head]

Native Women Watercolour
[Two native women, each wearing a rug]

Jervis Bay on the East Coast, N.S. Wales, a fine harbour Watercolour
[View of the Bay with three native figures in the foreground]

View from Mount Terry, looking towards Lake Illawarra Watercolour
[Aboriginal figure in foreground, wearing a multi-coloured coat]

Bulli, from the Coal Cliffs, Illawarra Watercolour
[Native figure on rock shelf, fishing with a spear]

Entrance to Illawarra Lake from the sea Watercolour
[An Aborigine fishing with a spear is seen in the centre foreground]

View in the Kangaroo Valley showing the manner the natives climb the trees for oppossums and bandicoots Watercolour
[Showing an Aborigine of the Kangaroo Valley climbing a tree to hunt possum. George
French Angas also recorded a similar scene from the Dapto area in August 1845, with Aborigines scaling the slender cabbage palms.

In 1848 Westmacott published in England a series of 18 lithographs with Australian subjects, based on his original sketches. The following included Aboriginal figures and motifs:

- Natives
- Mountain Pass, from Jamberoo, Illawarra & Bong Bong
- Natives (Armed) (In Deep Mourning)
- Condons Creek
- Woronora River
- Jarvis Bay
- Cover for ‘Sketches in Australia’ Lithograph & engraving
  [The border to this cover is comprised of Aboriginal artefacts such as spears, axes, a club, womera, shield, and nulla nulla]

Each lithograph was accompanied by descriptive letterpress text which often presented brief descriptions of some of the customs of the Aborigines of Illawarra, and New South Wales in general. Relevant sections are reproduced as follows:

- Natives. (Armed) (In Deep Mourning)

The Aboriginal population of New South Wales may be classed in the lowest scale of human beings at present known to the white man. The generality of the people are small in stature, with large heads, broad shoulders, long arms, and are very ugly. Their clothing consists simply of an oppossum cloak. They are fond of adorning their persons with the teeth of kangaroo, cockatoo feathers, flying squirrel tails, &c. &c. They cover their bodies with whatever grease they can obtain, and with sharp flint cut their breasts, arms, and backs, making long gashes, which they fill with earth, keeping the wound open until it heals: it then presents a frightful scare or weal. The males have the front tooth struck out upon arriving at puberty. When they mourn for one of their tribe, or go to war, they smear their bodies with pipe clay and a yellow pigment they make from the bark of trees. They evince some skill in making their war and fishing implements, and are very dexterous in using them. They throw the spear with great precision from one hundred to one hundred and twenty yards, by means of the womera or throwing stick, a piece of wood about three feet long, three inches broad at one end, terminating at a point at the other, to which a hook is fastened; this hook is inserted into the extremity of the spear, a small hole being made to receive it, and the womera being grasped at the broad part, the arm is suddenly extended, and the spear flies off, the womera remaining in the hand. The bumerang is also a very extraordinary implement used by these savages. Its form is that of a curve, the concave part is something more than a quarter of an inch thick, but the convex side is very sharp. They throw this instrument fifty or sixty yard; in its flight it turns round with great rapidity, and suddenly rising to a great height in the air it then returns, and ultimately falls at the feet of the person throwing it; this weapon is used in hunting as well as war.

It would be difficult to describe their religious beliefs, but they have an idea of the existence of a good and evil spirit. The latter they insist wanders about at night, and therefore nothing will induce
a native to move about after nightfall; when the day closes they halt, and to use their own phrase -
they sit down. When one of the tribe dies, the name is never mentioned for one twelvemonth, nor is
any allusion made concerning the deceased. They treat their women brutally, and they obtain their
wives after a very novel fashion. They steal the woman from another tribe, cautiously following their
track and watching for the opportunity when the men leave the camp for hunting. The suitor then
rushes on the female he desires to secure, and beats her until she is senseless, when he carries
her off. He has however to undergo a severe penalty for this. In the first place, the aggrieved tribe
is allowed to select a certain number of companions or warriors to throw their spears at the
delinquent, who is only permitted to use the helleman or shield to defend himself. Should he
escape from this, he is subjected to a still more severe trial: a man is selected to meet him, and
each is armed with a waddy; one quietly presents his head and receives a desperate blow; this
being inflicted, the other then offers his head for the same discipline, and this continues until they
reel about quite senseless. The blows inflicted would be sufficient to kill any other human being,
but these people's skulls are of extraordinary thickness. After this the two tribes become friends,
and pass a day or two in dancing their corrobories, and in exhibiting other demonstrations of
friendship. Many attempts have been made to civilize them, and make them of some use, but
instances of their leaving their wild habits are rare. In some later numbers further accounts of this
wild people will probably be given.

Mountain Pass, from Jammeroo, Illawarra, & Bong Bong

There is nothing of particular interest in this view, except the very beautiful scenery it represents.
The Mountain is of considerable height, clothed to its summit by gigantic trees of the Eucalyptus,
Cedar, &c., and Shrubs of great beauty, the soil being of the richest description. This Pass is very
precipitous, and used only by the natives, who appear upon all occasions to make their paths pass
over the summits of eminences, instead of making an easier ascent by going round them.

Natives.

The Aboriginal women are small in stature, ill-made, and very plain, seldom having a robust
appearance, and not so cleanly as the men. Their life is one of hardship, doing all the drudgery and
hard work, the men seldom assisting. These people are never stationary; all the camp equipage
and children are carried by the women, the men condescending to carry only their weapons of
war, the chase, or fishing. Should the gin, or wife, have a child before the last is able to follow, the
poor little wretch, unless some more humane than father or mother protects it, is put to death.
Upon arrival at the ground for encampment, the women erect the gumoyas, or huts, light the fires,
fetch water, and cook what they may have for the evening repast. Their daily wanderings are over
at sunset. No black fellow ventures abroad after dark, as they have an idea that evil spirits then
roam about and afflict them with misfortune and disease.

Condon's Creek.

This view of Condon's Creeks, in the district of Illawarra, has nothing further to recommend it than
being the favourite resort in the season, of the aboriginal natives, for catching fish in their peculiar
manner of stupifying them. The sketch endeavours to show the manner in which they perform this
novelty. A tree, called by them the Dog Tree, is stripped of its bark, and tied up in bundles, it is then
dipped in the water and placed over a blazing fire, when it becomes hot, and emits a strong smell,
it is plunged into the water, the natives previously driving the fish to the mouth of the creek, and
damming it up with bushes across, shortly the fish appear on the surface, as if dead, they are then
thrown upon the bank, and soon recover, apparently none the worse for the dose administered.’

[Possibly located in the region of Shellharbour, as part of Condon’s Swamp]

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1838

Aboriginal Camp at Wollongong

9 February 1838: John Mater, a convict, is charged with being in the camp of the Aborigines at
Wollongong:

Police Office Wollongong Feby 9th 1838

Present P.Plunkett Esqr. J.P.

John Mater per Hadlock 1 Charged with being in the Camp of the Aboriginals
ToL 1818 Life

Capt. Sneyd, Mounted Police, deposes the night before last I heard a great noise amongst the
Blacks where they had camped for the night near to the Police Stable. I went there about 11
o’clock and I found the Prisoner lying down in one of their Huts. He was drunk. The Blacks said
that on account of White Men being with the Gins that caused a quarrel amongst them.

Sworn this 9th Feby
1838
P.P. J.P.

Saml. Sneyd

Guilty of drunkeness and
amongst the Aboriginals

4 Hours Stocks
P.Plunkett J.P.

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Return of Aborigines at Wollongong, Shoalhaven,
Ulladulla & Jervis Bay

7 May 1838: Return of Aboriginals at Wollongong, Shoal Haven, Ulladulla, and Jervis Bay,
compiled in association with the issue of blankets [AONSW, 4/1133.3, 38/11130]

Court House Wollongong
19th October 1838

Sir

With reference to your letters of the 7th January last No 38/6, I have the honor to forward a Return
of the aboriginal Natives of this District to whom blankets have been issued on the 7th of May last
and subsequent periods, and to state, in consequence of the difficulty of collecting the aborigines
particularly those in the neighbourhood of Ulladulla and Jarvis Bay, that twenty two Blankets remain on hand at Shoalhaven.

I have the honor to be
Your most obedient Servant
P. Plunkett
Police Magst.

To
The Honourable
The Colonial Secretary

Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Wollongong on the 7th May 1838

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<th>English Names</th>
<th>Native Names</th>
<th>Prob Age</th>
<th>No. of wives</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Place or District of Resort</th>
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There is confusion in this return - the names are marked and then their names are afterwards inserted.

[All the above are designated as belonging to the Wollongong tribe. The following individuals belong to a variety of tribes, as designated thus {...} etc]

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P. Plunkett
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225
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Boys 30
Girls 19
Total 139

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Shoalhaven

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All the above are resident in the district of Illawarra; all the following are resident in the County of St Vincent.

[Shoalhaven]

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P. Plunkett
Police Magistrate

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**Reminiscences of Alexander Berry**

May 1838: ‘Recollections of the Aborigines by Alexander Berry 1838’ (AONSW, Supreme Court Papers, Cod 294, Part B, pp.557-608)

The following reminiscences by Alexander Berry were initially recorded in May 1838, and later updated for publication in 1871 (refer also under that date).

Alexander Berry was a prominent Sydney merchant who had established a settlement at Coolangatta, on the Shoalhaven River, in 1822. He eventually claimed over 10000 acres of land in the area, and his family held the property until the turn of the century. Berry was relatively accommodating to the local Aborigines in everything but granting them land, and did not chase them away by force of gun as was so common in other areas of Australia.

These reminiscences, combined with the accurate blanket issue / census compiled during the 1830s by both Alexander and David Berry, give a rare glimpse into the post-contact Aboriginal society at Shoalhaven.
Recollections of the Aborigines

by

Alexander Berry

May, 1838

The first Native in whom I took an interest was old Bungaree in the year 1819. He was a particular favourite with Governor Macquarie, who created him a chief, gave him a farm, and Government men victualled from the store to cultivate it. Bungaree was a man decidedly of considerable natural talents, very faithful & trustworthy, but had all the defects of his Race, in consequence of which all the trouble & expense bestowed by the humane Macquarie to ameliorate his constitution proved abortive, as in every other instance.

About Christmas in that year, poor Bungaree was severely beaten in a drunken brawl by his countrymen. He was brought to my house with a severe wound in the head and a fracture of the fore-arm. I dressed his wound, bound up his arm, & gave instructions that he might be taken care of in the kitchen. There he remained several days until he recovered from the bruises. The moment however he was able to move he escaped from the house as from a jail, and disconnected the arm from the bandage. Some weeks after he came back. On examining his arm I found that the ends of the fractured bones had healed without uniting, giving the appearance of a joint, and it remained for the rest of his life.

About the same time I had a great deal of conversation with another intelligent native at the country house of Mr Oxley, the late Surveyor General. I asked him if they could not erect houses for themselves like the mens’ huts which would afford them better protection from the weather than a sheet of bark. He replied that they no doubt could do so, and that such huts would afford them better shelter, but that it would not suit their mode of life. That it was necessary for them constantly to change their place of residence in search of the means of subsistence, and that their means of subsistence had become more scanty since the country had been occupied by white men. That the sheep and cattle cut all the grass in consequence of which Kangaroos had become very scarce, and that they now lived chiefly on squirrels and opossums & such small animals.

I went to Shoal Haven in June 1822 in order to form an establishment. At that time the Natives at that place bore a very bad character and were considered very hostile to the whites. Some years previously the Shoal Haven River was frequented by cedar cutters from Sydney. In the end the natives either killed all the sawyers or forced them away. One day my friend James Norton thus addressed me:

"I hear you are going to take a farm near Jervis Bay. Is it true?"

I replied in the affirmative.

"Are you mad," he retorted. "The natives will eat you."

I however entertained no fears, and had no doubt would be able to conciliate them. I was even so chimerical as to be sanguine that I would be able to civilize them.

I went down in a small cutter (15 tons) and took along with me two natives - one named Broughton, born at Shoal Haven & who had accompanied the late Mr Throsby on several journeys into the bush; the other a tame native named Charcoal who was a good boatman.

On the evening previous to my departure I observed this fellow moving on stilts with great rapidity past my door as if he had some important business to perform. I considered his earnestness as a
mark of intelligence and beckoned to him. He was informed that I was to sail to Shoal Haven in the
morning. I asked him to accompany me. He instantly forgot his own business, informed me that he
was a good sailor & would be very glad to accompany me. He stopped in the kitchen all night. Next
morning he was rugged out in sailors cloathes and appointed pro forma Mate of the cutter
Blanch.

When we arrived near the Shoal Haven Heads it fell calm, and we got the boats ahead of the
vessel. The River empties itself into the sea through a low sandy beach and there is a bar at the
entrance, but I had heard that vessels of 70 or 80 tons had entered, and therefore I imagined there
would be water enough for a sloop of 15 tons. When the boats however got to the back of the surf
they returned, observing that it would be unsafe as they saw every surf heaving up the sand. On
entering the vessel Davidson the Master, a young man whose life I had saved years before at New
Zealand, urged me very much to proceed. I directed him however to take the vessel into Crook
Haven, a small place 3 miles to the southward, where we would examine the bar at our leisure. He
persisted however in saying that the surf was nothing, that it was not near so bad as Dublin bar,
and that we were deceived by the glitter of the sun upon the waves.

During the dispute the vessel gradually approached the surf, & Turner, one of the men, observed,
"Davidson is right, the nearer we get, the less the surf appears."

I tacked again and there appeared a small channel abreast of the vessel. "Well Davidson," I
observed, "since you are so urgent you may take the boat if you can get volunteers, and sound the
channel - but take care to keep out of the breakers."

In a moment the boat was manned. I looked at Davidson as he passed over the side - there was a
livid flush upon his face. I thought it resembled the purple hue of death and immediately repented
the consent I had given. I ran up to the mast head and again saw the surf breaking across what a
few minutes ago was a smooth channel. I called out for all hands to shout for the return of the boat,
& waved my hat from the mast head for their return. They heard & saw us, and absolutely turned
round the boat, but after disputing some time among themselves again turned round the head of
the boat toward the surf.

I again went up the mast in breathless anxiety. The passage was again smooth & I saw the boat
passing along it with a wall of breakers on the right hand side & on the left. I observed to a person
near me they had got into a smooth place & hope it may not prove a deceitful calm. I had ceased
speaking when a mighty roller rose up behind the boat. As it moved along the boat was hid from
my view, but in a few seconds I saw it on top of the wave. A second wave rolled along and the boat
was again invisible. In a few seconds the oars appeared in the air, and as the wave passed the boat
appeared upset & the men clinging to her sides.

My first impulse was to leap into the little Dingo and get to their assistance. A moments reflection
convinced me it was madness. We then got out our sweeps & pull for Crook Haven and endeavour
to assist them by land.

I forgot to mention that a third roller again rendered the boat invisible and when it passed we only
saw two men out of five clinging to the boat.

On our way to Crook Haven we saw a lame & naked blackman supported by a stick moving along
the beach. He reached Crook Haven at the same time as the cutter - it was Charcoal. We sent the
Dingo for him & he came on board.

"It is a bad job," he said. "They are all drowned."

Charcoal informed us that when I called them they were all desirous to come back except
Davidson, who strongly urged the men to proceed. Charcoal told them that if they did not go back
they would be drowned. At length Turner, the man who spoke before, said: "Davidson is now our
master & is the best judge. Let us obey him."
They then put round the boat, when Charcoal stripped of all his clothes and recommended them all to do the same as they would have to swim for their lives; that he was not afraid being a good swimmer; that none of them would take his advice, & that he was sure they were all drowned, particularly Davidson who had on two pairs of Trowsers.

Assistance was immediately sent along the beach, and after some time they brought back two living men, one of whom was Turner, but the bodies of Davidson & the other man were never found.

They confirmed Charcoal's account of the matter - that when the boat was upset Davidson & the other man both left & took to swimming, but they being unable to swim stuck to the boat. That when the 3rd wave struck her it turned her over on her bottom. They then contrived to get inside, & although full of water she still floated & was driven ashore by the surf.

These two men were much bruised by the surf but neither of them were permanently injured, & Turner had since become a very noted character in the Bay of Islands New Zealand.

This tragical adventure upset all my arrangements, & therefore I immediately put spades into the hands of my men and their first operation was to cut a canal between Crook Haven & Shoal Haven River.

The Natives all this while kept aloof. We went one morning to the banks of the Shoal Haven River & observed some Natives on the opposite side. Charcoal immediately stripped himself and held up his hands, when they launched their Canoes & came over to us, & from this time forward the other natives gradually began to show themselves.

Charcoal was my regular boatman, but Broughton on the other hand was my Landman & I must speak of him next.

My intention was originally to have fixed myself upon a high bank to the north side of the River about six miles from the entrance. I therefore determined to explore the country while my men were cutting the canal. Having launched the Dingo into the River I therefore proceeded to the spot with Broughton & another Black whom he called his mate, accompanied by Mr Hamilton Hume.

On reaching the place, I found only a narrow border of dry land with an interminable swamp behind. After this unpleasant discovery I came back to the boat & set down at the fire. In the course of the evening I observed to Mr Hume that the place would not do for an establishment. Hume replied - "If I were in your place I would never give up this piece of land."

Broughton who was listening to the conversation smiled & said - "I wonder to hear you Mr Hume." I replied - "what do you mean Broughton, do you think this place will not do for a farm?"

"No," he replied. "Besides being all swamp, there is no water unless in very deep holes, and when the cattle went to drink they would fall in and drown themselves."

"This is all very singular. You told [me] Broughton, in Sydney, there was plenty of fine land at Shoal Haven."

He replied "& so there is, but this is not the place."

"Why then did you bring me here."

"I did not bring you here, you said you wanted to go to Balang (the name of the place) and I only accompanied."

"Very well Broughton, tomorrow you must take me to the right place," & next day I pit myself under his guidance, & he showed me a different description of country, but the place he recommended was the spot where he was born at the head of a long creek now called Broughton Creek. He told us that at this place the creek became fresh & divided into two branches. That there
was an elevated forest range that divides the two branches. That I ought to build my house & stock yard on the range, & that there was a clear meadow in front where I could cultivate maize.

As this was at some distance we returned to our encampment in order to refit ourselves for the expedition. Our plan was to walk with Broughton to the head of the creek in order to examine the whole extent of the country, & I sent up our provisions in the Dingo. The Dingo was put in charge of Billy - a boy of sixteen, Broughton's mate - and he got another Boy of the Natives about the same age to assist. This last had never before seen a white man & I mention the circumstance to show that I began by placing complete confidence in the natives, for I could see that they were proud of the confidence.

It was late in the evening when we reached the head of the creek. We were all very hungry & expected to find the Dingo, but behold no Dingo was there. My foolish confidence was now finely ridiculed for putting so much provisions in charge of two boys, one of whom was a mere savage & quite a stranger. Broughton expressed his hopes that his mate would behave properly, but another Blackman who was along with us gave it as his opinion that the boys after becoming hungry had eaten their bellyfulls & gone to sleep.

We sat down on the bank & made a fire, and I even began to think that we must go supperless to bed. About sun set we observed the Dingo coming round a point. The poor boys were quite tired with their long pull and had touched nothing and gave us a most amusing account of the voyage. They said that the creek was very long and very crooked, and at one place there was a long narrow peninsula, and that they wasted a good deal of time in disputing whether they should haul the boat across instead of pulling round.

Next morning we found the place to agree exactly with Broughton's description. I now made up my mind about the plan of the establishment, but as the district was almost completely barricaded with almost impassable brush it became necessary to find some road to bring cattle, and here again I had recourse to Broughton. He collected 2 or 3 of his tribe and his brother Broger & went accompanied with Mr Hume to cut a road up a range with which he was acquainted. Being furnished with Tomahawks they wrought very hard & in the course of 4 or 5 days cut a road up the mountain.

Before the road was finished Brogher began to tire and threatened to leave. Mr Hume shot a pheasant & gave it to Brogher to his supper to induce him to stop. He appeared to assent, roasted & eat the pheasant. Bye & Bye he looked at the moon which was near the full, observed that it was a fine night and therefore he would take advantage of the moon light and go home to his wife. Broughton was very indignant at him, & told him that he would rather cut all the road himself than have his assistance.

The natives continued very shy and few showed themselves. I gave no concern about it, only treated such as came to us with kindness. One day a large party well armed arrived from Jervis Bay, and sat down in the neighbourhood of our encampment, but did not come near us according to the native custom until they received an invitation. I went to them, asked for their Chief - an old gentleman of the name of Yager - & we became immediately great friends. He had the organ of devotion highly developed in his head and from his own account had much intercourse with the visionary world.

About this time the Chief of the place where I was cutting the canal - name Wajin - came in. He was a stout elderly gentleman of a mild, sedate appearance & hairy as Esan himself. He informed me that a piece of clear meadow ground on the west of the canal was called Numba. I asked him who cleared it. He replied that all he knew about it was that it was in the same state in the days of his grandfather. Of course I made him my friend and promised to give him a Brass Plate when he came to Sydney.

In about a month I completed the canal so far that a moderate sized boat could pass through into the Shoal Haven River at half tide, cleared a small spot on the ridge on the north shore of the River, and transferred with the assistance of the natives who had now become familiar, my stores to a small log building at that place.
The natives called the range Gilipigong, but as it is at the foot of a hill 930 feet high called Coolangatta, I called the place after the mountain as the more prominent object.

It now became necessary for me to go to Sydney to make ulterior arrangements. My only 2 sailors as before mentioned had been drowned in attempting to enter the Shoal Haven River, and the young man whom I had brought down as an overseer was much alarmed at the idea of being left with a few white men, all prisoners in a corner 50 miles from any other establishment (Wollongong), and surrounded by wild natives.

I therefore determined to take the cutter back to Sydney with a crew of the aborigines, fortunately however, Mr Throsby of Bongbong sent down a white man who was a good bush ranger, accompanied by a friendly native in order to find me out. I therefore engaged this man to go along with me.

My crew consisted of this man, Wajin Chief of Shoal Haven, and my religious friend Yager the Chief of Jervis Bay. Charcoal the tame native also returned with me. Broughton however being a bush native disliked the sea and determined to go back by Land to meet me in Sydney in order to assist in bringing down some cattle. My friend Mr Hume accompanied him to Appin.

Broughton had brought down with him a young man of about 18 named Billy, a relation of his own whom he called his mate, and he left him in charge of the place during his absence, explaining to his tribe that the establishment was formed under his particular protection. That they must all behave in a friendly manner to the white people and obey his lieutenant Mr Billy during his absence.

I got safe to Sydney with my singular crew after a tedious passage occasioned by fowl winds. During the voyage we saw a large ship beating up and making the same tracks as ourselves. My white assistant wished me very much to go along side to beg that they would lend us a sailor to assist us, but the weather being fine I declined doing so, as I had a particular aversion to go along side of a large ship in such a plight. Thereafter always when we neared the vessel I put about and stood in there.

I had been several days without cleaning myself, and went below to do so. At this time we were standing on different tacks. My mate the white man immediately quietly wore the boat. The large ship did the same and stood towards us. I took up a book and began to read. Time passed without observation. The white man called down that the ship was close to us, and on enquiry I found that we were standing on the same tack.

I said "Immediately put about."

"Oh," he says, "they have lowered a boat and it is nearly alongside."

Much mortified - unwashed and unshaven - I packed my head up thru the skuttle, and at the same moment a boat with the Captain came along side.

The ship was the Convict ship Asia, Capt. Reid, with whom I was slightly acquainted. He insisted upon my coming on board, gave a hawser to the Blanch - in order to tow her - sending also some of his sailors on board.

On stepping on board the Asia the first man I saw was Mr or Major Mudie, whom I had seen in London in the house of Sir Charles Forbes, and who was coming out with his family as a settler.

It appeared that being delayed by fowl winds they were naturally anxious to speak to the little vessel, in the expectation of getting some potatoes or other vegetables, but when they found that the boat always stood inshore when they neared it, their curiosity was excited. They thought we must be runaway convicts.

Mudies daughters were quite surprized at my uncouth & wretched appearance and savage & naked crew. I explained that no disaster had happened, that I was a mere settler who had come
back after establishing a farm, & that I had slept under a tree for the last month, and that if their papa meant to become a settler he must do the same. They cried all night at the prospect before them. I made very light of it & wondered how they could expect to find homes ready made in the wild bush.

I returned to the place in about a month, and went overland with Broughton by way of Bong Bong. I found every thing well and many natives about and all of them quite friendly.

Mr Billy obeyed his chief and remained with the overseer during Broughton’s absence, living in the same hut, and waiting upon the overseer as Cook & House Servant. This however was too much restraint to be long endured, although he was well clothed and well fed, and therefore he left the hut and he took himself to his usual mode of life on the return of Broughton.

Previous to my return Wagin and Yager had returned, with a suit of clothes and Brass plates - black badges of nobility - & with many wonderful stories of the new discovered country of Sydney.

But among the crowd of admiring natives there appeared a testy, shrivelled, & irascible old Gentleman, who claimed the rank of Chief of Shoal Haven, alleging that he was the Feudal Chief of the very place where I had made my huts, and that he also must be invested with an order of nobility. The poor overseer was alarmed at his vehemence, and told him that Wajin being now King, it could not be helped, that it was his own fault in not putting in his claim sooner, and we could not make two Kings. Then he observed - I will not allow you to remain. Pack up your alls and be gone.

The overseer offered to make him a Constable, & assured him that I would get him a Constable’s Plate (this is square; a chief’s plate is like a half moon). This he indignantly refused. The overseer then offered to make him a settler, observing that I was only a settler myself. He agreed to this on condition that he was made a Free Settler, but such was his impatience that it was necessary to give him a leaden plate until a better could be procured. When I came down I got the blacksmith to make an Iron Plate & to engrave upon it that he was the Free Settler of Shoal Haven, and this plate he wore for the rest of his days, and in future was always known by blacks & whites under the name of Old Settler.

From this time by kind treatment we have been invariably good friends with the natives. It is true that they used to steal for the first years of the establishment, a good deal of any crops of maize and potatoes, and we were obliged to watch them, but the Cockatoos in a year or two discovered that we began to plant maize and proved even more destructive than the blacks, & at least as cunning, for they soon learned the effects of the gun and used to place Watchers on the trees to give notice to the others of the approach of any whiteman. They called out. Their friends continued their depredations with more eagerness. When he came near they again called out, & it is curious that if he had a gun all the natives took flight, but if he was unarmed they continued in defiance.

The Blacks also used to spear our pigs in the bush. I have never heard however that they molested either the cattle or the calves, and for many years their depredations have been so slight as not to be noticed. The Cockatoos however have continued, and experience has rendered them still more expert thieves. There has therefore been a constant necessity to watch the maize when it attains a certain state of maturity, and this no doubt has also protected it indirectly from the depredations of the natives.

After gaining the confidence of the Blacks I tried hard to get them to adopt habits of industry by paying them for their labour, but generally one day’s labour was enough to tire them, however slight. I have seen however some of them live with and assist favourite free men for weeks together, and on one occasion Broughton acted as a Bricklayers labourer for some weeks. One day as he was leaving his work, I observed him replying in a very indignant manner to a Black woman. On enquiry he told me she was his cousin, and had been jeering him, & in the end told me with some reluctance that she reproached him with working every day like a prisoner, and that he despised her remarks. Next morning however he disappeared and never more acted in the capacity of a Bricklayers Labourer.
I have mentioned his relation Billy leaving his post of hut keeper to the overseer - after some weeks he came back naked & hungry. I observed:

“Well Billy, I expected you were to have become like a white man but am sorry to find that you have again become a wild bush native.”

“Oh no sir, I am no more wild than formerly, but I have become a free man again.”

Poor Billy was killed some years after at Parramatta in a drunken fray by some of his country men.

I recollect observing a young native who was assisting some free men to clear a piece of ground. I told him that he wrought as well as any of the whites. "Yes," he replied, "Bye & Bye I mean to make a contract myself to clear a piece of ground, and then I shall go to Sydney & get my money out of the office like the others." In the present instance he lived with the white man, eat with them, and they gave him their old clothes to wear. He at length tired of such a regular life & never made his contract.

Their bodily frame is not fitted for labour and their inherent disposition is to wander, consequently they are very fond of going with messages and deliver them faithfully. They delight very much in pulling in boats as this indulges their locomotive propensities.

When I last came to Sydney from Shoal Haven, the vessel was laying six miles from my house. The tide rendered it necessary for me to leave my house at one o'clock in the morning. My crew consisted of Black people, a great condescension on their part, as they have a great aversion either to early rising or having their nights rest disturbed. They are naturally a kind heated and generous people. They will divide or even give away their last morsel to a stranger, and much as they value cloathing will do the same with their clothes.

One of my men some years ago lost himself in the bush and was nearly starved. He met a native on one of his own journeys. The poor native put him in the road and gave him all his provisions.

Last year I met the same native at Berrima on my way to Goulburn. I was surprized to see him, & the surprize was mutual. He told me that his wife was a Berrimian Lady and that he had brought her up to see her relations. I requested that he would take charge of a letter to Shoal Haven & deliver it on his return. After a few minutes he brought back the letter & requested I would wrap it up in a bit of waste paper to keep it clean. I was afterwards informed that he immediately went to Shoal Haven with the letter & again returned for his wife, thus voluntarily taking a journey of at least 50 miles through a rugged mountainous country.

I saw the same man lately at Shoal Haven. He spoke about the dry weather & great want of rain. Many of the natives were affected with the influenza. He observed they would not get entirely better until we had plenty of rain. I told him that the Deity - pointing upwards - was so offended with the natives on account of their allowing the white men to cohabit with their women. He replied it is too bad of the Blacks, but that the white men were equally bad. He observed all the blacks now know that there is a God in Heaven, and that there is a future state of rewards and punishments. Some of the blacks told me that the Catholic priest had been baptising their children, but they did not seem to understand the nature of the Ordinance.

For many years I have reaped my harvest on the principle of free Labour. Many of the white men employed Blacks to assist, deriving some small advantage from their labour, but now they have become more knowing and have for some years reaped on their own account, so as to receive the full benefit of their labour. They did not however work any last harvest, observing that they were more or less indisposed with the influenza.

My brother assisted 2 families to build comfortable huts for themselves, but when I was last down I found the huts deserted, and a piece of ground they had farmed in as a garden uncultivated. They were pleased at first with the novelty of the thing, but in the end a fixed residence did not suit their locomotive propensities.
There is certainly a considerable change in their ideas since I first knew them. The men & women used to walk about stark naked without any sense of shame. Now they all contrive to have some covering, and I think the females would have as much shame in appearing in a state of nudity as any white woman.

At the time Colonel Arthur was hunting down the Aborigines in Van Diemans Land, he employed some New Holland Natives to assist - these belonged to the Shoal Haven Tribe. About six years ago a number of them landed in Sydney off a vessel from Hobart Town. They were well dressed & appeared quite respectable and each of them had a trunk or Portmanteau. They immediately came to my house and requested I would give them store room for their luggage. One of them said that they had succeeded in getting in the natives & pacifying the Island, but that the natives of V.D.Land were such a stupid race that there was no hope of civilizing them.

There is great difficulty in the savage state of rearing children, therefore as a wise provision of nature the organ of Love of Offspring is highly developed in the women, who are generally very kind mothers and remarkably fond of their children.

A number of years ago during a very dry season an old Man named Couray installed himself in the office of waterman, to bring good water from a spring at some distance, and was highly indignant when any other native interfered with his office, and his old wife to whom he was much attached also made herself free of the kitchen. About this time a convict woman was sent down as a servant, and this woman had a child in her arms. An immediate attachment sprung up betwixt the child and the old Mrs Couray. When its mother scolded or beat it, it always took refuge with the old Black woman, and if at any time the mother of the child gave it any ill usage the old woman used to cry bitterly.

I used to hear formerly that women used to strangle white children as soon as they were born, but this not the case now, for they are equally fond of the piebald children as of the others, and what is curious the husband of the woman seems equally fond of them as of the black ones. The cross bred are distinctly an improved race.

It is very seldom that any bushrangers appear at Shoal Haven and when they do they are generally brought in by the Natives.

Some months ago 2 men escaped from Mr Sparks place at the Kangaroo. His overseer gave notice of the escape at Shoal Haven and next day they were brought in by the Blacks. They informed me that they had heard of the escape, and suspected the 2 men to be runaways as they could not give a good account of themselves, & observing the men tried to deceive them with a plausible story, but that they ordered them to walk to Shoal Haven and that if they tried to escape they would spear them as they spear Kangaroos. The men confessed and congratulated themselves that they were captured before they had time to do any amount of harm & were much ashamed on being taken by the blacks - it is singular that they have behaved well since then.

The Blacks used to have their medical practitioners. They generally used certain spells but some of their practice was highly judicious.

Shoal Haven was much infested with snakes. One day a man was bitten by a very venomous one. Old Dr Greenwall was near. They applied for his assistance. He examined the sufferer & enquired about the kind of snake. He then replied that he could do nothing, and that the man must die. They requested him to try. Replied it could be of no use, and by making a useless attempt he would risk his medical reputation.

There happened to be a young Doctor present who had still to make his medical reputation. He addressed the sufferer: "I fear you must die, but if you will allow me I will do my best to save your life." The sufferer gladly assented.

The Doctor immediately bound a tight ligature above the wound, and then commenced sucking. He spit the first mouthful into his hand & examined it - the blood was black and he silently & mournfully shook his head. He then renewed his operations & sucked with all his might. After a
considerable interval he started to his feet, probably distinguishing a difference in the taste of the blood. He spit again into his hand. He smiled & addressed his patient: "Bel you die". The cure was complete. The overseer who had been originally tied to the medical profession witnessed the whole and I respect the story as he told it.

Some years ago when I was at Shoal Haven an old man (a native) was found murdered near one of the mens huts. On enquiry I was informed that he had been living there for some days, and that when the men went to their work he remained. That found him dead on their return, and that his body had been taken for interment by his friends, and [I] sent a boat for the body & had it taken out of the coffin (some sheets of bark), that I might examine the wounds. From the appearance I concluded that he had been murdered by a black man. I told this to his friends & mentioned that I was at first afraid he had been murdered by the white people, but they all agreed that it was done by a blackman. We examined the spot. Their acute optics discovered the stealthy foot of a native approaching the place where the old man was sitting, the marks of a struggle and then the marks of the foot of the bush native running away after the act was committed. The murderer was never discovered.

Some of the natives have great personal courage. When last at Shoal Haven I saw an old man whom, not having seen for years, I considered dead. I had often heard his story, but he again told it me.

Nearly 20 years ago, before I went to Shoal Haven, some natives plundered some maize belonging to a convict settler in Illawarra. The settler armed himself with a newly ground cutlass and went in search of the natives. He discovered their camp when they were roasting the maize. They all took to flight. One man alone began to defend himself with a tomahawk, but the white man struck him a blow upon the shoulder which nearly separated the arm from the shoulder blade when the tomahawk fell to the ground. The white savage (man) now aimed a blade at the head of the Black one. The black put up his other arm as a guard to his head and the blow of the cutlass - which must have been very sharp - cut of the forearm as clean as if it had been done by a Surgeon. The poor Black now ran away, but when at a little distance turned round, & shook his bloody stump in the face of the white savage. After some time he dropped from loss of blood, but his friends carried him off bound up and cured his wounds, but he has only a stump on the one side & the other arm hangs nearly powerless.

I observed to him how happens it that your right arm was used as a guard while you fought with the left - "Because," he replied, "I am a left handed man".

The poor fellow spoke without any apparent ill feeling towards his opponent who still lives & thrives - the natives used to call him Saucy William and some of them like him to this day. Both whites & blacks seem kind to the old man, but I believe he never goes to Sydney and seems to think although the greatest sufferer that his own conduct was not free from blame.

I shall now mention a few circumstances of the subsequent fate of my sable friends.

Old Yager continued my friend to the end of his days but for some years has dressed with feathers, and I believe did not have any heir to inherit his honour.

Charcoal, whom I had appointed mate of the Blanch, after a few trips tired of being well cloathed and well fed, and after a few trips left the vessel, but he left it as a friend and used to occasionally to visit Shoal Haven. After some time he married a young woman of the place. There was a considerable disparity in years, but the match was otherwise very appropriate. Charcoal was lame, his leg having been broken to pieces by a cart wheel, and his wife had no toes. It appears that when she was an infant her Mother had gone to sleep one cold night too near the fire, and the toes of the infant were found next morning to have been burnt off.

Charcoal was rather of an irascible temper. One day he found it necessary to give some correction to his wife, in consequence of which she died, and the father of the girl complained to his tribe. Charcoal was summoned to appear on a certain day to stand punishment. I was then at Shoal
Haven but the trial took place at some miles distant from my house, and under the circumstances Charcoal did not choose to visit me, but I was informed by the natives (his jury) of the result.

Every thing was prepared. The natives were assembled. Charcoal took his place & the father was there to demand justice. Before the trial commenced Mr Charcoal arose, and requested to say a few words. He acknowledged that he was justly summoned to stand punishment for that he had unfortunately killed his wife, but that in so doing he was more unfortunate than culpable, for that he dearly loved his deceased wife and deplored her loss, and merely intended to give her such gentle correction as a husband is entitled to give his help mate, but that in his passion in consequence of some provocation had got the better of his reason. That he had struck too hard & she died, for which he was now ready to take the consequences, & even to die if it should so happen - a thing but too likely from his being lame and not possessing the activity of another man.

That however he severely felt for the father of his wife who from his want of temper had lost an affectionate daughter and therefore besides giving him all the satisfaction which their Laws and Customs demanded, he now desired to make him any other poor compensation which he had the power of doing. He had therefore brought down a fine new blanket from Sydney which he laid at the feet of his father in Law and requested him to accept.

This speech being ended there was a solemn. At length the father arose and addressed to assembly to the following purpose:

"My friends and countrymen. I am much obliged to you all for the readiness with which you have met my call and assembled here this day to do me justice, but you have all heard what has been said by my son in law, and how he laments the loss of his wife, and I think that you must all agree with me that he has been more unfortunate than culpable. He took up the blanket and displayed it to the court. See what a fine blanket he has given me. He is really a fine generous fellow, and I really feel for his affliction on account of the loss of his wife. I am satisfied and I do not wish the affair to proceed any further, & as my poor son in law is so afflicted for the loss of his wife I desire him to be comforted. I have still another daughter and as soon as she is of age I will give him her for a wife."

The assembled tribe moodily dispersed, and when they told the story at Shoal Haven they sincerely observed that the father was a mercenary old fellow to sell his daughter for a blanket. I know not whether the second marriage took place. I did not see much of Charcoal after this occurrence. He died a number of years ago.

Old Settler lived a good many years and always wore his Iron plate. He continued to the end of his days a waspish, irascible, but friendly old man. He had a wife & family of children to whom he was much attached.

One morning he was camped with his tribe at the foot of my house. I heard a dreadful screaming and went out to see what was the matter. I saw Old Settler in a frantic rage, with a bark shield in the one hand & a spear in the other and his poor old wife standing trembling at a few paces distance. He was talking to her with great violence, and every now & then threatened to transfix her with his spear. I looked at the frantic old savage, and then at the other natives who were all sitting in groups with their different families, with anxious countenances, but with averted eyes and preserving a profound silence. My presence seemed to disconcert Settler, but I did not appear to notice him. I quietly enquired at one of his tribe what was the matter. The man replied "It is a family affair and not our business." I remained for some time & followed their example. If I had interfered most likely in his rage he would have thrown his spear in defence. After a time his rage expended itself and he sat down. Next day I saw him as friendly with his old wife as usual.

Some years after, his oldest son came to my house in Sydney and asked to speak with me. "You know me Mr Berry. I am Tommy Patalick, the oldest son of Old Settler. You know Old Settler was your friend and you gave him a plate. He is now dead. I am his heir and now the Chief of the Tribe and you must give me a plate."
I told Patalick to come back in a few days for his plate, and begun to think what description I could put on it, & determined that he should be designated as the son and Heir of Old Settler. As if he read my thoughts he called me back & said he had one more word to say. That I must not say any thing about his father on his plate. These people never mention the names of the Dead and it is an offence to do so in their presence. Of course I attended to his wishes. Tommy still lives to enjoy his Honours of chief, and as Wajin and Yager have both died without heirs he has rather an extensive authority and is a good deal respected amongst his countrymen.

Wajin lived a good many years happily with his wife, although there was no family. He however, although a quiet good tempered man, had also occasionally his family troubles. One day I looked into a hut and saw Wajin seated by the side of his wife - or the Queen as they used to call her. The Lady looked very sulky, and on looking more closely I saw her face & head covered with blood, and she was cut to the bone.

"What is this Wajin who has dared to touch the sacred face of the Queen?"

He replied "I did it."

"Shame Wajin. Why did you do it?"

"Oh," he says, "it is nothing. I only given her a slight correction, a few gentle taps upon the head with a Waddy. She was very silly and made a great noise with her tongue. She would not erase from scalding untill I broke her head. But I was merciful in the correction I gave her."

The Lady evidently was not accustomed to this kind of discipline, for she looked very sulky, and it cost Wajin a great deal of trouble before he succeeded in making her forget the affair. Poor Wajin some years after got very drunk in Sydney. His tribe carried him to their camp at Woollomolloo, but he died in the course of the night.

Broughton was first appointed a Constable & afterwards the chief of his own tribe, and supplied with slops and rations. He generally staid at Shoal Haven but sometimes he used to disappear without any warning, but his slops and rations were always forthcoming when he chose to claim them.

He had 2 wives Mary & Charlotte. The first was the elder & entitled to all the remains of his principal sustance, but the other was the best beloved. Both were back sliders. He worked at the back sliding of Mary but was very jealous of Charlotte.

One day I looked into his hut and he was sitting at his meal between his ladies. The head of Charlotte was broken and her face was bloody.

"Who has done this Broughton."

"I did it," he replied. "She slept from home last night, but where I cannot find out."

I replied, "this is too bad of Charlotte. I hope she will never do so again. You must not beat her anymore."

Broughton looked displeased at my meddling in his family affairs & I did not interfer further. Next day he disappeared. Some years after some fresh cause of jealousy arrived & he beat her so unmercifully that she died, but he bitterly lamented his loss, and for a long time after when I spoke of the affair he used to cry.

Mary still lives and he has got another wife. He does not like to work but he renders himself useful in many ways and is considered as a kind of priviledged person on the place, and his slops and rations are always forthcoming.

He says that he feels that he is now getting old. That the bush does not suit him as formerly, and boasts he means to build a house. He has one daughter who is married and two other children whom he acknowledges, but they are white.
All the Shoal Haven Blacks consider themselves as my people, but I find it necessary to let do as they please as they cannot be restrained. I might as well attempt to teach the birds of the air not to fly as to restrain their wanderings.

Upon making careful enquiry lately at Shoal Haven both from themselves and from some intelligent white people who have been long on the place, their numbers I am sorry to say have greatly decreased since I came to Shoal Haven.

A good many have died in Sydney in consequence of drinking, a few in their native feuds of violence, and a good many from measles. The natives themselves told me that a good many also had left the Colony in ships. At present there are a good many young people & children amongst them and they seem fine & healthy people.

I enclose a list of their numbers.

One candidate more - Tommy Patalick had a younger brother named Monkey - from his appearance. Upwards of 12 months ago he came to Sydney. One night he dreamt that Red, a Shoal Haven native then at Shoal Haven, bit his throat. On awaking in the morning he had a sore throat. He returned to Shoal Haven and lingered for many months, living under the impression that he would not recover, for that Red had bewitched him. Some weeks ago he died at Shoal Haven. Poor Red was the only native on the spot, and he performed the last offices to the deceased by wrapping up the body in bark, according to their custom, previous to the interment.

Patalick told me that he fully believed that Red had procured the death of his brother by bewitching him, and that he must stand punishment for the supposed offence.

A.Berry

Census of the Natives of the Shoal Haven District

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<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Single Men</th>
<th>Single Women</th>
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<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>242</td>
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</table>

With the exception of 6 old men, the single men are from the age of 13 to 30. The male children are under 13 years of age. The single women are from the age of 12 or 13 to 25. The female children are under 12 years of age.

Say 242 at Burra
267 abt May 1838

A.Berry
**Summary of Blankets Issued**

[1838] Return of Aborigines at Respective Stations - compiled from lists created for the issue of blankets (AONSW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District or Station</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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<td>49</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>Shoal Haven, Illawarra</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Shoal Haven, Saint Vincents and Jervis Bay</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>241</td>
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<td>461</td>
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</table>
Knapped implements from elouera sites of Illawarra and the South Coast (McCarthy, 1943)
Margaret Menzies at Jamberoo

23 April 1839: Margaret Menzies, a recent arrival from Scotland, records in her diary an encounter with Aborigines at Jamberoo, where she and her husband Doctor Robert Menzies had recently settled and subsequently built Minamurra House {Menzies Diary - NLA, MS3261}:

[Tuesday 23rd April 1839]: Charles James came down on Sunday & dined with us. Natives brought me a fish on Saturday a mullet; for which I gave a little tea and sugar. Some of the natives are useful for sending from place to place & deliver their message distinctly. One brought me a lb of lard from Mick Mara’s wife at Jamberoo the other day - a good looking fellow. He had a brass medal round his neck which told he was William Roberts king of Jamberoo & a piece of scarlet cloth across his forehead.

He told me he was going to Shoal haven & would call for the basin on his return but he has not gone yet. Some more blacks came up & this morning 2 or 3 women came with some cray fish & got sugar from Mrs Smith & Roberts gave her 2/ for 1/4lb tea & 2lb of sugar & understood perfectly the quantity he should get for his 2 white monies It is astonishing how fond they are of tea & sugar. They kindled a fire in the wood & after all partaking of their repast the women & children with 2 men set off again to Shoalhaven but his Majesty I saw still about the place. They are generally ugly and yet very picturesque when seated round their fires & the little children like imps are running about, & some of them have a gait that would serve a duchess.

[In an article entitled 'Menzies of Minamurra', Walkabout (Sydney, May 1968), Graham Kinross Smith wrote:

...Margaret O'Keefe, Mrs Menzies' plain-speaking "help" at Minamurra, taught her "young ladies", as she called them, to ride well. But old Margaret was frightened of the blackfellows they passed on their rides. There had been in fact some danger from a local tribe on one earlier occasion, when an aide in the Governor's shooting party had wounded an aboriginal boy whom he had mistaken for a possum in the trees, not far from Minamurra. Dr Menzies' ability to heal the boy prevented bloodshed.

Blankets for Ulladulla Aborigines

3 May 1839: Letter from Patrick Plunkett re blankets for Aborigines at Ulladulla {Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, IHS}

Police Office Wollongong
3rd May 1839

Sir
I have the honor to inform you that there is no way of forwarding the Bale of Blankets sent from your Office to this place for the native Blacks of Ulladolla, and beg to suggest that it may be returned to Sydney to be forwarded from thence by the Cutter Alexander McLeay which vessel trades from Sydney to Ulladolla.

I have the honor &c &c
Signed/ P.Plunkett Pol. Mags.

The Ordinance Storekeeper &c&cSydney
9 May 1839: Letter from Patrick Plunkett re blankets for Aborigines at Ulladulla {Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, IHS}

Police Office Wollongong
9th May 1839

Sir

In acknowledging the rect. of yr. letter of the 4th instant enclosing the copy of a communication from the Colonial Secretary requesting you to forward the Blankets for the Blacks of Ulladolla, and Jarvis Bay, by Mr Berry's Boat to Shoal Haven, addressed to me, I have the honor to inform you that I have sent the Bale of Blankets in question on board the Cutter "Industry" to be returned to your Office, with a view to its being sent by Mr Berry's Boat to Shoalhaven as directed by the Colonial Secretary's Cutter. Mr Berry's Boat does not call here.

I have the honor &c &c

Signed/ P.Plunkett P. Mags.

The Colonial Storekeeper
Sydney

Lady Jane Franklin at Illawarra

14 May 1839: Lady Jane Franklin, the wife of the then Governor of Tasmania, Sir John Franklin, visited Illawarra during the week of 10-17 May 1839.

