

**THE UNIVERSITY  
OF QUEENSLAND  
LIBRARY**

19/4

## **Police of the Pastoral Frontier**



# Police of the Pastoral Frontier

Native Police 1849-59

L. E. SKINNER



UNIVERSITY  
OF QUEENSLAND  
PRESS



© University of Queensland Press  
St. Lucia, Queensland, 1975

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Enquiries should be made to the publishers.

Printed and bound by Silex Enterprise & Co.,  
Hong Kong

UG 799362

Distributed in the United Kingdom, Europe,  
the Middle East, Africa, and the Caribbean by Prentice-Hall  
International, International Book Distributors Ltd.,  
66 Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead, Herts., England

*National Library of Australia*  
*Cataloguing-in-Publication data*

Skinner, Leslie Edward.

**Police of the pastoral frontier: native police, 1849–59/**

**[by] L. E. Skinner. — St. Lucia, Q.:**

University of Queensland Press, 1975.

Index.

Bibliography.

ISBN 0 7022 0977 5.

**1. Police, Rural — Australia — History.**

**[2]. Aborigines, Australian as policemen — History.**

I. Title.

363.20994

UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND LIBRARY  
UNDERGRADUATE LIBRARY

# Contents

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF QUEENSLAND  
LIBRARY

Illustrations	<i>vii</i>	
Acknowledgments	<i>ix</i>	
Abbreviations	<i>x</i>	
Introduction	<i>1</i>	
1	Beyond the Limits of Location	15
2	First Use of the New Corps	28
3	The Corps Moves Out	40
4	The Active Force of 1851	55
5	Disapproval of Walker's Management	67
6	Continued Aboriginal Attacks in 1852	85
7	Official Disapproval of Walker's Letters	98
8	Further Indications of Walker's Intemperance	113
9	The Northern Districts in 1854	127
10	A Board of Enquiry	141
11	Dismissal of Frederick Walker	159
12	Marshall Fettered in His Command	168
13	A Policy to Partially Disband	186
14	Stations Attacked in the Port Curtis District	205
15	The 1856 Select Committee	225
16	An Inefficient Force	241
17	Attempts to Reorganize	259
18	Massacre at Hornet Bank — a Scapegoat	274
19	Inefficiency at Wondai Gumbal	295
20	The 1858 Select Committee	309
21	Difficulties in Administration	334
22	Inheritance by a New Colony	354

<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>Numerical Strength of the Native Police Force in the Northern Districts of New South Wales, 1849–59</b>	<b>374</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>Distribution of the Native Police Force at Various Times</b>	<b>376</b>
<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>Remarks on the Habits and