On Tuesday, 14 May, whilst travelling from Wollongong to Kiama, she recorded the following in her diary:

....crossed the forced & natural channel of Mullet Creek & found about half a dozen men with soldiers with pistols in hand standing over, hoisting up piles to sink in bed of river.

Near here saw some natives from Bong-bong & a Lascar of China who sd. he kept to them because they were of his own colour. One woman wd. not come forward when desired by her husband & he sd. she was shy.....

Refer M.Organ (editor), *The Illawarra Diary of Lady Jane Franklin, 10-17 May 1839* (Illawarra Historical Publications, Woonona, 1988, 52pp) for a full transcription, taken from original diaries and letters in the National Library of Australia.

Aborigines at Jervis Bay

29 May 1839: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Jervis Bay issued with blankets {AONSW, 4/2433.1}
Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Jervis Bay on 29th May 1839

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>English Names</th>
<th>Native Names</th>
<th>Prob Age</th>
<th>No. of wives</th>
<th>Child M F</th>
<th>Place or District of Resort</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Waterman Jack</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jonny</td>
<td>Burma</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Jabery</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>Jervis Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Crawfish</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Cabon Tommy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Captain Cook</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of Blankets 13 Recd.
Total Issued 10 Distributed
Remains in Store 3

Alexr. Kinghorne J.P.
Mount Jervis 29th May 1839

[All are designated as belonging to the 'Wagamy' tribe]

Capture of Bushrangers by Aborigines

29 August 1839: [Sydney Gazette] Report on the capture of a gang of bushrangers by local Aborigines at Illawarra:

The Poor Blacks

Illawarra. - Extract from a Letter from Wolongong, dated 26th instant, to a gentleman in Sydney.

A curious scene took place here yesterday - five bushrangers have been committing depredations for the last five or six weeks, and have been the terror of the neighbourhood, excluding the Police, who have been out in all directions after them. To our surprise, the Blacks, in a small party, brought them in prisoners, with their hands tied firmly behind them. They have been committed and will be sent up by the steamer the next trip.

Reward for Native Trackers

6 September 1839: Letter from Patrick Plunkett, magistrate at Wollongong, re the dispersal of rewards to native blacks who captured some runaway convicts, or bushrangers, as referred to above [Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, IHS]

Police Office Wollongong 6th September 1839

Sir
I have the honor to acknowledge your Letter of the 28th ultimo No 39/883 relative to the Capture of the Prisoners named in the margin (Wm. Wrench, "Moffatt" 1836, 14 Years; Christ. Goss, "Surrey", ...
1834, 7 Years) by nineteen Native Blacks, and requesting I will report the rewards which would have been payable had the Parties been arrested by White Men.

By the Government Order of the 13th April 1832 a Magistrate by whom a Runaway is brought is empowered to give a reward of twenty shillings under particular circumstances. There is also an additional Reward of Five Pounds on conviction if the runaway committed any Felonious Act during the period of his having been illegally at large.

And as the rewards for capturing the two Bushrangers in question would amount under the above mentioned order to £12 (twelve pounds) I propose that a Suit of Clothes consisting of a frock, Trowsers, and Shirt be issued to each of the 19 Blacks that apprehended the Prisoners, which would amount to about £12 twelve pounds.

I have the honor &c &c
P. Plunkett P.M.

The Honorable
The Colonial Secretary
Sydney

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Return of Natives at Twofold Bay

24 September 1839: George Imlay to the Colonial Secretary enclosing a return of Natives at Twofold Bay, along with a list of blankets distributed [AONSW, 4/2433.1, 39/1088]:

The Honourable E. Deas Thompson Esqr.
Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to enclose you a List of the Aboriginal Natives residing in the District, according to the form accompanying you letter of the 1st Jany 1839, but with an additional column to shew the distribution of the blankets.

I am happy to say that the Blacks in the vicinity of the Bay are gradually advancing in civilization. We have now two boats in our whaling establishment manned entirely by Aborigines. One of the boats has got five whales this season and the other three.

The men live in huts with their families and cook their provisions the same as the white people. They seldom or ever absent themselves without permission, and keep watch at night and perform their duty much better than I expected. The females are also improving, several of them have become very good washer women and there are two or three who have made gowns for themselves.

I have the honor to be

Your Obt. Servt.
George Imlay
List of the Aboriginal Natives residing in the Twofold Bay District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>Native name</th>
<th>Probable Age</th>
<th>Number of Wives</th>
<th>Children M</th>
<th>Children F</th>
<th>No. of Blankets</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Ninima</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>Jamie Imlay</td>
<td>Ananjera</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>Bunwongi</td>
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</table>

[The above 34 individuals are designated as belonging to the Wracon (?Wiacon) tribe, resident at Twofold Bay]

[From 35 to 43 are designated as belonging to the Panbula tribe, resident at Panbula]
[From 44 to 47 are designated as belonging to the Malaguta tribe, resident at Cape Howe and adjacent coast]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
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[From 48 to 59 are designated as belonging to the Genoa tribe, resident at Cape Howe and adjacent coasts]

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[From 60 to 88 are designated as belonging to the Wallumla tribe, resident at Wallumla]

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[From 89 to 96 are designated as belonging to the Biggah (Bega) tribe, resident at Biggah]

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[From 115 to 126 are designated as belonging to the Brogo tribe, resident at Dry River]

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126 Men
72 Women
24 Boys
24 Girls
257 Total

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Census of Twofold Bay and Jervis Bay

[1839] Return of Aborigines at Respective Stations - compiled by L. Threlkeld from AONSW
Returns:

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<tr>
<th>District or Station</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
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Baptism

[1839] [New South Wales Birth, Death, and Marriage records, AONSW, volume 40, entry no. 786]
Record of the baptism of a 15 year old Aboriginal girl named Mary Hopkins of the Illawarra tribe, who had been in the care of Captain Hopkins, Dapto.

1840

Reverend W.B. Clarke at Illawarra

January 1840: The diary of the Reverend W.B. Clarke records his encounters with Illawarra Aborigines during January 1840 [Mitchell Library, MSS139]

Reverend W.B. Clarke was an Anglican minister and geologist who visited Illawarra early in January 1840, travelling to Wollongong, Kiama, and Shoalhaven to study the local geology. He was accompanied during these travels by members of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition.

Clarke's diary includes a description of a corroboree held near Wollongong on the night of Saturday, 4 January 1840; an incident at Kiama concerning the abuse of an Aboriginal woman by both white and black men; comments re the Aboriginal significance of the old figtree at Figtree; and a conversation with the Aborigine "Old Frying Pan" re religion.

The following are relevant extracts from the diary:

**Saturday January 4** —...On the point [Towradgi] there were pieces of fossil wood, of granite, shale etc. The beach was marked by the impressions of 2 naked feet which had come from Bulli, evidently a black fellow's.....

The evening was spent in instructive converse, till about 9 when Mr Agate, Mr Rich and myself went off to attend a corrobory, a meeting of the blacks, to which we had been invited by 'old Frying Pan', alias Brown Bean, and some others, whom we got to throw the Boomerang for our amusement after dinner.

'Frying Pan' I had seen at Mr Nichol's store yesterday and again today - he was also a guide to Mr Foster. He is a fisherman, but when I asked him to catch me some Dildils, a huge prawn abounding here, he was angry, and said only women took them. Men catch nothing but with a spear.
About 10 we reached the corrobory ground.

It was in the bush where several large Teatrees were growing. Three of four fires made known the spot, to which we are at first directed by the laughter of the blacks. Beside a fire to the right over which sat an old woman whom we had seen in town dressed in a dirty pink gown thrown over her, lay 8 naked fellows, daubing themselves over with white pipe clay, which they first chewed to make soft, and red ochre etc.

They lay on their backs forming bands of white over their chests, arms and legs; and then they rubbed each others backs with red ochre, rising from time to time, that the old lady might see that all was perfectly done. They then bound their middles with strips of linen, having a tassle at each end, one of which hung down before, the other behind.

When this was done, during which time their spears stood against a tree, they sipped some liquid from a tin pot which they had got at by means of a piece of rope-yarn. The liquor turned out to be sugar and water.

Around the other fires lay various groups of men and women, some partly and some wholly clad, others quite naked. One fellow who was as black as Erebos wore a large straw hat, and as we came up, said in excellent English "I have nothing to do with getting up this corrobory. I have not been at one for several years." The facility with which the blacks acquire our language is wonderful - several spoke as well as this fellow.

When the ball was ready to be begun they told us to go to a fire which two half-naked women were making. I lent a hand and plucked some of the soft tea-tree bark for them and in a few minutes there was a great blaze, illumining the overhanging arches of the tree and showing their trunks like the column of a cathedral aisle. I could not fail to be impressed with a feeling of wild sublimity, especially as fire after fire blazed up and I found myself amongst at least 100 native savages, many of them in a state of perfect nudity and looking most unearthly. One, a tall, thin fellow without a rag upon him, sat over a solitary fire alone, stirring the ashes with a stick having a hook to it, the machine with which he catches worms and maggots from the trees. By another fire sat a man with his wife and child, the latter ill with fever. I asked how old it was, the answer was "holding up the hands twice and two fingers twice, 2 years or 24 moons."

About five minutes after we had assembled we heard from a dark corner a low melancholy sort of chant, and a beating of a waddy against a shield; the shout grew louder, at first it was sung by two voices, then by several - voice chiming in till it burst out in a most unearthly howl - the noise increasing. 'O Roa' seemed to be frequently repeated. After the first chant, the singers came out into the night and we then saw one man with a reddish cotton pocket handkerchief on his shoulders beating the waddy against the shield, the chief musician who sang with another beside him. The sound appeared to be emitted from the chest with a great straining of muscles, as if it caused pain.

The dancers, 8 in number, then came out, each having in his hand a bunch of fresh leaves, the very bouquet of an English belle - and when the chant began again, in which all seemed to join, they commenced the dance - by moving the right limb first, the left afterwards, backwards and forwards with a low grunting coincident with the kicking out of the limbs. Then one at a time they advanced, opened their legs, stood perfectly erect and stiff, and jerked the whole body by a violent muscular movement in and out by the knees. This was clearly a difficult part, and very painful to continue, as it lasted for a moment, and I observed that they whisked the green boughs about them after it as if to cool themselves.

The song was going on all the while, and the entertainment consisted in repeating the song and dance together. This was done several times when the party who were looking on, reminding me strongly of the old dowagers and aunts and uncles at an English ball, began to express dissatisfaction. Amongst the complainers was Mr Frying Pan, who with a red night-cap on his head, sat beside the first fire. He made a great noise and when, as I was informed by an interpreter, he urged the dancers on and they said they could not get more than themselves to dance - he said
"if the man wont dance why don't you take the woman?" which afforded great merriment to all who understood him. I use the word 'understood' because it appears that this corrobory was called by the Sydney Blacks, and the ball given by them to the Blacks of Kiama, Wollongong, Liverpool, Brisbane Water and Newcastle, from which places some came to this meeting. Now, as they are of different tribes and do not speak the same dialect, several did not understand a single word of the song, which was a new one, and therefore no wonder it did not give satisfaction to them.

On enquiry I find the burden of the song to be: "that the white man came to Sydney in ships and landed the horses in the saltwater." It is of such ridiculous subjects that the Blacks of New Holland make their songs - and any trifling event is celebrated by a song.

They appeared to be perfectly harmless, nor was there the slightest indecorum in their conduct on this occasion. There was a degree of quiet and silent gravity I was astonished at, and I could compare their behavior to nothing so much as to that of well-behaved people at a similar Corrobery or Ball in England. On grave occasions the Corrobery has doubtless a different character, varying with circumstances ... the only signs of war here were the spears with which some of the men danced, held upright before them. I recognised one of the dancers as a man with one arm, wearing a plate in the day time as chief of Wollongong; he had told me that he lost his arm in the General Hospital. Another I knew to be the man who had thrown the Boomerang in the morning.

Of the Blacks it may be generally remarked, that they are fond of seeing the whites amongst them ... they have kindness enough to perceive our advantages over them, and they generally ask for a little sixpence as Frying Pan did tonight. It was 12 o'clock before I left, when this Australian opera was not nearly done, as we returned home we heard the noise of song and dance evidently continued with uninterrupted ardour.

Old Frying Pan, whom I had seen before, seemed to have some notions of Religion, but it is certain they are in part borrowed from the whites. I examined him closely on the subject of Cannibalism. He was very angry at the idea, and said none of his people ever ate flesh. But he allowed some bad fellows did up the country far away. I asked him what happened after death. He said "Go up on high tree-then go to great governor. He give bull (drink) plenty kangaroo, plenty opossum, plenty fish." On further enquiry he satisfied me this was not all original, for he used the term "God Almighty."

The Blacks, however, certainly believe in a state after death, for they have an idea that they are turned into white-men, into whales, porpoises, etc., and many of them go so far as to address a whale or other great fish as their Uncle, Father, etc., and call them to come on shore with them. Nay, so far is this carried, that some time ago a white man was asked by a Black to make atonement for an injury done by another, who was dead, because there happened to be a great resemblance between the dead man and the white.

The most extraordinary thing is the perfect way in which they pronounce and express themselves in English. Their own dialects appear to be pronounced thickly, only perfectly clear and well defined, even the harshest sounds.

I observed tonight a great diversity of colour and countenance. There were evidently more than one race.......

Monday, January 6 -Rose at 6. Breakfasted with Mr Meares at 7, with Mr Hancock Dana, Drayton and Burnet. Off at 9.

Hancock an Meares accompanying Dana and me and the guide, (Biggs) to Dapto. The road leaves that over Keira to the right, then descends to country much like the coal district of England - through a woody region to Charcoal Creek, which is bridged by palm trees, passing an enormous fig-tree, at the foot of which old Timbery, a black, was born, and which his people venerate. There is another tree which the blacks say contains the names of their tribe and its history, by some hieroglyphical interpretation of its branches: a real genealogical tree.......

[To Shoalhaven] Tuesday, January 7 - We came about 5 o'clock to a river, which we crossed, then to the saw-mill established by Mr Berry, which we visited. The machinery is simple and washed by water in the American plan. Here I saw three gins - one woman of about 40 having her shoulders and bosom tattooed (marks of mourning, cut with a glass bottle or stone, the very custom of old time Leviticus XIX 28, XXI 5), the other very young, one with a child extremely small in her blanket behind her. I asked them the name of the waterfall we had seen yesterday. They did not know. I said "where are you going?" - they said "Walkabout". As I knew they were in search of food I gave the old one a shilling which she thanked me for, and putting on her blanket she walked off. The youngest of these women was very good-looking. Their husbands, they said, were at home. No doubt asleep, whilst their wives were "raising the wind".....

Thursday, January 9 - Rose at 6. While at breakfast a black fellow, his gin, and child, came to the house, begging. The man afterwards lay down to sleep on the grass and sent the woman to fish.

I first visited the little cove to the right which we passed last night. The rock there was all hard basalt and like what we saw at Boonaira. We then called at Mr Burnett's tent in front of which I found a dyke of porphyritic trap of a red colour running along the shore approximately from N. to S. We then went passed a cottage building for a store, the walls of which were made of palm trees, in which were three black fellows, one making a handle of a hatchet, another acting as servant, and the third as shopman. This fellow was very intelligent and was dressed in a blue jersey frock with a black stock round his neck. He seemed proud of his attire. I understand that he has had the shop in charge for several days at a time and that he is capable of serving out small articles. From him I learned the name of the waterfall- Tsejingouera. He was much pleased when I showed him a sketch of it....

......As we rode up the steep I saw three blacks, father mother and child, all lying naked together on the beach along our path. Mr Burnett accosted the lady with "Well, Maria?" She replied "Yes Master". Returning a few seconds afterwards for something I had left behind I saw her going into the tent of the men, and from their manner they did not like her to be seen. But the picaninny betrayed her.

As I came back again, she was half clad in her blanket outside, and evidently beaten about. Two other black fellows came down the hill, one of whom threw a waddy into the bush nearby. I stopped and took it up. It was shaped thus: and was made of hard wood. I asked if he ever beat his gin with it; he said no, but being further questioned, he said that he would "beat a black fellow who should meddle with her, but would not touch a white fellow - let him do what he might. The fact is, white fellows carry white money as well, black fellows have nothing but black skins to recommend them."

It is a remarkable fact that scarcely a black child is now to be seen. The young ones are now more or less mongrel. I saw one the other day with a pale skin and red hair - a dark red or rose colour.

[Heads north from Kiama to Wollongong]

.....On reaching the other side [of the cove] I returned for the horses, and not finding Dana trotted on with Mr Burnett. Our cries were answered by some black fellows fishing, one of whom came past us with a fish nearly as large and much like a salmon.

.....After striking into the bush some distance we came to the side of a hill where we found the ground much cleared and clearing, and at last stopped at a farm house where the good people gave us some new milk. Then again we entered the bush, and passing in view of a great swamp (Terragong Swamp), which appeared on our right, we came to a place called Wintye Wintye where we found ourselves in the midst of an encampment of blacks, in the Fig Tree Forest.

The only protection these people had against wind and sun was a screen of dried palm leaves, and these they lay near their fires, asleep in a burning hot day. Dogs and picaninnies were abundant, and when I spoke to one a child threw a tomahawk at one of the dogs to keep him quiet.
A venerable old man was here with a beard as white as snow. I asked him if they had been at the Corrobberes at Wollongong to which they replied No.

.....After passing the swamp we came to an inn at Jamberoo in front of which sat two well dressed Englishwomen and stood 6 or 7 dirty and naked black gins with their children. A mutual stare was all our salutation; but I think they were quizzing Mr Burnett's beard (which he does not shave in the back) and my dirty legs, for they laughed heartily as we passed.

[Aboriginal people, words, and place names mentioned by Clarke in the Diary include:

- Old Frying Pan alias Brown Bean
- Captain Biggs the Aboriginal guide
- Timbery an old Aboriginal Man
- Gin Aboriginal Woman
- Picaninny Aboriginal Child
- Corrobery Aboriginal song and dance festival
- Boomerang hunting implement
- Dildils a lobster or large prawn
- Waddy implement
- O'Roa a chant at the corrobory
- Marcilla mountain on the way to Kangaroo Valley and Coolangatta
- Barenjewry mountain on the way to Kangaroo Valley and Coolangatta
- Walkabout
- Diddel Pigeon House mountain
- Nunimura mountains
- Boonama a locality
- Borwarri Cove a bay near Kiama
- Boonaira a locality
- Segingouera a waterfall near Macquarie Pass
- Khandernigee Kiama (blowhole) Point
- Pungoilee Headland opposite Blowhole Point
- Wangorang Headland north of Kiama
- Kembla mountain
- Burelli mountain
- Gennigalla a locality

Clarke was persistent in recording Aboriginal place names during his many years of geological excursions throughout New South Wales.

In a later letter to his mother in England, dated 3 August 1840, he stated:

I have now a very decent number of royal acquaintances, but my greatest affection is for my friend and namesake, Bran Bran, alias Mr. Frying Pan, in the Illawarra country....

For a watercolour of Frying Pan refer under Skinner Prout 1841.

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Americans in Illawarra

December 1839 - January 1840: Members of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition visit Illawarra, including James Dwight Dana, geologist; Alfred T.Agate, artist with the expedition; and H.Hale, naturalist. They are accompanied during their visit by Rev. W.B.Clarke (refer to Clarke's Diary above).
Agate produced sketches of the Aborigines and a Corroboree at Illawarra, which were later engraved for the published account of the expedition:

* **Corrobory Dance**
  Sketched by A.T.Agate.  Engraved by E.G.Dunnel.
  Engraving Wilkes, 1844, p.188
  [Possibly a view of the corroboree at Wollongong seen by W.B.Clarke and others]

* **Forest, Illawarra, N.S.W.**
  Engraving Wilkes, 1844, p.241
  [View of two Illawarra Aborigines, dressed in European clothes, surrounded by the lush Illawarra forest]

[H.Hale later published a report on the native language at Moruya. See under 1846]

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**Aborigines at Wollongong**

1 May 1840: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong for 1840 [AONSW, 4/2479.1, 40/4871]

Police Office Wollongong
12th May 1840

Sir

With reference to your Letter of the first of January last, I have the honor to transmit to you the accompanying return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Wollongong on the first instant, and to whom Blankets were distributed.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient Servant
P.Plunkett P.M.

The Honorable
The Colonial Secretary
Sydney

Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Wollongong on 1st May 1840

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Total - 40 Blankets issued

[All the above are designated as belonging to the Five Islands tribe, and resident at Illawarra]

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Aborigines at Erowal, Jervis Bay

16 May 1840: Return of Erowal Jervis Bay Aboriginal Natives for 1840. Erowal is located at St George’s Basin, adjacent to Jervis Bay.

Note that at column 1 ‘In’ refers to ‘Individuals’ associated with that person; whilst at column 2 ‘Bl’ refers to ‘Blankets issued’ (AONSW, 4/2479.1):

Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Erowal, Jervis Bay on 16th May 1840

Chas. J. Campbell
Aborigines at Jervis Bay

25 May 1840: Return of blankets issued to Aboriginal Natives at Jervis Bay [AONSW, 4/2479.1]

Return of Aboriginal Natives
issued with blankets at Jervis Bay on May 25th 1840

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Received 14 Blankets on May 23rd and issued them on the 25th May 1840
Thos. Kinghorne
for Alexr. Kinghorne Esqr.

Aborigines at Shoalhaven

[May 1840] Return of Blankets distributed to Native Blacks at Shoal Haven. Compiled by Alexander Berry (AONSW, 4/2479.1)

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Total Men: 67
Total Women: 55
Total Boys: 49
Total Girls: 36

Aborigines at Berrima

1 September 1840: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Berrima, gathered between May and September 1840. All are designated as belonging to the Berrima District tribe, and resident in the Berrima District {AONSW, 4/2479.1, 40/8421}

Berrima August 24th 1840

Sir

I have the honor to enclose the Form required by your letter of the 1st January last relative to the supply of Blankets to the Aboriginal Natives, and to add that it was found impossible to collect them for the purpose, except in small numbers at a time, and at long intervals; otherwise the Return would have been forwarded before

I have the honor to be

Your most obedt. Servant

G.W. Bowen

Police Magistrate

To

The Colonial Secretary
Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Berrima
between the 1st of May and the 1st of Sept. 1840

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53  Betsy  Trinnby  19  
(Trumby)  
54  Charley  -  
55  Blucher  -  
56  Polly Wild  Gialing  30  
57  Mary  Mulluygulluy  19  
58  Polly  Miningo  25  

G.W.Bowen  
Police Magistrate  

‘Confusion owing to inserting the names of the Children and wives in the list, rendering them liable to be recorded twice over.’ L.E.T.  

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Tyerman and Bennett were members of the London Missionary Society. This published report includes an account of the Aborigines at Illawarra in 1825 - refer under that date for extracts.

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Reminiscences of Aborigines at Kiama  
[c1840] William Burliss, who arrived at Kiama with his family early in 1839, later reminisced of the Aborigines at Kiama in the early 1840s (*Kiama Reporter, February - March 1902*) as follows:  

...It is quite natural that in the early days one would see and come in contact with the aboriginals, or, more plainly speaking, the native blacks, who frequented the various haunts of the Illawarra district.
It would appear that the then dense scrub which existed between Kiama and Gerringong was a great resort for them, having all the natural facilities of a romantic and hunting character. Now, it would seem that the temporary housing we got at Weary Creek, under the hospitality and kindness of Mr James Lang, was a place near their camping ground. They had several, but it afterward transpired that this spot was their principal resort. They would come there and stay three or four weeks at a stretch.

We were not long there when my mother and I heard the noise of many voices on the hills near by. Apparently the noise was the characteristic noise of the black sable denizens. There was no fear displayed at first by mother and son, although at the time we had not been initiated into the ways and habits of the natives, but this ignorance was not to last much longer.

After a few hours hunting they all gathered and assembled on a green spot of land opposite our door. There must have been a hundred or more, including blackfellows, gins, and picaninnies. We thought it was all up with us. We had nearly come to the conclusion that our bodies were to supply the principal luxury for this great feast. Beads of perspiration chased each other down our poor fear-looking countenances till we nearly felt as if we had just come out of a bath. The intensity of feeling was something past describing during the few minutes that this, to us, horrible scene lasted.

At last relief came. The king of the tribe came to the door, with his brass plate dangling on a bare breast. "Baal, missis! we do you no any harm - we only come to cookee possum, wallaby; we makee fire presently; we all friendly." There was something he wanted which my frightened mother handed to him, as far as she was able - our stock of supplies was only limited.

This little incident thoroughly initiated us in the ways of the blacks, and there was no fear displayed afterwards. If they called around, the greatest of friendship existed on both sides, particularly with King Harry. He was awfully pleased to be talked to as King Harry.

I have often thought what a pity it was that the Government did not step in to rescue the residue of the black race earlier. What a field they would have had then to what they had when rescuing the miserable few, who had nearly failed to propagate, and so keep the race from dying out and becoming extinct. It is a great discredit to any nation to have it thrown up to them that they have been the means of allowing the aborigines of any colony to die out, not leaving a vestige to show what kind of a race were their prepossessors. This far we can only reflect and say the time is past, and all our suggestions now will have no effect.

All I can say now is - in my young days I did enjoy the sight of a young native swimming, throwing the spear, and last, but not least, throwing the boomerang. I was so impressed with those wonderful performances that I was induced to try the art myself, with fair success. But of late years I have been more inclined to be like Moses - travelling by the aid of a staff than making the spear to hum through the air, or make the boomerang, after hitting an object, return and lay at the feet....

...Even the aboriginals paid as much, or more, respect for their dead than some Europeans did. They picked a soft, sandy spot - they did not believe in much hard work, consequently the sandy spot was their choice. One could always tell where they buried their dead by the great heap of timber they laid on the graves. A favored spot was near the Kiama cemetery. Can it be possible that when the present site was suggested that the choice of the blacks had any effect on the minds of those whose duty it was to make the choice? There must have been something to suggest itself, or they would have chosen a more elevated site than the present one....

[See also under 1851 for further extracts from Burliss's reminiscences]
William Nicholas' Aboriginal Portraits

[1840s] William Nicholas (1809-54) arrived in Sydney in February 1836 after serving as an apprentice engraver and lithographer.

During the 1840s Nicholas produced a number of portraits of New South Wales Aborigines, including members of the Illawarra and Shoalhaven tribes.

1. Punch, Wife of Cullabaa Broken Bay Tribe 1840
   Zincograph 29.2 x 21.2
   NLA NK708

2. Bill Worrall
   Lithograph 29.2 x 22.6
   Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p242.1).

   Watercolour 28.1 x 21.1
   Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p242.1).

4. Johnny Crook. Native Name "Yunbai". From Illawarra
   Lithograph 24.9 x 19.6
   Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p242.1).

5. Marang. A Native of Kiama
   Engraving 22.5 x 15.6
   Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p239.1).

Abraham Lincolne at Jamberoo

[1840-44] Abraham Lincolne (1815-1884), a farmer and amateur artist, settled at Jamberoo during this period. Amongst his collection of pencil drawings of the Jamberoo and Kiama region in the Mitchell Library (ML C305) is a sketch of 'Mary', a local Aboriginal woman.

1841

The Wreck of the Rover

13 October 1841: The ship Rover is wrecked at Broulee on this date. A party of local Aborigines are instrumental in bringing survivors to shore, and their heroism is later recognised by some of the white residents. For further details refer Gibney, 1980, p.41; AONSW, Col. Sec. 41/10987; HRA volume XXIII, p.790; Moruya Examiner, 30 March & 6 April 1918.

John Skinner Prout, Artist, at Illawarra

[1841-44] John Skinner Prout, artist, visited Illawarra in 1841 and 1844. He produced the following works containing Aboriginal subjects:
John Skinner Prout - Old Frying Pan, Wollongong

6 January 1844 (British Museum, Natural History)
Old Frying Pan, Wollongong Jan 6 1844
W/C
Portrait of an Aboriginal man

* Yannah Wah, Illawarra, New South Wales
W/C
Portrait of an Aboriginal woman

Native Encampment
W/C & Engraving
Aboriginal encampment by Mount Keira, with two bark huts and three native figures

* Corroboree dance of the Natives
W/C
Scene of native corroboree, possibly at Illawarra

Lake Illawarra, New South Wales
Engraving
View from Red Point, with an Aboriginal man seated in the foreground

* Tom Thumbs Lagoon, New South Wales
Engraving
View of Tom Thums Lagoon with Aboriginal family by shore and man fishing with spear


1842

**Maneroo and South Coast Census**

14 January 1842: J.Lambie, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Maneroo district (including the far south coast) reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in his area of jurisdiction (*HRA Sydney, 1924, series I, volume XXI, pp.743-4*)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 14 January, 1842

Sir

Referring to your letter of the 2nd July last transmitting papers respecting the Aborigines and directing my particular attention to the 6th paragraph of Lord John Russell's despatch of the 25th of August, 1840, I have the honor to State for the Information of His Excellency the Governor as follows:-

The Aborigines of the District, with the exception of the Coast tribes, may be said to be almost in their primitive State. At the Stations bordering on the Coast, a good many however of the Natives are employed in sheep washing, hoeing Maize and reaping, and last year three boats' crews, in number eighteen, were employed by the Messieurs Imlay in the Whale Fishery at Twofold Bay on the same lay or term as the whites. The Blacks were Stationed on the opposite side of the Bay to the other Fishermen, and they adopted the same habits as the Whites. They lived in Huts, Slept in Beds, used utensils in cooking, and made the flour into bread; but, as soon as the fishing Season was over, they all returned to their tribes in the Bush. The Natives belonging to the tribes to the
westward of the Coast range are very little employed by the Stockowners, except a few occasionally in washing sheep; they preserve their original habits of hunting, and are constantly moving from place to place.

The accompanying Census I am led to believe exceeds the actual number, for I found it very difficult to obtain a correct Return from the Natives Shifting so frequently. The Births during the last year have been about equal to the Deaths.

With reference to the proposal of appropriating a proportion of the Land Revenue to the civilization of the Aborigines, I would beg leave to State that the Tribes, belonging to the Coast, situated between the Moraya River and Twofold Bay, who have come much more in Contact with the Settlers than those of any other part of the District, appear to wish that the Children were taught to read and write; but at the Same time they have an insuperable dislike to parting with them, if they are to be excluded from Occasionally seeing them. If Schools were established in the District in the first instance, I have no doubt the Children would be permitted to attend them, provided the Parents and friends were sometimes allowed to visit them; and the dislike of parting with the offspring, on the part of the Parents, most probably would gradually wear off when the Children might be removed to Some general Establishment and finally Separated from the Tribes.

I have, &c.,
John Lambie, C.C.I.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo for the Year 1841, accompanying letter to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary dated 14th January, 1842.

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Aborigines at Wollongong

3 May 1842: Letter from Patrick Plunkett re blankets for Aborigines at Illawarra (Wollongong Bench of Magistrate returns, IHS)

Police Office Wollongong
3rd May 1842

Sir
I have the honor to acknowledge rect. of your Letter of the 18th ultimo inclosing receipts in Duplicate for Seventy Blankets forwarded by the Gosford Packet, for distribution to the Native
Blacks of this place, and to inform you that the Gosford Packet has not arrived here, and is suposed to have been wrecked in the late Gales. I can obtain Blankets here in lieu of them, I think at as low a rate as they can be purchased in Sydney, if you will sanction my doing so, stating the price I may give.

I have the honor &c
Sd/ P.Plunkett P.M.

A.Rogers
Col. Storekeeper
Sydney

27 May 1842: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong {AONSW, 4/1133.3, 42/4224}

Police Office Wollongong
7th June 1842

Sir
In reply to your Letter of the first of January last, I have the honor to transmit to you, a return of the Aboriginal Natives residing in this District to whom Blankets were distributed on the 27th ultimo.

I have the honor to be Sir
Your most obedient Servant
The Honorable P.Plunkett P.M.
The Colonial Secretary
Sydney

Return of Aboriginal Natives
taken at Wollongong on 27th May 1842

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<td>Burrobing</td>
<td>34</td>
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</table>

Men: 70  
Women: 42  
Boys: 11  
Girls: 14  
Total: 137

[All are designated as members of the Five Islands tribe and resident at Illawarra]
The Death of Charley Hooka

14 June 1842: A letter from Patrick Plunkett, resident magistrate at Illawarra, to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney, records the death of Charley Hooka, a famous local Aborigine murdered by natives from Broughton Creek (Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, IHS):

Police Office Wollongong
14 June 1842

Sir

In transmitting to you the inclosed Deposition of Dr. O'Brien taken touching the death of an Aboriginal native named "Charley Hooker" I have the honor to inform you that I have made enquiry and could not find any other witness to examine in the matter.

I have the honor &c
Sd/ P.Plunkett P.M.

R.TherryEsqr.
Her Majesty's Attorney Genl.
Sydney

[Dr. O'Brien's deposition has not been located. For various accounts of the circumstances of the death of Charley Hooka in 1842, refer to the Archibald Campbell Papers (Appendix 2); the article on the Hooka Islands of Lake Illawarra under 1893; the McCaffrey Papers (Appendix 3, notebook 11); 'Reminiscences of Old Pioneer', 1923; and the Dollahan Papers (Appendix 4) - all reproduced in this study]

22 July 1842: Return from Patrick Plunkett re coroners fees for inquest into death of Charley Hooka, murdered by Broughton Creek Aborigines (Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, IHS):

Abstract of Fees and Expenses attending Coroners Inquest for the Quarter Commencing 1st April 1842 and ending 30th June 1842

1842, May 3d

To Coroners Fees and allowance for 3 miles travelling to hold an Inquest on Charley Hooka an Aboriginal Native 1.2.3

To Surgeons Fees on Do. (Post Mortem Examination 3.3.0.

Forwd. the above to the Attorney General
22nd July 1842

16 June 1842: 'Register of Coroners Inquests, 1842' re Charley Hooka (AONSW, 4/6611/2, Reel 190):

1795 / Wollongong / 3 May / Charley Hooker (Abgl.) / P.Plunkett Esq. P.M. / 16 June 1842 / Supposed murdered by Blacks.
Eviction and Isolation

1843 - 1869

The years 1843-69 saw an almost total neglect of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of Illawarra and the South Coast by the white invaders, who continued to alienate them throughout this period by taking up large parcels of land. This led to the introduction of sheep and cattle, resulting in the destruction of native forests, and the killing of indigenous plants and animals which formed the basis of Aboriginal subsistence.

During their thousands of years of residence the Aborigines had been natural conservators of the environment. The Europeans showed no real regard for such conservation, viewing the land as a source of wealth and prosperity. The local people were therefore forced into areas which the Europeans considered worthless and unable to be cultivated, such as swampy and/or rocky land.

It was not until the 1870s that a few white people began to question the treatment of the blacks over the years since 1788, however the public at large considered them a dying race during this period and saw no need to consider them, or help them, apart from in a few isolated incidents.

By the late 1840s the Aborigines of Illawarra were already fringe dwellers, and commonly seen as pitiful creatures by the white population. These attitudes are revealed in many of the reminiscences recorded at the time, and later followed up in the 1870s and 80s within the writings of interested locals and anthropologists who, whilst interested in the study of Aboriginal culture, were not necessarily concerned for their welfare.

The administrators of the Colony were more preoccupied with recording the deteriorating numbers of the Aboriginal population during this period, rather than directly assisting in the survival of the race.

1843

Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

11 January 1843: J.Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area (HRA, Sydney, 1924, series I, volume XXII, pp.649-50)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 11 January, 1843

Sir

I have the honor to Report, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, in reference to your letter of the 2d July, 1841, accompanying papers respecting the Aborigines, that little change had
taken place in their condition in this District during the past year. Some of the Tribes, particularly those on the Coast, continue, as formerly stated, occasionally to assist in sheep washing. Hoeing and Reaping, they are frequently found to be absent on some hunting or shooting excursion.

Three of the young men accompanied some of the parties, who first took stock into Gipps' Land, and have remained there acting as Stockmen; one of them now owns several head of Cattle, which he has received in compensation of his services, and which appear to attach him to his employment; but the others seem less contented, and intend to return to their Tribes.

The Census herewith forwarded is exclusive of Gipps' Land. There the Natives have not yet come in communication with the Stock owners, and no correct estimate could be obtained of the number, but which I have reason to think is considerable.

I have, &c.,
John Lambie, C.C.Lands.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo for the Year 1842, accompanying letter to the Honble. the Colonial Secretary, dated 11th January, 1843.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places usually frequented</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above</td>
<td>Below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolbodelbo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norawa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>Boat Alley, Borgalia and Gundary</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windelli, Marabrine and Bowerga</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twofold Bay</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Howe</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Pambulla</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Omeo</td>
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<td>Maharatta</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Mowenbar</td>
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<td>Snowy River</td>
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<td>345</td>
<td>121</td>
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<td></td>
<td>231</td>
<td>90</td>
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Oswald Brierly at Twofold Bay

[1843] Oswald Brierly, artist and superintendent of Benjamin Boyd's establishments at Twofold Bay, kept a number of diaries and journals during the 1840s, including a 'Journal of a Visit to Twofold Bay, Maneroo and Districts beyond the Snowy River' (Mitchell Library manuscript).

Brierly was a competent artist, and Twofold Bay works by him with Aboriginal subjects include:

1. Australian Gin Twofold Bay June 29th 1843
   Pencil
   ML PXD81f.5

2. Char-ree-uerro Twofold Bay Sept 5 1843
   Watercolour
   ML PXD81f.6
### J. Browne at Twofold Bay

[1843-47] J. Browne was an amateur artist who appears to have been employed in the Twofold Bay and Bega area about this time. The following works with Aboriginal subjects are mostly highly detailed pencil sketches, supposedly of the local Aboriginal people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Horsemen talking with Aborigines</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aborigines with spears at waterside</td>
<td>Ink &amp; wash</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aboriginal women fishing</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aborigines' camp</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aborigines in humpeys</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aborigines with spears climbing rocks</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aborigine hunting in bush</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Australia - white man sleeping in humpy</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.59</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Aborigines fishing from canoes</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aborigines in canoe fishing</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>MLPXA1689f.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Johnny Crook (Punbai)

[1843] T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General and amateur artist, produces a pencil portrait of Johnny Crook, native name Punbai, of the Five Islands [Mitchell Library]

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1844

Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

9 January 1844: J.Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area (HRA, Sydney, 1924, series I, volume XXIII, pp.491-2)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 9th January, 1844

Sir

Referring to your Letter of the 2nd July, 1841, accompanying certain papers respecting the Aborigines, I have the honor to report. For the Information of His Excellency the Governor, that no material change has taken place in the condition of the Natives of this district during last year. They occasionally assist, as formerly, the Stockowners in Sheep Washing, hoeing, and reaping, but their habits of industry do not seem to increase. There is one man who has separated himself from his Tribe, and has enclosed a small portion of Ground situated on the Coast, which he cultivated as a Garden, but he is the only instance of any attempt being made to adopt the mode of civilized life.

I have, &c.,

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo for the Year 1843, accompanying letter to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary. Dated 9th January, 1844.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places usually frequented</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundary, Birgalea and Boatally</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windella, Marabime and Bowerga</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Biggah 59 20 57 22 158
Twofold Bay 34 16 22 8 80
Pambulla 9 1 3 1 14
Cape Howe 16 1 10 3 30
Maharatta 19 5 16 3 43
Mowenbar 12 3 10 3 28
Snowy River 25 7 20 3 55

311 119 199 58 687

G.A. Robinson at Bega & Twofold Bay

August - September 1844: George Augustus Robinson, Official Protector of Aborigines, visits the Aborigines of the Bega and Twofold Bay areas. The following journals in the Mitchell Library collection record these travels:

* Journal from Twofold Bay to Cape Howe, Ram's head (30 miles) thence to Twofold Bay, Friday 13 July - 13 August 1844.

* Journal from Twofold Bay on board the Wanderer Schooner Wednesday 14 August - Tuesday 27 August.

* Journal from Pambuller to Biggah Country Wednesday 28 August - 15 September 1844.

The following quotes from his published journal refer to the Aborigines of the far South Coast {Mackaness, 1941, pp.23-4}:

...On the 29th crossed a succession of wooded Ranges of Granite and Sandstone and entered Biggah [Bega] singularly situated in an Amphitheatre of the Dividing Range....

The Dendeobium was common on the Rocks and the Zamia on the Ranges; the nuts of the latter hang in clusters, and are deleterious if eaten in a raw state: in preparing them for food the Natives bruise the kernel to a pulp and soak them in water; the nuts are collected in large quantities and by the Blacks called Bunggow....

The Tribes of this Country have been greatly reduced by the Yass Blacks and others of the Interior who are constantly making incursions upon them. I visited a small Island where for several days they had defended themselves against a much superior force.

Forty Miles by the Coast North of Twofold Bay was the farthest point reached. Some of the Huts in the locality resembled a beehive and others half a Cupola - The Messrs Imley were the first and for some years the Exclusive Settlers at Twofold Bay and much to their credit lived on peaceable terms with the Aborigines.

The Natives at their establishment were encouraged to habits of Industry and employed in Whaling, Stock-keeping, Shepherding, Bullock driving and other useful pursuits. Dr. Imley from whom I received every requisite assistance and attention, spoke in commendable terms to the Natives and I was happy to find that the other Aborigines along the Coast were equally well spoken of several persons by their instrumentality had been saved. The most striking instance (brought under notice) was the Wreck of a Steamer in a Storm at Broole when all hopes of saving the white persons were given up, and when no Individual would venture, two Aboriginal natives at the imminent risk of their own lives boldly plunged into the Breakers and rescued suffered who but for them must have perished. For their humane and heroic conduct the Settlers in a Memorial to the Government recommended them for consideration.
Gratuitous medical assistance to the Natives is afforded at Mr Boyd's Establishments and at Messrs Imley: the latter at present are the Sole occupants of the Biggah Country.

The language of the Biggah Tribe is dissimilar to the Natives at Twofold Bay....


1845

Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

3 January 1845: J.Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area [HRA, Sydney, 1925, series I, volume XXIV, pp.269-70]

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 3rd January, 1845

Sir

Agreeably to your letter of the 2nd July, 1841, Accompanying papers respecting the Aborigines, and particularly drawing my attention to the 6th paragraph of Lord John Russell's Despatch of the 25th August, 1840, I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, the Substance of what I have on former occasions Stated, namely that no material change has taken place in the condition of the natives during the past year; they continue to assist the Stockowners, particularly those whose Stations are situated near the Coast, in Sheep washing, hoeing, and reaping; but, Since labor has become more plentiful and consequently a reduction in the rate of Wages, their Services are less in demand than formerly.

The man, whom I alluded to in my report of last year, as having separated himself from his Tribe and enclosed a small portion of ground which he cultivated, Still occupies the Same place; but he is the only Native who seems to make any progress towards a state of civilization. From the best information I have been able to obtain, I believe the deaths and births for the last year to be about equal.

I have, &c.,
John Lambie, C.C.L.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo for the Year ended 31st December 1844, accompanying letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated 3rd January, 1845.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Names of Places usually frequented</th>
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<th>Males Below</th>
<th>Females Above</th>
<th>Females Below</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundary, Birgalea and Boatally</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
August 1845: George French Angas, author and artist, visits Illawarra, briefly staying at the farm of Mr Jessot near Dapto. Whilst in the region he produced the following views which depict the local Aborigines:

* Entrance to a harbour, with aborigines in a mia mia
  Oil Dixson Library DL6
  View supposedly looking towards Wollongong Harbour from the mountains to the south west. Attribution is doubtful.

* Cabbage Palms, Dapto, Illawarra [1845]
  W/C South Australian Art Gallery
  View of Aborigines climbing trees near Dapto.

Angas's publication *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (London, 1847, 2 volumes) includes a description of his visit to Illawarra (volume 2, pp.234-243). The following extracts describe aspects of the local Aboriginal people:

....Amongst the most striking and beautiful of the wild flowers that adorn these mountain forests of New South Wales, are the "warrator" and the rock-lily. The "warrator" is a splendid shrub, growing with a single upright woody stem to a height of six or seven feet; at the top of which is a magnificent blossom of a deep crimson colour, in shape and size bearing considerable resemblance to a full-blown peony. The natives occasionally wear these "warrator" flowers in their hair as ornaments...(p.238 - written in reference to plants seen whilst descending the Mount Keira road).

....The next day was spent in rambling about with our friend, and sketching, amidst the beautiful scenery of the surrounding neighbourhood. There is a grove of cabbage palms on the margin of a small stream close to this spot, and it was amusing to witness the dexterity with which the natives climb the branchless and smooth trunks of these trees, by means of a notched stick, and occasionally with no other assistance than a piece of wild vine or supplejack, which they draw tight round the tree....(p.243)

[Angas also visited Illawarra and Kiama during 1851 and 1854]

Select Committee on Aborigines

During 1845-6 the New South Wales Legislative Council undertook an investigation into the condition of the Aborigines of the east coast of Australia via the appointment of a Select Committee.
Apart from interviewing individuals - including Mahroot of Botany Bay - the Committee sent a circular to the various Benches of Magistrates and clergymen, seeking information on local people. Amongst those who replied were the Reverend Matthew Devenish Meares of Wollongong (on 6 April 1846) and Francis Flanagan of Broulee (1845). The questions and replies were printed in the published *Votes and Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Council*. They are reproduced as follows, along with some returns from Berrima, Picton, and the Campbelltown districts.

**Illawarra Aborigines**

*From the Reverend M.D. Meares, M.A., Minister of the Church of England, Wollongong, 6th April, 1846:*

1. What is the probable number of Aborigines in your district, distinguishing males, females, and children?
   
   Males 34, females 40, children 19; of these 8 are black, 11 half-caste.

2. Has the number diminished or increased, and if so, to what extent, within the last five or ten years?
   
   In 1837 there were I believe upwards of 350 Aborigines in this district.

3. Has the decrease been among the children or adults?
   
   The decrease has been pretty equal in adults and children.

4. To what cause do you attribute the decrease in your district?
   
   To the fact of their having from associating much with the worst characters, among the white population, imbibed most of their vices, without any of their redeeming qualities.

5. What is their actual condition and means of subsistence?
   
   Their moral condition is, from the causes stated above in the reply to query No.4, worse than before they were exposed to the degrading effects of such association.

   Their means of subsistence are fully adequate to their wants; whether derived from their ordinary pursuits of hunting and fishing, or in exchange for such services as they are able and willing to render to the settlers.

6. Has their ordinary means of subsistence diminished, and if so, what part of it, and from what causes; if it has increased, what part, and from what causes?
   
   The improved parts of the district, afford more extensive hunting grounds than the present diminished numbers of the Aborigines require; the fish are as abundant as ever, and they can earn a something occasionally from the settlers.

7. Have blankets been issued to the Aborigines in your district heretofore, and for what period? What was the effect of giving them? Has the giving of blankets ceased? When did it cease; and what has been the effect of its cessation? Would it be advisable to resume the distribution?
   
   Blankets have heretofore been issued by the Government to the Aborigines; the effects produced were 1st - an increase of their comforts, and the preservation of their health; 2nd - a partial incitement towards civilization by an increase of their wants.
No blankets have been issued since 1844; the effects have been an increased mortality, particularly among the males; and much dissatisfaction among the survivors, with considerable suffering from rheumatic affections and colds. I would strongly recommend an immediate return to the former practice of distribution.

Have they been allowed or refused Hospital or Medical treatment in case of need; and in what manner; and, if allowed, at whose expense?

Bundel, a native of Illawarra, died in the Hospital in Sydney some two years ago; in no other instance has medical assistance, within my knowledge, been sought for.

What proportion of them are either regularly or occasionally employed by the settlers, and in what way? In what manner are they remunerated?

There are two or three who are frequently employed by the settlers in Illawarra, but for irregular periods; and they receive wages and rations as other men.

What habits have they bearing upon their aptitude for employment?

They have no habits, of which I am cognizant, bearing upon aptitude for employment of a laborious character; if it were otherwise, I am of opinion that their muscular development would be much greater than I have ever witnessed it, except in rare instances.

Are there any, and how many, half-castes in your district? Are they living with or after the manner of the Aborigines?

There are two or three adult half-castes who live as do the Aborigines, and with them.

Is there any disposition on the part of the white labouring population, to amalgamate with the Aborigines, so as to form families?

There is no desire on the part of the white labouring population to amalgamate, in a legitimate way, with the Aborigines; cases have occurred in which white men, working among the mountains, as cedar cutters, have cohabited with black women for months together; in one instance for two years, but the connexion has always ceased immediately on their return to a settled part of the district.

Are the Aborigines in friendly or hostile relations with the settlers in your district; if hostile, how has the hostility arisen, and what collisions have taken place between the two races; what loss of life has there been; and in what manner has it taken place on either side?

The Aborigines in this district are peaceable in their habits, and generally well disposed.

What destruction of property has been occasioned by Aborigines?

None whatever.

What are the relations, hostile or otherwise, of the Aborigines among themselves in your district?

Generally of a friendly character.

Are their numbers directly or indirectly affected by their hostilities, and to what extent?

One man was killed in a private quarrel by his own brother, about two years ago.

Is infanticide known among them?

It is altogether denied by the Aborigines of this district, and I have never heard of an instance of it among them.
Will you be good enough to state any facts relative to the Aborigines that would assist the Committee in its endeavour to promote their welfare?

From my limited acquaintance with the habits of the Aborigines I cannot state any facts which could assist the Committee in its endeavour to promote their welfare, but I am of opinion that their children, in no way deficient in intellect, are capable of a high state of moral culture.

I have never met with any people endowed to the same extent with the ability to acquire a knowledge of the English language, indeed, I feel convinced that if that paternal care, which a Government is upon every principle, bound to extend to all classes of its subjects, had been exercised towards them, the moral and physical condition of the Aborigines would have been raised to a respectable level, instead of being sunk, in a great measure from neglect, to a state the most degraded.

What course is best calculated to benefit them now is not easy to be ascertained, but something at least ought to be attempted. A long debt is due to those people from the inhabitants of European descent; and whatever the legislature can do for their religious improvement, their temporal comfort, or the education of their children, will, I am persuaded, be well and wisely expended.

Aborigines of the Broulee District

From Francis Flanagan, Esq., Broulee

1 The number and description of the aborigines in this district is as follows: - About two hundred and fifty; one hundred and sixty males, sixty females, and thirty children.

2 Diminished about fifty percent.

3 Few children are now reared, and many adults have died lately.

4 Cutaneous and venereal diseases principally.

5 Those who choose to work can obtain plenty of food and clothing, and they seldom have of necessity to depend upon fishing or hunting for subsistence.

6 Kangaroos have diminished, but most of the natives in the district depend more upon the sea than the bush for food.

7 Blankets have been issued regularly since 1837, till last year. None have been given during the last winter, and in consequence many of the old and infirm have perished through the inclemency of the weather; as trusting that blankets would be issued at the usual time [May], they did not even provide themselves with opossum cloaks. But we would recommend the issue of sufficient number of blankets for the old and infirm; in fact, the supplies hitherto rendered, (twenty-five pair,) were only sufficient for such, and distributed accordingly.

8 About two years back, a virulent cutaneous disorder was raging amongst them, and a surgeon resident in this neighbourhood provided them with medicines at his own expense, for which the Government has since refused to remunerate him. When ill, they generally apply to white residents in the district, who doctor them according to their ability.
Both males and females are employed by the settlers in gathering the maize and potato crop, and some of them in reaping. They have commonly been remunerated in provisions, clothes, tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., but many of them insist upon being paid in money. They are always employed for stripping bark.

They will only work while the fancy seizes them, and always go off without warning.

There may be about a dozen half castes in the district, all young. They generally disappear when they reach the age of puberty, and are supposed to be destroyed by the other blacks, with whom, however, they generally live.

No; several black gins live with whites, but there is only one instance of a family continuing to reside together in this district.

All on friendly terms.

Some few cattle have been speared, and petty robberies are occasionally committed by them.

They frequently fight amongst themselves, upon which occasions, the whites, though often spectators, never interfere.

Few are killed in those encounters.

Very common, and in cases of twins, one is always sacrificed.

The only means of benefitting them is to allow blankets and medicines in cases of sickness and infirmity, as the strong and healthy can always obtain plenty of food and clothing, although they will never remain long in one place.

\[\text{Maneroo Aborigines}\]

\[\text{From John Lambie, Esq., J.P., Commissioner of Crown Lands for the district of Maneroo:}\]

The probable number of aborigines in this district is about six hundred and eighty-seven; namely, adult males, three hundred and eleven; adult females, one hundred and ninety-nine; and male and female children, say under twelve years of age, one hundred and seventy-seven.

The number has, during the last five years, diminished ten percent.

The decrease has principally been in adults.

The decrease has principally been from natural causes.

Their condition is not worse than formerly. The means of subsistence is chiefly fish, and game, and food furnished by the residents.

The ordinary means of subsistence has diminished, inasmuch as the kangaroos retire as soon as the land is stocked.

Blankets were issued formerly, and doubtless the effect was beneficial, particularly to the aged and infirm. The supply has, since 1842, ceased; but it would be advisable to resume it on account of the severity of the winters.

No hospital treatment has been received or applied for on behalf of the aborigines; but almost all severe cases have been medically treated by one or other of the Surgeons who are
resident stock owners, from motives of benevolence; also necessaries in cases of sickness have been supplied from the same motives by these gentlemen, and other squatters.

9 The proportion of aborigines occasionally, but not permanently, employed by the stock owners is very small indeed. Some can reap, others assist in sheep washing, and a few engage in the coast whale fishery; but they are so unsettled they cannot be depended on, and consequently their services are not much in request. The remuneration is usually made in articles of food and clothing.

10 They can scarcely be said to have any settled habits bearing upon an aptitude for employment.

11 There are about twelve half-caste children, all living with, and after the manner of the aborigines.

12 There is no disposition on the part of the white labouring population to amalgamate with the aborigines, so as to form families.

13 The aborigines are in a perfectly friendly relation with the squatters, and no collisions have lately taken place.

14 The only destruction of property, occasioned by the aborigines, is cattle sometimes speared, but the loss has been trifling.

15 The relation among the aborigines of the district is not unfriendly.

16 The numbers directly or indirectly affected by their hostilities are not great. Occasionally hostile tribes come from the adjoining counties, and their collisions were, on two occasions, attended with fatal results. In the first instance two were killed, and in the last, one.

17 Infanticide among the aborigines is not known in this district.

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Campbelltown Aborigines

From James Chisholm, Esq., J.P., for the Bench of Magistrates, Campbelltown:

For about the last five to ten years they have been gradually decreasing, from the number of about fifteen to twenty, until none can be said to belong to this police district, as a tribe.

Their death may be attributed to natural causes.

Blankets were issued to the natives, but have ceased to be sent for the last three years, nor was there the necessity for any issue of them as far as this district is concerned.

From the Reverend James Goold, Minister of the Church of Rome, Campbelltown, February 25th, 1846:

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 17th instant, and in reply beg leave to state that no tribe of the Aborigines has resided in this District since my appointment to it. I regret, therefore, that I cannot give the information required by the Committee.

From the Reverend Jonathan Innes, Wesleyan Minister, Campbelltown, April 30th, 1846:

1 Six women, seven men, one boy, and three girls; total, seventeen.

2 That they have diminished I have not the slightest doubt; but to what extent I am not able to say.
3 I am not able to ascertain.

4 To want of clothing in the winter season; the diminution of their regular resources of food, e.g. kangaroo, &c.; and the vicious habits which they have contracted from the profligate Europeans.

5 They subsist principally upon opossums; with the assistance of irregular supplies of food, which they receive from the settlers.

6 I believe their native food has diminished, such as kangaroo and opossum, and that it has been occasioned by an increase of the European population, and the cultivation of the land.

7 I believe none since the time of Macquarie.

8 I am not aware they have received either.

9 I am not certain of any being regularly employed and receiving wages as servants.

10 I am not aware of any.

11 There are one woman and four children - half-caste, who are living after the manner of the Aborigines.

12 I am not aware of any.

13 I believe they are on peaceable terms with the settlers; I know of no loss of life which has been occasioned by hostility between the two classes.

14 I am not aware of any.

15 As far as I can learn they are of a friendly nature.

16 I believe not.

17 None.

18 The above is all the information I can furnish. I feel it very difficult to suggest anything with regard to their future welfare.

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**Denbigh (Narellan) Aborigines**

*From the Reverend Thomas Hassall, M.A., Minister of the Church of England. Denbigh, 30th March, 1846:*

1 Unknown. I believe they are nearly extinct in this District. Those who occasionally visit it belong to Camden and Burragerang.

2 I believe the number has greatly diminished, but I have no data for ascertaining that point.

3 The decrease has been in both children and adults.

4 In a very great measure to the vices introduced by Europeans, particularly those of drunkenness and immorality.
Their actual condition is that of the greatest degradation, and their means of subsistence is very limited, although I am not aware of any having died through want of food.

Their ordinary means of subsistence has of course diminished, through the cultivation of the soil and destroying their food, by hunting and shooting the animals which gave them subsistence. When I visited this District, about forty years since, numbers of Kangaroo were to be seen within a few miles of this spot; now, comparatively speaking, none are to be found.

I am not aware that blankets have been issued in these Districts. I think however, it would be advisable to issue them, but they should be branded, and no person allowed to purchase them, nor should they be issued near public houses, as draymen, and others entice the Natives in, and make them intoxicated, and buy their blankets. If the Clergy had the issuing of them, and taking their names, &c., it might be of service to obtain something like a census with little trouble.

I am not aware that they have been allowed or refused medical attendance; we have no hospitals in our District. From myself and other landholders, particularly the Messieurs Macarthur, they have always received medicine when they required it.

The only person I know of, who has been enabled to employ them occasionally, is John Wild Esquire, M.C., who feeds and remunerates them when they work for him in husking corn. My brother, Mr James Hassall, and others here, have had two or three at a time, who have been extremely useful in the care of horses and cattle, until the period of knocking out their teeth, when invariably they have been compelled to leave their service. In one instance of an Aborigine at Dr. Reed's, who would not leave, he was killed by the natives for it.

Their habits would fit them well for pastoral employment, provided they could be removed from the influence of their own tribes.

More than one-half of the children are half-castes; there are a few who are grown up and are living after the manner of the Aborigines.

I conceive not. They cohabit with them, but in no instance am I aware of their remaining any time together.

They are all friendly in these districts.

None that I know of.

Unknown.

Doubtless they are, but to no great extent.

I am not certain.

From the attempt made at Black Town, I am assured that the great good might be effected by persevering industry and education, provided suitable means and persons could be obtained to manage an establishment for them; the failure of that at Black Town arose from the want of good soil to cultivate, and proper persons to conduct it; in fact just as the boys and girls grew up to puberty, the school was abandoned, the girls were married to the most worthless of convict men, and with one exception turned out ill. The exception is a person living near Black Town whose husband is a sawyer; she has a large family and is very industrious, taking in the timber herself with one of her children to Windsor to prevent her husband going and getting drunk. The Rev. Mr Walker I think, could name several who have been instructed and done well, that is, have been useful and industrious. One that the Rev. Mr Marsden took great pains with, who from the dire influence of the convicts
behaved very ill and ran away from him at Rio, returned and died in the Hospital at Sydney, a true penitent.

I write from my own certain knowledge, that the intercourse and vices of Europeans have been the great bane and destruction of the race; I recollect the time when on the Parramatta River two or three small fleets of canoes, well made of bark, with two or three or more in each canoe, with nets, fishing lines, spears, &c., of their own making, were to be seen daily, but where are they now? There were likewise a fine race of men at the Hawkesbury and in those districts, but they have nearly all disappeared.

I think that much good might be effected by appointing depots, under certain regulations, in the different counties, where they might have, so long as they remained, a daily ration, encouraging them to do a little labour, and giving them something extra for it, such as tea, sugar, and tobacco. This I conceive is due from us to them, and the expense if properly attended to would be amply repaid by their being near at hand, to assist the constables and others in discovering stolen property, as well as by their obtaining habits of industry, which otherwise I see no prospect of their ever obtaining.

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Sutton Forest Aborigines

* From the Reverend William Stone, B.A., Minister of the Church of England, Sutton Forest, 6th April, 1846:

1 I am not aware what is the probable number of Aborigines in this District.

2 I cannot say whether the number has increased or decreased within the last five years, not having been resident in the district so long.

3 I cannot answer for the same reason.

4 No answer for the like reason.

5 Their condition is truly miserable. They frequently apply to me both for food and clothing; neither of which I am enabled to supply, in any degree proportioned to their actual wants.

6 Their ordinary means of subsistence has certainly not increased, however it may have diminished.

7 I am informed blankets were issued to the Aborigines, some few years since; I think it would be highly desirable to renew the practice, and especially now the winter being about to commence.

8 This I cannot answer.

9 I have known them to be occasionally employed during the reaping season. They complain much of inadequate remuneration.

10 Being so extremely migratory in their habits they cannot be much employed, at least permanently.

11 I have not observed many half-castes in this district; such as I have, however, lived with, and after the manner of the Aborigines.

12 None whatever.

13 They are on friendly terms with the settlers.
14 They have not destroyed any property in this district.
15 They appear friendly towards each other.
16 I cannot say what their numbers were, or are at present.
17 I have never heard of infanticide being committed by them; on the contrary they seem much attached to their offspring.
18 From the incessant applications for clothes, I am inclined to believe, that the Committee could at present confer no greater benefit, than by a speedy distribution of the same.

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Goulburn Aborigines

From the Reverend William Hamilton, Minister of the Church of Scotland, Goulburn, 15th April, 1846:

1 In the police district of Goulburn there are remnants of several distinct tribes of blacks - the Mulwaree - the Burra Burra - the Bungonia - the Lake George - and the Fish River tribes.

Of the Mulwaree, there remains, so far as I can learn, not above five men, and five or six women, and one child. Yet it appears from a memorandum kept by the Clerk of Petty Sessions, that, in 1844, he issued fifteen blankets to as many men of the tribe, and that the supply was inadequate for the male applicants. On a previous year, to men, women, and children, of this and neighbouring tribes, he issued as many as sixty blankets.

Of the Burra Burra tribe, I have reason to think there remains five or six men, not fewer women, and several children.

Of the Bungonia tribe, I believe there are still about like numbers.

Of the Lake George and Fish River tribes, I can say nothing, but that the former is still pretty numerous, accounting probably to fifty souls or upwards.

2&3 The Aborigines of this district have no doubt greatly diminished during the last ten years, and the decrease has been in all classes of them; but of the extent of it I cannot write definitely.

4 The decrease of their number is, I apprehend, to be attributed chiefly to vicious intercourse of the females with white men, and to disease contracted through indulgence in drunkenness, and a change of habits, in some respects, without accommodation of the mode of life to such change in other respects.

5 Their condition is, for the most part, that of rambling beggars. They have no certain means of subsistence; yet they never want, obtaining always necessary food freely, or for work, of finding it for themselves in the bush.

6 Their original means of subsistence has, no doubt, greatly diminished; so far as it consisted of the kangaroo, and wild-fowl, it may be said to have entirely failed, and this through the presence of the whites with fire-arms, and the numerous dogs kept at every grazing station.

7 Blankets have been issued for at least ten years, ending with 1844. They no doubt contributed immediately to the comfort of the blacks, otherwise they would not have shewn so great eagerness to procure them; yet, I apprehend, they may have contributed to their
contracting the rheumatism to which they are subject, the protection they afford against wet not being so complete as that afforded by the opossum cloak; their distribution may also have withdrawn a valuable motive to native industry. But having been begun, and the blacks being reduced to their present abject condition, I think the distribution of blankets ought to be continued; its cessation to have occasioned great dissatisfaction among them.

8 There were one or two blacks received into the Goulburn Hospital, while it was a convicts institution, and supported entirely by government; and there has never been any case of refusal to admit them of which I am aware. One who was some time in hospital, and had his arm amputated, was induced, by the rest of his tribe, to run away before his recovery was perfected.

9 A large proportion of them are occasionally employed to strip bark, cut up fire-wood, gather potatoes, carry messages, ride after cattle, and so forth, and are adequately remunerated with money, rations, tobacco, or whatever else they may wish from the stores of the settlers; a few are more regularly employed; one has been for two years past a hired shepherd at Taralga; I have heard of one in the same neighbourhood hired as a bullock-driver; one or two are generally employed about the police barracks. Last season, at a station on the Fish River, a flock of sheep was shorn by blacks, and at Bungonia several were engaged in reaping.

10 Their aptitude for employment may be inferred from what has just been stated. What least circumscribes their liberty, is most congenial to their natural dispositions and habits.

11 I have seen half-caste children living as the Aborigines do; how many there are now I cannot say.

12 One instance of such disposition has occurred. A white man living at the farm of Francis Cooper, Esq., Lake George, was married a few years ago, by the Reverend R. Cartwright, now of Gunning, to a female Aboriginal for two or three years; but a separation has taken place, (it would appear from jealousy, on her part, of another woman - a white) and she was lately, and probably is still living, as a hired domestic servant near Lake George. This female never associates with the other Aborigines, and but for her complexion and features, would not be supposed to be of the same race; she possesses a degree of intelligence, and an amount of religious knowledge, far surpassing those of a large proportion of white females, and bears an excellent character.

13 The Aborigines of this district have always been on friendly terms with the settlers; yet I have been told, that long ago, one white man was killed by the blacks on the Mulwaree.

14 They appear never to have occasioned any destruction of property.

15 They are peaceable and friendly among themselves.

16 There is no reason to think hostilities have affected their number.

17 I have no reason to think infanticide is practiced among them; but I once heard a report respecting blacks at Limestone Plains [Canberra], which led me to suspect, that half-caste children from five to ten years of age, are sometimes destroyed by them.

18 The only facts of the kind, referred to by this query, of which I am cognizant, have been already noticed in answers to queries 9 and 12. Perhaps it might be found advisable to give a premium to any black, male or female, who continues steadily industrious for two or more years; and connecting this with public distribution of blankets to the other blacks, might have a beneficial effect. Their susceptibility of religious and moral culture appears to me, from all I have seen of them, to be as great as that of whites, who have contracted habits similarly unfavourable.
From Matthew M’Alister, Esq., J.P., for the Bench of Magistrates, Picton:

The following is a statement of the number and description of the Aborigines in the district of Picton.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Half-Caste Adults</th>
<th>Half-Caste Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
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One of them is a Carradgee or doctor.

A few occasionally reap, and pull husk and maize, for which they are paid in provisions, tobacco, old clothes, and sometimes muskets, and fowling pieces.

They are proverbially indolent, and very lazy when employed by the whites.

One man, one woman, and nine children, all living with, and after the manner of the aborigines.

Only one instance of an aboriginal woman living with a white man, in this district.

Most friendly. No collision whatever has occurred.

No destruction of any kind of property has been occasioned by the aborigines.

They are very friendly and quiet among themselves.

A very few have been killed by hostile tribes.

Not in this district.
Their welfare would be greatly promoted by giving them in the winter months some little food, such as flour, tea, sugar, and giving them blankets, or woollen slops, which should be marked in a conspicuous manner, and made punishable for any white person to buy or have them.

Berrima Aborigines

* From Samuel North, Esq., J.P., for the Bench of Magistrates, Berrima:

1. There are at present about forty blacks in the Berrima tribe, viz., about twenty men, fifteen women, and five children.

2. The number has decreased about one-third within the last five years. From information we are enabled to arrive at, we are induced to believe, that the tribe did not exceed sixty in number, ten years ago.

3. Both.

4. Natural causes, except one or two instances of sudden death.

5. The same as heretofore.

6. No alteration in their means of subsistence.

7. Blankets were issued to them till 1843; since then the practice has been discontinued. The effect of the cessation has been to make them resort to their primitive habits, of providing themselves with opossum cloaks; but as the weather here is very severe in winter, and as the cost of blankets is but trifling, we would recommend the resumption of the distribution.

8. No hospital in this district; there has been no demand for assistance (medically) on their part; nor is there any fund for paying for medical treatment for them, should they require it.

9. There is but one aborigine in this district who has remained regularly in employment, viz., as groom. During the harvest time they are generally employed by the farmers reaping, and this they do very well. They are remunerated for their labour partly in money, and partly in property, such as clothes, and a little tea, sugar, and tobacco.

10. It is only by holding forth, what to them appears great remuneration, that they can be induced to work; on the whole, they are excessively indolent.

11. There are two or three half-caste children in the district; they live with the aborigines.

12. No, (with one single exception.)

13. Friendly.

14. None.

15. Friendly.

16. There have been three deaths amongst them during the last four years, arising out of quarrels amongst themselves.

17. Not to our knowledge.
We are not aware of any facts, relative to the adult portion of the aborigines, that would assist
the Committee in its endeavours to promote their welfare. But as regards the children, we
are of opinion much may be done for them. We have instances of their aptitude for
knowledge. We have one instance, in this district, of an aboriginal youth, adopting the
habits of the white race, and of having continued so for some length of time. We have also
one instances where an aboriginal woman has, in like manner, adopted the habits of white
women, in every way. We think if the parents could be induced to part with their children,
and these children were placed in such situations where their education could be strictly
attended to, (every exertion being made to eradicate from their minds the desire to roam)
a sense of religion inculcated in their youthful minds, and a due attention to their wants,
they might eventually be reclaimed from that wretched state of barbarism, in which they
are unhappily at present placed.

1846

A Moruya Vocabulary

H.Hale: Ethnography and Philology, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1846 (re-issued by The Gregg
Press, Ridgewood, New York, 1968). ML Q508.3W.

This publication includes two sections on:

* The Natives of Australia, pp.106-116
* The Languages of Australia, p.479 et seq.

Hale was a member of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-42, under Captain Charles
Wilkes. He visited New South Wales in 1839-40, and the above publication includes a brief account
of the Moruya Aborigines.

Hale also states (p.106) that a vocabulary was ‘obtained directly from the natives .... [at] the
Moruya River to the south [of Sydney].’ This vocabulary is reproduced below:

Vocabulary of the Moruya River Natives

Head kapan
Hair tiaur
Eye mabara
Mouth ta
Lips wilin
Teeth yira
Tongue talan
Chin (or beard) walo, yerun
Ear kure
Neck or throat kami
Hand mana
Breast binul
Thigh bunta
Foot (toes) dana
Skin wardu
Man yuen
Woman wanen
In 1846 Charles McCaffrey became the manager of the Osborne cattle station at Kangaroo Valley (Kangaroo Ground). The task of moving his family and belongings from Marshall Mount to Kangaroo Valley, via Gerringong, Berry (Broughton Creek) and Barrengary, were described in reminiscences published by his son around 1930 (The McCaffrey Family of Illawarra, Kiama):

...The next halt was at Broughton Creek, where arrangements were made to leave most of the contents of the dray, and start early next morning for Barrengary by means of the pack mules and horses, which place was reached during the next day.

My father said such a cavalcade was never seen in the Valley before, as about fifty of the black people, men, women, boys and girls joined in, ready to help in doing anything and everything, owing to the fact that a small convoy of the Lake Illawarra tribe had come to the range to introduce my father to their relations. Another convoy came over the range with my mother [in October].

I do not wish my readers to think these black people intruded themselves beyond their kindly acts. Not at all. They were well within their rights by doing what they did - it was in the best of spirit - and all would then return to their respective camps. At that time there were five camps in the Kangaroo Ground, each camp in a separate gully.

...My father's greatest dangers were the wild zebras or buffalo-bulls that infested the ranges .... The blacks would not touch any old bull's flesh, as they were convinced there was an evil spirit in him. When an encounter with a wilde bull ended, the dogs got an hour's rest and a good feed of raw flesh. My father once relieved a blackfellow who had climbed a tree to avoid a bull. As the bull had kept him there for hours it can be imagined what a relief the sight of the dogs was to him. The bull was ended in the usual way, and for that the black was grateful.

My father said he had killed twenty of those bulls, and the male calves went to the black people. No devil in them - too young.

[In 1851 the McCaffrey family moved to Jerrara, near Kiama]
1847

Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

5 January 1847: J. Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area {HRA, Sydney, 1925, series I, volume XXV, pp.559-60}

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 5th January, 1847

Sir

In reference to your letter of the 21st ultimo, requiring my annual Report of the state of the Aborigines of this District for transmission to the Secretary of State, I do myself the honor to report as follows:-

During the past twelve months, the deaths, chiefly from old age, have exceeded the births in a greater degree than in any previous year since I have been in the District. There have been no Collisions with the White population.

Last season, a greater number of the young males, belonging to the Tribes on the Coast, engaged in the Shore Whale Fishery than on any former occasion; and there are now in addition about fifteen of the young men at sea in vessels employed on that service. But, beyond a desire, which however appears to be growing, to thus make themselves useful, I can perceive no further improvements in the condition of the Aborigines of this District.

The accompanying Census, exhibiting the numbers of the different Tribes, is as correct as I could obtain it.

I have, &c.,
John Lambie, C.C.L.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Manero, for the Year ended the 31st December, 1846.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundary, Bengalia and Boatally</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windella, Marabrine and Bowerga</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggah</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twofold Bay</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamboola</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Howe</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharatta and Cambelong</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowenbar</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowy River</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>393</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1848

Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

6 January 1848: J. Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area {HRA, Sydney, 1925, series I, volume XXVI, pp. 403-4}

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 6th January, 1848

Sir

In reference to your letter of the 2nd July, 1841, requiring an Annual Report respecting the Aborigines, I do myself the honor to state that no material change has taken place in their condition during the year. In their disposition and conduct, they continue quite harmless, and live on friendly terms with the settlers.

A few of the Blacks accompanied some Graziers, who removed their stock into Gipps Land, and indeed great numbers now pass the greater part of the year in that District.

The Aborigines are fast decreasing in numbers, and it is needless to say that generally they retain their old wandering and unsettled habits and seem as much as ever disinclined to remain long in any particular place.

There have been no collisions with the Whites that I have heard of; but it has been reported to me that five died of Influenza, during the time this disease was so prevalent among the White people a short time ago.

The Blacks continue as heretofore to assist the Settlers in Hay making, reaping, sheep washing, and other kinds of work; but they cannot be depended on as the means of supplying labour, and deficiency of which is beginning now to be so severely felt.

The accompanying Census exhibits an approximation of their numbers as near as I could procure it; but the difficulty of obtaining anything approaching a correct account has been greatly increased from so many of the Manero tribes migrating to Gipps Land, and intermixing with those who inhabit the Country extending along the Ninety Mile Beach.

I have, &c.,
John Lambie, C.C.L.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Manero
for the Year ended 31st December 1847,
accompanying Report to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary,
dated 6th January, 1848.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of places of usual resort</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundary, Boyalea and Boataly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagoga, Tilba Tilba and Myaha</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windella, Marabrine and Bowarga</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggah</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twofold Bay</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamboola</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Howe</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharatta and Cambelong</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowenbar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowy River</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
Blankets for Aborigines at Illawarra

12 May 1848: The Colonial Secretary's Office sanctions the issue of 75 blankets to Blacks in the Illawarra district (Archibald Campbell Papers).

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J.P. Townsend at Ulladulla


This book includes a detailed account of the Aborigines at Ulladulla, where Townsend had been stationed for 4 years during the 1840s.

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1850

Terara

According to W.A. Bayley (*Shoalhaven*, 1975, p.64):

...Only one public house existed [at Terara, Shoalhaven] in 1850 and the major result appeared to be to turn the Aborigines into drunkards, according to reports.

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1851

The Murder of Fisherman

6 January 1851: [*Sydney Morning Herald*] A local Aborigine known as 'Fisherman' is stabbed whilst assisting two white constables apprehend an ex-convict at Wollongong. Fisherman subsequently dies and the ex-convict Kent is charged with murder. The local Bench of Magistrates holds an investigation on the 20th.

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Burial at the Blowhole

William Burliss, who arrived at Kiama with his family early in 1839 (*Reminiscences, Kiama Independent*, 1902), caught the steamer from Kiama to Sydney in 1851, but due to bad weather was forced to return to Kiama:
...During the end of the week we managed to get on shore. We first visited the Blowhole, and there we saw the body of a blackfellow lying on a shelf of rock just below the mouth of the aperture. It appears a number of blacks had arrived in town, and, after having some "budgerry" stuff, had a row; this unfortunate black got the worst of it, and to get the body out of the way they took it to the Blowhole and threw it in, thinking it would wash out to sea; but it rested on the ledge.

[Refer also to another extract from Burliss's Reminiscences under 1840]


The author visited Campbelltown, Appin, Wollongong, and Coolangatta during September 1838. Volume 2 contains a detailed discussion on the Aborigines of New South Wales.

Reverend W.B. Clarke and the Aborigines

During 1851, the Reverend W.B. Clarke of St Thomas's church, St Leonard's (see also under 1840) conducted a survey of the Aborigines of New South Wales for the Church Missionary Society.

A letter was sent to all Anglican parishes outside Sydney, requesting information on the numbers, ages, and social conditions of the Aborigines in the various districts.

Clarke received a number of replies from throughout the Colony (refer Mitchell Library MSS139/25), however no return for Illawarra survives.

The parson at Campbelltown answered Clarke's request with a letter stating there were no Aborigines in the area, and had not been for many years.

The parson at Berrima, W. Stone, enclosed a detailed Return, which had been compiled in association with the issue of blankets. This return is reproduced below.

**Aborigines of the Berrima District**

Return showing the Numbers, Names and Ages of the Adult Aborigines in the District of Berrima on the 24th May 1851. Specifying their individual Characters; their places of resort; and their Social Condition i.e. whether single or Parents, whether living in a complete State of Nature, partly civilised, or in employment by Europeans, and in the latter cases, what are the names and avocations of the employees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Their Place of Resort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yewga</td>
<td>Joe Wild</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Mittagong and Berrima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Good whilst in town. Works at wood cutting for the inhabitants. Married)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gralin</td>
<td>Polly Wild</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Fond of spirits. Lively disposition)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Boonda Jacky Plowright 42 about Berrima
(Well behaved and works at wood cutting occasionally. Married)

his wife
Helamar Mrs Plowright 40 do.
(Harmless poor creature)

Yellore Billy 25 Currickbilly
(Rather wild. Fond of ....... ....... Married)

his wife
Bimduck Louisa 15 do.
(Unknown)

Murreoora Nelly 40 Morder to Yellore
(Unknown. Single)

Whowa Cocky 40 Sutton Forest
(Wild. Married)

his wife
Nuella Polly 28 do.
(Fond of Grog)

Phillip 28 Kangaroo Ground
(Well behaved. Very proud of his personal appearance. I have often seen Phillip
go to the nearest creek to wash his teeth and stand admiring his reflection in the water. Married)

Biugilla Jackey 30 Currickbilly
(Cunning rogue. Married)

his wife
Jeraugba Jenny 25 do.
(Good)

Woonoowolling Betsey 35 Mittagong
(Unknown. Parent. Lives with a Shepherd of Mr Cordaur’s named James Turner.
She is a Half-Caste and very fine working woman)

Cowarim Jenny 20 Bullio
(Unknown. Single)

Mooramin Sally Barley 25 Bindooley
(Hard working ...... Married)

Mooroon Billy 50 Bong Bong
(Wild. Married)

his wife
Yerrebbe Mary 40 do.
(Wild)

Berrigo Mary 50 do.
(Wild. Single)

Mallong Jem 45 Sutton Forest
(Unknown. Single)
20 Middong Charley 35 Bambala
(Well behaved. Single)

21 Mogonang Neddy 40 Berrima
(Cunning rogue. Single. And presently attached to the Mounted Police. Is very useful in the Bush at tracking Bushrangers)

22 Cooewea Charley 28 Sutton Forest
(Clever fellow, and at times works hard for the ..... Married)

his wife

23 Jellonga Biddy 30 do.
(Under known)

24 Niliga 50 Sutton Forest
(Under known. Parent. Mother to Neddy no.21)

Note, I have guessed at the age, as none of them could tell it, the answer of all being that they "cannot keep count", yet strange to say, most of the men play a game at cards called "All Fours" which requires some knowledge of figures to play well - and I have seen some that play very well, as far as I could judge.

There are more Blacks in their Tribe, but they neglected to attend for their Blankets, and I have no knowledge of them, unless I see them normally.

W. Forster.

Return showing the Numbers, Names, and Ages of the Children of Aborigines in the District of Berrima on the 24th May 1851. Specifying whether wholly Aboriginal or Half-Caste.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Whether wholly Aboriginal or Half-Caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Maggy</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wholly Aboriginal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Belliot</td>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Has a Half-Caste Child named x)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gadina</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Half-Caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jingrain</td>
<td>Lizzy</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Half-Caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Daughter to Betsey (No 13) who lives with the Shepherd named Turner)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bindrooly</td>
<td>Mary Caine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Half-Caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(is Married)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gurraja</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Wholly Aboriginal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Bob Nimonet</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Half-Caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(In the Service of Capt. Nicholson J.P.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1852
Tommy Nogerra, Black Tracker

Francis McCaffrey: The McCaffrey Family of Illawarra, Kiama, c1930.

This small booklet records an incident illustrating the skills of a black tracker at Kiama during the 1850s:

...Shortly after 1852, my father [Charles McCaffrey] was a dairyman on his own account, as he had brought six young cows and six young heifers from the Kangaroo Ground [to Jerrara], together with two mares, one a beautiful black animal, sired by Mr Osborne's imported horse. There was only one secure paddock in the neighbourhood, he got her into it by paying a stiff price. Shortly afterwards the mare was missing.

As luck had it, next day Tommy Noggera, a clever black tracker called at our place and the fact was told to him. After a meal, he set off, previously carefully examining the paddock. He was very angry and indignant as he had broken the mare in for my father. Some days later, the mare was brought back, Tommy being as proud as proud could be.

1854

Doctor Ellis

1 September 1854: William Macarthur writes a letter to Emily Macarthur (Mrs James Macarthur) referring to the botanical expertise of the Illawarra Aborigine known as Doctor Ellis. At the time W. Macarthur was compiling a list of botanical names, with their corresponding Aboriginal names, for plants of Illawarra, the South Coast and Camden.

The following summary of that letter was written by Miss Annette Macarthur-Onslow (IHS Bulletin, June 1983):

Dr Ellis, Botanist

William Macarthur writes about the rain-forest brush near Wollongong and Jamberoo, where he was identifying and collecting plants, and says:

"I have not got on so fast as I might have done for want of 'Dr Ellis' who has been ill, or is ill, and has not joined me."

He goes on to write of one particular brush where he had been on an earlier expedition [c1840] with George Macleay when, after collecting twenty-three species of plants, they thought they had exhausted it.

"This time," he says, "with the aid of an opera glass, I have been able to find 12 fresh specimens not before got ... besides these we have got much finer specimens of a good many we had before - I sadly miss 'Dr Ellis' who could give me the aboriginal names of almost every tree."

[Refer under 1861 for William Macarthur's published list of botanical specimens from Illawarra, with corresponding Aboriginal names compiled with the aid of Doctor Ellis]
King Mickey and the Minamurra Camp

King Mickey (1834-1906) was the most famous Illawarra Aborigine in the latter years of the nineteenth century, being proclaimed King of the Illawarra tribe at the Illawarra Centenary celebrations held in conjunction with the Wollongong Show during 1896.

It is believed that he was born at Port Stephens, and at one stage he lived in the Aboriginal camp at Minamurra. The following account of King Mickey and the Minamurra Camp is contained in W.A.Bayley's *Kiama* (1976, p.114):

Possibly one of Kiama's best regarded inhabitants was King Mickey of the aborigines. In 1855 the aboriginal encampment was noted as being on the flat near Minamurra bridge where existed 'a couple of rudely constructed huts made of old sacks and saplings. There are also some mia-mia's whilst dusky children of all shades of colour are roaming about on the level grassy sward.' Mickey was a noted runner in his youth and died at the camp in 1906, aged 72, being buried in Kiama cemetery. He was invested in 1896 by Archibald Campbell, M.L.A., with a crescent-shaped brass plate inscribed "Mickey Johnston, King". For Queen Rosie in her old age the public erected and furnished a small cabin at Minamurra in 1923.

[See also references to King Mickey under 1865, 1896 & 1906]

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Death of Mongo Mongo

Monday, 7 July 1856: *Illawarra Mercury* Report on the death of the Aborigine Mongo Mongo:

Death: On the 3rd instant, at Shoalhaven, Mongo Mongo, the aboriginal equestrian, a native of Tamworth, Peel's River, after an illness of three months. He had been in the employ of Mr. Ashton for the last three years, and his loss will be deeply felt and deplored by his relatives, his employer, and a large circle of friends.

---

An Aboriginal Birth

Monday, 23 February 1857: *Illawarra Mercury* Notice of an Aboriginal birth:

Birth: On the 9th ultimo, at the Encampment, near Tom Thumb's Lagoon, the lady of Mr. Paddy Burrangalong, of a daughter.

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Discovery of an Aboriginal Body

Saturday, 21 March 1857: The body of a supposed Aboriginal woman is discovered at Bulli Mountain, by the old Appin road. An investigation of the remains are undertaken to ascertain the likelihood of foul play (*Illawarra Mercury*, 23 & 30 March 1857):
Discovery of Human Remains - Yesterday (Sunday) the Chief Constable of Wollongong, having received information on the previous day to the effect that certain human bones had been discovered at Bulli, went to the spot named and there found a skull, two thigh bones, two shoulder blades, several ribs, and portions of the spine of a human being.

The skull is cracked down the front division, the right cheek is wanting, as well as several of the front teeth of both upper and lower jaws. In all other respects the portion of the remains is quite perfect, though quite bleached by exposure to the weather. The thigh bones are almost perfect, but many of the portions of spine and rib are broken, and some of them considerably changed through being exposed to fire, to which means must be attributed the absence of either the bones of the arms, hands, lower portions of the legs, or feet, as well as any article of clothing, none of which could be discovered notwithstanding a most diligent search was made for them for a considerable distance round the spot where the bones were discovered.

A tomahawk was found three rods from where the bones lay; it has a figure 4 very legible upon the side of it, and does not present the appearance of having been exposed to the atmosphere; it had no handle in it.

The locality where the mysterious discovery was made is on the Bulli Mountain, about one mile north of the road to Appin, and within two or three rod off an old "cedar track," and on the property of Mr Ballantyne.

Whether the skull is that of an aboriginal or not, we are not learned in ethnological lore sufficiently to determine, but it certainly has the "forehead villanous low," extended and prominent jaw, peculiar to that section of the genus homo to which the aboriginals of this country belongs.

This is the first impression that strikes the spectator of these relics of humanity, but there are circumstances which would lead to a contrary conclusion.

Natives are not at all likely to be lost in the bush for so long a time as to die of starvation; and if these were the remains of a blackfellow murdered by his own people, it is not likely that the body would be left above the earth, for they invariably bury the bodies of those who may fall by violence. In addition to these reasons, the tomahawk is not of the description generally possessed by blackfellows, being more like those used in England and in the colonies by carpenters, and known as an English tomahawk.

Whether, however, these are the remains of an European, lost in the bush, or of one having met his death by the blow of a murderer, (a conclusion to which the crack in the skull and the absence of the cheek-bone would almost lead us,) or whether the remains of a black butchered by his fellows, is beyond our ken, and a mystery which time and diligent inquiry probably may unravel.

The Human Remains - The remains mentioned in our last as having been discovered on Bulli Mountain, were examined on Monday by Dr. Gerard, who expressed his opinion that they were those of an aboriginal female. They were afterwards interred by the chief constable.

[It is telling that the reporter did not consider the possibility that the body could have been that of an Aborigine killed by a European]

The Death of Captain Brooks

6 July 1857: Illawarra Mercury Report on the inquest held into the death of Captain Brooks, an old Aborigine who was accidentally burnt to death in his camp at Kiama:
Inquest - Last Saturday an inquest was held here [at Kiama] by the coroner on the body of Captain Brooks, a well-known aboriginal chief, who was burned to death on last Friday in his camp at the lagoon. The poor fellow had become very old, and for a long time past, was quite blind and unable to walk any. He was provided for by the black fellows, who carried him from one camping place to the other. On Friday last, when the blacks were out hunting, the wind blew the fire into the boughs of which the Captain's camp was composed, and he being by himself and unable to remove from his perilous position was speedily burned to death.

1858

Blacks Blanket Day

April 1858: {Illawarra Mercury} Report on 'Blacks Blanket Day' in Illawarra, with about 25 issued at Wollongong, near Brighton Beach, and about 23 at Kiama:

Black's Blanket Day. - On Thursday, 1st April, we witnessed the distribution of blankets to the blacks of Wollongong. There were only about twenty-five of the original owners of the soil present, including gins and picaninies, the latter being almost every shade from copper colour to "whitey-brown". Several kings and chiefs were present, and we are sure such a motley gathering of "crowned heads" for so humble a purpose, would have lowered the dignity of their royal brothers of other climes, could they have been present.

Cooma - a darkey whose advance in the adoption of the manners and customs of his civilized masters will be acknowledged when we state that he has taken kindly to boots and was tried by the Bench a few days back for being drunk and disorderly - acted as marshall on the occasion. He assumed the most commanding manner in discharging his duties, ordering this one here and that one there in a style which, for pomposity, could not have been excelled if he had been dressed in scarlet and had a sword by his side. Having, after a great deal of pushing and yabbering, got the gentlemen and youths on one side and the ladies and girls on the other, immediately opposite the Court-house verandah, the Chief Constable called up each one by name, and gave, even to the little ones at their mothers breasts, unto each a blanket of first-rate quality, which they received with a bow and a "thank you," as if it were not the price of one of the finest "jewels in the British Crown." This having been done, Dr. Ellis - a most polite and loyal darkey - induced the rest to "bail up" together, and then called upon them for three cheers for the Queen, which was given with a hearty vociferousness which could only be excelled by their conquerors, and was followed by three more for the Magistrates and another three for Wollongong. The blacks then dispersed.

The Aborigines. - The sable natives of this district (Kiama) came, yesterday, to the Court-house here for the blankets usually given them at this season. The muster was not numerous although there were present, in addition to the Kiama blacks, several from Wollongong and Shoalhaven. There is a marked falling off, during the last few years, in the number of the tribe. And we noticed that the complexion of nearly all the children is a great deal less dark than that of the full grown forming the group; and that their features preserve not the form peculiar to the darkie of this country. In a few years the native tribe belonging to this locality, though once numerous, will have become extinct. Three and twenty blankets were served out to them, and this number supplied each with one. Evidently pleased with their covering for the winter it was hinted to the others by one of the chiefs, Doctor Ellis, that three cheers should be given for Victoria the Queen. They all cheered lustily three times for the Queen, and then dispersed.
Blacks Blanket Day

25 April 1859: *Illawarra Mercury* Report on issue of blankets at Wollongong:

The annual distribution of blankets took place on Tuesday last. Forty-three blacks received a blanket each, but none were given to the youths and piccanninies. This is really too bad, for they are as much entitled to and require them as adults. For some unexplained reason only one bale of blankets arrived instead of two.

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Eugen von Guerard, Artist, at Illawarra

December 1859: Eugen von Guerard, the German artist, visits Illawarra, sketching at Wollongong, Figtree, Kiama, and Jamberoo. The following works by him contain Aboriginal figures and motifs:

* Mountain scenery near Jamberoo, N.S.W. c1860
  Oil on millboard 30.2 x 45.7cm
  Elders IXL Collection

* Lake Illawarra, NSW 1859
  Chromolithograph 1866-7

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Samuel Thomas Gill

[c1859] S.T.Gill was a watercolourist who visited the headwaters of the Shoalhven River, near Marulan, at this time. The following view depicts Aborigines walking through the nearby gorges.

* Coo...ooo...ooeee!! [Shoalhaven Gorges]
  Watercolour
  ? Mitchell Library

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Blankets at Milton-Ulladulla

27 April 1860: *Illawarra Mercury* Report on issue of blankets to Aborigines at Milton-Ulladulla, plus a cricket game played at the time:

The Blacks were served out their blankets by Constable McFarlane on the 14th instant, at Ulladulla.

A game of Cricket was played between the Natives and Europeans on Saturday, the 14th instant, at Mr Miller's Flat, which resulted in favour of the "sons of the soil", with all the ease imaginable.

----------
Influenza at Milton-Ulladulla

13 July 1860: {Illawarra Mercury} Report on influenza among the people of Milton-Ulladulla, including the Aborigines:

The influenza is playing up "Old Harry" among the aborigines, no less than four of their number having been swept into eternity last week - to wit, Old Charlie Pickering, king of the Pigeon House, a man supposed to be well-nigh 100 years old; and his queen died about the same time, a very old woman. The next is old Burriel Paddy, another man about 80, and, to finish the catalogue, old Burriel Tommy, as old as any of the others.

Old Pickering was remarkable for sobriety and gentleness of disposition, and, old as he was, he was the best bark-stripper among the race in this neighbourhood. Paddy was still more remarkable for sobriety: he never having been known to taste grog of any kind, and what is still more strange for his class, he did not smoke tobacco. Tommy was not very remarkable for anything but old age.

There is a tradition among the blacks of this place that about "forty years ago a vessel was wrecked on one of the Ulladulla heads, and that her crew landed all safe; but shortly after landing they were surrounded by the blacks - who had never seen a white man before - and, without exception, they were all killed and eaten by the savages. Paddy and Tommy were amongst the number; and many of the younger blacks talk of the thing. They were only boys at that time, but they recollect sharing in a "horrible feast."

There are Europeans living here yet who are fully convinced that the above tale is true, and some of them even know the exact spot of the wreck - it having often been shown to them by the blacks. It is a great wonder that no white man has ever had sufficient curiosity to examine the spot, for if the tale be true, the anchors and chains and other iron work of the vessel will still remain there. If some of our enterprising townsfolk would examine the spot with drags, it would at least be satisfaction to get any clue as to the truth of the tale.

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[1860] About 400 blankets were issued to Aborigines at Shoalhaven in 1860.

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1861

Native Woods of Illawarra


This is a catalogue of native woods from Illawarra and southern New South Wales (including the Camden and Appin areas), listing the European, Aboriginal, and scientific names for each variety of wood. It was compiled by Sir William Macarthur, one of the exhibition commissioners, with assistance from Edward Hill and Reverend James Hassall. It appears that Macarthur received information on Illawarra trees from the Aboriginal known as Doctor Ellis, possibly during the 1840s - see under 1854.

The following list is a summary only of the complete catalogue entries, in which the woods are divided into three groups as follows:
Of the 194 samples listed, only 116 are given Aboriginal names. Where no 'Local Name' is given, the scientific name is inserted in square brackets. The Aboriginal names given are taken from the following localities:

- **Illawarra**
- **Berrima**
- **County Cumberland and Camden**
- **Brisbane Water**

Descriptive notes are also inserted with each entry, where relevant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Local Name</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>White or Pale Iron Bark</td>
<td>*Barremma</td>
<td>From Illawarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Broad leaved Rough Iron Bark</td>
<td>*Terri-barri</td>
<td>From Appin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Narrow leaved smooth or red Iron Bark</td>
<td>*Gnooroo-warra</td>
<td>From Camden</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Box of Illawarra</td>
<td>*Dtaah</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bastard Box of Illawarra</td>
<td>*Bourrayero Gourro</td>
<td>Barroul Gourrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>True or Yellow Box of Camden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bastard Box</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Flooded Gum</td>
<td>+Thurambai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>[Eucalyptus sp.]</td>
<td>*Dthackai Courro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>+Blue Gum of Coast Districts</td>
<td>*Couranga</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Blue Gum of Camden</td>
<td>*Tjellat Yarrah</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Grey Gum</td>
<td>*Gnaoulie</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>*Woolly Butt of Illawarra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Rough-barked Gum</td>
<td>*Burram-burrang</td>
<td></td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Spotted or Mottled Gum</td>
<td>*Yah-ruigne Booangie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Black Butt Gum</td>
<td>Yarr-Warrah</td>
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</table>
29 | River Gum, Camden | Kayer-ro
30 | White Gum | Caarambuy
39 | Blood Wood | Mannen
40 | *Messmate | *Warreeah
42 | Swamp Mahogany | *Burram Murra
43 | Swamp Mahogany | Booah
46 | Stringy Bark of Coast | *Dthah Dthaang
48 | Stringy Bark, Camden | Bour rougne
50 | Red Gum | Kajimbourra
52 | Apple Tree of Coast | *Yeh-dthedeh
53 | Apple Tree | Boondah
54 | Turpentine | *Booreeah
55 | Water Gum | Ooramilly
57 | Hickory | Wallaya
59 | Prickly Pear Tree | *Naambarr
60 | Common Tea Tree | *Yaan-arra
61 | Soft-leaved Tea Tree | *Gurreet dtheerah
62 | Broad-leaved Tea Tree | Bood joong
64 | Broad-leaved Tea Tree | Numbah
65 | [Leptospermum sp.] | Tibbekin

'Very hard dense wood, used formerly by the Aborigines for their weapons.'
67 | Black Tea Tree | *Baon-bun
68 | Lily Pily | *Tdjerail
69 | Brush Cherry | *Galang arra
70 | Myrtle | Kangaloon
...wood exceedingly hard, close, heavy, formerly much used by the Aborigines for their offensive weapons.'
71 | Pariby | *Ngniringni-nginxingni
Three viewed Myrtle *Dthalandoon
Beef Wood *Meleyn
Silky Oak
Native Pear |Meridja-courroo
Honeysuckle |Wattung-urree
Honeysuckle |Courridjah
[Persoonia linearis] |Naam-burra
[Persoonia latifolia] |Nunimo
[Acacia sp.] *Baaliang
Black Wattle of Illawarra *Myimbarr
Sallow *Marrai-uo
Hickory Lignum Vitae |Wee-tjellan
'Pretty small tree, wood hard, close, tough, bark containing much tannin, used by the Aborigines to poison fish, and to make embrocations for the cure of cutinous diseases.'
[Acacia homomalla] |Kaarreewan
[Acacia umbrosa] *Meroan guage
|Green Wattle |Wat-tah
|Black Wattle |Book kerriking
*Green Wattle *Nummerak
Dog Wood Moutangarra
Cypress Murragun
Forest Oak Dahl-wah
Beef Wood
Shingle Oak
Spreading Oak Nar-rua
Spreading Oak Nar-rua
Forest Swamp Oak Coom-bah
River or White Oak Billagin
Saltwater Swamp Oak Comburra
Beech Wallang-unda
Beech, Brush Cherry Barranduna
109  Tumeric Beuding
111  [Eriostemon sp. ?] Yandermanna
113  [Eriostemon sp. ?] Yeralla
114  [Eupomatia laurina] Balwarra
115  Laurel *Oorawang
       +Baanung
116  White Sycamore Myndee
120  Teak Wood +Murrogun
121  Flame Tree WeenyWegne
       'A lofty tree, beautiful at all times, magnificent when in blossom;
   its local name having reference to its brilliant coral colored flowers.
   Wood soft and spongy, the bark prized by the Aborigines for nets and fishing lines.'
122  Couramyn Couramyn
       'Pretty small tree, with short stout stem, and graceful aspen-like foliage;
   the wood soft and spongy, full of mucilage; the tap roots of young trees
   and the young roots of old trees, used for food by the Aborigines;
   the bark used for nets and fishing lines.'
123  Coryjong Dtharang-gange
       'A beautiful flowering tree, with slender tall stem; the bark much prized by the
   Aborigines for nets and fishing lines.'
124  [Sapindus sp.] *Balim bowlimba
125  *Maidens' Blush +Ladies’ Blush *Dawawah
       +Kareeeng
126  [Cupanea sp.] Yowarro
127  *Tamarind Tree *Burrunderra
130  [Aralia elegans] *Merring arra
132  Sassafras or sassafrax +Tdjeundegong *Caalang
134  *Black Plum *Booreerra
135  *Grey Plum *Caarambool
       'A much finer tree than Black Plum, and with tougher wood,
   produces large quantities of small fruit, eaten by the Aborigines;
   wood in repute for strength and toughness.'
136  *White Maple Ngnereen
       *Naanan
137  [Pittosporum undulatum] Wallandundeyren
138  [Elaeodendron austral] Couraiuo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
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</table>
| 139  | White Myrtle  
Blue Ash, Ash | Tdjeunen |
| 140  | *Light Wood  
Leather Jacket  
+Coach Wood | *Boola  
+Ngnaa-rewing |
| 142  | Cork Wood | Bool boorah |
| 143  | Pine, White Pine | Dyrren dyrren |
| 144  | Rough Fig | Marrulang |
| 145  | Rough leaved Fig | Ulowang |
| 146  | Smallest leaved Fig | Warrauka |
| 147  | Small leaved Fig | Bairra |
| 148  | Large leaved, or  
Moreton Bay Fig | Karreuaira |
| 149  | Port Jackson Fig | Dthaaman |
| 150  | Nettle Tree | Goo mao mah |

'*...the wood is too soft to be of use as timber, but a strong fibre is obtained from it by the Aborigines.'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 151  | Brush Apple  
Wild Plum | Jerra wa wah |
| 152  | [Notelaea ovata] | Dunga runga |
| 154  | Red Ash  
Leather Jacket  
Cooper's Wood | Murrung |
| 157  | White Cedar | Dtheerah |
| 158  | Dog Wood  
Blood Wood | *Wallaon |
<p>| 159  | [Symlocos sp.] | Dtharandah |
| 160  | Cherry | Ko-ie-yatt |
| 161  | Cherry | Coo yie |
| 162  | [Callicoma sp.] | Tdjerruing |
| 163  | Cork Wood | Ngmoo |
| 166  | Black Coryjong | Kerrawah |
| 167  | [Order Xanthoxyleae] | Kaligneen |
| 168  | [Myoporum acuminatum] | Ngmoo |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Mangrove</th>
<th>Baa-lun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>*White Beech</td>
<td>Coo-in-new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>+Beech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>[Ehretia sp.]</td>
<td>Jinda Yinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Roger Gough</td>
<td>Nulliera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Polai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Mountain Ash</td>
<td>Yander-airy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>[Genus unknown]</td>
<td>Peet-tah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Bangalow</td>
<td>Bangalay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Cabbage Palm</td>
<td>Dharowal</td>
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<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Tree Fern</td>
<td>Gourroo-mool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Tree Fern</td>
<td>Beow-wang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>*Tree Fern</td>
<td>Yarra-wah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>*Tree Fern</td>
<td>Denn-Nangue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Polai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[For scientific names, refer original catalogue. The above list was originally published during 1854. The above is the final edition with amendments]

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1862

Wollongong Blanket Issue

1 May 1862: Blankets distributed to Aborigines at Wollongong Court House on this day.

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Notice of a Birth

Tuesday, 30 September 1862: Rare notice of an Aboriginal birth in the local newspaper *Illawarra, Mercury*.

Birth: At her residence, The Encampment, Five Islands Estate, on the 20th instant, the wife of Patrick Bangalong, Esq., of a daughter. Both mother and the interesting baby are doing as well as possible.

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An Illawarra Vocabulary

[1863] The following vocabulary is taken from a short article published in Science of Man during 1899. It was collected by Miss M. A. Brown from Micky Muninima of the Illawarra tribe during 1863:

- Tunar
- Munnee
- Hookar
- Pittang
- Tabble
- Nijong
- Kunbee
- Morong
- Koondroo
- Koondroo
- Kiyancoondroo
- Korong courage
- Moronga
- Knowrong or Norong
- Chillyknew
- Wabborrow
- Korongnew
- Mineang
- Terrodthural
- Knownore
- Boulboul
- Midthong
- Bullarah
- Bullarah Midthong
- Woworlyum
- Mouree
- Moureendah
- Pinjerong Jerong
- Yerummeah
- Yerummeah-meah
- Tumberrellong
- Kiyong
- Whyjuck or Murrah
- Pallingjang
- Peewee or Coung-courong
- Tang
- Purry Burry
- Hennegar
- Kurrah-wah or Puppur
- Pumbee or Purrah
- Yanngar or Mogurah
- Teeleelyann
- Plith-thung-nar
- Commie
- Yerah or Era
- Biera
- Nokorroh or Novora
- Yerling

- Bread
- Beef
- Sugar
- Tea
- Flour
- Water (fresh)
- Fire
- Ashes
- Tree
- Wood
- Log
- Smoke
- Coals
- Light
- Candle
- Potatoes
- Cabbage
- Pumpkin
- Onions
- Melon
- Corn (maize)
- One
- Two
- Three
- Four
- Five
- Twenty
- Plover
- Peach
- Peaches
- Flowers
- Sea
- Sand
- Saltwater
- Shells
- Fish
- Whale
- Shark
- Stingray
- Eel
- Lobster
- Shrimp
- Oyster
- Tooth
- Teeth
- Jaw
- Nose
- Mouth
Terling
Muruhing
Nourlew
Peerah
Wourlew or Warroo
Woolahr
Nappannoo
Bonyow
Ku-un-ing
Kookoo
Tang or Karul
Nounah or Woona
Murrahmull or Murrunal
Poukranneew or Burranoo
Perry new
Purrunggull
Yalgar
Pulaghr
Thurra
Nurree
Thunna
Turner
Muccow
Burrymoo
WattaWatta
Ku-im-moo
Wourlung
Gerarara
Mobera
My-yee
Cheerell
You-an-you
Youhen or Yowin
Megar or Maga
Konjacar
Younjcar
Moroongang
Plangang
Moiliarhar
Boomberry
Yerowellong
Knowe
Kurrura
Woollungar
Pit-pit
Koongbury
Boonerah
Bunna
Wooreo
Gudjung
Mullamulla
Burroo

Tongue
Throat
Forehead
Cheek
Chin
Head
Brains
Skull
Neck
Shoulders
Arms
Elbow
Hand
Fingers
Fingernails
Veins
Breast
Back
Leg
Legs
Foot
Feet
Heel
Toes
Ankle
Knee
Beard
Hair
Eye
Eyebrow
Eyelash
Body
Man
Woman
Boy
Little Boy
Baby
Old Man
Old Woman
Young Man
Young Woman
Blood
Oppossum
Oppossum Cloak
Gown
Sleep
Wind
Rain
Sun
Moon
Stars
Kangaroo

[Refer also to the McCaffrey Papers (1910-1930) for another, slightly different version of this listing]
1864: Henry Kendall, grandson of the Reverend Thomas Kendall who had taken up properties at Ulladulla and Kiama in 1827, went on to become famous as Australia's first native born poet. The following poem, initially published in 1864, may have been based on his early experiences in Illawarra. He lived at Ulladulla between 1839-44 and Fairy Meadow 1852-5.

Woonona is a town in northern Illawarra, named after the Aboriginal word for a feature of the nearby escarpment:

**Woonona - The Last of the Tribe**

He crouches and buries his face on his knees,
And hides in the dark of his hair;
For he cannot look up to the storm-smitten trees
Or think of the loneliness there;
Of the loss or the loneliness there.

The wallaroos grope through the tufts of the grass,
And turn to their coverts for fear,
But he sits in the ashes and lets them pass
Where the boomerang sleeps with the spear;
With the nullah, the sling, and the spear.

Uloola, behold him! the thunder that breaks
On the tops of the rocks with the rain,
And the wind that drives up with the salt of the lakes,
Have made him a hunter again;
A hunter and fisher again.

For his eyes have been filled with a smouldering thought;
And he dreams of the hunts of yore,
Of the foes that he sought, and the fights that he fought
With those who will battle no more;
Who will go to the battle no more.

It is well that the water tumbles and fills
Goes moaning and moaning along;
For an echo rolls out from the sides of the hills,
And he starts at a wonderful song;
At the sound of a wonderful song.

And he sees through the rents of the scattering fogs,
The corroboree warlike and grim,
And the lubra who sat by the fire on the logs,
To watch, like a mourner for him;
Like a mother and mourner for him.

Will he go in his sleep from those desolate lands,
Like a chief, to the rest of his race,
To the honey-eyed woman who beckons, and stands,
And gleams like a Dream in his face -
Like a marvellous Dream in his face.

Henry Kendall

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An Eden Vocabulary

14 October 1864: List of words used by the Eden natives. From Reverend Ridley (1875):

Words Used at Twofold Bay

(From Johnny Wyman, an Eden black, in goal, 14 October 1864)

in the language spoken about Twofold Bay, 200 miles south of Sydney, the word for God is "Dhurumbulum."

| I          | naiadha |
| Thou       | indiga  |
| I and Thou | naiawung|
| We three   | naiawing|
| Sin        | kurnina |
| Pardon     | wurnuga |
| I shall forgive him | igindaga murada |
| I shall not forget it | warundunambada |
| I shall think of it | winduga |
| Father     | baba    |
| Mother     | mina    |
| A man courting one's sister | kubbo |
| A man married to one's sister | tembi |

Proper names of a family:-

| Wailaman    | father  |
| Dadun and Maiada | brothers |
| Mamun       | sister  |

1865

5 May 1865: Illawarra Mercury Report on the issue of blankets to Aborigines at Illawarra, and the death of a well-known Aboriginal woman called Black Polly:

Blankets for the Blacks

Yesterday about forty blankets were distributed to as many aboriginals, who attended at the Police Office to receive the annual bounty. The greater proportion present were picaninnies. Amongst the whole number it was difficult to find any of the true Australian type. When the blankets had been distributed, three hearty cheers were given for the Queen, and three more for the bench of magistrates, after which the recipients of the blankets made their way into town.

Death of an Aboriginal

The well-known aboriginal Black Polly, died on Saturday last, and was buried on the following Sunday. Report speaks of Polly as the wife of a chief of the Illawarra tribe, but whether she were so or not is of small consequence. She has gone the way of all flesh and rests in her grave. There are few residents in Illawarra who have not been asked at some time or other to "gib a penny to Poor Polly".
Reminiscences by E.H. Weston

'Reminiscences of an Australian Pioneer', by Major E.H. Weston of Albion Park (Wollongong Library - extracts published in the *IHS Bulletin*, 1976), were recorded around the turn of the century, however they speak of events at Illawarra during the late 1860s. Mr Weston arrived in Illawarra in 1865 and settled at 'The Meadows'. The following extracts from his reminiscences concern local Aborigines:

Tiger

(Young King Mickey)

When leaving the Clarence I traded off a blue serge shirt to a black called "Tommy" in exchange for one of his boys, a youngster about ten years old, called "Tiger." The father appeared quite pleased with the transaction.

On the way home, I stayed one night in Sydney, and took "Tiger" to a theatre just to see what impression it would make on his black mind. What took his fancy was the most huge chandelier with its glittering lights; he eyed it for some time and inquired,

"How lightum big fellow candle?"

As it was a waste of time trying to explain "gas" to him, I said "I don't know."

"Me know," remarked Tiger, "tie um candle on long stick."

Looking down at the people in the pit he said, "Where all them fellows sleep?" but nothing else seemed to interest him.

Tiger lived with me for ten years, and became a regular swell, and was most particular about his clothes, but eventually he became very lazy and sulky, and finally went off and joined the local tribe of blacks in Illawarra, and being a very strong and muscular chap soon took command, and as he did not like the name of Tiger he was known far and wide as King Mickey. He took for his queen a gin named "Rosey" and reared a large family.

The king's closing years were greatly upset by Queen Rosey eloping with a missionary, but he majestically dismissed the incident when I saw him by remarking: "When I see it I kill it."

A Drowning

The marvelous instinct of the Aboriginals in tracking and other things has always been a matter of wonder to me. Two boys living on a farm adjoining mine went out after some wild duck, which frequented a large waterhole on my land. One of them shot a duck and stripped off to go in for it. He swam to where it was floating about the middle of the pool, when his legs became entangled in the long clinging weeds which it was full of. His mate couldn't swim and there was no help at hand, and the poor lad became exhausted and sank. The other boy came home and gave the alarm and very shortly a crowd collected.

A mounted trooper and another good swimmer dived repeatedly till they were blue with cold but found no trace of the body.

A boat was procured and drags improvised and some hours were spent searching, but the weeds were so thick and heavy that they impeded operations.
There were some large swamp oaks overhanging the water, and my black boy "Tiger", who was looking on, climbed one of them, and lying down on one of the limbs, gazed intently at the water for a time, then suddenly without saying a word, he climbed down, slipped off his clothes and diving in brought up the body first try.

I asked him Afterwards how he knew the exact spot to find the boy, he said "Well, I been see it", but that was quite impossible as the water was nine or ten feet deep and none too clear at any time without the additional mud stirred up by the drags.

A Pool of Blood

[The following incident occurred whilst Mr Weston and his party were taking 100 horses from Illawarra to Murrumbidgee:

I turned out about daylight and was thoroughly disgusted to find all the horses (with the exception of one that was dead lame) had broken out of the paddock and disappeared.

After a hearty breakfast of hot damper and thick tea (think of it ye dyspeptics) we started off, carrying our bridles, "Tiger" going on ahead tracking the horses who had evidently split up into small mobs.

While following one of their tracks we came to a big pool of blood where a beast had been killed shortly before, but there was no trace of the carcase.

Tiger slipped away and lay down hiding behind a tree. I told him in his lingo to go on tracking. He said,

"I been think it, you and me go back camp."

I asked for what? He said,

"Me cobborn sick longa cobbor, can't track." I said,

"What for you been pialla that big fella lie?"

"Bail me tellit lie, no see track," and to that he stuck, neither coaxing or threats of the stockwhip having any effect on him. As it was getting late we decided to make for the camp. As we had been walking all day, I had no idea where we were, but the young beggar went as straight as a line to camp, and we were pretty well knocked up when we got there.

It must have been the sight of blood frightened Tiger, as he told me afterwards "somebody's been killit black fellow there."

Doctor Ellis

All early residents of Illawarra will remember Dr Ellis, a pure-blooded aboriginal. He had received a good education, and was the most intelligent and polished native I ever met. He would talk fluently on many subjects, and was very fond of using long words, which he never misplaced.

On meeting a gentleman, he would raise his battered old hat, make a most courteous bow, and say, "I am delighted to have met you. I, sir, am Dr Ellis, Karadgi (Native Doctor); allow me to introduce Mrs Ellis."
The latter, an old gin dressed in a dirty blanket, sucking an old pipe, with a little black piccaninny slung on her back, would sink in a most elaborate curtsey, which had evidently been drilled into her by the accomplished medico.

**Tullimbar**

Another darkey of rather a different type from Dr Ellis was "Tullimbar", a strange old character. He used to come across to my place every Saturday for flour, sugar, and "bacca"; if he didn’t get the latter, his language was, to put it mildly, sulphurous.

He had been a great warrior in his day, and his bald black head was covered with scars received in Nulla Nulla fights.

He was a bit of a gay Lothario. On one occasion he stole a gin belonging to the Bong Bong tribe and was followed by the former lover of the dark beauty. Tullimbar got a glimpse of the Bong Bong black one evening and knew he was out for revenge. When he camped for the night, he rolled a log near his little fire, covered it with his blanket, and hid behind a big tree close by. After a time his enemy sneaked up, and when he got within striking distance, made a bound and drove his spear into the log; before he could withdraw it Tullimbar sprung out and drove his spear through him, killing him instantly. Being in very thick scrub the body was not found for a long time, so Tullimbar escaped the vengeance of the other tribe.

He lived to a great age, but went blind in his old age; the other blacks used to drive a stake into the middle of his hut and tie him to it at night, to prevent him roaming away. Sometimes he would get loose and come out, and I have heard him howling like a dingo when he got cold and couldn’t find the camp fire. One night he got loose and rolled into the fire and was so badly burnt that he died the next day.

An Aboriginal funeral is a queer affair. They always shift their camp directly a member of the tribe dies; the body is then rolled in a sheet of bark and carried to the burial place. It takes them hours to go a short distance, as they go forward then back, then zig-zag, and turn round and round repeatedly. Their idea is to puzzle the ghost and prevent it coming back to camp.

Years after, a heavy flood carried away a large portion of the river bank and disclosed the bones of the departed Tullimbar, but I never heard of his "spook" revisiting any of the old camping grounds.

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1866

**Body Found**

Tuesday, 21 August 1866: *Illawarra Mercury* Report on discovery of the body of Charley Cooma near Avondale:

The body of a blackfellow known as Charley Cooma was found in the Macquarie river near the bridge on Sunday morning, having nothing on but a shirt. He was until lately in the employ of H.H. Osborne, Esq., of Avondale. An inquest is to be held.
1867

Death of Commodore

22 February 1867: {Illawarra Mercury} Report on the discovery of the body of Commodore, extracted from the Kiama Independent:

Death of an Aboriginal. - An inquest was held on Friday last, 15th instant, before the district coroner, R.H. Owen, Esq., and a jury of five on the body of an aboriginal, well known in the district by the sobriquet of "Commodore," or "Commandant."

He was seen alive in the neighbourhood of the camp on the Eureka Estate by two witnesses on the 7th instant, and found dead at the encampment on the 15th, by Mr Edward Ayers.

Dr. Nolan, who examined the body, said he found no external marks of violence. The scrotum was distended, as if caused by rupture, inflammation of which was of opinion had caused death, accelerated by exposure and want.

Verdict: Died by the visitation of God, from the effects of exposure and want.

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Aboriginal Cricketers at Wollongong

April & November 1867: A team of Aboriginal cricketers from Victoria play a local white team at Wollongong. Aborigines from throughout the region come to see the matches. The results and statistics of the match are summarised in A.P. Fleming's booklet The International Aboriginal Cricketers v. Illawarra, Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong, 1982.

The following description of one of the matches was recorded by Frank Wilkinson in 1935 {Illawarra Mercury, 1 March 1935}:

A match well within memory, was that played in 1867 against a team of Aboriginals from Lake Cowell in Victoria, assisted by Messrs. Charles Lawrence and Tommy Willis. The Aboriginals, who had been well taught how to play the game, were Mullagh, Bullocky, Dick-a-Dick, Couzens, King Coal, Peter, Shepherd, Mosquito, Jim Curd, Charley, Tiger, Twopenny, and Red Cap.

Both Lawrence and Willis took part in the game played at Wollongong. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing Tommy Willis play. His defence was remarkable, and even now, I hold the opinion, that he did more to win the early inter-colonial matches, in which he took part, for Victoria, than any other individual player. Great interest was taken in the game against the "blacks", especially so, by their fellow countrymen and "gins" of the South Coast. So far south as Shoalhaven they came, making their various camps in the thick scrub down by the Tom Thumb....

[The match was eventually won by the visiting Aboriginal team]

......After the match, and with the luncheon over, a series of athletic events, in which some of the Aboriginals took part, proved interesting. Little Couzens was a wonderfully good jumper, and some others of the team were more than average foot runners. Mr Charles Lawrence gave one of his interesting exhibitions of catching a ball, thrown from a distance on his bat. It was really a clever act. Dick-a-Dick, with his shield, showed great dexterity in deflecting cricket balls thrown at him by various players. Not one ball ever hit him. What I thought remarkable was the fact that, with his narrow shield he could, as it may be termed, play any and every fast throw; yet, with the bat, he was only what may be termed an ordinary player, notwithstanding his wonderful sight. At spear and boomerang throwing, the visiting Aboriginals were no match with the local blacks of the Coast.
However, the young "gins" took such interest in the visitors, that when it came to mustering the Aboriginal team, three or four were missing, and it took a couple of days before they were found and returned from Sydney.

1869

140 blankets issued to Aborigines at Shoalhaven during 1869.
By 1870 a few white Australian writers started to express concern for the fate of the native inhabitants, including the Illawarra and South Coast Aboriginal people. Over the following thirty years (1870-1899) a number of investigators - including Reverend William Ridley, R.H. Mathews, A.W. Howitt, John Brown, and Archibald Campbell - went about collecting material and reminiscences of the local Aborigines, realising that with the deaths of the older natives much of the local culture would be lost forever as it was no longer being passed from generation to generation. Traditional society was slowly being destroyed along the South Coast of New South Wales.

This period also saw significant movement (not necessarily voluntary) by the local Aboriginal people away from traditional lands - north to Sydney and La Perouse, and south to areas such as Wreck Bay and Wallaga Lake.

It also saw the introduction of the Aborigines Protection Board in 1883, and whilst the records of this body now supply a significant amount of information on the local people, its operation greatly contributed to their continued oppression, belittlement, and destruction.

The iniquities of the Aboriginal Protection Board and its policies during the period 1883-1960 will not be discussed in detail within this compilation, though numerous references will be given and samples of their records reproduced.

1870

Photographs of Illawarra Aborigines

* King Mickey c1870
Photograph Illawarra Historical Society
Head and shoulders, front-on portrait.

* Queen Rosie c1870
Photograph Illawarra Historical Society
Head and shoulders, front-on portrait.
King Mickey was born at Port Stephens about 1834, arrived in Illawarra around 1865, and died in 1906. Queen Rosie, his wife, died in 1923. Numerous photographs of King Mickey exist from the 1890s, during which period he was recognized by whites as the leader of the surviving Illawarra Aborigines.

See also Cocks Collection (1890s) and Wollongong City Library Collection (1990).

A.W. Howitt Papers

[1870s - 1900s] A.W. Howitt Papers - Howitt was an anthropologist who worked in the Bega Valley (1883) and other areas of the far South Coast. He was accepted by the local Aborigines and recorded many of their sacred ceremonies. Howitt's Papers are held in the following locations:

* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies copies of papers held by the National Museum of Victoria (MS69 - 9 boxes)
* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies copies of papers held by the La Trobe Library, Victoria (MS9356 - 12 boxes)

Blankets for Shoalhaven Aborigines

8 April 1870: Approximately 105 blankets are distributed to Aborigines at Shoalhaven on this day.

A report on the ceremony was contained in an article entitled 'The Blacks of Shoalhaven' printed in 1871, and possibly written by Judge Alfred Macfarlane (Sydney Mail, 10 June 1871):

The Blacks of Shoalhaven

Part I

On the 8th April, 1870, I was present at a distribution of blankets, at Terara, amongst the Aborigines and half-castes resident in the district of Shoalhaven.

The blankets were distributed by the Clerk of Petty Sessions. Men, women, and children of every hue or shade of colour appeared as claimants - some of them pure, or "full blooded blacks", others, the offspring of "blacks" and "whites", and others, again, the progeny of whites and half-castes. From the hobbling crone to the lisping baby - from the stalwart man to the puny boy - all were there; and most of them eager applicants for blankets; but children under a year old did not count or receive any.

In all 105 blankets were distributed; but it was expected there would be fresh applicants on the following day - bringing up the number to about 140 - which was that of the previous year. It was observed, however, that the pure blacks had decreased, while the half-castes and quadroons, if I may use the expression, had increased since the distribution of '69. But the race has very much diminished during the last ten years. I was informed that the total number of blankets distributed for the same district, in 1860, was about 400.

For good, or for evil, the stock is rapidly dying out; and in twenty years there will scarcely be one genuine Aboriginal left within it. Rum and disease are doing their work but too surely.

All the men were dressed in "bush" fashion - trousers, shirts, and battered hats; the old women in last year's blankets, with a stray handkerchief for head gear, and an occasional petticoat; the
young ones of "blood", very much in the same style; the half-castes, as country folk of European lineage and humble birth would be; and the children somewhat "mixed" in their attire.

The entire assembly were barefooted; and little could be said in favour of the "looks" of the great majority of them. The men were not beauties - from "Limping Jabba" down to "Broken-nose Tom". Most of the young men and nearly all the children were fat and sleek. There was one girl among the half-castes of pleasing features and graceful form; and a black "gin" retained something of the attractions for which she was once distinguished.

Almost every woman and some of the young girls (at the age even of 14) were said to be "married". Some of them exhibited their husbands, or were exhibited by the husbands; others had left their husbands "at home". Tobacco pipes adorned the mouths of many of the matrons, and sun-bonnets covered the heads of the young ladies.

The former were vehement if not eloquent, in pressing their claims upon the Clerk of Petty Sessions, and enumerated with great volubility the names of their children for whom they required blankets; but the latter were moderate even to diffidence when preferring their applications; and the contrast between their soft, low voices and the harsh tones of their elders, was very marked. But the "distributor" was equally on his guard with the one as with the other; and there was need of vigilance to prevent her Majesty's blankets being dispensed amongst pretended deputies of 'deceased' blacks - who were represented to be still alive.

A few years ago a party of blacks, after obtaining their blankets at Ulladulla, took boat and pulled many miles along the coast. They then landed at Crookhaven, crossed to Terara, and on the next day got a second set of blankets there.

Captain Cook, a weatherbeaten tough old vagabond, stood by the Government officer, introduced his "friends", and affected to corroborate or correct their statements, as the case might require, until a good number of them had obtained their blankets, when he began to fear that the bales which contained them would be exhausted before he had secured his own; he then "struck work", insisted upon the blanket being given to him before he would proceed further, and on getting it, wrapped it about his body, to make sure of the prize.

His "Peggy" was dead since the last distribution, and her successor, "Jenny Daddy", lay in the "bush", from an injury in her spine. It was considered unkind to make any inquiries as to the cause of either calamity.

Some of the men were named after their occupations - "Fisherman Johnny", and "Carpenter Jack", for instance; others were distinguished by some feature in their personal appearance or character - "Bill Stupid", "Broken-nose Tom", and "Cock-eye", but most of them were called after the places where they usually resided - "Barrier Jacky", and "Broughton Creek Dick", etc., etc., or after some family with which they had lived, or were otherwise associated - "Johnny Wentworth", "Billy Kendall", and "Frank Forster", etc., etc.

The majority of the women bore the common names of "Clara", "Matilda", and "Mary Anne", "Susan", and "Judy", etc., etc., but there were, in addition, "Biddy Charcoal", "My Lady" and "Walgaroo".

A half-caste named "George" was considered the Chief man of all the blacks present, and his daughter "Julia" complained that she had been "kept waiting for her blanket, though she ought to have been served first".

On receiving their blankets the men handed them over to the women who accompanied them, and these made them up into bundles, which they carried away upon their backs - a chubby child, or other package, peering above - and their lazy lords stalking alongside, listless and empty-handed.

Viewed as a whole, it was a melancholy picture of an expiring race, and forced the question - Has the white man of this Colony done his duty by these poor creatures, whose land and country he
has seized by force, and for whose reclamation, amelioration, or comfort he has not made a single rational provision, except the annual dole of a few blankets?

And is it not time that the 14th clause in the Royal instructions to every Governor of New South Wales was either obeyed, or omitted altogether: "And it is our further will and pleasure that you do, to the utmost of your power, promote religion and education among the native inhabitants of our said colony, and that you do especially take care to protect them in their persons, and in the free enjoyment of their possessions; and that you do, by all lawful means prevent and restrain all violence and injustice which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them.

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1871

8 & 20 December 1871: Two articles entitled 'The Blacks of Shoalhaven, Parts II & III' by Alfred Macfarlane, are published in the Sydney Morning Herald. They include reminiscences by Alexander Berry and a Mr Lovegrove. The two articles were subsequently reprinted in the Shoalhaven News the following week (23 December 1871).

The Alexander Berry material contained in these articles is a re-telling of his 1838 Reminiscences (see under 1838), though with a number of major differences. Both articles are reprinted below:

The Blacks of Shoalhaven

Part II

There was lately published in this Journal a brief account of the Aboriginals and Half-castes resident in the district of Shoalhaven, in April, 1870.

I now propose to enlarge the sketch, by depicting the race as they lived and died in the earlier days of the Colony, and I am enabled to do so, at two interesting periods of their and its history, through the courtesy of friends, who knew them well, and took a generous interest in them - Mr Alexander Berry, and Mr Lovegrove, of Shoalhaven. The Papers which those gentlemen have kindly handed to me are so full, clear, and graphic, that I shall leave them to tell their tale, with scarcely a word of alteration:

"At your request" (writes Mr Berry) "I note down a few reminiscences of the Aborigines of Shoalhaven.

When I made a settlement at Coolangatta, in 1822, they were comparatively numerous, and were said to be very ferocious. I was informed that they had recently driven away a number of sawyers or wood-cutters, and my old friend, the late James Norton, told me that they would eat me. I had, however, served a kind of apprenticeship to the management of savages in New Zealand, and I was always on good terms with those of the settlement. Indeed, I found them very useful. It is true, for a year or two, they used to steal maize and potatoes - but they were not half so destructive as the cockatoos, who committed their depredations in the most systematic manner.

It was several weeks from my first arrival at Shoalhaven, before any of the natives ventured to show themselves. At length, about twenty of them encamped in my neighbourhood, and I availed myself of the opportunity to have a friendly talk with them. They were accompanied by two Chiefs, one of them was the reputed Chief of Numba or Shoalhaven, and the other of Jervis Bay. The name of the former was Wagin, of the latter Yager.

The master of the cutter in which I came down from Sydney, and his mate, had been both drowned in attempting to enter the Shoalhaven River in a small boat. I therefore determined to avail myself
of the services of Messrs. Wagin and Yager to assist me in navigating the vessel back. They readily agreed to my proposal that they should accompany me to Sydney, where I would give to each of them a suit of clothes, and a brass plate, thus constituting Wagin King of Shoalhaven, and Yager King of Jervis Bay.

Governor Macquarie had adopted this system, and had found it beneficial, but he was very tenacious of his prerogative, and would not allow any person, save himself, to convert chiefs into Kings. Now, however, he had been relieved by Sir Thomas Brisbane, and I assumed the liberty of making Kings direct, rather than solicit the Governor to provide the brass plate.

The crew of the cutter, bound to Sydney, consisted of myself, the two Chiefs, a white man, whom Mr Throsby the elder had sent from Berrima to ascertain how I was succeeding in my enterprise at Coolangatta, and who could steer a boat, and Charcoal, a Sydney native, whom I had brought down as an interpreter, and who could also steer.

For some days I was unable to leave Crookhaven, where the cutter lay, on account of foul winds, but one morning, when there was a calm, I determined to get out in some way. Charcoal steered the vessel, and the white man, the two Chiefs, and myself pulled her out with sweeps.

From some days there were light northerly winds, which retarded us considerably in spite of our efforts - to which the Chiefs contributed a fair share in working the cutter. At length, we saw a large vessel in the same plight - a boat from which eventually came off to us, and we went alongside. The captain of this vessel proved to be an old friend, and he had three lady passengers on board, to whom he wished to exhibit the Chiefs, as specimens of our native Nobility, but as they were in the same costumes as that worn by Adam and Eve, before they partook of the forbidden fruit, I interposed and prevented their exhibiting themselves until they had obtained clothing. They then rolled themselves up like hedgehogs, and crouched behind the mast, until summoned to work.

Upon reaching Sydney the Kings procured the promised rewards, and on their return to Coolangatta, with their badge and broadcloth, another Chief, who had not presented himself previously, came to the Overseer, asserted that he was the real Chief of Shoalhaven, and claimed that he also should have a plate.

The Overseer told him that if any prejudice had been done to him, it was his own fault in not having claimed in time, that I already had made Wagin the King, and could not make two Kings, but that I would make him a constable. He refused to be a constable. Then the Overseer said that I would make him a settler. He had no objection to that, but stipulated it must be engraved on his plate, that he was a free settler, (to distinguish him from a Government man). I, therefore, gave him a plate with 'Free Settler' engraved upon it, which he wore for the rest of his life. On his death his son asked for another plate, but requested that I would 'say nothing about his father, or the plate'. The Natives never speak of their dead relatives.

Having conciliated the Chiefs, I found the Natives very friendly and useful in many ways, especially in taking messages, and when I went a-boating on the river I always took a crew of Natives. On one occasion I went on a cruise up to Burrier. As we passed Boolong my crew requested me to pull ashore, to allow them to speak to their countrymen. This I did, and they learned that the Natives were hunting. On our return they called out and asked if their friends had been successful. They had caught nothing and had eaten nothing all day. My crew again requested that I would allow them to pull ashore, adding 'Those poor fellows are very hungry, and we wish to give them the remains of our dinner.' I gladly complied, and was delighted with their sympathy.

Once I was informed that a Native had been found murdered near one of my men's huts at Numba, and I immediately went over to investigate the case. The friends of the murdered man had taken the body for burial, and on inquiry of the people at the hut, they told me that the deceased had breakfasted with them that morning, and that they left him there when they went to their work. Not satisfied with this, I went to examine the body.

It was on the mangrove flat, opposite the Island, called the Apple Orchard. It was bound up with sheets of bark for burial. The Natives readily unbound it. Having inspected the wounds, I said to the
dead man's friends that I thought they must have been made by a Native, and not by a white man, as they were spear wounds. They replied I was right, and went with me to examine the spot where the body was first discovered. With their acute eyes they observed, and pointed out to me, that there had been a struggle at the place. They showed me the marks of blackmen's feet (noting the difference between them and the tracks of white men). They also showed me the stealthy tracks of a black coming to do the deed, and, after it was committed, the same tracks retreating.

There was a Native Chief of the name of Brogher, who was the brother of Broughton, a great friend of mine. (They gave their names to Broughton's Creek and to Brogher's Creek).

One day Brogher and another Native went to two sawyers, and promised to show them a quantity of cedar trees, but they suddenly attacked the sawyers in the bush, and killed one of them. The other escaped. A constable was sent from Sydney, who apprehended the two blacks, took them on board one of my vessels, fastened them with a padlock to the chain cable, and then lay down to sleep. But Brogher noticed that he put the key in his pocket, and as soon as he was sound asleep, the Natives abstracted the key from his pocket, opened the padlock, and then swam ashore. Unfortunately for themselves, however, they did not leave the district, but boasted of the feat they committed, and they were again captured. On their arrival in Sydney they were put into a watch-house near Darling Harbour, and one night the companion of Brogher escaped, and endeavoured to cross the upper part of the harbour, but the tide was out, and he stuck in the mud, in which he was found dead next morning.

When Brogher was brought to the Police Court, I was on the Bench, along with Mr Windeyer, the Police Magistrate. Poor Brogher smiled when he saw me. I addressed him and said, 'I am sorry to see you here, accused of killing a white man. I did not think you would have killed anyone, I have more than once walked with you alone in the bush when I was unarmed and you were armed with a spear, and might have easily killed me, had you wished'.

Brogher replied, 'I would not have killed you, for you was my Master, and was always very good to me'.

Mr Windeyer said, 'He is an ingenious fellow this, and I should be sorry to see him hanged.' But he was tried and convicted.

His defence was that the sawyers threatened him, and that he killed him in self-defence. He was kept long in gaol before the sentence was carried into effect. Meanwhile, the Chief Justice visited him there, when he made a confession, and said that he had eaten the tongue of the sawyer 'that he might speak good English'. Some days, however, after his execution, a party of natives came to me, and said that they had witnessed the hanging of Brogher, but that, according to what they understood of the matter, he had suffered unjustly, for that he had killed the white man in self-defence.

In those days there was no post-office, and the only communication between Sydney and Shoalhaven was by means of sailing vessels. There was a report that there were some bushrangers in the district of Illawarra.

I wished my friend Broughton, who was with me in Sydney, to take a letter to Shoalhaven, to put the people there on their guard against these bushrangers. He said he would, if I gave him a musket. I replied that he would be better without one, for bushrangers would not touch an unarmed Native, but if a Native had a musket, they would take it from him. He rejoined they had better not try, for he would shoot them immediately.

I gave him a musket, accordingly, and he took the letter safely to Shoalhaven.

It was seldom that any bushranger ventured to visit Shoalhaven, and if any did, the Natives generally captured them - for I had no police, but one constable, paid by myself; and a Native brought me a bush-ranger one day. I asked him, 'If he caught the man with a spear?' 'Oh, no,' he said, 'I run him into the swamp, and caught him with my finger.'
I have already mentioned that, shortly before I settled at Coolangatta, the Natives drove away some woodcutters. On that occasion they were commanded by a noted warrior - named, I think, Arawarra. Some years later the son of Arawarra, who was then very old, and unable to walk, brought his poor father to Coolangatta, carrying him on his shoulders for several miles. His motive was not that of the pious Eneas - but that the old man should behold the sea once more before he died, as he did a few days after.

The Natives were very acute, and readily understood the difference between convicts and free men. Unfortunately, as the convicts were the working people, and freemen overseers, or not workers, they considered labour as degrading. But when I was building my house, I requested Broughton to assist me by acting as bricklayer's labourer, which he willingly did (he was as handy as any white man), until one day, when he was at his work, a Native woman accosted him, in my presence.

After some conversation between them, Broughton became angry, and the woman walked away. I asked him what had made him angry? He replied, 'She had been jawing me.'

'What has she been saying?'

'She said that I no work every day the same as a convict.'

I inquired who she was. He answered that she was relation of his - I think a cousin. I told him not to mind her. He said that he did not, but next day he left the place, and did no more work.

I should have mentioned that I employed some other natives, and found them very useful, in conveying my stores - rolling them up the hill (for I had no bullocks or horses with me) from the river to Coolangatta, upon my first settlement there - as well as in cutting a road over the mountain to enable me to bring up cattle from Illawarra.

The place were the steamers now come to is called Greenwell's Point. There was a celebrated Native Doctor who used to reside there and the Point got his name. This Native Doctor undertook to cure toothache by mesmeric passes, but he was famed for curing snake bites. His mode of cure was the same which is used at present. He first put a ligature around the wound, and then applied suction by the mouth, but he had no stimulants to administer. M. Colsus, a Roman writer who published a book 'De Re Medica' eighteen centuries ago, adopted exactly the system as Dr Greenwell.

On one occasion Doctor G. happened to be at Shoalhaven, when one of the men had been bitten by a snake. This man was taken to Greenwell. He made the most particular inquiries about the kind of snake which had inflicted the bite, and what time had elapsed. On learning the particulars he immediately said, 'I can do nothing for you; you must die.'

'Oh, try!' says the poor man.

'No, no,' says the Doctor, 'I know that you must die. If I was to attempt to cure you, and not succeed, I would lose my reputation.'

There was a young Native Doctor looking on - he addressed the man, saying he was not such a good Doctor as Greenwell, but if he wished him to try he would do his best, though he thought it too late. 'Try!' says the man.

On this, the other first placed a ligature above the wound, then put his lips to it and began to suck. He spat the first mouthful of blood on the ground - it was black, and tarry. He gave his head a shake, but continued to suck. After a very considerable time he spat the blood a second time - now it was florid, arterial blood. The young Doctor started to his feet exclaiming, "You not die - you live!" and the man recovered. I was not present, but the Overseer, who had studied medicine, gave me an account of the case.
The Blacks of Shoalhaven

Part III

In a former paper, I had the privilege of recording some of Mr Berry's reminiscences of the Aborigines of Shoalhaven, as he found them at the time of his settlement there, in 1822, and shortly afterwards.

I will now suppose that one and thirty years have elapsed from the period spoken of in that interesting account - which brings us to eighteen years ago [1853] - and Mr Lovegrove takes up the tale in the following admirable Narrative:-

He says, - "The discovery of gold in New South Wales occasioned a large accession to its population; some of the 'new-comers' hoped to discover hoards of the precious metal; and others recognized sources of wealth in the virgin soil itself. Their occupation of the lands, hitherto held by the Blacks and kangaroos, was not long in producing a modification in the character of the Aboriginal. I shall therefore note a few incidents illustrative of the then habits, virtues, and vices of a race numerous at that time, but now fast disappearing from the settled lands.

In 1853, the appearance of a civilised homestead in the district of Shoalhaven was very peculiar - a modern-built cottage, a pretty garden, outbuildings of the roughest construction, and roofed with split logs of the cabbage tree; and in the midst of these - perhaps within a few feet of the house itself - a cluster of conical, bark-covered kennels, for the use of those Blacks who had entered under voluntary allegiance to the owner of the spot. The functions of these retainers were to turn out en masse in reaping time, and at corn gathering, and generally to perform any unskilled labour that might be wanted. As a rule, they acted under the directions of a Chief; it being found more desirable to locate themselves as a body than to encounter the importunities of single families; and in all things they stood in great awe of that Chief.

At the homestead upon which I lived, on the Terrara [south] side of the river, the resident Chief was named Peter - he was a square-built, powerful and ferocious Black, and the head proper of the Worrigee tribe; he was also followed by the Jervis Bay and Burrier Blacks - indeed, by all the Aborigines residing on the south side of the Shoalhaven. At one time, 150 fighting men were ranged under his command; but some of these had a mastership over others in their own locality, away from Peter. A sort of feudalism appeared to prevail, in which Chieftainship rose to general supremacy - a kind of Kingship - from comparative valour and address. To his other proficiencies, Peter added the skilful use of the gun; he was an excellent shot - therefore caterer of wild fowl both for the white and black families of the settlement; and his rule over the latter was an iron one.

The government of the Blacks is not responsible it is despotism, tempered by assassination - which last often regulates the law of divorce, as well as the change of dynasty. At that time, no thought had entered the White man's head of interfering with their customs, even when an 'old hand' fell a victim under it. Nor was 'Peter' a man to forego any of his rights; for good or for bad, he had a will of his own, and acted upon it. He kept his Blacks not only in strict subjection to himself, but faithful in all that related to the homestead. There was also noticeable in him a dignity, an absence of all littleness of puerility, which imparted itself to the whole tribe. Their bearing was open and bold, and their customs duly observed and honoured. Thus, their corroboree was a martial dance, performed with solemnity, and shrouded from the vulgar gaze - far different from at present, when any set of Blacks will corroboree without the martial incentives, and without the war paint, and to amuse loafers for so many glasses of brandy. The sequel will show that Peter's followers well knew, and would not abate, their rights either.

Already the Devil had pitched his tent in the vicinity of our homestead; and two low cribs, licensed by a paternal Government for a consideration, were dispensing the vilest liquors, or so much maddening poison; days were spent in drinking, and night was made hideous by the yells of infuriated men - sometimes, also, by the dying screams of a victim. I have heard it said that the Blacks used to intoxicate, before putting to death, as the most merciful softener of the last agonies.
Be this as it may, nearly all the deaths of Black men or women took place between the public-house and their camp.

Whether 'Peter', from long exercise of power, became tyrannical, or whether, as I suspect, he was always so, a conspiracy was formed against him. One night, there had been a great 'settlement' for work done in the field, followed by the usual adjournment to one of the 'publics'; and Peter staggered from the den about midnight, his gins accompanying him. But they had not proceeded far when two Blacks suddenly joined them, and, placing themselves one on each side of Peter, directed the women to go home across the fields to the camp - which they did - wailing and 'keening'; and on their arrival at the huts, the Blacks there broke out into undulating, melancholy howls; but none of them stirred to the rescue. In the morning, 'Jillicumber', Peter's son, was in the courtyard. He manifested very little emotion - merely intimating that something was in a waterhole, and that he wished the Whites to see about it. More precise information was furnished privately by some of the other Blacks, and we started, followed by their entire male force.

Arrived at the waterhole, there were evident signs of there having been a fierce struggle on the bank, but the water lay placid, fringed with long pendulous grass, and there was no sign of the body, though the hole was of no great depth. The Blacks were either at fault, or wished the discovery to proceed from ourselves. One of our party put aside the fringe of grass, and observing a stick that had been evidently driven on - from the bruising marks of the tomahawk upon it - pushed it to and fro with his foot, when the body of the Chief rose to the surface, and occasioned a sudden exclamation from the whole posse. Some of them then entered the water, and brought out the body marked with wounds and bruises, placed it in bark, covered it, and strapped it strongly down with the same material, and carried it quietly to camp. There they were received with wailing, which was renewed at intervals till midnight, when, as we suppose, Peter was buried - but no White man can say where. The following day the camp was broken up, and the Blacks, apparently, became independent of any Chief. The gins have always maintained that they did not know Peter's executioners, or murderers; and this is possibly the case, for in some similar affairs, of which I have heard, men from other tribes were employed to do the deed.

Peter's son was a mere 'artful dodger', very amusing and very cunning, but with no force of character; and he failed to preserve either the general ascendancy, or particular Chieftainship, which his father had enjoyed. The Blacks of the district now began, in separate families, to profess allegiance to Whites, receiving pay in rations and rum, or money which would purchase rum, and neglecting their native usages. Occasionally the corroboree and other ceremonies took place, though they ceased to be generally and strictly observed. To this day the Shoalhaven Blacks knock out the front teeth of any young fellow who will let them; but this is very different to the old compulsory way of managing that unpleasant process. It is difficult therefore, to select any details, of general applicability that are worthy to be recorded - except perhaps, the first interference of the Whites with the administration of the domestic laws of the Blacks.

Roger, a good-looking Black (it is asserted he is of full blood, but I believe him to be Halfcaste), having killed one wife, had taken to himself another, in 1858, or thereabouts. Towards the end of 1859, a farmer ploughing in his paddock observed Roger very busy with a stick near to a beautiful myrtle brush. The farmer watched him a minute or two, saw him throw down the stick, and walk away. Hodge returned to his ploughing, believing Roger had killed a snake. But an hour afterwards he saw the Black return, examine the spot, drive a stake into something, and then make off to a neighbouring public-house. The farmer left his plough, and discovered the body of Rogers's second wife, with the head beaten to a jelly, and covered with ghastly wounds. The farmer followed the murderer, collared him at the public-house, and handed him over to the Police. After an inquest was held, Roger was committed and took his trial; he was found guilty of manslaughter! and got twelve months. Since his discharge from her Majesty's asylum he has taken a third wife, and rumour says, she is nearly dead at times from injuries received - but he prudently keeps her out of sight.

The most curious part of the above story remains to be told. As this was the first occasion of our interference with the Blacks in the course of Justice, it was gravely resented. Many of them told me we had no business to touch Roger; that his gin was his own - a council was summoned, and the result of their deliberations was communicated to me by the wife of their great Mystery man -
Johnny Burriman. He was deputed to go to the head waters of the Shoalhaven, place certain stones in the stream, and do certain other acts, conveyed to me, not in spoken words, but by contortions of visage, and rolling of eyeballs. The result (credat quisquis) was the great flood of 1860, which devastated Shoalhaven.

Some further mention may be made of this Johnny Burriman. He owed his superiority not only to his mental qualities, but also to his physical formation. He was tall, lithe, and supple, and erect as a soldier; his walk was the perfection of grace, and his superior air sat naturally upon him; it was probably the result of his long association with the White man, and the ascendancy he had gained amongst the Blacks from his knowledge - for Johnny was a thinker and an observer, and from his shrewdness winnowed chaff from grain with tolerable accuracy. He lived for years in a comfortable gunyah in a paddock belonging to me, practicing mysteries for the benefit of his people when called upon, but residing apart from them. At last he became affected by inflammation of the lungs. Blacks then began to come round him, and it was evident they wanted him to leave his White friends, and go and die as a gentleman Blackfellow should. But Johnny refused, for he was recovering under good treatment; and, though they had made up their minds that he should die, he had determined not to die. His gin also wished to keep him from them; so Johnny went on with port wine and quinine.

But one morning his hut was found to have been pulled down, lying about in wreck, and no trace remained of Johnny or gin. About a month after, a Black came to me with a message that Johnny desired to see me. I went, and was conducted to a singular camp in the bush. It consisted of a large and pyramidal gunyah, surrounded by a passage or walk, constructed of young saplings, with their leaves on, cut and stuck in the ground, their bushy tops being about five feet high, and completely encircling the gunyah - whether to keep out draughts, or baffle curiosity, was uncertain. Smaller gunyahs were erected outside the palisade, and seemed to have been set apart for the use of four or five Blacks, lounging about, and who saluted me and my guide in their usual quiet manner. The former was ushered into the gunyah, whilst the latter joined the others. Inside lay Johnny Burriman, with his back to the visitor; and two old Blacks, Currudul and Billy Badgery, both distinguished by brass plates, sat at his head and feet. The clear, bronze back of the patient was naked to the waist, but, as the gunyah was very warm, and there was no lack of blankets, this was probably intentional. One of the watchers muttered my name, and the poor fellow looked round as he lay. His bright eyes appeared larger than ever, from the emaciation of his face, and he hurriedly signified that he had not gone away from me willingly. He complained of the cold, and asked that a coat might be sent to him. This was done the same evening - to no purpose; for Johnny had then died. He left a gin, but no children. She was very badly treated by the tribe afterwards; having received two severe beatings with waddies within a month after Johnny's death - possibly provoked by her tongue, for she was a scold; but she died of phthisis within twelve months.

No Blacks are now fixed in service in the Shoalhaven district, - the last was Jim Woodbury, who was in the service of the Manager of the local branch Bank. Furnished with a smart uniform, Jim considered the whole responsibility of the Bank rested on him; but one holiday, during a ship launch at Jervis Bay, King Currudul came behind him, and "smote him under the fifth rib, so that he died," like Abner. Currudul was tried for the offence. The Crown called a surgeon, who proved the deceased was dead; and then called a butcher, who disposed that the accused was insane; so King Robert adorns Gladesville to this hour. But nearly all murderers now-a-days are insane, though it is curious that they never try to murder each other in prison; it is always the keepers whom they attack."
have been taken, and so little sympathy should have been felt, for the race, by those whose peculiar duty it was and is to have guarded and fostered them.

Many of the governors of New South Wales have evinced the deepest solicitude for the protection of South Sea Islanders, and other distant savages, from the oppression and rapacity of Europeans; but I am not aware that any of their Excellencies (for the last twenty years at least) have given themselves the slightest concern about either the temporal or spiritual welfare of the Aboriginal people of this territory itself - the country that has been committed to their immediate government by the Sovereign of both. It is long since any Law has been framed, or regulations issued, for their benefit in any way; and the only Statutes that have ever been enacted in their behalf are seldom observed by anyone, and still seldom enforced by any authority whatever. A dog receives almost as much consideration as a Black in New South Wales.

Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, have done something to raise the status, and improve the conditions of their Aborigines, by the reservation of hunting and cultivation grounds - by schools, missions, Churches, and the like, appropriate to them; but we can neither point to school, mission, or Church, Reserve, farm, or institution of any kind, for the instruction or use of our Natives. They are allowed to live and die like beasts of the field. As a Crown Lands' Commissioner has written - "The Aborigines of this Colony have been sadly neglected by successive Governors" (he might have added - and by successive Governments, and Parliaments). "The every day scenes of neglect and insult, temptation and drunkenness, that occur when any of them visit a bush township, are painful to witness; the very blanket they annually receive - and often on the very day they receive them - are bartered for a bottle of rum, or brandy, to some honest White. They are now almost extinct in the great Province in which I live; and it will soon know then no more."

But, squalid in garb, and wasted in form, clouded in mind, and brutish in nature, though the Black be, O White! he is still thy brother, and fellow-countryman. The ties of Nature may be as strong in his heart as in yours; the claims of humanity are the same; and his soul is as dear to that God before whom thou must answer for all thy dealings towards him.

I had forgotten. In the year of Grace 1871, the sum of £150 was voted by the Parliament of New South Wales "for the purpose of prosecuting researches into the original language of Australia!" The object being "to discover traces of the kindred of our Aboriginals with other branches of the human family!" And thus "to confer an immense service on the Natives of this country," for the inquiry will show "that they are connected with the Argan rather than the Tauranian race!"

A morsel of food for the body, or a ray of light to the mind, a thicket to shelter, or a Guardian to aid, are never thought of; but there is to be an inquiry into their language instead! Is this the reading of the Royal Instruction, that the Governor is to "promote to the utmost of his power, religion and education amongst the Native inhabitants of our said Colony - to take special care to protect them in their persons, and in the free enjoyment of their possessions, - and to restrain and prevent all violence and injustice attempted against them!"

A. McF.

[1871] A team of Aboriginal cricketers from Albion Park play a local match in Illawarra.

1872

Distribution of Blankets at Kiama

6 June 1872: Notice re distribution of blankets to the Aborigines at Kiama (Kiama Independent):

Distribution of Blankets. - On her Majesty's birthday blankets were distributed by H. Connell, Esq., C.P.S., at the Court-house, Kiama, to the remaining aboriginals of the district who appeared to claim them. The number last year was about thirty; this year they had diminished to fourteen. The
distribution at the various stations appointed by Government for the purpose is, we understand, strictly simultaneous, in order to provide against frauds on the part of applicants, who, it is said, and may be believed, would in some cases be likely to make their claim in more places than one.

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Alfred McFarlane's Thoughts


This book - the first published history of the Illawarra and South Coast regions - includes a brief account of the Illawarra Aborigines, and a reiteration of Barron Field's notice of 1823:

Chapter IX.

The Aborigines - Mr Field's Account of them - The marching and fishing parties - A Superstition - Later account - Their present condition - Royal Instruction.

A parting word about the original possessors of the soil - the Aborigines of the district. It will have been apparent from the accounts given of them by Flinders and Bass, Clarke and Field, that they were pretty numerous when Illawarra was first discovered, and for many years afterwards; and the Reader will remember the scene which Mr Field has pictured of some of them, whom he saw in their canoes upon the Lake, in October, 1823.

In a subsequent passage of his Journal, he adds -

"When returning from Shoalhaven to the Five Islands, we overtook some Natives; the woman (as is usual among all savages) carrying the children, and the men nothing but a spear and a fire brand. The latter led our horses through the difficulties, while we dismounted; and both men and women kept up with us a whole stage, upon the promise of sharing our luncheon.

22nd October: Rested this morning and in the evening went to see the Natives fish by torch-light: they make torches of bundles of bark, beaten and tied up, and with the light of these scare into motion the bream that lie among the rocky shallows - when they either spear them with the fiz-gig, or drag them from under their hiding places with the hand, bite their heads, and throw them high and dry on the shore. The fishing is very novel and picturesque - the torch being flashed in one hand, and the spear poised in the other - though there were but few Natives here at the time, the majority of the tribe being absent feasting upon a whale, which chance had thrown on the coast. The Natives, however, by no means attribute this prize to chance, but to the providence of the Spirits of their Fathers, whom they believe to be transformed into porpoises, after death, and who, in that shape, drive the whales on shore. With this view, they hail the porpoises by song, when they see them rolling. I found also that the Natives were strictly divided into two classes - the hunters and the fishers - and that they do not dare to encroach upon each other's mode of gaining a livelihood. Red Point was the scene of our torch fishing."

And Mr Turkington states, that between 1829 and 1833, he has "seen so many as 400 Natives present together at a Corroboree."

Such were the Aborigines of Illawarra less than 50 - 40 years ago - And where are those People now? - or where their descendants? During the seven years I have known the district, I have not met with more than half a dozen Natives, north of the Shoalhaven. The Race is almost extinct; and our cruelty, vices, and neglect are the cause. A generous Nation, and a Paternal Government seized upon their land - dispossessed them both of their hunting and fishing grounds - and left them to live or die as best they might - uncared for, and unthought of, as the dogs of the jungle - a beggarly blanket the sole equivalent for their inheritance.
Yet - "It is Our Will and Pleasure" - says the Royal Instructions to every Governor of New South Wales, for the last 80 years, - "that you do, to the utmost of your power, promote Religion and Education among the native inhabitants of Our said Colony; and that you do especially take care to protect them in their persons, and in the free employment of their possessions; and that you do by all lawful means, prevent and restrain all violence, and injustice against them which may in any measure be practiced or attempted against them!"

Andrew McKenzie's Local Languages and Stories


This article reproduces a series of 1872 letters by Mackenzie containing specimens (i.e. sentences, comparative vocabularies, stories, etc.) of the languages known as Mudthung (or Thurumba), spoken by the Aborigines of Braidwood, Ulladulla, Moruya, and Jervis Bay; and Thurawal, spoken by the Aborigines from Wollongong to the lower Shoalhaven River.

This material was later adapted by Reverend William Ridley and published in his 1875 book *Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages*. Ridley's comments are also contained in this article. Some of the stories recorded by Mackenzie are reproduced in the 'Dreaming Stories' section.

The following comparative vocabulary was included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Thurawal</th>
<th>Mudthung or Thurumba</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kangaroo</td>
<td>Puru</td>
<td>Puru</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emu</td>
<td>Biri bain</td>
<td>Biri bain</td>
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<td>Black man</td>
<td>Dulla</td>
<td>Yuin</td>
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<td>Black woman</td>
<td>Nurumbal, Mega</td>
<td>Wenden</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>Jumbuk</td>
<td>Jumbuk</td>
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<td>Duck</td>
<td>Kuna</td>
<td>Kuna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eagle hawk</td>
<td>Mulilin</td>
<td>Munyunga</td>
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<td>Black snake</td>
<td>Mundtha</td>
<td>Mundtha</td>
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<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Mitun</td>
<td>Mitundthali</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Pulur</td>
<td>Mogandaora</td>
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<td>Pelican</td>
<td>Kurumbaba</td>
<td>Bedhaiga</td>
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<td>Tree</td>
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<td>Crow</td>
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<td>Earth</td>
<td>Dthulga</td>
<td>Bukun</td>
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<td>Fire</td>
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<td>Thunna</td>
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<td>Daung</td>
<td>Koin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>Nguiri</td>
<td>Gurri</td>
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<td>Head</td>
<td>Wallir</td>
<td>Kabon</td>
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<td>Punja</td>
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<td>Elbow</td>
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<td>Breast</td>
<td>Ngominyung</td>
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<td>Waist</td>
<td>Thundthi</td>
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This article contains the first notice of the word ‘Thurawal’ in reference to the local language spoken in Illawarra.


Comments upon material collected by Andrew Mackenzie (see above).

**1875**

*Rev. Ridley’s Local Languages and Stories*


Includes lists of words and comparative tables of the following relevant languages:

* Turuwal (‘the language spoken by the now extinct Tribe of Port Jackson’ and Botany Bay) - given by Lizzy Malone;
* George’s River, Cowpasture, and Appin - given by John Rowley;
* Wodi Wodi (the language of Illawarra, from Wollongong to the Shoalhaven) - given by Lizzy Malone.
* Twofold Bay - given by Johnny Wyman. Refer under 1864.

Also includes stories from the Shoalhaven region (see ‘Dreaming Stories’ section).

Ridley also states (p.143) with regards to the various languages:

Tharumba is spoken on the Shoalhaven River, in the south-eastern part of this Colony, by the Wandandian Tribe, Thurawal in another part of the same district, south of Illawarra where Wodi-wodi is spoken. Thurawal appears to be the same word as Turrubul and Turuwal the names of the languages spoken at Moreton Bay and Port Jackson.

**1876**

*Aborigines by Lake Illawarra, 1875*

Oil on canvas

**A Fishing Boat for Illawarra Aborigines**

23 June 1876: Report on request by two local Aborigines (George Timbery and William Saddler) for a fishing boat (*Illawarra Mercury*):
Some few weeks ago, a memorial to the Colonial Secretary was kindly prepared by a considerate gentleman in town, praying the Government to grant a suitable boat for the use of the aborigines in this end of the district, in the way of fishing and such purposes. The memorial having been prepared, Saddler and Timbery (two of the most intelligent representatives of the ancient inhabitants of the district) went about with the document, and obtained the signatures of several Magistrates and other gentlemen thereto. That being done, the same two aboriginals proceeded to Sydney and presented the memorial to the Colonial Secretary, who very properly granted the request of the dusky deputation, as will be perceived by the following communication since received by the memorialists:

Colonial Secretary’s Office
Sydney, 20th June, 1876

Gentlemen

In reply to your letter of the 3rd instant, I am directed to inform you that the Colonial Secretary approves of the providing George Timbery and William Saddler, aboriginals of the Illawarra tribe, with a boat and gear, to enable them to gain a livelihood by fishing, and that Captain Hixson, President of the Marine Board, has been instructed to prepare a suitable boat and gear, and send it at the public expense to Wollongong for their use. The local police will also be instructed to see that proper care is taken of the boat, &c.

Henry Halloran

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Starvation at Minamurra Camp

[1876] A Kiama paper reported that the winter of 1876 was extremely cold and the local tribe, containing several piccanninnies, was caught without food for three days at the Minamurra Camp. Local settlers and townsfolk came to their aid when told of their plight (S. Thomas, The Town at the Crossroads, 1975, pp.10-11)

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1877

Athletic Endeavour

1 January 1877: Kiama Turf Club meeting at Monkey Flat, includes a foot race with local Aborigines Mickey and Commodore participating.

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1878


Includes vocabularies of the following languages:
Settlement at La Perouse

Around 1878 a group of Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines travelled north to the shores of Botany Bay to help form a settlement at La Perouse. Refer La Perouse (1988) for a history of this settlement, and Aboriginal Protection Board reports of 1883-1910.

1881

5 April 1881: {Illawarra Mercury} Letter to the editor re origin of the name of Unanderra and Charcoal Creek:

Charcoal Creek

Sir

As the name of the above place is about to be changed in a few days for that of 'Unanderra', the following extract referring to the locality from a summary of the settlement and occupation of Illawarra, written by the late Mr C.T.Smith, which appeared in your paper of the 3rd of October, 1876, may not be uninteresting to many of your readers. After naming several persons who settled in the area, Mr Smith goes on to state:

"The next person who brought cattle down was Mr. George Cribb, the father of Mr. Cribb, late a member of the Parliament of New South Wales. Mr. Cribb located himself near to where the Figtree bridge now stands, and the place was called Charcoal Creek, in honour of Cribb's stockman, an old soldier, who was better known by the name of Charcoal Will than by any other name. The next person that came to the district was the father of the present W.W.Jenkins. This was the year 1817. I piloted this gentleman down the mountain, and he selected near the present site of Mr. Jenkins' hospitable mansion, and named the place Berkeley. I have a very vivid recollection of the time, because old Charcoal Will got very drunk on the occasion."

It would appear from this account that the place took the name of 'Charcoal Creek' between the years 1815 and 1817, say 65 or 66 years ago. Whether the aboriginal name of "Unanderra" applies to "Charcoal Creek" I do not know, but I am informed that the word "Unanderra" in black fellows' parlance means a "place of larrikins." If this is correct, Alderman Taylor has succeeded in getting the central Illawarra Aldermen a name that is not over-flattering, as they will most assuredly hereafter be known as the "Larrikins" or "Larrikin Council". Better, in my opinion, to retain the more appropriate name of that purifying substance.

Charcoal.
[1881] A Protector of Aborigines - George Thornton - is appointed in New South Wales to establish reserves and investigate the plight of the Aboriginal people of the state. See 1882 report below.


1882

Distribution of Blankets at Kiama

26 May 1882: Report on distribution of blankets to Aborigines at Kiama [Kiama Independent]:

Queen's Birthday. - "Queen's weather" is generally understood to be calm, fine, and sunny, suitable alike for outdoor occupations and holiday recreation; but Wednesday last, the sixty-third natal day of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, was an exception. In town the day was unusually quiet; private excursions were confined to one, or at most two; and the only public demonstration, namely, the catholic picnic on Kendall's beach, suffered much financially and in the matter of social enjoyment from the light drizzling rain which fell at short intervals from "early morn till eve." During a lull in the rain about noon, the annual distribution of blankets to the aboriginals took place in front of the Court-house, the Police Magistrate, H.Connell, Esq., being, as usual, the representative donor, assisted by Sergeant Healy and other members of the police force. The blankets, of really good quality, distributed this year were thirty-nine in number, being one more than last year, but ten less than in the year 1880. The number of real dark skins who put in an appearance on Wednesday last was some five or six less than in 1881; but the total and one in excess were made up by youngsters of questionable colour and "Captain Cook' from Jervis Bay, who, we have since learned, obtained a blanket a month ago at Shoalhaven, but came to Kiama for another.

Mary - "Queen Gooseberry" - the oldest aboriginal of this district, put in an appearance, and looked as hale as she did ten years ago. There were three families of parents and three children each, and two of parents and four children, one husband and wife without children, old Mary and two girls, and seven single young men. After the distribution was over the blacks gave three hearty cheers for the Queen, and one more for Mr Connell.

A considerable quantity of crackers, &c., were exploded during the evening by youngsters, and a very respectable display of fireworks, including coloured lights, Roman candles, rockets, &c., were discharged by Messrs. D.King, S.Major, and - Haverstein; in the case of the latter gentleman the display was particularly good, including, as it did, a number of Chinese lanterns suspended to the eaves of the balcony in front of his residence in Manning street.

Report of Protector of Aborigines


The report by George Thornton contains the first comprehensive census of the New South Wales Aborigines since the blanket issue forms of the 1830s. It includes the following references to Illawarra and South Coast people:

1. Provisions supplied
   * Currumbeen

   Flour, tea, sugar, &c.
Jervis Bay: Biscuit or flour, sugar, clothing, knives, tomahawks, cooking-utensils, ammunition, boat and gear, fishing-tackle, &c.

Moruya: Flour, tea, sugar, clothing, &c.

Shoalhaven: Provisions (tea, sugar, flour, &c.)

Tilba Tilba: Flour, tea, sugar, &c.

Ulladulla: Flour, tea, sugar, &c.

2 An attempt was made to transfer a group of Kiama and Shoalhaven natives from Circular Quay, Sydney (where they had taken up residence in a wharf shed around 1878-9) to La Perouse. Some returned to Illawarra and Shoalhaven, though the majority moved on to La Perouse.

3 Census (abbreviated)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Half-castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombala</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateman's Bay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crookwell</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moruya</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panbula</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoalhaven</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Census Comments (in reply to questions regarding the local Aborigines, such as how were they employed; did they need government aid such as blankets, clothings, food, or medical assistance, etc).

Bega Some [employed] fishing, others as laborers. One boat on Bega River used by aboriginals fishing with lines and hooks. The boat requires repairs and painting. [Blanket] issue necessary. Not aware of any being [blankets being] misappropriated. The old men and women require warm clothing in winter. A few of the old men and women are addicted [to alcohol], [They are medically attended] by the Government Medical man, Dr. Sheil. Senior-constable Church begs to suggest that a fishing-net be supplied to the aboriginals; also, a grant of land on Bega River (say 40 acres) to each family.

Bateman's Bay [Blankets] not required.

Eden Two men employed at Green Cape Light-house; get each £6 per month and rations. Half-caste employed stock riding and cattle driving. [Government] boat in fair condition, also gear. They are very careless. Considerable sum earned with boat. Children and old people [need clothing]. Two men, one half-caste, one woman [are] drunkards. Liquor obtained from public houses by white men & women (drunkards).

Moruya Three half-castes working for wages. All very well off. Four boats in this portion of district in fair order, and properly cared for. Impossible to say what they earn. Two aboriginals and two half-castes are instructed by Mr Bennett, Public School teacher. [Blanket] issue necessary. [Addicted to alcohol] wherever they can get it, but do not often get a chance. [Medically attended by] Dr Boot, Moruya. The half-castes in this district are remarkably well off, and can earn the same wages as Europeans. The half-castes generally use the boat.
Campbelltown - Farm laborers and domestic servants. [They receive] religious instruction. [Blankets] not necessary. The half-caste has been brought up by the family of Mr Vardy. A useful and industrious farm labourer. Two boys in the employ of J. Hurley Esq., well conducted and intelligent.

Kiama Men and boys occasionally employed by farmers. When not employed, engaged fishing. [Need Government aid]. In winter they suffer very much from cold and wet. A tent or some covering would be a great boon, and rations in winter. One boat provided by Government, and is kept in good condition. Oars and sail want replacing. At present one family of half-castes entirely subsist by fishing. Some half-caste children attend the Peterborough Public School and can read very well. One blanket was issued to each in May, which is not sufficient; they are not misappropriated. Warm clothing in winter would be acceptable. Very sober in this district. Government doctor of the district attend and gives them medicine. Barks being scarce, a few iron huts would improve their condition.

Milton Oystering, fishing, stripping bark, and some working for the farmers. The four oldest should be given rations of flour, tea, and sugar, as they are unable to work. The rest rations through the winter. On old widow and 3 children and a young aboriginal boy with cancer in the mouth, require permanent help. Three boats have been supplied by Government. Boats and gear in fair condition. Fishing and oystering. 6 half-caste children have been attending Ulladulla Public School, and attained 2nd class proficiency. [Blanket] issue necessary. No way misappropriated. Clothing [necessary] for those unable to work. Some of them occasionally [addicted to alcohol]; liquor supposed to be given to them by Europeans; Police endeavour to check it. No sickness amongst them. Boats required and net.

Shoalhaven - Most of the half-castes are employed. The Jervis Bay people live by fishing and Government rations. The Jervis Bay blacks get Government rations. This is necessary as there are few white people in that locality. Three boats in the district - one at Terrara, one Broughton Creek, one Jervis Bay. All in good order. Provided by Government. About thirty half-caste children are at school at Coolangatta, five at Jervis Bay, and three blacks. [Blanket] issue necessary and not in any way misappropriated. [Supply of clothing needed] at Jervis Bay. A number of them given to drink. But since the Act of 1882 came into force drunkenness has ceased. [Medical] own expense.

Wollongong - Assistant fisherman. [Government blankets supplied but] frequently sold. [Addicted to alcohol supplied] by white people but many publicans supply them. [Medically attended at] hospital. The race is nearly extinct. It is useless supplying them with boats or rations as they thereby can get rum.

1883

A.W. Howitt visits the Bega area - see Howitt Papers, National Museum of Victoria, and La Trobe Library.

A Fishing Boat for Illawarra Aborigines

11 April 1883: [Wollongong Argus] Report on the purchase of a fishing boat for the Aborigines at Lake Illawarra:

The Blackfellow’s Boat. - Some time since we drew attention to the fact that the aborigines of this district were to be presented with a boat and fishing tackle by the Government. It is now our pleasing duty to chronicle the arrival at Port Kembla of the little craft referred to. On last Sunday three or four blacks accomplished the voyage from La Perouse to the Mount Kembla Coal Co’s. jetty in seven hours, having selected that day on account of the wind being favourable. The boat is a splendid one, fitted with every appliance, and a suitable fishing net completes the outfit. It is to be hoped, now that their business in selling fish will bring the blacks frequently into town, the law prohibiting their being supplied with intoxicating drinks will be rigidly enforced.

Refer to report on application for boat under 1876.

5 June 1883: Aborigines’ Protection Board created in New South Wales, replacing the ‘Protector.’


29 October 1883: Register of Aboriginal Reserves, County of St Vincent. Report by A. Bickford (AONSW 2/8349)

1884


1885


Ration Distribution & Expenses 1885

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Rations, etc</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rations, land ploughed</td>
<td>£ 15.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£ 51.12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Rations, clothing and stationery</td>
<td>£ 119.13.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kangaroo Valley  2  "                 13. 16. 10
Moruya        4  6  "                  42. 6. 5
Nowra         2  "                   4. 9. 3
La Perouse    11  8 Rations, repairs to boat, sails  100. 7. 8
Shellharbour  2  Rations           51. 5. 6
Tilba Tilba   6  Rations            40. 0. 0
Ulladulla     2  Rations and medicine 9. 14. 4

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1886

[1886] Aboriginal Protectorate created in Kangaroo Valley.

Refer 'Aborigines - Report of the Board for 1886', NSW Legislative Council Journal, (Session 1887), Sydney, 1888, vol 42, pt 2, pp749-...

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1887

Aboriginal Skeleton at Bulli

1887: According to a letter to W.A.Bayley, from Sax Evans of Wyalla, dated 18 October 1958 (W.A.Bayley ‘Bulli Notes’, volume 1, Wollongong City Library), an Aboriginal skeleton was found near Bulli in 1887:

1887 - Sid Dumbrell and Jack Lloyd, finding a skeleton of an aboriginal on the sand off Floyd’s Point [Bulli or Waniora Point?]. It was a Black burying ground. A big storm had washed the sand away and Sid and Jack Lloyd were going to a slaughter yard and they had to go along the beach, when they found it.

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Volume 3 contains the following sample vocabularies:

* Botany Bay (Turuwal), by the Revd. William Ridley(pp.413-416).
Wollongong, Illawarra and Shoalhaven (Wodi-wodi), by the Revd. William Ridley (pp.417-419).

From Jervis Bay to Mount Dromedary (Pindri and Kathoongal), by Richard Dawsey (pp.420-423).

Twofold Bay, by the late Revd. William Ridley (p.434).

The majority of these vocabularies had appeared in earlier articles by the Rev. Ridley.


1888

Reminiscences of Moruya Aborigines

First Contact at Moruya

26 January 1888: (Moruya Examiner) Reminiscences of the Moruya area, by Reginald Herbert Barlow. Published to mark the centenary of white settlement in Australia.

Includes an account of the Aborigines of the district and their first encounter with a European sailing vessel and the footprints of white men:

Moruya, Past and Present

Written expressly for the Moruya Examiner

by Wolrab

One hundred years ago this fair district of Moruya was the home of a race now all but extinct. The writer once heard from the lips of Coorall (father of the well-known Kian), who died about twenty years since at over eighty years of age and is buried at Mynora, that when he was a very small boy the tribe were camped at Tuross Point, when one morning on the camp awaking what was the dismay of its inhabitants at seeing about a mile from the shore what could it be?

The oldest inhabitant had never seen such a sight before. There was a general stampede inland; mothers picked up their little ones - young and old fled for dear life, for who could tell how soon the monster with great white wings might not rise out of the water and pitch down in their midst, for though they had not given themselves time to scarcely look twice there was but one feeling and that was that the visitor was a monster bird of some unearthly kind. It may be pretty surely affirmed that the happy families, who had lately been living in peace and quietness, did not stop until they had put a few miles, between them and this dreadful creature, for the aged darkie related how they went back and back until they hid themselves in some of the gullies off the Stoney Creek at Coila, and then what was their dismay when after taking their first breath they found themselves utterly destitute of everything except their lives.
In that awful moment when they saw the white wings stretched ready as they thought for flight, and for certain towards them, what horror must they not have felt to think that such a monster might sweep down upon them and pick them up like the hawk does its prey. No wonder they did not stay to carry or get away with their 'possum rugs, dilly bags, spears, shields, or any single weapon - all left behind; but the mother did not forget her offspring, her love for it no unearthly monster could destroy; and we may feel sure that when at last after a good five miles' run they sank down exhausted in the cool shades of Stoney Creek, their situation was one of unmitigated terror, for who could tell but that the dreaded bird might not then be hovering overhead looking out for his quarry, and they had nothing to defend themselves with, even had they had the courage to do so. The consultations that took place were of a deeply affecting nature, for to such natures the merest object not known becomes at once magnified into the supernatural.

These poor people lived entirely to themselves, they had no knowledge of any place except a very few miles north and south of Tuross Heads, and inland to them was indeed a "dark continent", inhabited only by the bloodthirsty "Waddy men", of whom they lived in constant dread.

As an instance of their ignorance of all outside their own immediate circle, the writer was much amused many years ago when standing at their camp fires one evening - now the sight of the Bodalla Cemetery - and around which were gathered upwards of sixty of the tribe, to see the look of utter contempt with which they answered his question as to where the pelicans laid their eggs. The question was repeated from one to another, and contempt for the ignorance was evidently running higher and higher when one of the party kindly threw light upon the subject by saying: "Fool you! bellican no lay'em egg - no young pellow bellican, old pellow altogether, thousands of years old." For as the pelican lays away from these districts they knew nothing of its habits. So no wonder that the morning's sight seen on their beloved deep sea had filled them with awe and consternation.

It must be remembered that the tribes on the coast were then very large, and doubtless our frightened friends numbered several hundreds. Over one thousand aboriginals have been seen camped around the Moruya Lagoon, then famous for its eels, whilst the scrub literally swarmed with bronze-winged pigeons. When the first feeling of fright had some-what passed away the Chiefs proposed that a look out should be made, and some of the strongest hearted took a different track from that by which they had came, and went around by Bingie Bingie and came into the coast just under what we now call the Springs, and this spot is in all probability the first one within many miles north or south on which a white foot trod. It may be taken for granted that a very keen look-out had been kept from the start and the waters of Coila Lake received a fair share of attention, for who could tell if the big bird had not alighted for a feed of black swan or whatever might come in its way.

Arriving at the point mentioned, but carefully concealed from view (as only an aboriginal knew how to do), the horizon was scanned most minutely, but there was nothing whatever to be seen, except solitary Montague Island. The monster had flown, but whether far away or - oh, dreaded thought! - inland, none could say. Was it safe to come from under cover to expose oneself to the possibility of being seen in some mysterious manner by this unearthly object? No doubt this was a debatable matter, and took some time to settle, but as nothing unusual could be seen courage came back, and it was settled by the braves to walk along the beach to Tuross and so revisit - with caution - the camp, that they might report to their anxious friends how things looked there and whether or not the monster had visited it. With cautious steps the beach was reached, and hasty steps were made towards Tuross, when suddenly the leader of the party sprang back with terror depicted in his face; every nerve in his body strung to the utmost, for now here seemed to be another terror possibly more dreadful than the first. What was going to happen? Had the sea given up their dead brothers who had years ago been lost in passing backward and forward to Montague Island in their frail bark canoes, and brought with them too some strange animal, the like of which they or their fathers had never heard tell of? For there on the sand were the prints of human feet, and beside them also others so strange, so unlike any they had seen before, but whose stride the aboriginal intellect quickly told him was the same as their own, still the foot marks did not all show toes and were totally different to any animal's they had ever seen, and upon closer examination they found unmistakable signs of a landing having been made in some kind of a canoe - it was the mark of a boat's keel.
At first sight of these terrifying objects, they forgot all except the marks themselves, but upon second thought they naturally asked each other which way had they gone, and they too quickly noticed that the tracks led towards Colla Lake. Stupefied with fright they did not notice the canoe was gone away again, or that the tracks led back again to the water's edge. The one thought that possessed their minds was that some dreaded monster or monsters had come amongst them, but how or whence from they knew not, and so with all the speed they could make they hastened back to Stoney Creek to tell their alarmed friends the fresh wonders they had seen.

The terror of the whole tribe can be easier imagined than described when the look-outs told their tale. The camp was breathless, its inhabitants dare scarcely breathe for very fear, for now not only had they the dread of the great monster sweeping down into their midst at any moment, but also the fear of mysterious beings, and especially the toeless ones, suddenly appearing. Added to all this misery there was the fact that they had nothing to eat, and no weapons with which to obtain food, all had been left behind in their camp, and there was not one amongst them with courage enough to go back and fetch a single article.

The day passed, and night came on, no fire, no food, no warm possum rug, and a dread expectation of any moment either being caught up in the fangs of that terrible bird, or else attacked by those visitors from the deep. The poor little children caused the greatest trouble, for their constant cries for food awakened such fear in the breasts of their parents that the cry would indicate to their dreaded enemies their exact location, and then in the thick darkness what hope had they of escape. Surely it was a trying night, and no wonder that in long after years one of their number, then over his four-score years, could recount with picturesque minuteness each incident of that terrible time. Doubtless they procured food of some sort by means we would little think of, but it must have been scant indeed for such large numbers.

At last hunger and cold drove some of the number to go towards the camp; and one can almost fancy he sees the careful dodging from tree to tree, or tussock to tussock of the nimble black, as he proceeded, with his eye ever upwards, in dread expectation of seeing those monstrous white wings spread over him. But at last the camp was reached, and nothing seemed to have been meddled with, the very provisions still hung on the brambles, and our dark friends quickly satisfied the inner man with juicy bear or kangaroo, and then hastened back to report the good news. It was with much trepidation the return journey was made, and then the camp was moved to another part altogether, and as time passed on the big bird with its white wings was seen no more, and a generation well nigh passed away ere mysterious reports would reach the tribe of other awful sights of a like nature having been seen by people living far away to the north, and that black men had returned from another world, now quite white, who had tomahawks made of some hard stuff, so sharp that they would cut like the keen edges of an oyster shell.

The poor blacks who had thus been frightened by the sight of one of the first ships to Australia have all passed to the silent land, and the last of a noble race stand now on the brink of eternity. Whatever we have to boast of having done during the past hundred years, it certainly is not in having done our duty to the aboriginals. In those days the aboriginals of our district lived generally a peaceful life, but they had some deadly enemies in the Waddymen of Bellowra, who appear to have been savages in the extreme. Their life was one of pleasure, not only in the bush as bushmen, or on the rivers and lakes as fishermen, but they had many and various games which they could play with much dexterity. The boomerang was as much a toy as it was a useful but dangerous weapon.

A game they played with much skill was with a piece of gumbark cut into the form of a wheel, which they set into motion and speared it, but by reason of its rather peculiar form the motion was so irregular that it took the utmost skill to strike it. But in corroborees the aboriginal was seen to perfection in those extraordinary scenes, where nature in every form was evinced to perfection.

To the present day they have a wonderful power of memory, and can see the slightest peculiarity in any person they meet. They have, too, a name for every one after some animal or plant; for instance, a policeman, they call after the native name of the octopus, or blood sucker: "policeman just likem that fellow, get'em finger on blackfellow no get away again," is the common description
of this very useful individual. They were then free from disease of any kind. The "fire water" had not taken a grip upon them, as fortunately there was none to be had. They had a regular system of diet, very different from what we possess, and their marriage laws were simply perfection, and the consequence was they were a fine upstanding race.

One singular antidote they had for snake-bite, a very rare thing happening to them. The party bitten ran with all possible speed along the beach or river bank until copious perspiration had set in, when suddenly a plunge was made into the water, and then the running was again commenced, and so on until the venom was supposed to be expunged through the pores of the skin.

Though undoubtedly the former occupiers of this district were of a low type of society there was still no excuse to treat them the way they have been. We came amongst them for our own advantage, there was not a shadow of pretence that we intended to improve them religiously or morally, and physically we certainly could not.

It was but just and natural that they should resent our coming, especially as they saw as time advanced what our real object was, namely, taking from them the land which the All-Wise had given them for a home. And at the present time when we are thanking and praising that same All-Wise Being for having done so much for us during the past century, might we not also ask him to pardon the tremendous sins we have committed not only in having taken from the aboriginals their lands without one iota of compensation, but also with having debased them in every manner conceivable. Depend upon it, those who believe that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon their children to the third and fourth generation, the time will come when we in Australia at large shall pay heavily for our shameful treatment of a race which we have supplanted.

The locust of Egypt seemed but a small insect, but see what terrible havoc it made. The rabbit in Australia is becoming such a nuisance eating up all the herbs in the land, taxing man's ingenuity how to get rid of it, and that ingenuity, too, seemingly directed in a way that if followed out may leave behind it a worse evil, falling upon man and beast alike. Had ordinary humanity been used towards the blacks, had they been taken in hand and taught, even had a little pressure been put upon them to compel them to fall in with civilized customs, had their lands been honestly purchased from them, giving them in return such things as would have suited their advancing civilization is to be doubted but that in time they would have began to see the life of civilization was after all better than that of their own with its many vicissitudes.

In speaking some years since to Jacky Barratt, the aboriginal, as to which he would prefer the old mode of life - and he was old enough to remember it - or the present one with the white man amongst them, his answer was quick and decided, - "The white man to sit down liket now. And why? Because not afraid now to lay down in camp and go sleep, no waddy man blackfellow dare came and killem now!" Here is a proof that they are able to notice that life is safer under our system than under theirs, and so had they only been brought under such influences from the first, it may be supposed that instead of dying out a poor degraded race - poisoned, shot down, and driven off we might have had them amongst us, useful race, assisting to reclaim the wilderness.

The subject is painful and very humiliating to think upon, and more especially at the present time, and who can tell what another hundred years may do for us.

As the poor blacks saw with dismay the shoed footmark of a man on the Tuross beach, and supposed it to be that of some terrible animal, our children may some morning wake up with the terrible reality before them that the foot prints they see on the beach are those of the Northern Bear, or some other fierce and warlike nation who have come to dispossess us of our ill-gained lands.

[See under 1892 for further reminiscences by Barlow re the Aborigines of the Moruya district]
Buthong - Berry

29 March 1888: A public meeting decides to alter the name of the township Broughton Creek to Broughton, having rejected the suggested Aboriginal name of ‘Buthong’. Eventually the name Berry was accepted. [Settlement in the South, 1982, p.85]

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Canoes at Lake Illawarra

2 June 1888: Report on opening ceremonies of wharf facilities at the Lake Illawarra islands, including reminiscences by John Brown of the Lake from 1837 [Illawarra Mercury]:

...He (Mr George Brown) had always taken a deep and active interest in the Lake and its islands, and also in Mullet Creek, down which he had made his first trip in a boat in 1837, blackfellow canoes then being the order of the day.....

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Willy the Cripple - Aboriginal Artist

[1888] Mickey, or Willy the Cripple, from Ulladulla, executes the earliest known artworks by a South Coast Aboriginal which incorporate traditional European techniques, employing pen, ink, crayon, and pencil on paper. He produced the following artworks around this time:

* **Corroboree**
Pen, ink, crayon and pastel on surveyor’s paper. 42.5 x 67.5cm. Private collection.

Illustrated Christies, Australia, 7 October, 1986, lot 274, b/w; ‘The Illawarra and Environs’, Wollongong City Art Gallery, 1988, plate 4, colour. It is believed that the Corroboree depicted was the one witnessed by R.H.Mathews at Coolangatta Estate in 1888, and described in his 1897 paper ‘The Bunan Ceremony’.

* **Wildlife**
Pen, ink, crayon and pastel on surveyor’s paper. 42.5 x 67.5cm. Private collection.

Illustrated Christies, Australia, 7 October, 1986, lot 274, b/w.

* **The Peterborough Steamer at Ulladulla.** Drawn by “Mickey” an Australian Aboriginal. A cripple over 60 years of age. 1888.


* **Untitled** (2 drawings mounted together)


* **Untitled**
Inscribed ‘By the late Micky the Cripple, Aboriginal, Ulladulla.’ Pen, ink, crayon and pastel on surveyor’s paper. National Library of Australia.
Untitled

Inscribed 'By the late Micky the Cripple, Aboriginal, Ulladulla.' Pen, ink, crayon and pastel on surveyor's paper. National Library of Australia.


1889

Jamberoo Settlement

[1889] Report on Aboriginal settlement established at Jamberoo {W.A.Bayley, Shoalhaven, pp.122-3}:

In Kangaroo Valley in 1889 a small aboriginal settlement was established by Hughie Anderson of aboriginal descent under the supervision of J.Campbell and G.Tate, but by the end of 1890 Anderson claimed his mission was starved out of the valley. Nevertheless at the camp two miles out of the village he persuaded many aborigines to forsake drunkeness and live in a civilized manner. The Osbornes provided constant employment for the aborigines.

Minamurra Camp


This work contains the following account of the Aboriginal camp at Minamurra:

....Before reaching Kiama, a long row of huts in a field by the roadside denotes the camp of the aboriginals. They are a sickly-looking set, and doubtless very different, both in physique and in morale, from their ancestors. They are practically paupers, the Government supplying them with blankets, flour, tea, sugar and sometimes boats.

[1889] 'Aborigines - Report of the Board for 1889', NSW Legislative Council Journal, (Session 1890), Sydney, 1890, vol 47, pt 2, pp1263-...

This bibliography contains numerous references to the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines.


Roseby Park Reserve

[1890] The New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board moves natives from Coolangatta to Roseby Park [W.A. Bayley, Shoalhaven, pp. 122-3]:

Beside the mouth of the Crookhaven River on the south side a recreation area was vested in trustees in 1890 and named Roseby Park [Orient Point]. North of the river at Coolangatta on Berry’s Estate aborigines had lived from the earliest times, their camps being in a gully at the northern foot of the mountain. Before the break-up of the estate, the successive managers looked after the aborigines but the Aborigines’ Protection Board at the turn of the century decided to locate the Shoalhaven Aborigines at Roseby Park. Five old buildings were transferred from Coolangatta and five new ones built at a total cost of £300 in 1900. Dr John Hay of Coolangatta gave £50 and allowed rations to three whose families originally lived on the estate. An 18 foot boat was supplied by the Fisheries Department to assist aborigines in fishing. In 1903 there were 100 people of whom 42 were children and a school was built and opened as a provisional school, becoming a public school in 1906.

Bass Point Camp

Aboriginal Camp at Bass Point 1890
Photograph Kiama Library

This well-known photograph has also borne the titles ‘Aboriginal Camp, Long Point, Shellharbour’ and ‘Aboriginal Camp, Minamurra.’ It depicts an Aboriginal family group in semi-traditional garb, wrapped in European blankets, and standing by a bark gunyah.

A third description states that it is from an album donated by Mr A.D. Meares, grandson of Mr W.D. Meares, alderman of Kiama Council during 1861-63, and suggests that the photograph was taken by Richard Henry Holden. It may date from the 1860s.

The original glass plate negative is held by Wollongong University Archives.

This article deals with middens in the area south of Moruya.

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**Samuel Cocks Photographs**

[1890s] From the 1890s Samuel Cocks conducted a photographic studio in Kiama. The following photographs, depicting local Aborigines and artefacts, are from the Cocks collection (D100) in the Wollongong University Archives:

* Aboriginal male - King Mickey Johnson (D100/1/8)
* Aboriginal woman (D100/1/9)
* Aboriginal markings - Shoalhaven River (D100/22/1)
* Aboriginal markings - Shoalhaven River (D100/22/2)
* King Mickey Johnson (D100/33/1)
* Moriah - 100 (D100/33/2)
* King Mickey Johnson (D100/33/3)
* King Mickey Johnson (D100/33/4)
* Hunting scene (D100/33/5)
* Aboriginal Boy (D100/33/6)
* Aboriginal Boy (D100/33/7)
* King Mickey Johnson (D100/60/1)
* King Mickey Johnson and family (D100/60/2)
* King Mickey Johnson barking tree (D100/60/3)
* Family group (D100/60/4)
* Corroboree scene (D100/60/5)
* Corroboree scene (D100/60/6)
* Corroboree scene (D100/60/7)
1890s [Francis Quaife, artist, visits Illawarra and produces the following work containing Aboriginal figures]

* Aborigines by the bank of Lake Illawarra
  Watercolour

1891


1892

The Egg Feast of Wagonga


The Wagonga people referred to below appear to have inhabited the area around present day Wagonga and Narooma, south of Moruya. Montague Island, also mentioned in the account, is located off the coast of Narooma:

Wagonga

(From an Aboriginal Tradition)

In remote days when the population of the coast was very great, the tribes had at times a difficulty in obtaining the food they required, not that there was an abundance of one kind or another, but like the white man they preferred a change of diet. They had their seasons for the various kinds of flesh both of fish and animals, also of different kinds of vegetable products.

The little spade at the end of the wimmera was used by them to dig up the small native yam, and the well made but small meshed bag might at certain times be seen in the running stream filled with pounded nuts of the burrowang after having gone through some process to extract the poison much in the same way as we prepare arrowroot. Immense quantities of this article were consumed each season, the time being when the nut was in and fell out of its red jacket onto the ground.

The spring brought round with it 'the egg feast', a great time for young and old when from the little rich egg of the plover to the large one of the swan or the stronger tasted one of the sea bird the camp fire had its work to do in roasting them in vast quantities. Then as now eggs were in great request, but not having a fowl of a domestic kind they could only obtain a supply during a very limited period, and so "the feast" was a time very much looked for, and the young lad doubtless
asked his father, as we read in a certain book for an egg and the fond parent would very likely risk much to obtain this annual delicacy.

The tradition from which we quote tells us that the headlands of Wagonga had in those days a large population. They were men of grand physical proportions and of great activity in the chase, as also in the use of the spear, in fishing both standing on terra-firma or kneeling in the frail bark canoes.

An Australian bark canoe such as is used by the natives of the South Coast is certainly a most unique article. A large sheet of stringy bark is taken off a tree and after being well examined to see that there are no twig holes in it, its outside is taken off to be more pliable to form into a canoe, the two ends are then thinned down to a thickness of not more than the three sixteenths of an inch, and commencing from the centre the "boat builder" gathers the ends together the same way as a seamstress pleats the skirts of a dress, then with two or more wooden pins of a few inches in length which he passes through the pleats and binds together with cord of some kind or another, performing the same to the other end. Two or three sticks are then placed across the canoe to keep it open and they are kept there by cord also. The canoe is completed.

It may be large enough for two or more. The mode of propelling is simple in the extreme. Two small blades of thin bark about twice the size of the human hand are held one in each and the paddler kneels with his face towards the bow. Should water get into the canoe he simply uses his small paddles and bales out by throwing the water behind him into the sea or lake, much as we notice the musk-duck splash the water behind her.

Well, to come to the tradition.

The season was "the egg feast" one about September, and the Wagonga tribe had arranged for a monster picnic to Montague Island, in search of sea bird eggs. For days and days before, new canoes of large size had been constructed, and the greater part of the tribe, both men and women, intended to go and have a high time of it.

Making all allowance for the increase that most traditions are allowed, the number that left for Montague could not have been less than 150 adults, the children and many old women staying behind. It was a lovely morning just at the break of day with the sea as smooth as a sheet of glass and every prospect of a quick return that the young and strong, and elders to advise and guide, stepping into the seventy or eighty canoes at the beach just below Mr. Flanagan's Hotel that is now. What merry sounds there were to be heard, well nigh mad with delight at the prospect of the sport before them, they jumped in the air or dived in the water and flitted about in their canoes as if they were a portion of their very bodies.

Some of the canoes were lashed together for greater safety, but no young fellow allowed this sort of thing for fear the girls would laugh at him; the three or four miles between the land and island was not such a dreadful distance, even did he loose his canoe, and so the whole party got out to sea in grand style amid the cheers and dancing of those left behind.

Great were the expectations of those left on the land, and the whole remaining camp sat on the southern headland the live-long day watching the little fleet go and its returning shortly before sun-down.

The canoes kept well together both ways and the merry laugh could be heard from the shore when they approached within half a mile, and excitement ran very high and speculation too as to who would first land and the number of eggs they would bring.

But suddenly a change came over the whole scene, a dark cloud which had for some few hours been seen to the south suddenly came up with great swiftness and burst, "the winds blew and the rain came" and swept down upon our voyages with terrible force.

The poor terror stricken watchers knew what must be the issue, they could see one canoe after the other disappearing until the night closed in and not a living soul landed to tell the fearful tale.
Can the gentle reader imagine the feelings of the helpless band left upon the headlands, scores of young children and many aged mothers left to the mercies of the world, but if the tradition is to be credited, there was one who rose up and took in the situation at a glance, and by sheer dint of pluck, energy, and determination made provision for those left behind which if it could be all proved would mark the man as one of the most wonderful men ever known. He divided women, old men and children to groupes to seek for food suitable for their ages, &c., himself taking the duty of stalking for large game, being attended by a party of the strongest lads to carry it to the camp.

In the course of a few years the young had come to manhood, and once more the Wagonga tribe was on its old footing. To those who remember Wagonga a couple of decades ago it may be interesting to learn that this man was the father of "Wagonga Frank", a true and trusty black who went to his rest some years ago and was buried by his tribe on the sea beach to the south of Mummaga Lake.

1893

Hooka Islands

25 July 1893: Draft article by John Brown on King Hooka and the Hooka Islands of Lake Illawarra.

The following transcript by W.G.McDonald appeared in the IHS Bulletin, November 1970:

The Hooka Islands, which were dedicated for public recreation in January 1890, are situated in the north-west waters of Lake Illawarra about one mile north of the mouth of Mullet Creek - these islands, two in number, now known as Hooka and Gooseberry Islands, take the name of Hooka from the last Aboriginal chief of that name who laid claim to them.

Charley Hooka was a great chief, whose land extended along the western shores of the lake from the mouth of Mullet Creek northerly to Budjong, now known as Killy's Creek, by the range on the north and on the west by Dapto and Mullet Creeks, the Aboriginal name of the former being 'Daroo' and that of Mullet Creek above the dam is 'Kanara' (or 'Karrara') and below the dam to the lake 'Bawn' or 'Bann.'

Hooka also claimed the two islands named and a considerable portion of the lake. He was regarded as a great chief by the tribes of Illawarra, the great extent of his fishing grounds and the large quantity of game of every description, including kangaroo, wallaby and pademelon, with which his land abounded adding to his importance. According to the Aborigines’ traditional history, the Hooka chiefs for generations back were most popular with the other Illawarra chiefs and their tribes, inviting them to his grounds to join in the chase or wallaby drives of their day, and partaking of the great feasts that followed such occasions.

The western portion of the Hooka lands towards West Dapto, where Mr Marceau resides, was called by the Aborigines 'Dapbeto,' hence the name of the settlement of Dapto. The meaning of the word 'Dapbeto,' as given in the Town and Country Journal by a correspondent some time ago in answer to a question as to the meaning of the word, is 'water plenty' and during recent floods the residents of that locality have had ample proof of the correctness of the name. It is, however,
understood that the word does not refer to flood waters but to the many streams of beautiful fresh water that flow [through] that portion of the district.

Hooka was a sturdy well made man of medium height. He did not mix much with the white people as other blackfellows did, but preferred to remain with his tribe in their wild state, his only garment being an opposum skin cloak, and the usual Aboriginal girdle with appendages.

About the year 1842 Hooka was way laid and murdered in a scrub some distance below the Figtree Bridge by two Pigeon House blackfellows owing to some difference between the Hooka and Pigeon House tribes. The murderers decapitated the chief no doubt with the intention to carry the head as a trophy to their tribes but from some cause or other it was left on the spot. The body was buried by the remnant of his tribe according to Aboriginal custom the place being Lang's Point, Illawarra Lake immediately opposite to the Hooka Islands, and thus ended Charley Hooka one of Illawarra's great Aboriginal chiefs.

As the islands referred to have been dedicated as places for public recreation, the origin of the name Hooka may be interesting to some of your readers.

Charley will be understood was a white fellow's addition to the name of the chief Hooka.

The islands were designated as places for public recreation in January, 1890 but it was not until August of that year that the trustees were appointed.

Robert Etheridge, Jnr.: 'Geological and Ethnological Observations made in the Valley of the Wollondilly River, at its Junction with the Nattai River, Counties Camden and Westmoreland.' *Records of the Australian Museum*, Sydney, February 1893, volume II, no.4, pp.46-54, plates XII, XIII.


Based on visits to the site in July 1892 and 1893.


This series of articles, published in 14 parts, lists the Aboriginal names for some useful Australian plants, along with their indigenous district, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common &amp; Scientific Names</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
<th>Locality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* Red Cedar</td>
<td>Polai</td>
<td>Illawarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cedrallaaustralis)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* White or She Ironbark</td>
<td>Barremma</td>
<td>Illawarra district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Eucalyptus paniculata)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* Broad-leaved Ironbark  
  (E. siderophloia)  
  TerriBarri  
  County Camden

* Corkwood  
  (Duboisia myoporoides)  
  Ngmos  
  Illawarra district

* Turpentine Tree  
  (Syncarpia laurifolia)  
  Booreah  
  Illawarra Blacks  
  Illawarra Blacks

* Blackbut  
  (E. pilularis)  
  Yarr-warrah  
  Illawarra

* NSW Blue Gum  
  (E. saligna)  
  Couranga or Mudione  
  Illawarra Blacks

Refer also to Sir William Macarthur's list of 1861, upon which the above is partially based.

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**Gerringong Aborigines**

[1893] Account of Aborigines at Gerringong in 1893 [W.A.Bayley, Kiama, 1976, p.142]:

The town continued peacefully and after the opening of the railway a buggy met the trains to take tourists to the beauty spots of the district, sometimes as far as Crooked River, where the aborigines had boats and fishing nets....

[Gerringong was also known as Crooked River]

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1894


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1895


1896

13 January 1896: {Milton and Ulladulla Times} Report that the Aboriginal Protection Board had allocated an additional allowance to the destitute Aborigines at Ulladulla.

1 February 1896: {Illawarra Mercury} Report on the crowning of King Mickey and his presentation with a breast plate by Archibald Campbell, M.L.A., at the Wollongong Show.

8 February 1896: {Milton and Ulladulla Times} ‘A Disappearing Race’ - report on decimation of local Aborigines:

In the Ulladulla district, the work of decimation among the Aborigines has not been so complete as in Braidwood, but the degrading influences of the white man’s civilization and immorality are telling their tale and there now remains here but a miserable remnant of the extensive tribes that once claimed this neighbourhood as indisputably their own.

Mr John Garrad, a native of this district, informed me only recently that he remembered in his young days seeing as many as 500 dusky warriors assembled together on an occasion when the Coast and Pigeon House tribes met in corroboree. There must have been pretty well as many blacks in the district as there are now whites.

The Government has of late years established a camp at Ulladulla, where the last of their race receive some kindness and attention, but slowly and surely the Aborigines are dying out and in a short time they will be wholly extinct.
Aboriginal Names of Places

The Honorable George Thornton, M.L.C., who is understood to be one of the best living authorities on the language of aborigines, has forwarded to Mr Archibald Campbell, M.P., the following remarks concerning the names of the places undermentioned. He considers, very truly, that the proper native rendering of the names given, and their respective meanings, will be especially interesting now that the centenary of Illawarra is about to be celebrated.

Mr Thornton writes: - I had a good knowledge of the names of those places 40 or 50 years ago when I used to camp out among the blacks about Wollongong, Kiama, and Jervis Bay, but my memory of these things not having been exercised very much of late years, has faded a good deal. As you know, languages varied very much within distances of about 70 or 80 miles. For example, the language of the Sydney or Botany Bay blacks was quite unintelligible to those at Kiama and Shoalhaven. And the same difference existed north and south and west.

To begin with, proceeding southward from Sydney, the place called Bondi should be "Boondi," meaning the noise made by the sea waves breaking on the beach there. "Coogee" should be "Koojah", which in the aboriginal language, means that name being applied to the place in consequence of the stench issuing from the quantities of sea weed washed ashore there, especially within January, February, and March.

"Merooberah" was the native name of a pretty sandy beach a few miles south of "Koojah," that being the name of the tribe and also their chief, who inhabited that particular locality.

"Bunnabee" is the aboriginal name of the north Botany head, and "Givea" that of the south head of that bay.

"Kundul" is the aboriginal name of the spot where Captain Cook landed on the south shore of Botany Bay.

"Goonoomarra" is the name of the beach and sand-hills about Port Hacking.

"Bulga," further south, means a mountain.

"Bulli" means two, the name being applied to a certain formation of the mountain range about there.

Of the names "Bellambi" and "Dapto" I cannot remember the aboriginal meaning.

The district name, "Illawarra," as expressed by the natives, should be pronounced "Eloura," which means a pleasant place.

Wollongong should be pronounced "Woolyungah," which I think means "five islands."

Kiama should be "Kiaremia," the meaning of which is that fish may be caught from the rocks there.

Minamurra, or Minna Murra, I think means plenty fish - which doubtless were obtained in the tidal part of that estuary.

Gerringong I forget the meaning of.

"Coolangatta" signifies the highest land.
"Meelinderry" is the native name of Greenwell Point - Shoalhaven.

"Moonah" is the name of the inside of Jervis Bay, and "Boorderee" that of the entrance thereto, between the heads.

"Coooroombong" is the aboriginal name of the estuary at Jervis Bay, since corrupted to "Currumbene"Creek.

"Wandiwandian" means the home of the lost lovers.

"Berreworri" - a crossing place.

Ulladulla is a corruption of the native name "Woolladoorh," which means a safe harbour - or safe place from the rough sea.

So much for the names of places. It may be here mentioned that the native name of the wild fig tree is "coerawal".

As is known to old residents about Sydney, and to readers of Australian writings, smallpox, which raged in the colony from about 1812 to 1814, carried off large numbers of those unfortunate people, and especially in the vicinity of "Merooberah," mentioned in the foregoing.

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"Bunan" is the Aboriginal word for the ground upon which the male initiation ceremony is performed by the Aboriginal tribes of Illawarra and the South Coast (from the Victorian border north to Bulli). The ceremony described in this article took place near Broughton Creek, east of Berry and north-west of Coolangatta. Mathews' account is quite detailed, and includes drawings of the bunan site.

It is suggested that Mathews witnessed the ceremony described in this article during 1888 - this being the same event as illustrated by Willy the Cripple around that time.

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1897


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**Archibald Campbell Papers**


Archibald Campbell was a local parliamentarian and newspaper proprietor, with an interest in Illawarra history. During the aforementioned period (1897-1902) he built a substantial local history collection.

Items of relevance to the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines from his papers include:

1. *Memoirs of Martin Lynch* - these record the events surrounding a battle of Aboriginal tribes at Fairy Meadow about 1830, including descriptions of the subsequent burials.

2. *Notes on Aborigines* - by Archibald Campbell et al., includes interviews with Aborigines between 1897-1902, plus lists of local geographical features and their Aboriginal names.

The above items are transcribed in Appendix 2. They refer to the local Aborigines from the earliest times of white settlement.

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**1898**

24 December 1898: (*Milton and Ulladulla Times*) Report that Ulladulla Aborigines are to be provided with a fishing boat:

On the recommendation of Captain Millard M.P., endorsed by the Officer-in-Charge of the Police of this district, it has been decided to have a fishing boat provided for the use of the Aborigines at Ulladulla. This is the outcome of a petition numerously signed locally some little time back.

According to McAndrew (1990), the boat was eventually obtained in June 1900.

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[1898] Reminiscences of Martin Lynch - extracted from the Archibald Campbell Papers. For a transcription of items concerning Illawarra Aborigines see under 1827 and 1830.

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**A Corroboree at Kiama**

[1898] A special corroboree was held at Kiama around May 1898 (*S.Thomas, The Town at the Crossroads, 1975, p.11*):
Celebrations at Kiama in 1898 included a corroboree where 30 Aborigines gathered around a camp fire under the command of King Mickey and Queen Rosie. The operation was witnessed by 2,000 people, many of them seeing native dancing for the first time, while Queen Rosie added a lighter vein when it is claimed she seized partners from the crowd and performed unrehearsed dances.

For possible photographs of this event refer ‘Samuel Cocks Photographs’ under 1890s.

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Aborigines Protection Board Report


A reserve of 34 acres on the Minamurra River was revoked. The following census information was also included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aborigines Half-castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batemans Bay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Perouse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moruya</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowra</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picton</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulladulla</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallaga Lake</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1899


For relevant Illawarra extracts see ‘Myths and Legends’ section.

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This article lists Aboriginal words obtained by Miss M.A. Brown and her brother - the late Mr George William Brown, of Brownsville, Illawarra - about the year 1863, from a full blood black of the Illawarra tribe known as Micky Munnima.

Refer under 1863 for a copy of this listing.


Aborigines Protection Board Report

[1899] 'Aborigines - Report of the Board for 1899', NSW Legislative Council Journal, (Session 1900), Sydney, 1900, vol 64, pt 1, pp255-...

Includes a report on Wallaga Lake station, plus the following census:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Half-castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batemans Bay</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Perouse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moruya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowra</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulladulla</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallaga Lake</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details are also given re Board expenditure at Coolangatta, Eden, Gerringong and Kiama, Illawarra Lake, Jervis Bay, La Perouse, Ulladulla, and Wallaga Lake.
Fringedwollers and Social Workers

1900 - 1960

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century Aborigines of Illawarra and the South Coast continued to be neglected, both locally and by government bodies such as the Aborigines Protection Board. They were continually forced away from white settlements. Often the most barbarous actions - such as the separation of children from families - were carried out during this period by social workers and government welfare agencies. Self determination was a long way off. Many reserves granted during the latter half of the nineteenth century were revoked during this period, including 700 acres at Jervis Bay.

Despite no real changes in attitudes towards Aboriginals by whites during this period, continued interest was shown on the scientific front by anthropologists.

1900

Aborigines Protection Board

Attempted Removal of La Perouse People

[1900] The Aborigines' Protection Board tells the Aborigines of La Perouse to move to Wallaga Lake, 500 kilometres to the south. When some refuse, the Board retaliates by withdrawing rations.


Includes report on Wallaga Lake Station.

The Board also created the following reserves during this year:

Roseby Park 32 acres
Illawarra Lake (permissive occupancy) 19 acres

The following census was also contained in the Report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full-bloods</th>
<th>Half-castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batemans Bay</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Tilba</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
White enough for him...

2 January 1900: {Milton and Ulladulla Times} Report on a white man being evicted from the Aboriginal camp at Ulladulla, where he was in company with his part-Aboriginal fiancee:

In the Police Court a strapping young white fellow appeared charged that, not being an Aboriginal native or son of an Aboriginal native, he was on 25 December found lodging with Aboriginal natives at Big Hill, Ulladulla.

In defence he claimed that his friend was not a full-blood, that there were very few full-bloods there, that he was engaged to a girl there who was white or white enough for him at any rate, that her father was fair and her mother half caste.

Police maintained that the girl was not white but not a full-blood. There was no conviction.

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Red Point Aborigines

3 March 1900: {Illawarra Mercury} Report on King Mickey and remnant Illawarra Aborigines camped near Red Point (Hill 60), Port Kembla:

Lake Illawarra Road

A Sand-Pit Track To A Sacred Spot

The continuation of the Five Islands road towards the mouth of Lake Illawarra, is a road in name only. It is much to be regretted that such would be the case, for several main reasons, not speaking of minor ones. First and foremost, several residents between the lake and the sea, whose only highway is the said so-called road, deserve more attention from the Central Illawarra Council regarding it. In the second place, the said line of road leads to, and from, the most remarkable historic spot, not only in Illawarra, but along the whole coast of the colony southward of Sydney. We allude to what is the royal domain of King Mickey, the ruling monarch of the existing remnant of the Illawarra tribe of aborigines, as well as being the sacred ground upon which Europeans first set foot on Illawarra soil. The classic spot referred to, is situated at the mouth of Lake Illawarra, where Bass and Flinders, the explorers of undying fame, landed in March, 1796, and had adventures with a contingent of aborigines, from whom it required some strategic movements to safely escape. Large numbers of people are prevented each year, from visiting that deeply interesting locality in consequence of the barbarous condition of the only roadway thereto, a condition little better in the way of land communication than probably existed at the time of the Bass and Flinders visit more than a century ago. This sand-pit roadway is within the Borough of Central Illawarra. We have too high an opinion, by far, of the Mayor and aldermen of the council of that important borough, to believe that they will remain subject to reproach in connection with the matter much longer.

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Milton & Ulladulla Benevolent Society

27 June - 8 September 1900: The Milton and Ulladulla Benevolent Society investigates the conditions of the local Aboriginal people and prepares the following report (McAndrew, 1990):

The Aborigines were supposed to be the special care of the Government, and they were placed under a Protection Board, but the treatment they were subject to was a disgrace.

There were a few aged and infirm Aborigines at the camp at Ulladulla but it was only right and proper that they should be kept with reasonable comfort during their remaining years. They were allowed rations, but the allowance was inadequate and the quality inferior. The result was that these poor people had to beg from the residents of Ulladulla.

He (the President of the Society) had brought this matter under the notice of Captain Millard M.P., who asked him to get a couple of magistrates to visit the camp and make a report as to what they considered should be done.

Messrs W.D. Warden and C.F. Warden had accompanied him to the camp, had visited the older Aborigines (Maria, Charlotte and Berriman Joe), had seen their rations and viewed their surroundings, and had furnished a report recommending that the old people be granted more and better rations and, in the case of Berriman Joe, who was a helpless cripple, that he be allowed fuel.

The recommendations had been hopelessly ignored and nothing was done, the old blacks still being subjected to treatment that was disgraceful to a civilized Government.

The President, Mr Henley, moved that the Secretary write to the Aborigines Protection Board setting out the facts and recommending the necessary action.

The Board replied as follows, dated 4 August 1900:

Madam

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 16 ultimo regarding the condition of the Aborigines at Ulladulla, and to inform you that they are in receipt of rations and clothing usually supplied.

The old woman, Maria Billy Boy, will be provided with firewood. Berriman Joe has been supplied with firewood at the Board's expense for some time.

I have the honour to be, Madam, Your obedient servant

David R. McCallum
Secretary

A meeting was later held (Tuesday, 4 September) by the white community to call for financial assistance and to discuss both the report and the Board's lack of support or promise of action (Milton and Ulladulla Times, 8 September):

The treatment of Aborigines was fully ventilated at a public meeting at Ulladulla on Tuesday night: a number of strongly condemnatory speeches were delivered. According to George Millard, the extravagant sum of two pence per day is expended by the Government in providing rations for each of the aged Aborigines at Ulladulla. The can't become "jolly and fat" on that.

The following account is from W.A. Bayley's Shoalhaven (1975, pp.108):
The aborigines at Ulladulla camped at the south head [of the bay] in 1900 when a public meeting was told that they needed assistance. That was the awakening by the public to the needs of the descendants of the original inhabitants, but the process of improving upon their conditions was a slow one taking many years.


For a transcription of these myths, see under ‘Myths and Legends’ section in Introduction.

1901

29 January 1901: *Illawarra Mercury* Report on the drowning of Nelly Timberry at Port Kembla:

**Drowning Accident**

**A Little Girl the Victim**

On Saturday afternoon a very sad drowning fatality took place in Salty creek, Port Kembla, a little half-caste girl named Nelly Timberry, aged 7 years, being the victim.

An inquest was held yesterday before the district coroner (Mr. C.C. Russell) when evidence was given to the effect that deceased went bathing on Saturday with several other children about her own age. In trying to cross the creek deceased got out of her depth and was drowned. Mrs. Sadler afterwards very pluckily recovered the body and attempted to restore animation by artificial means, without effect. The deceased’s mother is away on a visit to the Richmond River.

A verdict of accidental death was recorded.

 Afterwards the jurymen made a subscription out of their attendance fees for the bereaved father.
Aborigines Protection Board


Includes a report on Wallaga Lake Station.

The following census was also contained in the Report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Full-bloods</th>
<th>Half-castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batemans Bay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moruya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallaga Lake</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowra</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 July 1901: *Milton and Ulladulla Times* Report on Aboriginal Protection Board refusal to aid the Ulladulla Aborigines:

The Aborigines Protection Board refused application at Ulladulla for a horse and cart for the Aborigines at Ulladulla for the purpose of bringing their fish for sale at Milton.

The grounds of the refusal were that there was very little sale for fish at Milton; that if the request was granted, there would be trouble as to who should look after the horse, keep it shod ... and that a great deal of expense to the Board would be the probable outcome.


Thoorga was spoken from Jervis Bay south to about Wallaga Lake. Refer Eades 1976.
Gundungurra was spoken in the Goulburn - Yass - Lake Bathurst area, west of Illawarra. Refer Eades 1976.

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1902

Aborigines Protection Board


Notes that a reserve of 9 acres 36 perches was created at Batemans Bay; there were problems with liquor consumption at Tilba Tilba; and gives a report on the Wallaga Lake, Roseby Park, and La Perouse settlements.

The following census was also contained in the Report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Full-bloods</th>
<th>Half-castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batemans Bay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Tilba</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>165</td>
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<td>(Wallaga Lake)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moruya</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowra</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Aboriginal Art Gallery

...The art gallery itself is to be found in a depression on the sandstone that forms the walls of the upper portion of a long deep gully the waters of which form a branch of Coal Creek. It is situated about 2 miles up from a large waterhole. The rock cave shelter is 70 x 14 ft and contains 100 figures delineated in charcoal and white pigment.

It is startling to think that the last seventy years has witnessed the complete passing of a type of savage life which, judged free from the prejudice resulting from the degradation of the modern type, had many admirable features, but the fact remains that contact with our boasted civilization means practical annihilation to dark-skinned tribes of Australia not so rapid as in Tasmania where only seventy-two years after white settlement the total extinction of the race was complete, but nevertheless sufficiently swift as to justify surprise and regret.

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Dyirringan was spoken in the Bega area. Refer Eades 1976.

1903


Thurrawal was spoken from Sydney south to Shoalhaven.

1904

**Death of an Aboriginal**

30 April 1904: [Illawarra Mercury] Report on the death of Billy Bothong at Kiama:

On Sunday morning last there passed away at Kiama Hospital an old identity in the person of "Billy Bothong," one of the few full-blooded aborigines left in the district.

Billy, who was 59 years of age, used to often state that he would be King when Mickey died. Mickey, however, is still alive and well, and looks younger than ever. He, with some of his followers, were present at the general cemetery on Monday, where Billy was laid to rest.

See also Archibald Campbell Papers (Appendix 2) for interviews with Billy Bothong (Buthong).


A major work of great significance to the study of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, with numerous references to the local culture.

This book is a major work, with many references to the tribes and customs of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, especially the Yuin tribe of the far South Coast, of which Howitt was made an honorary tribal elder.

See also references to the original Howitt Papers under 1870s for details of the Yuin people.

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1905


Includes references to canoes of the Shoalhaven.

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1906

The Death of King Mickey

21 November 1906: ([Town and Country Journal]) Report on the death of King Mickey:

King Mickey

King Mickey Johnston, head of the South Coast aboriginal tribe between Wollongong and Nowra, died at the Minnamurra River camp last week, the cause of death being pneumonia.

Mickey, who was 72 years of age, was invested with the insignia of office at the Wollongong Show some eleven years ago by the late Mr Archibald Campbell (the then Parliamentary representative for Wollongong), since when he has continually worn the crescent-shaped inscribed brass plate presented to him on that occasion. King Mickey knew and was known by almost everybody throughout the length and breadth of the South Coast, and was well liked.

"He was always very respectful," says a Kiama paper, "and on meeting a lady would never forget the usual salute due her sex. Mickey had a white heart, was ever respectable, and lived a good life; his last words were, ‘Oh, I see Jesus.’ He was of a happy disposition, and his smiling face will be much missed in this district. For his advanced age he was very active, and could walk a long distance or climb a tree with many of his younger followers.”

His remains were interred in North Kiama Cemetery, when the Rev. T.V. Alkin officiated at the graveside.
1907

Foundation of Roseby Park Reserve

The following account of the foundation of the Roseby Park Aboriginal reserve near Nowra is taken from Settlement in the South (1982, p.71):

In October, 1906 [Shoalhaven] Council received a request from the Under-Secretary of the Premier's Department for information as to whether Council had any objections to an area of some 50 acres of the Roseby Park being given over to the Aborigines Protection Board. After discussion, Ald. Emery said he had visited the Park for the purpose of ascertaining from the resident Ranger particulars of the proposal and after due consideration he could see no objections; he placed a diagram of the position of the land surrounding the portion of the area proposed for excision and how it would affect the then existing public uses of the remainder of the Park..... Council raised no objections as the remaining area was considered adequate because, since the opening of the bridge, ferry traffic was almost non-existent and the popularity of Roseby Park had waned.....

On 9th March, 1907, there arrived at Roseby Park a party of Aborigines from Echuca, Victoria. It was intended by the Aborigines Protection Board to make Roseby Park a training home where those in residence would be taught farm work and carpentry. Cottages had been erected under the supervision of Mr. F. Hundt who was the present manager and had special training for the post. However, four years afterwards, the Superintendent (Hundt) recommended to the Minister that the scheme be terminated as the Aborigines were indolent and only interested in the five shillings weekly pocket money and the allowances of flour and sugar and had no inclination towards farming or trades work.


Robert Etheridge Jnr. & T.Whitelegge: 'Aboriginal Workshops on the Coast of N.S.W. and Their Continents.' Australian Museum Records, Sydney, 1907, volume 6, no.4, pp.233-250, plates XLII-XLV.

Includes photographs of the workshop (middlen) at Bellambi, plus a description of the Aboriginal artefacts found both there and at other workshops along the coast around Sydney.

1908

Bomaderry Aboriginal Children’s Home

According to W.A.Bayley's Shoalhaven(1975,p.176):

.... Bomaderry Aboriginal Children’s Home was established in 1908 to receive seven native children, six orphans and one baby rescued by Miss Thompson, a missionary to the aborigines.
Refer also Aboriginal Protection Board reports of this time.

1909

Aborigines Protection Act

[1909] Aborigines Protection Act is passed in New South Wales. It aims to remove all Aboriginal reserves, 'assimilate' Aboriginal people into white society, and give the Aborigines Protection Board power to remove children from parents without formal approval from a magistrate.

Refer Read (1988) and Miller (1985) for a discussion of its effects on Aboriginal families.

Brass Shield for Coomie

6 February 1909: [Milton and Ulladulla Times] Report on brass shield given to the Aboriginal woman 'Coomie', of the Murramarang tribe:

A nice brass shield, suitably inscribed, has been sent to old "Coomie" (Maria) who is the only survivor of the old Murramarang Aboriginal tribe. It has been given to her by Mr Railway Inspector Milne, of Orange, who was in Milton a short time back on holiday. Mr Milne takes a deep interest in the Aboriginal races and is supposed to have the best collection of Aboriginal weapons in New South Wales. The stipulation is that "Coomie" must not part with her shield till death.

[A detailed biography of Coomie is contained in McAndrew (1990)]

1910


Refers to totems of the Illawarra and South Coast people.

1910-30: Francis McCaffrey Papers, Wollongong University Archives.

These papers contain numerous references to the local Aboriginal people. Refer Appendix 3 for relevant extracts.
1912


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W. Wentworth Bucknell: *Science of Man*, Sydney, 1912, volume 13, no. 9, p. 188.

Word for horse in various dialects:

- Turuwal, Port Jackson Terraman [John Malone]
- Turruwal, Georges River Terraman [Hon. George Thornton]
- Woddi Woddi, Illawarra Terraman [John Brown]

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1914


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**Death of Coomee**

31 October 1914: *(Milton and Ulladulla Times)* Obituary of Coomee Nullanga (Maria), last female survivor of the Murramarang tribe and longtime resident of Ulladulla. See also photograph of Maria in Cocks Collection (1890s).

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**Ulladulla in 1828**

R.H. Cambage: *Captain Cook's Pigeon House and Early South Coast Exploration*, 1920.

When writing of Thomas Kendall’s settlement at Ulladulla in 1828, Cambage noted:

When they landed at Ulladulla they found a number of blacks camped on the north side of Millard's Creek, and during their night ashore, the murder of the visitors was contemplated by the Aborigines, to whom one of the sailors had given offence, but they were saved through being warned by one of the natives, an ancestor of the present Dennie Parson.

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**Werriberri's Reminiscences**


Werriberri (c. 1830 - 4 April 1914) was the chief-man of the Burragorang Valley Aborigines. Refer Meredith (1989) for extracts and photograph of Werriberri.
1921

R.H. Cambage: 'Exploration Between the Wingecarribee, Shoalhaven Macquarie and Murrumbidgee Rivers.' JRAHS Sydney, 1921.

This article includes partial transcriptions of Charles Throsby and James Meehan's diaries of 1818, describing their expeditions to Jervis Bay.

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R.L. Dawson: 'Tilba Tilba (South Coast) list', Australian Aboriginal Words and Names, Sydney, 1922, pp. 14-16.

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1923

Reminiscences of Moruya in the 1830s

'Recollections of the Early Days of Moruya', by Mrs Celia Rose of Gundary, Moruya, include an account of the Aborigines of the Moruya district in the late 1830s. Mrs Rose had arrived there as a child with her family (JRAHS, volume VIII, 1923, supplement, p. 375):

....There was only one sailing vessel, named the Waterwitch or Wonderwitch that called at Broulee about once a month, bringing provisions from Sydney, and the shortage was acute. Aboriginals saved the settlement several times from starvation by supplying fish and oysters.

I think the Aboriginals numbered about four hundred. They were quiet and harmless, and the elders of them were very kind, and would put their hands on our heads and say, "Buderree fellow white picanniny." There were no other white children but my brother and myself, and we used to play with the blacks, and were never frightened of them. My mother was the only white woman here at the time.

The first hotel was built on the northern bank of the Moruya River, and when the blacks got drunk there they would fight and kill each other, and now there is not one full-blooded black left in this district....

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1923-24

Reminiscences by 'Old Pioneer'

'Old Pioneer' was a journalist, Frank Young, who published reminiscences of Illawarra by himself and other old pioneers in a series in the Illawarra Mercury during 1923-24. Some of the reminiscences included items describing the Illawarra Aborigines from the time of the earliest white settlement, and are reproduced as follows:

[Series No. 8, 30 November 1923]....The aborigine population within the limits of the Illawarra Range was not large at any time, and might easily in the heyday of their liberties be numbered by
two or three thousand souls. What a paradise these simple sons and daughters of Nature lived in: hemmed in by a range of mountains they lived their lives generation after generation in this natural Garden of Bliss.

Many historians, now and old, have defined the name Illawarra. As far back as 1840 the Five Island blacks were accustomed to call the district hemmed in by the mountains Ill-aw-ar-ra ("Home of the Bubbling Waters"), and of all the definitions I think this is nearer the right one.....

Down by the western side of Lake Illawarra and opposite the Hooka Island is Hooka Creek. By the shores of Hooka Creek over one hundred years ago a tribe of the original owners of Illawarra lived. The tribe was under the wise counsel of King Hooka, who in the early days of the white settlement proved a friend to the white people. Many a time the white settlers along Charcoal Creek had to thank this dusky King for the peaceful condition in which they lived. On one occasion when the blacks from Broughton Creek - the place where Berry now stands - had designs on the settlement, King Hooka moved out with his tribe and gave the Broughton Creek warriors battle at a position near Albion Park. There are still some descendants of the first white settlers living at Dapto who have heard their parents tell of the story of the good King Hooka.

The story is told that one morning this King of a race which today is but a memory, spoke to the white settlers and advised them to take their cattle and goods back to Wollongong for the bad Coolangatta blacks were coming to rob and murder. Then the King went to give battle with his men along the road through Brownsville. They marched along the road through Dapto. The road was then a bush track, over which the bullock drays had passed. The few living settlers have heard their parents tell of the march of the Hooka tribe. How, at what is now known as Brownsville, they mustered their fighting men. From the creeks and the mountain fighting men came to fill the Hooka ranks. When all was ready they marched along the bush track, two hundred warriors strong, and as the long line passed in battle array the silence of the bush was filled with a hoarse gutteral sound, sung through the nose, of "Hooka - Hooka - Hooka".

Somewhere between Albion Park and the present Albion Park station the Broughton Creek or Coolangatta blacks were camped, resting before their final march to the white settlement. They were more than two hundred strong, and if the settlement had not been warned by the Hooka tribe an incident might have been added to this history of Illawarra which would have added sorrow to many homes of the brave pioneers.

Early in the morning the tribes gave battle. All day long they fought and at night the Coolangatta blacks were so much slaughtered and knocked about that they retired south, leaving the place in charge of the victorious Hooka tribe. The cost was great and many warriors were killed, and amongst the dying was the good King Hooka. Back along the same track the warriors marched on their return, bearing the almost lifeless body of their King. Their return was in silence, only the muffled sound of naked tramping feet signalled their return. All danger to the white settlers was removed. The white people returned to their homes and the blacks went back to their creeks or their mountains to mourn the loss of a good and fearless leader.

On the opposite side of Hooka Creek is a hillock of sand. Under the crown of the hill lies the remains of King Hooka. His tribe has passed away and the white race covers the mountain and plain, but I like to think that he still in spirit watches over the interests of the white people as he did one hundred years ago.

[Series No 31, 16 May 1924] - Mr James remembers well when the blacks were in considerable numbers at Mount Kembla. A camp of about 100 of the race was situated on the banks of American Creek, near the bottom of the present Mount Kembla incline. When living at Berkeley about the year 1840 he remembers a big camp of blacks on the Estate; he also recollects a place on the Berkeley Estate where some 200 blacks are buried.

[Series No 32, 23 May 1924] - Very early in the history of Illawarra the Lake became the home of many of the early pioneers of the Illawarra district. Over 90 years ago - to be correct, in the year
1830 - settlement took place along the Lake shores and around the shores of the Lake, from Shellharbour to the Five Islands, settlers took up grants of varying areas. Lake Illawarra, with its creek feeders, Hooka Creek, Mullet Creek, Kanahooka Creek, Yallah Creek, and Macquarie Creek, contained a large settled population at a very early period of the district development, such population extending along the creeks to Avondale, Marshall Mount, and Albion Park....

Many years have passed over since the first settlement at Lake Illawarra and in many cases as much as three generations of the people who first settled still live round the Lake shores. When the first settlers came to the Lake they found the black people very plentiful. The Lake, with its many creeks, provided the necessary game and fish for the support of the careless, simple race that for generations lived and died by the shores of Lake Illawarra. The simple Hooka tribe gave no trouble to the white settlers, but on the other hand - as is mentioned in Series No.8 - they were a help and protection to those early pioneers who braved the silence and solitude of the great bush out past the further limit of settlement.

[Series No 59, 22 November 1924]...Mr McMahon has a clear memory of the blacks camped at Fairy Creek about 60 years ago. The tribe consisted of about 50 people - adults, females and juveniles. They were nomadic in their habits and camped at different places on the Coast, their favorite camping places being Fairy Creek and at Corrimal, up in the mountain, above Dr Cox's residence. At the latter place they used to hunt for wallabies along the mountain range. When tired of hunting they moved to the seashore, and the creeks running into the sea provided prawns and shellfish."

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1925


Includes Aboriginal dreaming stories (myths and legends) from areas of New South Wales such as Illawarra, the South Coast, Burragorang Valley, Georges River, and the Riverina.

Stories of relevance to this regional study include:

The First Waratah
The First Gymea or Gigantic Lily
How the Waratah got its Honey
How the White Waratah became Red
How the Pistils of the Waratah became Firm
Why the Waratah is Firm
The First Kangaroo
The Dianelle Berry
The First Bush Fire
The First Crayfish
The Clinging Koala
The White Man's Boots
The Legend of the Pheasant and the Jackass
The Blood of the Bloodwood tree...

See also under 1933 for details of an updated edition; and the Dreaming Stories section for reproductions of some of the above.

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Includes references to the totems of the Yuin and Thurrawal tribes of Illawarra and the South Coast.

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1926


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1929

**Illawarra Breastplate at La Perouse**


At the time the old reserve was to be removed off the sandhills to where we are today a breastplate was dug up by a white man, Mr Walker when excavating. This was on 14 September 1929. The breastplate belonged to "Joe Timbery, Chief of the Five Islands", which is an area around Port Kembla.

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1930

**Removal of Ulladulla Aborigines**

This account of the removal of Aborigines from the town of Ulladulla is taken from *Settlement in the South* (1982,p.137):

….Recommendation was made [by Shoalhaven Council] also in this year [1930] to the Aborigines Protection Board to remove the Aborigines from the Ulladulla Reserve to a site at Racecourse Creek.

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Includes stories from the South Coast.

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Contain numerous references to the Aborigines of Illawarra and Appin during the 1820s and 1830s. Refer Appendix 4 for relevant extracts.

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1931

Death of Ellen Anderson

May 1931: {Hurstville Propeller} Obituary of Mrs Ellen Anderson, identified therein as the 'last Aborigine of the Illawarra tribe'.

It is possible that Mrs Anderson, the daughter of King Mickey, was C.W. Peck's informant for some of the Illawarra and South Coast stories in his Australian Legends of 1925 and 1933.

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Archaeological Investigation at Burrill Lake


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Includes descriptions and photographs of axes from Bellambi, Lake Illawarra, Port Kembla Beach, and Murrumurang.

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1932

W.W. Thorpe: 'Lake Burrill rock shelter.' Mankind, Sydney, 1832, volume I, no.4, pp.78-79.

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Includes Aboriginal dreaming stories (myths and legends) from areas of New South Wales such as Illawarra, the South Coast, Burradorang Valley, Georges River, and the Riverina. One of the narrators was Ellen, daughter of King Mickey.

Stories of relevance to this study include:

- Prelude - A Princess, and A Royal Visit
- The First Waratah
- The First Gymea or Gigantic Lily
- Why the Turtle has no Tail
- How the Waratah got its Honey
- How the White Waratah became Red
- The Second Kangaroo Story
- The Dianelle Berry
- How the Pistels of the Waratah became Firm
- What makes the Waves
- The First Bush Fire
- At Low Tide (The Coming of White Man)
- Why the Waratah is Firm
- The First Crayfish
- The Clinging Koala
- A Bird Legend
- Two Waratah Legends
- Mist and Fringed Flower
- Mulgani
- The Black Satin

Refer under 1925 for details of an earlier edition of this work with varying stories; and also the Dreaming Stories section of this work for reproductions of some of the above.

Benjamin Lindsay: ‘A Story of Early Land Settlement in Illawarra’ (Illawarra Mercury, 1934)

This series of articles was published during 1934. The following is a reference to the local Aborigines:

...The customs of the natives helped the pioneers considerably. The tribes were constantly on the move from the tablelands and all parts of Illawarra to the shores of Lake Illawarra owing, probably,
to the abundance of fish and wild fowl there, as well as in connection with the corroborees and other ceremonies of an intertribal nature; and the age-long trails used by them, down the mountain barriers and through the dense brushes, were used by the pioneers.


Includes descriptions and photographs of scrapers from Lake Illawarra and Batemans Bay.

1935

Frank Wilkinson: ‘Reminiscences of Early Illawarra’ [*Illawarra Mercury*, 8 February 1935]

This article - part of a series - refers to the Illawarra Aborigines during the 1860s and 1870s, as follows:

In those far away days, the blacks were numerous on the South Coast. Never will I forget their holding of a corroboree on a flat close by the present railway platform at Unanderra. In England, down in Hertfordshire, I had been frightened of the gypsies, but those painted blacks, with their spears, boomerangs, womera and paddy melon sticks, made me hide out. Afterwards I became quite familiar with them and the King, with his half-moon brass token of royalty. They initiated me in the art of throwing a spear and boomerang. The spear was a serviceable weapon, which brought to hand many big fish in Mullet Creek.

[See another extract from Wilkinson's reminiscences under 1867]

Removal of Bomaderry Aborigines

1935-37: The following account of the removal of Aborigines from Bomaderry township is taken from *Settlement in the South* (1982, p. 104):

At its meeting on 18th December, 1935, [Shoalhaven] Council received a deputation from Bomaderry which presented a petition signed by 64 ratepayers and residents asking that Council take steps to have the Aborigines and half-casts removed from Bomaderry and taken to some properly equipped area where they "can be comfortably housed and live decently under appropriate supervision". Council resolved to send a letter to the Inspector of the Aborigines Board asking for a report.

The Board replied that efforts were being made to persuade the Aborigines to move to Roseby Park where they could be properly settled. Later, advise was also given (March 11th, 1936), that the Board had no power to force them to move but asked the co-operation of Council by consideration of the issue of Closing Orders in respect to persons living under conditions which did not comply with the Local Government requirements.

On the motion of the Mayor it was resolved that as many Aldermen as possible and the Health Officer visit Bomaderry on the following Tuesday and make a tour of inspection.
The main complaint stemmed from the Aborigines setting up permanent "shanty" dwellings in the public Reserve and living under the most insanitary conditions.

The Board of Health report which was furnished to Council included a recommendation that Council serve notice on the occupants of all buildings on the Bomaderry Reserve and also on the owner of land adjoining the Reserve to demolish buildings which had been erected without Council approval. Six months were allowed for the order to be complied with. After the occupants were moved the buildings were to be demolished. The action was not confined to the Reserve, but extended throughout the Bomaderry area. By March, 1937, all squatters had been removed from the Reserve and adjoining lands and their temporary structures demolished.

Later, a protest was lodged by four residents against Council approving the construction of a cottage by an Aborigine on land he owned; Council informed the objectors that it had no power to refuse such an application from any person owning land within its Municipal boundaries if such application complied with Council regulations.

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1936


Contains a report on the 1816 skirmishes between hostile natives and Governor Macquarie's punitive expeditions - see under 1816.

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1937


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Hill 60 Aborigines

4 March 1937: {The Sydney Sun} Report on remnants of the Illawarra Aboriginal tribe, camped at Red Point (Hill 60), near the entrance to Lake Illawarra:

One of the last descendants of the tribe of Aborigines of Wollongong district was Jacky Andersen, who claimed direct descent from King Mickey who was "Crowned" at Wollongong, 1896.

Only a dozen of the original tribe occupy "Hill 60", over which a new road is built, the land of their forefathers, and home of the Illawarra tribe.

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1938

Old Kiama

5 March 1938: {Kiama Independent} 'Reminiscences of Old Kiama by an Old Kiama Boy' includes the following account:

The site of the Kiama Public School was the visiting place of the Aboriginals when they shifted camp from the Minnamurra River to the stream that flows on to Kendall's Beach. The Blacks camped in the bush on the southern side of the stream, about 30 in the camp.

On my farm I have picked up quite a number of the blackfellows' axes. A vine was wrapped round the stone and that acted for a handle, with a good spring. I have seen the niches made in the side of the trees where a native wanted to climb a tree. He used a vine round the trunk of the tree and chipped the nicks in the tree so that his big toe could get a grip and up he went in steps.


[1938-49] O.Pryor, Donations to the Australian Museum, Sydney:

* Flaked pebble implements, scrapers, pointers, cores - midden at Corrimal.
* Flaked implements, scrapers, points, percussion stones - Black Rocks, Corrimal.

1939

F.D. McCarthy: 'Trade in Aboriginal Australia....' *Oceania, Sydney,* volume IX, pp.405-10.

Briefly discusses so-called overland trade routes used by the Aborigines of south-eastern Australia. Includes a map.


1940


A comprehensive listing of Australian tribes. See also under Tindale (1974) for an updated and expanded version of this work.

1941

G. Mackaness: George Augustus Robinson's journey into south-eastern Australia 1844, Sydney, 1941.

See description of Robinson's south coast excursions under 1844.

R.T. Wyatt: The History of Goulburn, N.S.W., Goulburn, 1941 (Reissued Sydney, 1971).

'Chapter VII - Aborigines', pp.107-120, deals briefly with the Aboriginal people of the Goulburn district, especially prior to 1850. Mention is made of the Mulwarrie, Wollondilly, Tarlo, and Burra Burra tribes.

1942


Describes Aboriginal stone arrangements and artworks in the region of Mundamia Creek, Nowra.

1943


Samples were taken from Bondi, North Cronulla, Bellambi, Port Kembla, Lake Illawarra, Tuross Heads, Murrarangar, and Merimbula.
1944


Named after Windang Island, at the entrance to Lake Illawarra. Specimens were collected from Quibray, Shellharbour, Wollongong, Bellambi, Lake Illawarra, Murrumurang, Burrawang, Sassafras, Merimbula, Bermagui, and Tilba Lake.


Includes specimens from Murrumurang and Redhead Beach.


Includes a specimen from Picton.

1946


1949


1953


Includes a map and photographs of rock art from the Cordeaux region behind Mount Keira.
Local history of the Kangaroo Valley district of Illawarra - see also under 1966.

1956


A.Capell: A New Approach to Australian Linguistics, Oceania Linguistic Monographs No 1, University of Sydney, Sydney, 1956.
Includes a discussion of the Dharawal language. Refer also Eades 1976.

1957

Dapto

31 January 1957: 'Reminiscences of the Dapto area', by A.Armstrong [South Coast Times].
Includes an account of Charley Hooka and his domain:

A History of Dapto, N.S.W.
The name "Dapto" is derived from the Aboriginal name of "Dabpeto" meaning "plenty water" and the land on which the township of Dapto arose was owned by an Aboriginal Chief, Charley Hooka.
He was very popular amongst the chiefs of the Illawarra tribes and owned a large area of land in the district and also a large portion of Lake Illawarra.

Bunjil was one of the names of the Great Spirit of the Aborigines of south-eastern Australia.

1958

This compilation includes the following Aboriginal stories by Percy Mumbulla of Wallaga Lake, and other people of the Wallaga Lake Mission:
The Tales of Percy Mumbulla

* The Battle of Wallaga Lake
* The Bugeen, the Kangaroo-man
* The Doowan, the Two Avengers
* The Doolagari, the Hairy-man
* The Bunyip
* Abley Wood and the Two Bugeens
* The Gold of Billy Bulloo
* Uncle Abraham and the Dooroots
* The Wild Women
* The Porcupine, Ejenak
* Under the She-oaks
* The White Pig, the Porcupine, and the Wonga Pigeon
* The Runaway Lovers

Tales from Wallaga Lake Mission

* The Wild Cherry Tree
* The Maker of Boomerangs
* The Bugeen and the Boundary-riders
* Mr Wallaby

Refer also under Dreaming Stories section.

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1959


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The Rebirth of a Nation
Aboriginal Reminiscences, Linguistics & Archaeology

1961 - 1990

The period 1961-90 has seen a major change in the status of Aboriginal people in Australia, with many social, economic and legal deficiencies being redressed.

Following the 1967 referendum granting Aborigines the right to vote, white Australia has slowly begun to accept the humanity of the descendants of this country's original inhabitants, and in turn to question their own inhumane treatment of those people during the 200 years of white settlement. The Bicentennial of 1988 marked a major turning point in the Koori fight for justice and equality, with peaceful protests throughout the land, and a renewed interest in all things Aboriginal on the part of white Australia, especially Aboriginal art. Despite all the positive changes, however, the battle for equality and land rights is not yet over, and real compensation seems a long way off.

The following bibliography covers the period 1961 to 1990 and reflects the changing status of Aboriginal Australians. It reveals the widespread interest in continuing archaeological investigations and social and economic studies of Aboriginal culture; the publication by Kooris of both fictional and non-fictional works and reminiscences; the increasing popularity of Aboriginal art; and an open assessment by historians of black-white relations since the invasion.

A major theme also discussed during the 1980s was the realities and tragic circumstances of white and black encounters during the nineteenth century, with accounts of massacres and other barbarities being made public for the first time, especially in the writings of Henry Reynolds.

In Illawarra and along the South Coast the period 1961-90 saw a large number of archaeological investigations being carried out on behalf of private mining companies and government bodies such as the National Parks and Wildlife Service, many of which remain relatively inaccessible to the public.

The unfortunate lack of open access and ease of public availability to material relevant to local Aboriginal studies is common throughout Australia. It is partly a result of political and Aboriginal sensitivity, but also reflects the lack of acceptance and understanding of Aboriginal culture and its relevance to modern times by society at large. Perhaps the nineties will be a decade of openness, bringing Aboriginal studies from the realm of academia into the public domain.

1961


1962

8 March 1962: *Illawarra Mercury* Report on discovery of human bones - believed to belong to an Aborigine - near the southern entrance to Lake Illawarra. Thought to have been buried about 150 years before.

12 March 1962: *South Coast Times* Coomaditchy Home for PK Aborigines - report on Aboriginal settlement at Coomaditchy, Port Kembla.

April 1962: Aboriginal Advancement Conference held at Nowra.

*Shoalhaven Aboriginal Welfare Committee*

During the latter part of 1962 Shoalhaven Council appointed an Aboriginal Welfare Committee to investigate the matter of Aboriginal welfare in the Shire. The Committee subsequently appointed investigators to make inspections at centres where Aboriginal families were being housed - Roseby Park, Wreck Bay Aboriginal Station, Brown's Flat, Worrigee, Wollamia and Falls Creek.

On 11 March 1963, Council also appointed a Committee by Delegation for the purpose of preserving the Aboriginal Tribal Grounds and historical relics within the Shire. The committee consisted of Messrs. P.H. Cole and P.H. Woolley [and was known as the Shoalhaven Antiquities Committee - see below]

1963

*Shoalhaven Antiquities Committee*

This committee was set up in March 1963 by Shoalhaven Council to search out and record native artefacts and other memoria within the Shire. For a summary of the Committee's activities, plus a plan of the Lake Wollumboola site, see *Settlement in the South*, 1982, pp.329-333.
Shoalhaven Museum

The idea of creating a Shoalhaven Museum - containing Aboriginal artefacts - was discussed by the local council during 1963, as the following extract reveals (Settlement in the South, 1982, p.329):

In July, 1963, [Shoalhaven] Council considered a suggestion by its President, Cr. B.F. McIntosh, that it establish a Museum in the district to be known as the Shire of Shoalhaven Museum. Aboriginal artefacts and other historia were promised by Mr Stewart Blow, of "Mananga", Berry, chief items of which were two breastplates complete with chains inscribed

"Broughton"
Native Constable
Shoal Haven, 1822

"Neddy Nora"
Shoal Haven, 1834

These two natives had accompanied John Oxley the Surveyor-general when he explored the Shoalhaven and Jervis Bay areas in 1819.

Oral History


Mrs Hercus interviewed a number of South Coast Aborigines, including Bert Penrith, Percy Davis, and Percy Mumbler.

Refer also D.K. Eades, 1976, for further reference to these recordings.


1964

Wandandian Cave

5 October 1964: [South Coast Times] Report on an Aboriginal cave found at Wandandian:

Primitive Paintings in Cave at Nowra

An Aboriginal cave, its walls covered with primitive drawings, has been discovered in rugged bush country south of Nowra.

The cave was found by a Forestry Officer, in the Wandandian area. The cave had been dug about ten feet into the hillside, beneath an overhanging rock shelf. Its walls are covered with thousands of drawings, depicting, men, women, fish and animals. One drawing is coloured red and yellow and
covers an area of about three square feet. The walls also contain many notches, apparently caused when spear heads were chipped from the rock.

The find is being investigated by the Nowra Historical Society.

2 November 1964: {South Coast Times} List of Aboriginal words published, compiled by John Brown and Queen Rosey during the nineteenth century:

**Early Pioneer Listed Aboriginal Words**

An Illawarra pioneer’s carefully listed records, giving district place names, and what the local Aborigines called the locations, with, where possible, the meanings of the native names, has been preserved by Mr Alec Armstrong of Dapto.

Mr Armstrong said the list was prepared over 80 years by Mr John Brown after whom Brownsville was named.

Mr Brown was secretary of the first Dapto Show in 1857, and his memory, until he died, went back to days when there were more natives than whites.

Native names may differ as between tribes, but Mr Brown’s list is regarded as very reliable.

Here are some of the place names, with the Aboriginal name following, and, where possible, the meanings in parentheses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanahooka</td>
<td>Kulilla</td>
<td>(native meeting place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooka Creek</td>
<td>BellanBilla</td>
<td>(Second Star)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karrandallal</td>
<td></td>
<td>(First Star)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrawarra</td>
<td></td>
<td>(small-leafedfigtree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallawarra</td>
<td>Tallah</td>
<td>(curious fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan’s Creek</td>
<td>Wollangarry</td>
<td>(a white grub nine inches long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordicot’s Point</td>
<td>Koonan Curri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muddy Point</td>
<td>Damninin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muddy Creek</td>
<td>Koolan Kullan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Keira</td>
<td>Djera</td>
<td>(wild turkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Kembla</td>
<td>Djembla</td>
<td>(a wallaby)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dapto</td>
<td>Mockoonburro</td>
<td>(grub)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horsley</td>
<td>Tarratharrang</td>
<td>(opossum ground)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of Mullet Creek</td>
<td>Tannoon</td>
<td>(deep water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Crossing</td>
<td>Yanoogang</td>
<td>(cooling themselves from the heat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cudgery Bay</td>
<td>Kudgagang</td>
<td>(stingray)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bevan’s Island</td>
<td>Kurranwall</td>
<td>(native grace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picnic Island</td>
<td>Mummingang</td>
<td>(pigface flowers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cudgery Island</td>
<td>Kupburril</td>
<td>(thunder bolt fell on top of the hill and made a great hole there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Dog Hill</td>
<td>Woorrooorool</td>
<td>(native dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Native Dog Hill</td>
<td>Woorigal</td>
<td>(stringy bark trees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Simpson’s place</td>
<td>Tattang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benares</td>
<td>Dobbroo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall Mount</td>
<td>Wongandall</td>
<td>(bark used for coffins)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avondale</td>
<td>Wonganily</td>
<td>(track over the mountain, S.E. Avondale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor House</td>
<td>Murrindarry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woolangurry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waldarra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wonga Wonga</td>
<td>(pigeons build)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Charlton’s Takoonkully (place of fern roots used as medicine)
Buccanoora Bukanoora (swift,  
a bird)
Berrima Mount Wongarral (reed grows in 
swamps, used as medicine)
Windang Island Bingaam (saved by the bear who pulled the island 
into its present position)
Harris’s place Kanyangang
Thompson’s Moonda (after a reed)
James & W. Swan’s Gooroon (teach)

And “Queen Rosey” a native who provided Mr Brown with other native names for South Coast 
centres, fishes and animals, supplied these meanings:

Dapto Dabledone (called after a foreign black much tattooed)
Wollongong (called after Flagstaff Point, like a man’s forehead)
Kiama (after the broad leaf figtree)
Jamberoo Jangaroo (after the pheasant’s ground)
Gerringong Gerrongong (after a small walker)
Bulli Mooloone (after tulips or waratah)
Fairly Meadow Toorodja (hot winds used to open the ground)
Mount Brown Goongannon (where they used to cook by heating stones)
Five Islands Ilawarra
Five Islands Point Nowoo
Five Island Hill Illowra

Mullet fish Murra Murra
Whiting Warrawang
Garfish Guroo
Snapper Wallamah
Black fish Gerrong
Shark Unyah
Slingray Kerwah
Tailor Birragullin
Prawn Dillan Dillan
Oyster Pittangah
King fish Goomberringal
Salmon Gooman
Yellowtail Gyuyle
Tom Thumb Lagoon Warwong (after entrance)
Kelly’s Creek Yowee
Mount St Thomas Yalloworrie
Yalla (spotted gum)
Tongarra (man who used to murder his enemies)
Barrack Point Berrich (tame man killed the wild man)
Minnamurra Monee (sharkes came in)

Beef
Corn
Flour
Ashes
Wood
Smoke
Coal
Light
Potatoes
Pumpkin
Melon
One

Dubbil
Dubbin
Wah
Kullangurich
Murringah
Nooran
Nooran
Dugoon
Mongan
Dangi Dangi
Bulbul
Mittagong
Two
Three
Four
Five
Chin
Arms
Fingers
Legs
Feet
Man
Woman
Boy
Baby
Old Man
Old Woman
Sleep
Kangaroo
No
Yes
Bulla
Bulla Mitta
Bulla Bulla
Bulla Bulla Mitta
Waloo
Tarrin
Perring
Nuree
Tunnah
Tarro
Meegah
Boonbarri
Warring
Bangong
Mooligar
Mungaree
Burroo
Maree
Nyee


Describes Aboriginal charcoal and oche drawings located in a rock shelter near Wilton.

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**Oral History**


A collection of oral history interviews by Janet Mathews with Aborigines of the South Coast. Refer also D.K. Eades, 1976, for a discussion of this material.

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1965


This book is a local history of the Shoalhaven district from the earliest days of white settlement. It contains numerous references to the local Aboriginal people.

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Includes dates from the Curracurarrang Cove site.

Includes the following South Coast stories by Percy Mumbulla of Wallaga Lake (son of ‘King’ Jacky Mumbulla), and David Carpenter of Eurobodalla:

- *The Whalers*  
  Percy Mumbulla
- *Gold and Grog and Pretty Stones*  
  "
- *The Bugeen*  
  "
- *The Surprise Attack*  
  "
- *Jarrangulli*  
  "
- *Bundoola, the King of the Sea*  
  David Carpenter

See also under Dreaming Stories section.

1966


Discusses the role played by Charley Hooka, a Five Islands Aborigine, in finding the body of a murdered convict in 1826, and his part in the subsequent trial whereby he gave written testimony.


Describes results of archaeological investigations at Curracurrang Cove, in the Royal National Park.


Kangaroo Valley


This local history of the Kangaroo Valley region of Illawarra contains the following account of the Aborigines:
....It was in the verdant undergrowth growing so prolifically in the fertile soil thus laid down [in Kangaroo Valley] that the kangaroos from which the valley took its name abounded in vast numbers until the arrival of the white men, to form much of the food of the aborigines who moved through the valley as time went by.

Native Tribes

In the dawn of Australian exploration the Kangaroo Valley, or as it was first known to white men, the Kangaroo Ground, was, as one early writer termed it, wrote Reuben King, the "Blackman's Paradise."

"There was ample shelter in the many caves, and under the overhanging rocks around the great sandstone walls, Kangaroos, wallabies, opossums and native bears were plentiful, whilst the Kangaroo River and its tributaries abounded with fish and eels, and along the river banks lived real colonies of goannas.

"The tribe occupying the Kangaroo Ground is said to have numbered between two and three hundred. It was customary among the tribes in different parts of the country to visit each other, as at 'Kingaman' - the meeting place - south of Milton a tribe from the tablelands would meet one or other of the coastal tribes, and after fraternising for a few days, would return to its own hunting grounds.

"The story persists in Kangaroo Valley," writes J.L. Nugent, "that the name Kangaroo Ground was given because the aborigines had used the valley as a game reserve.

"There were two tribes in the valley after white men came. One was called the Berrima tribe and was camped in Trimble's bush, where a stone still exists marked by the sharpening of the axes and spears.

"The tribe was later moved to the Barrengarry side of the river, the wife of the chief being buried near the camping ground by the bridge.

"The chief of the other tribe which was camped at the foot of Chittick's farm at the river was called 'King Fisherman Johnny' and wore a brass plate around his neck with his name on it. His wife was called 'Terara Bundy'. Huts were built by the Government for that tribe at their camp from which a road ran through Osborne's and Barnier's properties to the main road. The blacks later moved to the Shoalhaven River.

"They made a living by making brooms and hats from cabbage tree leaves, selling them to storekeepers in the district. They also sold fish and honey. They caught the fish by damming the river and trapping the fish in the pools thus made. Around the rivers and creeks in the valley it is often possible to pick up a blackfellow's axe head or hammer to this day.

"On top of Cambewarra Mountain at a place called Red Rocks near Brown's Mountain there still remain many evidences of the life of the aborigines. Drawings and places where they sharpened their weapons are still to be seen.

Aboriginal Folk Lore

It has been recorded that a tribe would trek a long distance to hear the "wall" or new song of another tribe. On one occasion in the thirties of the nineteenth century forty picked male blacks, each with one tooth knocked out, are said to have set off in military fashion from the Kangaroo Ground for the Cowpastures near Camden to hear a new song or wall which had been composed by the tribe at that centre.

Presents the results of an archaeological investigation at Durras Lakes, north of Batemans Bay.

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Discusses Illawarra and South Coast languages.

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1967

A Federal Referendum is held and Australians decide to grant the Aboriginal people the right to vote.

**Shoalhaven Cave Paintings**

March 1967: *{IHS Bulletin}* Article on the origin of certain cave paintings at Shoalhaven, which Lawrence Hargraves in 1897 stated had been placed there by the Spanish explorer Lope de Vega and his crew in 1597:

.....A certain Mr Walter Hull sent [Lawrence Hargrave] a photograph showing "a number of silhouette 'hands' on an ironstone rock face on the Shoalhaven River; these have been there to the memory of the oldest inhabitant, no Aboriginal will go near them."

According to Mr Hull, there were a number of other "isolated hands, 1, 2 or 3, not more, in various secluded caves in the district. You will understand these 'hands' are not carved, but are painted with some pigment that has withstood the weather for some hundreds of years....The local (Shoalhaven) black's explanation is rather good, he said that the devil was washed down the river in a flood and got caught in the cave and tried to climb up the side of the cave to escape the rising waters and his hands being (of course) red hot left the marks on the rocks that we now see.

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P.J.F. Coutts: ‘Coastal Dunes and field archaeology in S.E. Australia.’ *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania*, 1967, volume 2, no.1, pp.28-34.

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An account of the visit to Illawarra by the Aboriginal cricket team during April and November 1867. Refer also under that date.


Contains the following South Coast stories, retold in an abbreviated form for a juvenile market:

- The Whale and the Native Bear
- The Lyre Bird
- The Travellers
- The Kangaroo Man
- The Wild Women
- The Gold of Billy Bulloo

Reference is also made to Percy Mumbulla, of Wallaga Lake, and his totem. See also under Dreaming Stories section.

Aldo Massola: *Bunjil's Cave: Myths, Legends and Superstitions of the Aborigines of South-East Australia*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1968.

Though this book mainly deals with the Aboriginal tribes of eastern Victoria, it is of relevance to our study as a number of far South Coast Aborigines migrated to this area with the encroachment of white settlement during the nineteenth century, and stories and songs were often shared / similar amongst neighbouring tribes.

R. Lawrence: *Aboriginal Habitat and Economy*, Occasional Paper No 6, Department of Geography, Australian National University, Canberra, 1968.


Brief report of her investigations on the South Coast.
August 1969: The Shoalhaven Shire Aborigines Welfare Committee conducts a seminar in Nowra.

Sandra Bowdler: 'Bass Point - the excavation of a south-east Australian shell midden showing cultural and economic exchange.' B.A. (Hons.) thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, 1969.

R. Lawrence: 'New South Wales Coastal Aborigines - hunters or fishermen', manuscript, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1969.


Curracurrang is a small cove just south of Wattamoola.

L.R. Marchant: A List of French Naval Records and Illustrations Relating to Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines, 1771 to 1828, Australian Aboriginal Studies No.21, Bibliography Series No.4, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1969.

Of relevance to Illawarra and the South Coast are the manuscript and pictorial records of Dumont d'Urville's visit to Jervis Bay during November 1826 - see further description under that date.


This article includes details of A.W. Howitt's relationship with the Yuin tribe of the South Coast, of which he was made a tribal elder.

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Includes the following poems by the Aborigines Percy Mumbulla and Billy Bamboo, of Wallaga Lake:

* Jarrangulli
  * Bees
* Captain Cook
* The Battle of Wallaga Lake
* The Surprise Attack
  * Jacky Jacky
* Billy Bamboo

Percy Mumbulla

Billy Bamboo

See also under Dreaming Stories section.

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1971


Describes archaeological investigations carried out at Burrill Lake, near Ulladulla, and at Currarong.

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This book mainly deals with the Aborigines of eastern Victoria, and is therefore significant in studies of the Aborigines of the far South Coast of New South Wales.

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Biography of the anthropologist A.W. Howitt, including details of his contacts with the South Coast Aborigines.

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Includes an interview with Frank Mumbler.

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1972


Refers to Illawarra and South Coast languages.

The Beecroft Peninsula is located on the northern side of Jervis Bay. This article also includes reminiscences from a local Aborigine.


This history of the Broulee (St. Vincent) region includes a number of references to the local Aborigines, for example:

...The total Aboriginal population of the district including "Bowdally", "Birgalea", and Gundary was given in 1842 as 150. J.Lambie, Commissioner for Lands in "Maneroo" suggested the establishment of schools for Aboriginal children in the district in a letter to the Colonial Secretary Thomson when he wrote, "The tribes belonging to the Coast, situated between Moraya River and Twofold Bay, who have come much more in contact with the settlers than those in other parts of the district appear to wish that the children were taught to read and write."

The Aborigines were of unsettled habits: although some assisted in haymaking, reaping and sheepwashing, they were undependable as a means of supplying labour, a shortage of which was being felt. Their numbers, too, decreased rapidly. Some moved to Gippsland and others succumbed to influenza. At the end of 1844 the total Aboriginal population of Gundary, "Birgalea", and "Boatally" was 34 and by 1848 only 13 Aborigines remained in the district.

A traveller writing of his journey through the district described some Aborigines he saw: "They were painted with red, yellow and white streaks, especially on the face; and the appearance of some of them was abundantly ghastly and terrible. They said they were going to have a fight." (p.20)


Tindale's book and associated maps propose names for a number of Illawarra and South Coast Aboriginal tribes - covering the area along the mountain ranges between Campbelltown and Berrima, and down the south coast of New South Wales from Botany Bay to Cape Howe.
Tindale’s allocation of tribal names is based on references dating from the earliest days of white settlement (1788), and are widely used by students of Australian Aboriginal Studies. The following names and descriptions are a summary of those given in his book:

* **Tharawal**

Location: From south side of Botany Bay and Port Hacking to north of Shoalhaven River. Inland to Campbelltown and Camden.

Alternative names: Darawal, Turawal, Thurawal, Thurrawal, Turuwal, Turuwul, Turnubul, Turnuwull, Ta-ga-ry, Five Islands tribe.

* **Wodi Wodi**

Location: North of Shoalhaven River to Wollongong; Illawarra district. (The Wodi-Wodi area lies within the Tharawal area).

Alternative names: Woddi Woddii, Illawarra.

* **Gandangara**

Location: At Goulburn and Berrima; north along the Nepean and Wollondilly Rivers to about Camden.

Alternative names: Gundungurra, Gundungari, Gundanora, Gurragunga, Burragorang.

* **Ngunawal**

Location: Queanbeyan to Yass, Tumut to Boorowa, and east to beyond Goulburn; on highlands west of the Shoalhaven River.

Alternative names: Ngunuwal, Ngoonawal, Wonnawal, Nungawal, Yarr, Yass tribe, Lake George tribe, Molonglo tribe.

* **Wandandian**

Location: Ulladulla to Shoalhaven River and Nowra.

Alternative names: Tharumba, Kurial-yuin, Murraygaro, Jervis Bay tribe.

* **Walbanga**

Location: Cape Dromedary north to near Ulladulla; at Braidwood, Araluen, and Moruya. Inland on the Shoalhaven River.

Alternative names: Thurga, Thoorga, Bugellimanji, Bargalia, Moruya tribe.

* **Djiringanj**

Location: From Cape Dromedary (Kajan) south to beyond Bega; inland to the scarp of the Dividing Range east of Nimmitabel.
Alternative names: Dyirringan, Jeringin, Yuin (in part).

* Thaua

Location: From north of Merimbula south to Green Cape; west to the scarp of the Dividing Range.

These people were divided into two groups, the Katungal (sea coast people), and the Baianbal or Palenbara (tomahawk people) those who lived in the forest. The Twofold Bay people were called the Nulliker.

Alternative names: Thawa, Thauaira, Thurga, Thoorga, Durga, Dhurga, Tadera-manji, Guyanagal, Murring, Katungal, Palenbera.


This article reiterates the list of Aboriginal place names compiled in 1896 by George Thornton - refer under that date.


Contains references to a number of works portraying Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, including those by de Sainson (1826), Rodius (1834), and Briefly (1840s).

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1975

R.H. Mathews


Biographical study of the anthropologist R.H. Mathews.

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Discusses the significance of the large figtree at Figtree to the Illawarra Aborigines, based on notes recorded by Reverend Clarke in 1840. Refer also under Clarke - 1840.

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Though basically a local history, this book contains a number of references to the local Aborigines. The following are excerpts:

In the early days the Atchison’s farmed at Bass Point. The local tribe spent the summer on the Point.

Several local places were referred to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanahooka</td>
<td>Kulilla</td>
<td>Native meeting place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallawarra</td>
<td>Talla</td>
<td>Curious fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Dog Hill</td>
<td>Warrigal</td>
<td>Native dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Kembla</td>
<td>Dgembla</td>
<td>A wallaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Keira</td>
<td>Dgera</td>
<td>Wild turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulli</td>
<td>Mooloone</td>
<td>Tulips and waratahs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnamurra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sharks come in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Broad leaf fig tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Includes reminiscences by Chica Dixon re his childhood at Wallaga Lake.

Brief biography of Harry Penrith of Wallaga Lake, a descendant of the Broulee and Wahgunyah tribes.


**1976**

This book contains a detailed history and study of the languages spoken by the South Coast Aborigines, plus a comprehensive bibliography.
Eades comes to the conclusion that Dharawal was spoken along the New South Wales coast from Botany Bay to Nowra, whilst Dhurga was spoken from Jervis Bay south to Wallaga Lake.


Discusses the Bass Point midden - refer also under 1969.


Refers to the famous 'Devil's Hands' Aboriginal cave paintings of the Shoalhaven.


A. Ross: 'Inter-tribal contacts - What the First Fleet saw.' B.A. (Hons.) thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, 1976.


Includes a chapter entitled 'My Friend Percy Mumbulla', of Wallaga Lake. See also under Dreaming Stories section.


Five sites were included in this study:
1 Burill Lake - coastal sandstone shelter
2-3 Curarrong - coastal sandstone shelters
4 Sassafras - inland sandstone shelter
5 Bass Point - shell midden

For an abstract of the results refer under Hughes, 1980.

A general introductory text to Aboriginal Australia.


Bherwerre Peninsula is located on the southern side of Jervis Bay.


1978


Contains a brief history of the Kangaroo Valley Aborigines from earliest times until about 1900.


Includes reproductions of early Aboriginal portraits by artists such as C.Rodius and W.H. Fernyhough.

1979

An important study of the effects of the white invasion on the Aboriginal people of Sydney and adjacent areas.

Ann T. Nugent: 'The incorporation of near extinct Aboriginal languages into the curriculum of Jervis Bay Primary School.' Aboriginal Child Schooling, 1979, volume 7, part 5.


This guide to all aspects of Australian Aboriginal and Islander historical studies also includes an article on ‘Koorie studies: records of the South Coast Yuin walkabout’ by Guboo Ted Thomas (pp. 147-9).

1980


Contains a brief article on the early Aboriginal inhabitants of the Bellambi area of northern Illawarra, written by Caryll Setton.

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Caryll Sefton: 'Archaeological survey of proposed transmission line easement from Wedderburn Road to West Cliff Extended.' Unpublished report for Kembla Coal and Coke Pty. Ltd., 1980.

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Photographic essay conveying the spiritual significance of Mumbulla Mountain to the local Aborigines. See also *The Canberra Times*, 16 September 1979.

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A detailed local history containing numerous references to the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the Eurobodalla district, situated on the New South Wales south coast between Batemans Bay and Bega.

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Michael Callaghan: 'Some previously unconsidered environmental factors of relevance to South Coast prehistory.' *Australian Archaeology*, No.11, December 1980, pp.43-49.

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P.J. Hughes: 'Thesis Abstract - The geomorphology of archaeological sites on the south coast of New South Wales.' *Australian Archaeology*, No.11, December 1980, pp.50-52.

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P.J. Hughes and V. Djohadze: 'Radiocarbon dates from archaeological sites on the south coast of New South Wales and the use of age/depth curves.' *Occasional Papers in Prehistory*, No.1, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1980.

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A brief history of the Wreck Bay Aboriginal community.


Includes copies of Aboriginal submissions for land at Roseby Park, Nowra; Wallaga Lake; and Bodalla.


Though not specifically treating the Illawarra region, this chronology is nevertheless useful and relevant.


1982


P.J. Hughes & R.J. Lampert: ‘Prehistoric population change in southern coastal New South Wales’, in S.Bowdler (editor) Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982.


A landmark work, detailing the Aboriginal resistance to the white invasion. Though not specifically about Illawarra Aborigines, it is none the less relevant, portraying white attitudes towards, and mistreatment of, Aborigines during the nineteenth century.


This local history contains numerous references to the Aborigines of Shoalhaven through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, along with details of recent archaeological investigations in the area. Refer pages 71, 85, 104, 137, 235-7, 261, 270, 289, 329-333.

Samuel Elyard was resident at Nowra from 1869-1910, and during that period painted a number of watercolours with Aboriginal themes, of which the following are reproduced in this exhibition catalogue:

* Gunyah n.d.
* Native Gunyah Jan. 71
* Aboriginal Corroboree c.1890


A. Blackwell: 'Bowen Island - further evidence for economic change on the South Coast of New South Wales', in S. Bowdler (editor) *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982.


1983


A 5 page introduction to the surviving Aboriginal relics of Illawarra, including colour photographs of rock carvings and other archaeological sites.

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An introductory text to the study of the archaeology of Aboriginal Australia. Includes references to Illawarra and South Coast sites.

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K. Officer: 'From Tuggerah to Dharawal. Variation and Function within a regional art style.' B.A. (Hons.) thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1983.

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Professor Butlin argues that the combination of two major smallpox epidemics in New South Wales (in 1789 and 1829-31) plus the continuing effects of venereal diseases (introduced in 1788) decimated the Aboriginal populations of southeastern Australia to a degree not formerly recognized. Smallpox killed the Aborigines, and venereal diseases made them sterile and lowered birth rates. Whilst introduced diseases such as influenza also were devastating to the natives, smallpox and venereal diseases resulted in a major depopulation of Aboriginal Australia by 1830. Being so close to the settlement at Sydney, the Aboriginal people of Illawarra and the South Coast would have been severely affected by these factors.

Professor Butlin suggests that a large portion - perhaps greater than 50% - of Australia's original Aboriginal population died from disease before even seeing a whiteman.

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Summarises the findings of archaeologists and anthropologists with regards to the most recent 5000 years of Aboriginal life in Australia, including reference to Illawarra and the South Coast.


Includes reproductions of paintings by Sophia Campbell taken at Illawarra in 1816, and portraying Aboriginal subjects. Refer under 1816 for listing.


Includes a photograph of 'King Merriman of the Wallaga Lake Tribe', along with a number of other photographs of Aborigines from that district, taken during the 1890s.

1984


Reproduces photographs of King Mickey and Queen Rosie, c1860; King Mickey with his breastplate in 1896; and an Aboriginal camp at Minamurrain in 1890.


This book includes 6 pages on 'Tribal Families' of the Illawarra Aborigines.


The majority of Aboriginal reserves created during the nineteenth century were subsequently revoked or passed back to the Government early in the twentieth century.
Within this booklet references are made to the following Illawarra and South Coast Reserves:

* **Bateman's Bay**
  a. Tomago River, 40 acres - gazetted on 9 January 1884. Subsequently revoked.
  b. 9 acres 30 perches - gazetted on 19 July 1902. Revoked on 16 September 1927.

* **Bega**
  b. 100 acres - granted during 1883. Subsequently revoked.
  c. 9 acres - gazetted on 6 March 1955. Subsequently revoked.

* **Bermagui**

* **Bodalla** (Eurobodalla)
  b. Tuross River, 40 acres - gazetted on 19 October 1877. Revoked on 27 January 1922.
  c. Tuross River, 56 acres 3 roods - gazetted on 19 October 1877. Revoked on 16 December 1914.
  d. Tuross River, 40 acres - gazetted on 19 October 1877. Revoked on 23 May 1935.

* **Burragorang**

* **Coomaditchie**
  a. Shellharbour Road, Warrawong, 1 acres 23 perches - gazetted on 29 June 1962.

* **Jervis Bay**

* **Kangaroo Valley**
  a. A reserve of 370 acres was set aside in 1890. Subsequently revoked.

* **Nowra**
  a. The Seven Mile reserve, of 43 acres, was gazetted on 23 September 1899. Revoked on 25 January 1953.
Primbee
a. Illowra Crescent, Primbee, of 1 rood 27 perches, gazetted on 2 March 1956.

Roseby Park
a. Reserve of 66 acres 22 roods, gazetted on 8 September 1901 and 18 December 1912.

Wallaga Lake
a. 341 acres, gazetted on 13 June 1891. 21 acres revoked on 22 November 1963.
c. Merriman Island, 2.5 acres, gazetted on 3 March 1909. Revoked on 31 December 1931.


A well referenced general work, including details of the Mumbulla Mountain land rights battle.

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An important work dealing with aspects of the tribal and family history of the Wonnarua people of the Hunter River Valley, though also detailing aspects of the general treatment of the Aborigines of New South Wales during the period 1788 to present, and therefore relevant.

Well referenced, with a comprehensive bibliography.

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1986


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A general introduction to the history of the struggle of the Aboriginal people of New South Wales, with numerous references to, and images of, those from Illawarra and the South Coast.


1987


This book is a series of transcripts of oral history interviews with Illawarra Aborigines and white people associated with their struggle during the twentieth century.

It is the first such publication, and presents a vivid description of the plight of the local Aborigines of central Illawarra, especially those from the Hill 60 camp, in gaining social and economic justice. It also describes the more recent fights for land rights, housing, and education programs.

A collection of oral histories describing life at Primbee from the turn of the century. Includes isolated references to local Aboriginal people.

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Stewart’s reminiscences, originally published in 1894, make numerous references to the state and number of the Illawarra Aborigines upon his arrival in the district in 1828. See extracts under 1828.

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A fictional account - though based on fact - of the great Aboriginal warrior Pemulwuy who led the opposition to the initial settlement of the British at Sydney in 1788, and continued the fight during the subsequent expansion, right up until 1802 when he was murdered by whites.

This book is a landmark work in portraying the other side of the white invasion of Australia, graphically pointing out that the Australian Aborigines did not willingly submit to the white invasion.

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The follow-up to *The Other Side of the Frontier*, 1982, this book is an important work on the Aboriginal resistance to the white invasion - though not specifically about Illawarra Aborigines, it is none the less relevant and recommended.

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In-house journal/bulletin for the University's Aboriginal Education Unit.


1988


The exhibition included photographs of local Aboriginal rock paintings, plus the work of Mickey of Ulladulla (c1888). One of Mickey's paintings is reproduced in the catalogue.

Helen Rosenman: *Dumont d'Urville - Two Voyages to the South Seas*, Melbourne University Press, Brunswick, 1988, 2 volumes.

D'Urville and his French expedition had visited Jervis Bay during November 1826 (refer under 1826 this edition). This publication contains a translation of his account of the visit and meeting with the local Aborigines.

An account of the Australian Aboriginal cricket team of the 1860s. This team visited Illawarra during 1867. Refer also Fleming, 1968.

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Various authors: *La Perouse - the place, the people and the sea*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1988, 84pp.

This collection of writings and reminiscences by members of the Aboriginal community of La Perouse is of relevance to our study as the original community which formed in 1878 contained Aborigines from Illawarra and the South Coast.

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An account of the struggle by the Wiradjuri people - who inhabit the area west of the Blue Mountains, from Dubbo south to Albury, and west to Griffith - to survive the white invasion and the iniquities of the Aboriginal Protection Board. Of relevance to the Illawarra and South Coast people.

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Contains isolated references to Aborigines of the area.

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Includes a section on the local Aboriginal people during the post contact period. See also Liston (1990).

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A well-referenced, easy to read, general introduction to the coastal Aborigines of the region around Sydney, including many references to the customs and folklore of the Thurrawal tribe of Illawarra. A recommended introductory work to Aboriginal studies.


Contains a detailed summary account of the well-known Aborigines of the Sydney region (such as Bennelong and Abaroo) during the period 1788 to c.1816, with numerous portraits, topographic illustrations and maps. Also contains a few references to encounters with Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines.


A collection of historical documents on aspects of conflict between Aborigines and the white invaders. Includes a photograph of King Mickey (p.117).


Compilation of reminiscences originally published in the Illawarra Mercury during 1923-25. Contains numerous references to Illawarra Aborigines from the early 1830s.


Contains isolated references to local Aboriginal residents of Port Kembla this century.

King Burraga was of the Burragorang Valley tribe. This article gives a concise history of the Burragorang Valley Aborigines from c.1860.

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Includes a biography of Charles Throsby (1771-1828), a friend of the Bong Bong and Cowpastures Aborigines during the early 1800s.

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This profusely illustrated book contains numerous images of the Illawarra and South Coast rainforests, plus references to their use by the local Aborigines during the nineteenth century.

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Includes re-tellings of the following dreaming stories from the New South Wales South Coast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Narrator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bundoola, King of the Sea</td>
<td>David Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billy Bamboo</td>
<td>Billy Bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Cooper</td>
<td>Walter Blakeney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rites of Passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bees</td>
<td>Percy Mumbulla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarrangulli</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejenak, the Porcupine</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little People</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bugeen</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Whalers</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Abraham (Minah)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billy Bulloo</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Surprise Attack</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Cook</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the storytellers were from the Wallaga Lake region, and were most likely recorded during the 1950s. Refer R. Robinson (1976).

Though not specifically concerning Illawarra and the South Coast, this text is none the less recommended as an aid in understanding the complexities of Aboriginal religion.

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The Gundungurra (also known as the Mountain People, or Nattai, Burratorang, or Wollondilly Tribe) occupied the area adjacent to the Nepean and Wollombi Rivers, south of Penrith and north of Goulburn. It lie to the west of Illawarra.

Moyengully - a kooradgie, or doctor - lived from about 1800 to 12 October 1858.

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1990

Aboriginal Photographs

held by Wollongong City Library

The following is a preliminary listing of photographs of Aboriginal subjects and artefacts held by the Reference Section, Wollongong City Library.

Only those of relevance to Illawarra and the South Coast have been listed, and all are black and white unless otherwise stated.

1 King Mickey
2 Mickey, King of Illawarra
3 Mickey, King of Illawarra
King Mickey with Mr McDonald and other Aborigines
King Mickey with tophat and breastplate
Coronation of King Mickey, 30 January 1896, Wollongong
Coronation of King Mickey, 30 January 1896, Wollongong
King Mickey and wife. Caption: 'Royalty at Base, Nowra'
King Mickey
Aboriginal carvings on escarpment
"Coondan" Gin 1905, Moss Vale Tribe, N.S.W.
Aboriginal rock paintings, Cordeaux, 1974
Aboriginal rock paintings, Cordeaux, 1974
Aboriginal rock paintings, Cordeaux, 1974
Darkes Forest cave art (colour)
Cataract Catchment Area (colour)
Appin, rock engraving (colour)
Waterfall rock engraving (colour)
Marley Headland rock engraving (colour)
Woronora River rock engraving (colour)
Marley Headlands rock engraving (colour)
Marley Headlands rock engraving (colour)
Marley Headlands rock engraving (colour)
Woronora River cave paintings (colour)
Waterfall rock engraving (colour)
Waterfall rock engraving (colour)
Waterfall rock engraving (colour)
Cave art (colour)
Woronora River cave art (colour)
Waterfall rock engraving (colour)
Cataract Catchment Area (colour)
Stencils of hands (colour)
Woronora River (colour)
Illawarra Historical Society Museum

[1990] A number items of relevance to the local Aborigines are contained in the Museum collection, including photographs, breastplates, and stone and wood artefacts.


‘Chapter I - Beginnings’ (pp1-34) includes a history of the local Aboriginal people since the coming of Europeans.


Contains numerous references to local Aboriginal words and place names.

Includes reference to Dumont d'Urville's visit to Jervis Bay in 1826.


A revised edition of the 1981 publication.


This article includes a description of the 1814-16 conflicts in the Appin and Cowpastures regions between whites and blacks. It also contains brief biographies of the Dharawal men Gogy, Bundle, Budbury, and Duall; plus the Gandangara men Bitugally, Yellooming, and Wollorang.

See also Liston 1988.
Appendix 1

Biographical Index to Blanket Return Forms

1833 - 1842

Compiled by A.P. Doyle

The two biographical indexes reproduced over the following pages have been extracted from the Archives Office of New South Wales Blanket Return forms of 1833-42, for the Illawarra and South Coast region.

All the Returns reproduced within the main body of this compilation (excepting the Twofold Bay return of 1838) have been included in these lists.

The two indexes are arranged alphabetically, in two parts as follows:

- Sorted by Aboriginal Name
- Sorted by English Name

Within these two divisions, for each person information is given on both Aboriginal and English name, plus Tribe, location of Return, and date.
Sorted by Aboriginal Name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aborigine name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Count taken at</th>
<th>On</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Frying Pan</td>
<td>Five Islands &amp; Kiama</td>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>20.05.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Old Bundle</td>
<td>Five Islands &amp; Kiama</td>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>20.05.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Young Bundle</td>
<td>Five Islands &amp; Kiama</td>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>20.05.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(half caste)</td>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>Berrima District</td>
<td>Berrima</td>
<td>1.05.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(half caste)</td>
<td>Susannah</td>
<td>Berrima District</td>
<td>Berrima</td>
<td>1.05.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Blucher</td>
<td>Berrima District</td>
<td>Berrima</td>
<td>1.05.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>Five Islands</td>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>27.05.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Captain Tom</td>
<td>Wagamy</td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
<td>29.05.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Captain Cook</td>
<td>Wagamy</td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
<td>29.05.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Charley</td>
<td>Berrima District</td>
<td>Berrima</td>
<td>1.05.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Crawfish</td>
<td>Wagamy</td>
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<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>27.05.42</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>Wagamy</td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
<td>29.05.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tommy Settler</td>
<td>Wagamy</td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Waterman Jack</td>
<td>Wagamy</td>
<td>Jervis Bay</td>
<td>29.05.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Five Islands</td>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>8.05.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alga</td>
<td>Eliza</td>
<td>Berrima District</td>
<td>Berrima</td>
<td>1.05.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambaganda</td>
<td>Sawyer</td>
<td>Five Island</td>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>8.05.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbey</td>
<td>Charley Goodnight</td>
<td>Numba</td>
<td>Shoal Haven</td>
<td>21.06.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbey</td>
<td>Charley Goodnight</td>
<td>Numba</td>
<td>Shoal Haven</td>
<td>2.05.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Charley Goodnight</td>
<td>Numba</td>
<td>Shoal Haven</td>
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<td>Numba</td>
<td>Shoal Haven</td>
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<tr>
<td>Babatt</td>
<td>Morgan</td>
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<td>Betsey</td>
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<td>Wollongong</td>
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<td>Barawaye</td>
<td>Cabbo</td>
<td>Erowal</td>
<td>Erowal</td>
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<td>Barette</td>
<td>Jack</td>
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<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>8.05.37</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Wollongong</td>
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<td>Shoal Haven</td>
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<td>Shoal Haven</td>
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<td>Jack</td>
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<td>Shoal Haven</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Barrad</td>
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<td>Wollongong</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>8.05.37</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Davey</td>
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<td>Barrong</td>
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<td>Morgan</td>
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<td>Dick</td>
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<td>Bong Bong</td>
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<td>Mary</td>
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<td>27.05.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellor</td>
<td>John</td>
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Appendix 2

Archibald Campbell's

Notes on Illawarra Aborigines

1897 - 1902

Transcribed by Margaret McDonald & Michael Organ, 1987

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Aboriginal Names

Brownsville
23rd June 1897

Archibald Campbell Esqr MLA
for Wollongong

Dear Sir

In writing you yesterday I overlooked that part of your letter of the 16th inst. referring to the Aboriginal names of places in the district. I have been asked by several persons lately for a list of what names I have, and I intended to write to Mr Stewart to know if he would publish them in the Mercury, but I have put the matter off from time to time until now I have received yours also asking me for same. I have a good many matters in hand just now but as soon as I get a little spare time I will write out a list and send it to you.

Yours Truly
John Brown.

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Brownsville
2nd July 1897

Archibald Campbell Esqr MLA
for Wollongong

Dear Sir

As promised in my letter to you of the 23rd ultimo I now beg to send you inclosed a list of Aboriginal names of a few places in Illawarra. Some of them appear to me to be very pretty names, and they ought to be brought into use for the places they refer to. I do not think you will find them difficult to pronounce.

Yours Truly
John Brown.
I am informed that Mr James McCann of Mount Keira knows the blackfellows language fairly well, and also knows the Aboriginal names of a great many places in Illawarra.

Yours J.B.

Aboriginal names of places in Illawarra

1. Illawarra Mountain Range
2. Mount Keira
3. Mount Kembla
4. The Range leading from Five Islands Point towards Mt Kembla
5. Mount St Thomas
6. Garden Hill at the Cross Roads
7. The Mountain that runs out to a beak at the back of Avondale
8. Mullet Creek from the Lake to the dam at Brownsville
9. Mullet Creek from the dam to the junction of Dapto Creek
10. The northern branch of Mullet Creek, known as Dapto, Barrett’s or Twadie’s
11. The Creek that runs through Mr Wm. Harris’ farm at West Dapto
12. The Creek that runs into the Lake south of Mullet Creek and known as Brook’s Creek
13. The Creek that runs into the Lake south of Yallah Bay and forms the southern boundary of the Lakelands Estate
14. The northern branch of the Macquarie Rivulet known as Johnston’s Creek
15. The Creek at the southern end of the Lake shown on the parish map as Horsley’s Creek

1. Merrigong
2. Djera
3. Dgenbella
4. Woowongorong
5. Bulwurradah
6. Buddabetah
7. Wongaviley
8. Bawn
9. Karrara
10. Dabroo
11. Geringulli
12. The Aboriginal name of this creek is wanted
13. Wollingurry
14. Yarra Yarra
15. Purrunggully
16. The small creek on the eastern side of the Lake running into Kudjury Bay
17. The Creek that runs into the Lake at M.G. Neave's boatshed
18. Kelly's Creek on the Berkely Estate that runs into the Lake
19. The Creek opposite the Islands
20. The Lagoon at the back of the Mt Keira Hotel
21. The Five Islands Lagoon at Mr F.O. O'Donnell's
22. The ready Swamp on the Lake Reserve now Mr E.D. Nicolle's
23. The Lagoon on Miss Brown's farm at Brownsville
24. Little Bulli
25. Para Meadow
26. The strip of land between Allan's Creek and Tom Thumb's Lagoon, known as Waldrons Long Point
27. Dapto
28. Brownsville
29. The Wind Mill Hill at Brownsville
30. Horsley, the residence of Mr John Lindsay
31. Avondale
32. Benares, Mr W.M. Cook's residence
33. Marshall Mount
34. Terry's Meadows
35. Paddys River on the Old Goulborne Road

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16. Jubbo
17. Minnegang
18. Budjong
19. Hooka
20. Tabberratong
21. Koomaditchee
22. Korronggula
23. Yowingmillee
24. Jujinbellilley
25. Paira Meetah
26. Mangan
27. Dabpeto
28. Morgumburra
29. Boonjin
30. Mogomorro
31. Waltdira
32. Wollindarra
33. Neurandurley
34. Tupma
35. Euringulla
Aboriginal

Sept 10th 1897

Saw a Black Jin at Kiama Railway station today - who stated as follows in reply to questions by me:

That she was one of the Crooked River [Gerringong] Encampment Blacks, & her name Janie - her husband's name "Tom".

That she was the only pure Aboriginal in the encampment, which included 5 men; 4 women; 10 children - or 19 (nineteen) altogether - 18 being half-castes.

She also stated that several of her people, or tribe, lived at Coolangatta in houses occupied by them from the late Mr Berry & from which Dr Hay their present landlord did not disturb them.

She could not tell how many were at that encampment, but said that there were only three real Blacks among them - one man & two women - all the others being half-castes.

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Aboriginal contind. 10/9/97

Master Dymock remarked to me at Jamberoo today that his Father said the Blacks in former years used to climb a tree on his farm and drop sticks down a hollow therein, to turn possums out of it. He said the tree had been felled a few days before, & a stick found therein, which his father said must have been there about fifty years.

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Aboriginal Names

Taken down as nearly as possible from Queen Rosey, Billy Saddler, and one or two other Aboriginal, on 2nd Feby 1898, at Wollongong A & H Show

Nitoka
Marlangang
Worwrung
Tuckulung
Tuggulee
Cobbyr
Munnungang
Booirooong
Geeloby
Dhunumbagang
Muruwang

Port Kembla
Wollongong
Mouth to Tom Thumb
Tom Thumb
Show Ground, near Pavilion
West Thumb Island
East Thumb Island
Largest of Five Islands or extreme spot of it, named Green Eel
Spring Hill
Coolangatta
Seven Mile Beach
Buttung  Black Head
Moolawang  Mouth of Lake Illawarra
Coromgang  Island on north side of mouth of Lake Illawarra
Tooreegang  Bulli
Kyarinya  Kiama
Cullingabahn  Wollongong Race Course

[16 June 1898]

Aboriginal Incidents

Snake catching; snake eating; Captain Brooks

Aboriginal Expressions

Picaninney  Waddy Man  Water-man  Yahoo  Crobia
Coroberrie  Boodgery  Gammon  Bail Gammon  Bail

Aboriginal Names

Ooaree  creek at Gerringong
Berwurra  north side of mouth of Lake Illawarra

Above names appear on old Sir Thomas Mitchell map of Illawarra AC

[September 1898] 9/98

In the course of a conversation with Mr John Fraser J.P. of Bushgrove, Tullimbar, this gentleman related to me:

"KingTullimbar"

Since the early days of settlement in the Macquarie Valley (now having the town of Albion Park as a centre) an Aboriginal named "Tullimbar" or "Tullumbar" was the recognized King of the Aboriginal tribe of the locality. He was a powerfully built, athletic man, who was looked to with awe, as well as respect, by his tribesmen, who in the early days of the "Thirties" and "Forties" numbered several hundred.

The tribe however had their main centre and "Kingdom" in "Tullimbar", now known as "Tongarra". This locality, or the upper portion of the Macquarie Valley, was named Tullimbar, or Tullumbar, by the Aborigines. The creek running from the main stream through the farm known as Tongarra and another part of the homestead was known as Tongarra by the Aborigines.
The name Tullimbar was carried as it were from its rightful location to where it is now so designated by a Mr Davis, who opened a store in the sixties - his reason, or excuse, for the misnaming the place, was that he was opening the store for "Tullimbar people", meaning those residing in the upper Macquarie region.

King Tullimbar used to relate two thrilling incidents in the course of his life. In one instance, while he was a young man, he was on a visit to Kangaroo Valley, where another young man of the tribe manifested jealousy of him on account of a charming "jin" to whom both of them were paying attention. In the course of his return journey alone over the mountain range by the route subsequently designated "The Butter Track", Tullimbar camped out by the way on the Illawarra descent. He suspected that his sable rival might fall on him stealthily from the Kangaroo Valley for the purpose of murdering him by the way, so that he might then have a clear way with the charming "jin".

By the way of stratagem Tullimbar, after lighting a fire, and making use of it for whatever cooking purposes required, retired under cover to a near but safe distance, instead of lying beside the fire throughout the night as was the Aboriginal custom.

Before doing so, however, he got a portion of tree-fern trunk about the length of a man, and rolled his possum cloak around it to appear in the dim fire light something like a person asleep. This was with a view to deceive and decoy his rival should he dog his steps in the night for the purpose of murder.

In the course of the dead hours of night Tullimbar's supposition was realized, by noticing the Kangaroo Valley man approaching in a crouching attitude, and murderously attacking the fern trunk which he speared through and then tomahawked. As he was in the act of doing so Tullimbar sprang upon him and speared him through the upper part of the body, and having him entirely at his mercy, he then eked his vengeance on him in one way and another without actually killing him.

One gruesome process adopted by him was to place the man's hands on a stone, and pound away at them with another stone until he had converted them to jelly - and to use his own oft repeated words about the matter, he "beat him all night".

"I beat him all night" was his own favourite way of expressing his part in the tragedy. He let the man go next morning, and the latter actually made his way back to Kangaroo Valley in his wounded and bruised condition, but died shortly afterwards from the effects of Tullimbar's retribution in the mountain range in the dark hours of the night.

The other instance referred to occurred on Johnstone's Meadows, Macquarie River. On a certain day, and in broad daylight, as Tullimbar was in the act of stooping down on his knees to drink water from a creek or pool in the thick bush, he noticed the shadow of another blackfellow, who was making a rush on him from behind, with a tomahawk or bludgeon, evidently intending to murder him. Tullimbar sprang to his feet before his assailant accomplished his deadly purpose. A fierce encounter ensued but speedily ended in the death of the attacking party by Tullimbar.

Tullimbar killed him on the spot and often he told the deadly tale to the residents of the locality in the course of his subsequent lifetime.

In connection with this notice of Tullimbar, it may be related that the favourite camping place of the "Blacks" during the early settlement of the Macquarie settlement by Europeans were on the bank of the river, near what subsequently became the position of the Main Road, the slope of the hill west of the "Churches" of modern days, and on the site of Mr John Marer's property, and on the north of the river so named by that gentleman "Bushgrove".

In the course of ploughing the land in different places, some implements of the Aborigines.....
Dear Mr Campbell

In editing the "Historical Records" I have come across a letter of one of the early Explorers in which he mentions a cataract of "Carrung Gurring" situated apparently somewhere between the coast and the junction of the Cataract River with the Nepean. I find Flinders gives it on an old map of his. He spells it the same way and locates it about the spot where the Cataract Creek joins the Cataract River.

Can you oblige me with any information which will enable me to identify it? Is there such a name in existence today? (evidently it was a native one).

I am loth to trespass on your time when, as at present, you must have your hands full with electioneering work. But I will be sending the sheets to press shortly & if I waited till after the elections, might be too late.

Wishing you every success in yr campaign
I am, Yours v. truly
F.M.Bladen

Dear Mr Campbell

Many thanks for your note, just to hand. I quite expected you would have your hands full with electoral & parliamentary matters.

Since writing to you I have been making inquiries through the Survey Office folks and have come to the conclusion from the only old map upon which I can find the name of "Carrung Gurring Cataract" that it is identical to Appin Falls of Today.

The similarity in sound between "Carrung" and Keira is very remarkable. I have little doubt that they represent the original native name of the mountain & probably also Cataract Creek. In the old map on which the Cataract is named Carrung Gurring the Cataract River is given as Moorwattin River. I find however that the native who in 1806 gave the early settlers some information concerning the river and the district in its vicinage was named Moorwattin and the settlers relying largely upon him for information doubtless named the River after him. The name appears to have fallen into disuse .... immediately the Colonists penetrated to those parts.

Within the last few days I have taken charge of the Library (the building next door to Parliament House) so it will not be very easy for you to drop in and see me. I am still carrying on the "Historical Records". Vol.VI. of which, dealing with Govr. Bligh, is now in the printers hands. I congratulate you on your return as M.P.

Yours v. truly
F.M.Bladen

Aboriginal Names of Places

18th Oct. 1899

In the course of talk with a Shoalhaven Aboriginal named "Buthring" (a real Black) today, he told me, in reply to enquiries, the native names of the following places.
He appeared to be very particular about being correct in his answers, as was indicated by his declining to give such names for “Pig Island” Shoalhaven River, or Kangaroo Valley. He said he had heard the Aboriginal name for Pig Island, but could not remember it, and hence he would say no, and not tell an untruth regarding it.

He could [not] recollect having ever heard a native name for Kangaroo Valley, the first name he remembered for it being Kangaroo Ground - which was the pioneer Europeans name for the place.

Coolangatta

He said the real native name of Coolangatta was "Jellumbagang". Asked why it had been named Coolangatta, he said that designation had reference to blackfellow corroberees that used to take place there. This explanation would appear to indicate that the word Coolangatta meant to the Aborigines of the part, much the same as the terms Ball-room, Music Hall, or Dancing Saloon, do to Europeans.

Shoalhaven River

The native name of the Shoalhaven River, he said was "Burray" or "Burral". The letter a being very distinctly pronounced by him in the last syllable, but somewhat short and sharply.

Bomaderry

He said should be "Bummaderra"; an explanation doubtlessly correct, the latter word having much more of the Aboriginal ring in it than the former, which savours of the "Walls of Derry" or "Derry Boys" rather than the mother tongue of Prehistoric sons of the Soil or the banks of the "Burray".

Broughton Creek

“Illaroong” he said was the native name of Broughton Creek, and as far as I could understand him that name applied to the eastern branch of the stream, all the way up toward Broughton Village and the Fox Ground.

Town of Berry

“Yerrowalong” he said was the native name of the site and immediate surroundings of the town of Berry - to the Hospital hill, from that side - to use his own words. As he appeared to define Hospital Hill, or ridge, as a kind of boundary between "Yerrowalong" and "Illaroong", this leads me to suppose, really, the former name was applied to the Broughton Vale branch of the united and navigable Broughton, and the latter to the Fox Ground branch.

Crooked River (Gerringong)

"Oorajang" was very distinctly, and definitely, his name for the Crooked River.

Black Head

He was equally clear and distinct on being "Buggung" of the black-fellow era.

"Seven Mile" (Shoalhaven) Beach

The native name of the "Seven Mile Beach" he said was "Murrowri".

Jarvis Bay

The native name for this he gave as "Coorumbun" - the name "Currumbene Creek" being as he explained a corruption of the above which was the native name for the whole bay itself.
Cambewarra Mountain

The native name for this he said, was not the above, but "Gumbeengang". And here he volunteered in intense earnestness, to launch forth in superstitious legend - He said the mountain was so named on account of a "little hairy man" who lived in a cave situated near the top of the range. The "little man" had lived there from time immemorial, lived there still, and would do for all time. He did not eat bread or any such things, as ordinary blackfellows, and white fellows did, but ate bush possums, which existed in the locality for his use. He (Buthring) had never seen the little man, or his cave, but his father had, and all the old blackfellows, passed away, knew everything about him.

The cave was carved all over by the little man, who passed his time doing such carving which was the original pattern that used to be worked on the inside of the best made possum rugs manufactured by the blacks in years gone by - that was to say, within the early days of settlement by Europeans in the district. He said all old residents would remember the patterns that the blacks used to trace on the inside of the possum rugs, many years ago, which patterns he gave with authoritative earnestness as having been designed by the "little man" and obtained from him. And he was quite emphatic about the said cave and little man being on the mountain top still.

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Aboriginal Names &c

Taken down today from "Buthring", native of Coolangatta

14/2/1900

Greenwell Point  Jerrijer
Nowra Hill     Crumbene
Coolangatta    Jellumbagong
Woodhill       Jerrula
Mountain over which road
 between Berry & Kang. Valley
 Broughton Creek above .... Junction
 Eastern Creek from Sand Junction
to Foxground
Shoalhaven Beach
  7 Miles
Earth
Day (about Midday)
Night
Morning
Forenoon
and
Afternoon

Shoalhaven Beach
  7 Miles
Earth
Day (about Midday)
Night
Morning
Forenoon
and
Afternoon
Hill or Range  
High Mountain  
Water  
Sun  
Moon  
Star  
Morning Star  
Wattle  
Blackbutt  
Blue Gum  
Bush Creek  
"Blackfellowwater"  
Cabbage Tree

Buthring says, that one of the main battle-fields the blacks used in the olden times was "The Little Mountain", or "Dicky Wood's Meadow", beside the creek, on the east side of Broughton Village. He said the different tribes from all directions used to fight there - mostly about women matters. "Lots" of blacks were killed there in battle, and buried here or there about.

The Little Man of the Cambewarra Mountain (he told me about before) he says is about the height of a table, and his colour "quarter-caste" - blacker than a white man, & whiter than a half-caste.

Wandandian - he said had reference to two old Aboriginal women who used to go there stripping wattle bark in the olden times. Of the bark, or the inner part or lining of it they made things for use. The name of the place - Wandandian - he said referred to those two old women.

Note - In March of 1896 the Hon. George Thornton M.L.C. informed me that the said name meant "The Home of the Lost or Wandering Lovers".

"Buthring" 22/8/1900

Djullubugung  
Numba  
Currorura  
Millingaa  
Blue Gum  
Kiama

Native name of Coolangatta where Dr Hay's residence now is  
means Tea Tree  
Red Cedar  
White Cedar  
Djellack  
Kyarneae
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yolngu-Mamurrak Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blowhole</td>
<td>Toojooga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Pleasant</td>
<td>Bungoongard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ocean</td>
<td>Murrorran</td>
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<tr>
<td>Creek</td>
<td>Dhjurragang</td>
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<td>Earth</td>
<td>Moormung</td>
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<td>Rock</td>
<td>Cooroong</td>
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<td>Water</td>
<td>Nhuddgang</td>
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<td>Wind</td>
<td>Bormmerae</td>
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<td>Sun</td>
<td>Worree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Djuddjung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stars</td>
<td>Djingee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Jhumhee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Dhang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>Bhooddjang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Dog</td>
<td>urujal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangaroo</td>
<td>Bhoorro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallaby</td>
<td>Bhurrar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Water</td>
<td>Bhurradgam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Ghoondoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Ewindg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Mheja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Ghordjald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Mullajah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irroweang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Grown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Little girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Man</td>
<td>Joororaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Byangang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Woman</td>
<td>Norlorga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful place</td>
<td>Nuggong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Ghurrang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sand</td>
<td>Wadjell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Track
Father
Mother
Brother
Sister (oldest)
...Sister
Youngest brother
Cousin

Dhuuna
Baabang
Nhubbang
Dgadgang
Mannang
Cuddge ga
Mia ga
Ghubboo
Ghubbon
____________

Aboriginal

Particulars obtained from Buthring - a Shoalhaven Aboriginal - 18/5/02:

"Wulthegang", name of small mysterious Aboriginal residing in a cave on the highest point of Cambewarra Mountain range - the sandstone capped summit southwestward of Mr Graham's residence, on the Berry - Kangaroo Valley Rd.

Only about two feet high, but so abnormally strong, that he could throw any number of men about as he pleased and kill them at will, as he always did when such came in his way. He has several small "Jins" - about his own height, and they have piccaninnies, but neither Jins nor the latter are ever seen - nor Wulthegang himself. He always disappears into his cave when approached. But if he did not do so all would be killed by him that came in his way.

He has been in the cave from time immemorial, and will remain there for all future time

In olden times the Aborigines there were another lot of small wild Blacks about forty or fifty miles up the Shoalhaven River country above Nowra. They were called "Jangbeegang". They were about the same stature as Wulthegang and his Jins. Unlike him and his family they were mere wild Blacks - not mysterious beings.

He (Buthring) gives the same name "Jangbeegang" to the Cambewarra Mountain over which the Nowra - Kangaroo Valley road passes.

The Aboriginal name for the high sand-stone cap of the mountain in which Wulthegang resided was "Boorrul". He carved pictures on the face of the rocks, quite expertly, and his carvings were there to be seen by any person visiting the place.

These particulars are additional to what Buthring related to me some time ago, on this mysterious subject. He becomes excited when speaking about it, and it would seem to me that he has a dread of giving the name of the "little man". He wanted to know if I had an intention to "catch him", & warned me that he could kill him (Buthring) & myself & many more.

He gave the following Aboriginal names in the course of the same conversation:

"Illawong" where the Town of Berry exists

"Gallungumbola" (Woodhill)
“Djerrryaroo” Mountain range over which Berry - Kangaroo Valley Road passes

“Dhooroong - Jamban Yam” This compound name given for the Shoalhaven River.

Buthring associated the compound designation with the river in the vicinity of Bomaderry Creek, but he could not explain his meaning intelligibly.

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Aboriginal

Blacks were employed casually as corn pullers and potato diggers and gatherers, and some were good stockmen - notably a real black named “Oney” - who was proud of his expertness with the stockwhip to such an extent that he could split a snake from the head backwards for nearly a foot, with a crack of his whip.

Many of the blacks even in the early forties, wore only a kind of girdle round their loins, from which was suspended a small tassel of about a foot long in front & near, to serve the “fig-leaf” purpose. Otherwise they were absolutely naked. The girdle and tassels were usually made of Kurrajong fibre, twisted into twine like thread.

Remember Aborigines not only deeply tatoed, but with holes in noses, and sticks across therein.

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Appendix 3

Francis McCaffrey’s
Notes on Illawarra Aborigines

1910 - 1930

The following notes are transcribed from the Francis McCaffrey Papers, Wollongong University Archives.

Francis McCaffrey was a local Illawarra historian who worked from the 1890s through to the 1930s. Though he was primarily interested in the history of farming and cattle grazing on the South Coast, his publications and notebooks include numerous references to the local Aborigines and place names.

Extracts from his notebooks - the majority of which were compiled between 1910-1930 - are included below, along with relevant material from his publications and other manuscript sources.

It is recommended that the original documents be referred to during any future studies, as McCaffrey’s handwriting has been difficult to transcribe, especially with regards to Aboriginal words.

* Notebook 9, pp.1-2

[Aboriginal Names]

Bong Bong
Dead, something lacking vitality

Berrriwarra

Boona

Bonaira - Boonairoong - (Boonaira)
The Bloodwood (sauce in South Queensland)

Burool - (Boorool)
The Wood-duck

Bunberra (Bunburri)
Bora Ceremony, 2nd large, big

Burra
One of the four class divisions

Bumbo (Boom Boom)
One name of the boomerang and the whirr it makes
Some childish name for thunder
Cowra - gowarra - Kyarra
Cudgeree
Druwalghe (doorcouncil)
Goondurrin (goondarril)
Jersery (Jerirrie)
Kuraway - Kurrawang - Kurrawah
Kanahooka

Mangga
Minnamurra
Moruya - Mooroo - Moorooi
Mudgee
Purry burry (purri burri)
Pyree - Byaree - Boree
Tongarra - (Toong-garra
Tullamba - (Tullumbah - Black Chief) -
Warwa - Wahra - Wahga
Warrajee - Korrajee
Worrigee - Worrajee

Wollingurry - Wollongarrie  a small waterfall
Wullumboola - Wallum boolee
Wallamai - Wollomai
Unanderra - Uniderra
Yarrawa - Yarrawau
Wongawilla - (wong-go-willie)
Yalla - Yallah
Yerrdry - Yerdrie
Budgona - Bugong
Bengalla - Bangalla

The White Cockatoo
The Black Myrtle, used for bullock whiphandle
The Native Companion
Also name of native companion
Go quickly, hurry along
The pied crow shriek
A Fijian Chief, sheltered by Pigeon House tribe, from whom he stole a gin. Settled on Lake Illawarra.
Is a name given to a storm with lightning
By and by, tomorrow, plenty of anything
The Nose, beak of a bird
The green frog of South Queensland
To run, go like blazes
Fire used by Aborigine
Thunder, South Queensland
Very tired
The name for Crows, the crow
The blacks high chief who had charge of the sacred stone - Keebarr

Two honeysuckle trees
the Schnapper (Bimbs, Moreton Bay)
something fleeting, a shadow
greedy, veracious, shark-like
Nest of the Wonggo pigeon
Go away! (imperative mood)
same as Jererrie & Jerrery
an edible moth, South Coast
a lone hill
Boombah
Bulli - Bullai - Boolye - booral, booley
Goondarrin
Cambawarra - Kambevarra
Gerringong - Jerringong - Jarrangong
Illawarra - Illawata
Illaroo
Jindy Andy - Jindianni
Jamberoo
Kiama - Kiami - Kiahma - Gyahma
God
In Kamilarie - Biancee
In Wiradjerie - Barrami
Kurrakwah - Kurrawa - Kurrawak
Koonabury - (Koong-burrie)
Mulga
Koonoowarra (Victorian dialect)
Wonona - Woonona
Towradgi - Koradji
Wollongong - Wollogul
Bunberra - properly Bunburri
Burrawarra - Warra
Bunberra
Coomaditchey
Kembla - Kahboolla
Nowra - Gnowarra
Numba, Tongarra, Towradgi
Nungarry
Marooma
Wahwee
Bargo

Thunder, a very big noise
Native honey
Native companion
A hill or mountain with bare top
The Porpoise
Water far off
Bad water, salty water
A Bowani Corroboree
A black tradition - a cluster of Stars
The great Spirit

Pied crow shrike
A whirlpool
A species of acacia, Far West acacias
A swan
Sleep
Keeper of Sacred Stone - Keeparr
The King Fish
One of the class divisions
Far away
LeachesKingfisher
Bad water
Two heads
The black duck
A Medicine Man
A place of sleep
The house is good
Something mythical
High country
Yass - is a corruption of an Aboriginal word 'yarr' which is a sign of delight or pleasure. Arthur J.Vogan says - 'Yar' means what may be translated 'very' - we have it very, plenty, many deep, and along the South Coast of N.S.W.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yarrabunge</td>
<td>go away quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarramau</td>
<td>quick man, home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaraconie</td>
<td>deep water, plenty of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarranda</td>
<td>a large stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarrandi</td>
<td>large bat, oppossum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wanyahbilla-Wanyandilli Where is the firestick?

Notebook 9, pp.9-11

Captain Brooks (Aboriginal) a wee little white-haired man in the fifties, totally blind, led about by his tribe, a cannibal who talked of the fresh and salty nature of human flesh according to the nature of climate and colour of the skin. He declared that he knew Captain Phillip having met him on his landing in 1788. Captain Brooks met a sad end - he was left alone in the camp which caught fire in the absence of the tribe and he was burnt to death. If the mysterious disappearance of Huon was known to the blacks they called on Captain Brooks.

George Brown of the Illawarra Hotel, Dapto:

The ethnic age has passed away
The primal race is with the dead
and, Troilouts of yesterday
The White Invaders rule instead.

Old terrible Billy Graham and James Graham his son were very cruel to the blacks - the blacks afterwards hated Scotchmen.

The power of teaching could make the blacks believe that the McGill's were Scotch. The blacks would say "too kind to us to be Scotch". The Waugh and Dymock families were also kind to the blacks.

Old Young's house is built on the site of the old road. 'Sam Tuckamboy', Jos, Charlie, Clara, were Bbumb walkers and gooseberry gatherers. Unfortunately we have lost the names of the old blacks. Jos was fond of shooting and was most expert in the management and care of a good fowling piece.

Old Mickey Nunamah was not a tribe man - he belongs to the above class who wandered about among the white settlers.

King Bunginong was according to William Warren Jenkins Chief of the Illawarra Lake tribe in 1816.

At Dapto the late John Brown had two blackmen in his employ for many years, brothers. Puss - a splendid type of manhood, and Unddito Undelite, was known as Parramatta Joe. Evidently adopted by his late father.
The Aborigines of the Tableland - The Argyle tribes. The Hires tribes were Mulwarri - meaning Long Water, Tarlo, and Burra Burra.

The Burras - the most warlike, had their 'traering' or country from Abercrombie to Taralga, and Currabungla.

Cabra: Wands, whiteman's firearms
Corroboree: Big meetings

The blacks who wore the half-moon plates were Yarraginny, Kunglong, Mulwaree Tommy and Miranda, Chief of the Burra Burra's.

The word Cookmia represents Mulwarie tribe. The man-making ceremony was called Bora.

The blacks gave the Police of Goulburn information about the murder of Roach - manager of Clifford Creek station in 1830, and White and Mooney were gibbited - hanged in their chains - for their crime, where they remained hanging until 1833. Governor Bourke ordered the burial of the skeletons, after bleaching in rain and sun 3 years.

The blacks painted a criminal white, then 'boondied' (clubbed) him to death - Knulla Knulla

Boondy: meat
Yabba: a hunter
Baal: no or wicked
Budgeree: good
Cobbawn: large
Yabber: food
Waddy: wood
Bori: thunder
Kerang: gumtree
Nerang: small
Cowra: feathers
Nangery: to camp
Cobbadong: moon in the water
Wombeyan: big kangaroo
Wollondilly: water trickling over rocks
Durrau Durra: a messenger
Currabungla: stone in water
Gulleu: a swamp
Ubba go fast
Yulong a timbered hill

Jimmy Hamilton and Burra Burra Jimmy were taken to Tasmania from Argyle to track the notorious Jacky Jacky (Westwood) in 1844. He was an escaped convict and they quickly saw him to prison again.

Marra Wild blackfellow
Woola Moola a whirlwind
Jurunga an extensive view
Gooyong camp
Elanora a home by the sea
Boongala shade
Allambi a quiet place
Gwondalan resting place
Jerrara a place of shrubs

The above are taken from a list in the Mitchell Library.

* Notebook 9, p. 133

Ideas obtained from a full-blooded black - Mickey Munimana, by Miss M.A.Brown in 1863 at Dapto, Illawarra, N.S.W.

Tunar Bread
Munee Beef
Hookar Sugar
Pittang Tea
Tabbla Flour
Nijong Freshwater
Wunbee Fire
Morong Ashes
Kundroo Wood
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Korongcourage</td>
<td>Smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moronga</td>
<td>Coals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowrong or Horong</td>
<td>Light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilly Knew</td>
<td>Candle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wabbrow</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korongang</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minegang</td>
<td>Pumpkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derrodthural</td>
<td>Onions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knownore</td>
<td>Melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulboule</td>
<td>Corn (maize)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Midthong</td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullarah</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullarrah Midthong</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woworlguns</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouree</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moureendah</td>
<td>Twenty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pinjerong Jerong</td>
<td>Plover</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yerummeah</td>
<td>Peaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumberrelong</td>
<td>Flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koondroo</td>
<td>Tree</td>
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<td>Kiyancoondro</td>
<td>Log</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiyong</td>
<td>Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whyjnek or Murrah</td>
<td>Sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallingjang</td>
<td>Salt water</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peewee or Coug-conrong</td>
<td>Shells</td>
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<tr>
<td>WattaWatta</td>
<td>Ancle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun-uru-moo</td>
<td>Knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerarara</td>
<td>Hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wourlang</td>
<td>Beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myree</td>
<td>Eyebrow</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Mobera
Cheerell
You au you
Youheu or Yowin
Megar or Mega
Konjaear
Younjacar
Moroongang
Piangang
Moollarhar
Kuowe
Wollungar
Kurrura
Pit Pit
Goongburry or Koonburry
Burroo
Boonirah
Bunna
Wooroo
Gudjung
Mullamulla
Djeera
Djenbella
Woowongorong
Bulwannadah
Buddabedah
Wongawilly
Bawn or Karrara
Dahrgo or Giningall

Eye
Eyelash
Body
Man
Woman
Boy
Little boy
Baby
Old man
Old woman
Blood
Opposum cloak
Opposum
Gown
Sleep
Kangaroo
Wind
Rain
Sun
Moon
Stars
Mount Keira
Mount Kembla
Five Islands Point
Mount St Thomas
Garden Hill
Mountains back of Avondale
Mullet Creek
Mullet Creek
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wullingurry</td>
<td>Lakelands Estate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yarra Yarra</td>
<td>Johnston's Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purrunggully</td>
<td>Horsley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubborsay</td>
<td>Lake Illawarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnlgung</td>
<td>Creek running into Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budjong</td>
<td>Wyllie's Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabberatong</td>
<td>A lagoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koomaditchie</td>
<td>A lagoon at Five Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korrongouggulla</td>
<td>A ready swamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yowingmiliee</td>
<td>A Lagoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jujin belliley</td>
<td>Little Bulli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paira Meetah</td>
<td>Parra Meadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangau</td>
<td>Tom Thumb Lagoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mougumburra</td>
<td>Brownsville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boonlea</td>
<td>Dapto Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogomorro</td>
<td>Kembla Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walthira</td>
<td>Avondale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallindarra</td>
<td>Benares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neurandurley</td>
<td>Marshall Mount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupnea</td>
<td>Terry's Meadows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euringulla</td>
<td>Goulburn Road</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notebook 9, p.148

The Aboriginal tradition of the White man in what is known as the County of Argyle has been traced to a man named Wilson, a convict who was in one of the first prison ships that arrived in Botany Bay. He joined the blacks, learned their language and habits, studied their arts, and became so expert that Governor Hunter engaged him and another convict to explore the South West. He started from Camden, discovered Picton Lakes. He it was who gave the key to all future discoveries. He being a convict was sufficient excuse to deprive him of all honour. It was nearly 20 years later that Hamilton Hume explored the same localities. Wilson evidently loved the blacks too well, but not wisely. He would not leave them, stole a gin, and lost his life.
Who dares give the convicts their due? Who dare give them credit for the great things they did for Australia? No one! For to do so would strip lame the fraud worked into our history.

* Notebook 9, p.181

Captain Brooks - a very old Aborigine, who had become feeble and blind with age, was burned to death in his camp at the Lagoon, Kiama, July 4th, 1857. He was left alone in the Camp and the wind blew sparks from the fire on the Camp and set it on fire (Ilawarra Mercury)

* Notebook 10, p.25

Billy Saddler, a halfcast, stretches out Sam Gasgrove with a stick at Wollongong Races in 1872, Captain Charles witness.

* Notebook 10, p.98

Fighting men of the fifties: Yellow Jimmy was born in Maitland. His mother was an Australian black, his father's name was Reeves, and he was reared by a man named Phoenix who made Jimmy a jockey and a noted horseman.

* Notebook 10, p.104

The Aborigines of Illawarra: It is our will and pleasure that you do, to the utmost of your power, promote Religion and Education among the native inhabitants of our said Colony; and that you do especially take care to protect them in their persons, and in the free employment of their possessions, and that you do by lawful means, prevent and restrain all violence, and injustice against them which may in any measure be practiced or attempted against them - Royal Instruction to every Governor who entered Sydney Harbour since the year 1790. Was it ever practiced by the Government - No! The get rich quick System had no time to wait for the development of the Civilization of any of our black brethren!

Mr Turkington stated that between the years 1829 and 1838 he has seen as many as 400 natives in a corroberee in Illawarra - yet in 1870 they had dwindled to 6.

A generous Nation, and a Pastoral Government had seized upon their land, dispossessioned them of both their hunting and fishing grounds and left them to live and die as best they might - uncared for, and unthought of, as the dogs in the jungle, a beggarly blanket the sole equivalent for their inheritance.

(McFarland 1872)

* Notebook 9, p.145 et seq.

The Thompson Dairy, covering the years 1852-1854, mentions contact with local Aborigines.
Charley Hooka was a great Aboriginal Chief, whose territory was on the western shore of Lake Illawarra, to Budiong and Mullet Creek. He was murdered in 1842 by two of the Pigeon House, a little distance below the Figtree bridge. They cut his head off as a trophy for their tribe.

The western portion of the Hooka land towards West Dapto was known as Dabeta. We also have Dabroo, and Karrara; the Mullet Creek daw; Para Meadow or Paiera Meetah; Kembla Grange or Mogomorra; Marshall Mount - Neurandurley; Avondale or Waltdira; Johnston’s Creek or Yarra Yarra; Terry’s Meadows or Teeperia; Benares or Wolludarra; Mount St Thomas or Bulwarradah; Entrance to Lake Illawarra or Kanahooka; the point south of entrance, Tallawarra.

The bay between the points, Koonaworry. Then we have Yalla Bay.

Brownsville or Mogumburra.

Windmill Hill or Pooflin.

Judbowley, a sand creek north entrance Lake.

Little Bulli, Juainbilliley.

Between Allan’s Creek and Waldron’s Point, near Tom Thumb Lagoon, Mangar.

Geard’s Hill or Bulwarradah (tall trees).

Reedy swamp or Korrongalla.

Tabberatong, a lagoon.

A creek in West Dapto, Gerriugulli.

Tucawarra, portion of Marshall Mount Estate.

Jimmy, a Shoalhaven half-caste, Windang or Gooseberry Island.

According to Queen Rosey, who reigned during 1880-1900, Dapto got its name from a tattooed tanner who lived where John Reed’s pub stood.

Wollangang - after a point resembling man’s forehead.

Kiama - after the broadleafed figtree.

Jamberoo - was Jangaroo, after the plicarants.

Gerringong, a very fast walker.

Kudjery Bay - a place of sharks.

Bulli - was Moolone, after the Waratah.

Fairy Meadow - Torraja. Torraja means the opening and closing of a river.
Berringil - a feast rite.
Mount Browne - Goongarray, a black's stone over.
Woowangorang - The Five Islands range, a sea sight.
Jarrong - Black-fish
Goomberiugal - King-fish
Wowrang - Tom Thumbs lagoon.
Jabbertong - a lagoon.
Yallawarrie - a blackfellow in a tree, a murderer.
Tupnia - was the name of Terry's Meadows
Yarrania, Yarra Yarra, Johnston's Creek, a devil.
Nihorka - Port Kembla.
Wongandal - where the Kings speak.
Jarral - a white grub.
Shellharbour, or Wonwin, where there were big shell fish
Yellow Rock - Goongar - a big Lizard
Wonjandal - Wholahan's farm
King Mickey was born at Yanbee, head of the Clarence's river, North Coast

Carpenter Jack - An Aboriginal. Born on banks Shoalhaven River in 1807? who died in 1914, was
on the books of the Berry Estate, Coolangatta in 1825 as being 18 years old. According to his own
account of himself - He told it so many times to so many people that he evidently believed it - It
was the custom of the Blacks to live on terms of peace with their next door neighbours. For
instance, it was the rule for the Shoalhaven blacks to visit the Illawarra Lake tribes and wage war
on them and vice versa, without in anyway being molested by or interfering with the Kiama tribe.
This was termed, by the semi-civilized blacks in after year Wallbuuging! Carpenter Jack knew this!

Meaning of Aboriginal Place Names in Illawarra

Bulli Two mountain ranges
Illawarra, Ellowera A pleasant place
Wooljungah, Wollongong  Five Islands
Kiama, Kiama     Fish may be caught?
Minnamurra       Plenty fish
Coolangatta      Highest land
Greenwell Point  Macinderry
Inside Jervis Bay Moonah
Jervis Bay, hence Currumbene Creek Corroombong
Ulladulla, Wooladorah Safe harbour
Wandandian       The home of the lost lovers
Budawalla        Clear water, a large organ
Kaurangaroo      The Kangaroo
Wikkie           Bread
Kuninda Kundi    A bark hut
Nowra            You and me
Wunlabung        Tomahawk
Jingabulla       Where to go. It is not far
Worrigee         Bandicoot
Budler           Red Wallaby
Palahua          An Oppossum
Coorora          Black Wallaby
Buruell          Mountain of fire
Cambewarra       Scrubby place
Jerrara          Rain
Wallum           A small hill
Morau            Big house in swampy land
Gillamagong      Green Hills
Niooka           Aboriginal Camping Ground
Jeroo            A flat piece of land
Thundagulla      A small range or spur
Coomonderry
Mr A. Weston's opinion of the meaning of the Aboriginal place names of Illawarra is as follows:

- Bubgong: An edible root, probably Boogong
- Berrawarra: Far away. In 2nd South Warra Warra
- Boombah: Thunder
- Burberra: Leaches kingfisher
- Bulli or Bullai: Native honey
- Bool: Sugar & Water
- Coomaditchy: Bad water
- Goondarrin: Native Companion
- Jerrangong: Frighten water, surf
- Illaroo: Salt Water
- Illawarra: Water far away
- Jindy Andy: A woman's corroberee
- Jamberoo: The Stars
- Kembla: Two heads, properly Kahmboolla
- Kurrakwah: A name of the crow shrike
- Koon Bury: A whirlpool
- Woonona: Sleep
- Wollongong: The Kingfish
Yamba, Moora, Weena, and Wyanda each means home in a different dialect

Woondooma means broken, hilly country
Warilda Creek view
Boalba means View from a hill
Calboonya Lyre bird

* Notebook 13, p.15

Paddy Rider was in charge of the dairy cattle [at Berry's establishment] and kept a race mare named 'Evergreen'. In those days men were not particular whom they married - Jimmey Sinclair married a half-cast woman, got by Paddy Rider.

The noted blacks were Mangy and Biddy - Captain Brooks was a Cannibal. Jethery was considered very dangerous. Black Harry and Jacky Jacky were Burier blacks. Burier Jack - Johnny Winfred, was King of Shoalhaven, as an Aboriginal.

* Notebook 13, p.158

On November 1829 a blackfellow was committed for trial for killing a stockman in Illawarra[?Brogher]
Appendix 4

E. Dollahan Papers

1930s - 1940s

The E. Dollahan Papers, part of the Illawarra Historical Society Collection housed in the Wollongong City Library, comprise a collection of manuscript notes and notepads on various aspects of Illawarra and Appin history, including:

- Aborigines
- Natives of Illawarra
- Captain Brooks
- King Hooker, Illawarra Tribe, 1823
- Appin Aborigines
- Corroboree - Campbelltown to Coast Tribe

Mrs. Dollahan was a descendant of the Geraghty family, who had settled at Bulli about 1826. Her copious notes contain numerous references to the Illawarra and Appin Aborigines, though there is a deal of repetition by the author. Whilst most of the material contains first-hand accounts from members of her family, some references are taken from contemporary newspapers and sources such as Alexander Stewart and C.T. Smith. Such material is reproduced elsewhere within this compilation.

The following extracts from the Dollahan Papers refer to the Illawarra and Appin Aborigines from the 1820s.

Aborigines

The Aborigines of the Five Island District were friendly to the white settlers.

The Aboriginal Chief known as Captain Brooks claimed to have been present at Botany Bay, at the landing of Captain Cook. He was also present in Sydney at the landing of Captain Phillip. He was also present at Kiama when Surgeon George Bass landed near the old figtree, Kiama, to explore the Blow Hole.

The Aboriginal Chief was still living in the year 1850. He was then a very old man, totally blind, and was led from place to place by the members of his tribe. In 1857 he met a very tragic death as he was burnt to death, when the members of his tribe left him alone in camp near the Lagoon, Kiama. A strong westerly gale was blowing and it was thought that the embers from the fire blew on to his sleeping camp where he was lying. When the tribe returned from the expedition they found the old chief's charred remains.
There was a tribal "taboo" on the Blow Hole. The Aborigines never visited the locality of the Blow Hole.

King Hooka was another chieftain of the Illawarra tribe who gave up his life for his friends the white settlers. His camping ground was on the western side of Lake Illawarra, and opposite Hooka Island. The noble chief King Hooka ruled one of the original native tribes of Illawarra. King Hooka proved himself a staunch and loyal friend to the white settlers on several occasions. The settlers owed to King Hooka for the peaceful conditions in which they lived. The native tribes never molested them until one day [during 1842] the tribe from Broughton Creek came over the range of Bulli Mountain. This mountain tribe gave notice that they intended to make an attack on the settlement to rob and murder around Charcoal Creek. King Hooka warned the settlers to move their cattle and themselves and families away from the area which was to be the battle ground of the tribes; to move back to Wollongong as the tribes were already on the march.

King Hooka then moved out with his battle warriors in full war paint, to meet the intruders, the Broughton Creek tribe. They engaged in the battle near where Albion Park is now situated. The battle between the tribes was fierce and sad to relate noble King Hooka, the settlers friend, was killed in battle. The sorrow of the settlers was very real for the brave and good King Hooka, chief of the Illawarra tribe.

The Mountain tribes made an annual trip to visit the Coastal tribe, travelling from Camden over the Bulli Mountain for their annual "corrobee".

My husband's mother related the story of one of these corrobee she remembered as a small girl - she lived to 100 years and died year 19. 

The natives would send a runner ahead of the tribe to contact settlers who were friendly disposed to the Aborigines. Her parents were one of the people the tribe contacted on their journey. The runner would arrive at the parents home. Her father, on receiving the message delivered by the Aborigine runner to prepare food for the tribe, would prepare on arrival at the homestead a large three legged pot of rice and with brown sugar added.

The Aborigines loved this dish and licked the pot clean until it shone and sparkled like new. They loved the rice and while the tribe was feasting the family would lock themselves inside the house as the aborigines danced around the pot of rice with wild shouts and gleeful joy. Some more venturesome ones came and looked [through] the crack of the door to the dismay and terror of the children who were very afraid of the aborigines.

When the feast was over at grandfather's house, the tribe proceeded on their journey down to the coast where they remained three weeks, and again on their return journey would send ahead of the tribe a runner to notify the settlers and to my grandfather's house again, so as the pot of rice and sugar would be waiting on their arrival.

Grandmother said that the tribe was friendly to the settlers they knew and trusted, but very hostile to strangers until they proved their friendliness.

She told that when one of the tribe was ill the tribal members made a rug of possum skins and carried the patient in the rug and stretches slung on two sticks. The aborigines also made their war drums of the possum skin stretched on four sticks. One particular old gin - very old - gathered black current bushes and made brooms with the bushes. Her name was Bringelly. The early settlers said the settlement Bringelly was called after Bringelly the gin, or it was around this district that she roamed with her brooms to exchange with the white settlers for tobacco and other needs.

1830. My father's family were very early settlers in the Appin district and told many stories of native tribes and their customs. Stone axes were lying around their farm Spring Valley, Appin from 1830 to 1900, and still were found on the property. We searched for some of there stone axes, which my uncle said his grand children had been playing with until a few years back, but were not successful in locating any.
These stone-age axes were still found on the farm as late as 1930. Axes were still lying around which my own father and his brothers and sisters played with these stone axes when children.

My uncle John D'Arcy of Spring Valley, Appin [said] his grandchildren also played with them, a few of which was still lying around. We searched very carefully to see if there was one left - even a piece of one - but the children had lost and broken them.

Behind this farm there still exists a reminder of the Aborigines. (This farm is now part of the Catchment area). My uncle took me down behind the farm about half a mile walk, and showed me large rocks with deep grooves and a spring of water. The rocks were smooth. The deep grooves were made and worn into the rock by the aborigines sharpening their axes along the side of the rock. Water was splashed into the groove while rubbing the axe stone against it.

We went 3 1/2 miles on the Brooks Point Road past Appin. There are the same type stones alongside of which was a large spring water hole which was called the "Picaninny Hole" as this spring was the Black Babies washing basin (bathing hole), a hole in the rocks. Also in the same locality are coloured and white drawings of hands and lizards and snakes. The settlers said, on questions concerning these drawings, the method used to colour these drawings was blood and white clay mixed. The aborigines spread their hands while holding it against the rock. They chewed the white clay and ejected from their mouth, in a spray, between the fingers. When sufficient clay was sprayed by this method the hand would be withdrawn, and the spaces filled in with the blood, between the outline of the white clay. The blood was extracted from their arm.

The Wollongong tribe number 100. They were a fine looking lot of men. They had abundance of food consisting of game, kangaroo, possums, duck, wild fowl, fish. The tribal chiefs were Bundle and Timberry. The latter ruled portion of the Berkly tribe. The Wollongong tribe was at war with the Kiama and Shoalhaven tribe.

Mr Lysaght senr. arrived in Wollongong in 1824. He numbered 1000 aborigines in the district when he first arrived in 1824.

The aborigines came to Wollongong on the 1st April every year to obtain their blankets from the Government office, but in 1896 their numbers had dwindled to a score or more.

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Book 8

Natives of Illawarra

Natives came from up the coast and camped near Bulli Pass.

There were some hundred of the tribe which also were accompanied with a large number of dogs which they called "dingo".

The puppies were placed in the blanket with the picaninnies or carried on the gins back, and sometimes a bag carried also. It was a strange sight to see dogs and babies all in a bundle.

The Government voted one blanket every year. The natives would sell blanket for food for a couple of bob (shilling).

At one time there was a cricket team composed of Aborigines and the old hands said they were a good team too.

1848 Rev. M.Meares estimated 93 Aborigines about Wollongong.

------------------
Captain Brooks

Captain Brooks, the old Black King who spoke of having been present at the landing in Botany Bay of Captain Cook, and also in Sydney when Captain Phillip landed, also in Kiama when Bass landed under the old figtree to explore the Blow Hole (It was a tradition amongst the old black fellows that in the long ago a Black Fellow was cast down the Blow Hole Kiama for a crime and a big wave cast him up again. The tribe never visited the place).

The Aboriginal King named Captain Brooks - native name unknown - obtained his name from the sawyers who knew that he piloted Captain Richard Brooks’ cattle from Lake Illawarra to Kangaroo Ground in 1821. The old Black King according to the old sawyers had tasted human flesh in various forms. He was in 1850 a very old man, totally blind, having to be led from place to place by the tribe. On July 4th 1857 he was left alone in the camp near the Lagoon, Kiama, when a westerly wind blew the embers from the fire into where he was lying and his charred remains were observed there by the tribe on its return from its hunting expedition.

[Taken from the books of Frank McCaffrey.]

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King Hooker, Illawarra Tribe 1823

(from Mr Copas, Wollongong)

West side of Lake Illawarra and opposite the Hooker Island is Hooka Creek, called after King Hooka. By the shores of Hooka Creek over 100 years ago a tribe of the original Owners of Illawarra lived. This tribe was ruled by the chief King Hooka, who in the early days of white settlement proved a staunch and true friend to the early settlers. Indeed he gave his life in battle for his white friends.

Many times the white settlers along Charcoal Creek had reason to thank this great Chief for the peaceful condition in which they were able to follow their occupations. On one occasion the Blacks from Broughton Creek over the mountain range had designs on the white settlement. King Hooka sent runners to the settlers around to take their cattle and goods back to Wollongong, for the Coolangatta Tribe were on the war path and coming to rob and murder the white settlers. King Hooka - this King of a vanished race today - sounded his war drums and moved out for battle with the Mountain Tribes.

The battle between the tribes was furious and brave King Hooka was killed. But after this the settlers were left in peace and safety. The battle was fought near Albion Park. The descendants of these settlers often heard their parents speak of King Hooka the Brave.

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Appin Aborigines

by

Mr G.D’Arcy, Spring Valley Farm, Appin, 1938

Between Appin on the Douglas Park Road and Menangle River, behind Spring Valley farm, Appin, I was shown by my uncle [G.D’Arcy] there large rocks with deep groves worn in them, worn by the blacks sharpening their stone axes. Along side the grooved rocks [is] a water hole, a spring, and
as the blacks ground the axe the water was splashed into it. The rocks and the spring are still to be seen there (1938). Also round the farm until about a few years prior to my visit to these scenes, Mr D'Arcy said that there were many stone axes lying around the spring water hole and he and his brother and sister played with them as children. There were some still lying around somewhere about 1930, broken up now by his grandchildren.

Also about 3 1/2 miles from D'Arcy's farm "Brenenville" on the Brooks Point road there are some marked stones, also a large spring water hole, called the "Picaninnys Hole" as the black babies picaninnys were washed in this spring. There are also drawings of hands, coloured red and white, also lizards and snakes. The old settlers said that the Aborigines coloured the drawings with blood and white clay. Their method was to spread the hand while holding it against the rock, chew white clay and eject it from their mouth in a spray, in between their fingers, remove their hand, and fill in between the white clay outline with blood.

Old settlers said that at one time the blacks were very troublesome and the authorities sent out soldiers from Sydney to suppress them with cannon balls. An old cannon ball was found on Spring Valley farm, a relic of those troublesome times.

An Aunt of mine told me that when she was a child, that the Aborigines would pass through Appin from the Coast, to collect their Government issue of blankets. But whether they journeyed to Parramatta and camped later, she was not certain.

She remembered the school children running to the gate to watch the Aborigines pass by. They always had a large number of dogs accompanying them. The Gins carried everything and had slings on their backs with Picaninnys, puppies, all mixed together and called the dogs "dingo".

My Husband's grandmother, an early settler in Camden district, tells of Aborigines in the early days of the Colony. When a member of the tribe was ill, the tribe made a rug of oppossum skins and carried the patient on it. They also made a drum of skins of possum stretched on four sticks.

Corroboree

Campbelltown to Coast Tribe

by

Mrs Dollahan, Bringelly, aged 90 years, native born

The Mountain Tribe would make an annual journey over the range to the South Coast Tribe.

On their journey to the South Coast the tribe sent a runner to her father's house [Patrick Geraghty, who was resident at Bulli between c1826-33] to notify him that they were coming as the home was on the path to the mountain top. The family on receiving the news from the runner of the tribe, would boil a burley pot of rice, adding brown sugar. The natives liked this dish and the old lady who told me said the tribe would yell and dance round the rice pot and lick it so clean it would shine.

The family were afraid of them however and locked themselves in the house while the meal was going and after the meal was finished the tribe continued their journey down the coast where they would stay 3 weeks.

On the return journey the runner was again sent on to her father's house to have the rice ready.
The natives were friendly to settlers whom they knew and trusted, but were inclined to be hostile to strangers.

They would peer through the windows and cracks of the house while around the home, much to the terror of the children of the homestead.

The old lady told me an old Gin used to gather black currant bushes and make brooms from them, and her name was Bringelly, hence the name Bringelly where they lived

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Book 12

1797 The Illawarra tribe were gathering at the Corroboree ground to discuss the invasion of the white men in their domain, and some members of the tribe had worked themselves into a war like state that boded no good for the few isolated settlers, mostly cedar getters, whose axes rang through the gullies on the coastal range. These few whites however had a friend among the tribes on the coast, namely King Hooka, who had befriended the settlers, who in return bestowed some of their meagre nation on King Hooka and his tribe.

The Black King was very disturbed at the war like attitude adopted by some of his followers and failing to pacify the militant natives himself, sent out a runner of his own tribe with a message to the nearest settler warning them that the tribes intended to attack them and to be on guard against attack. The tribes however came to war amongst themselves owing to differences concerning the whites, and the settlers friend Brave King Hooka was killed in battle.

The cedar getters were the only men living on the coastal side of the range as the road was inaccessible, the only highway was the Pacific Ocean.

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This document is the first comprehensive work to explore the, mostly unknown, history of the Illawarra and South Coast clans and concentrates on recorded events between the years 1770 and 1850, an important time of change on the NSW South Coast.

Although there are numerous sources that give insight into this area of study, these sources are fragmented and dispersed throughout various publications. This has made it difficult, and at times impossible, for historians or the general public to do historical research with an emphasis on the local area.

This work is a credit to the dedication of local Historian, Mr. Michael Organ, who indeed experienced the frustrations mentioned above, thus inspiring him to compile this document.

It is hoped that this resource will provide useful and informative information to all people wishing to learn about Aboriginal Australia.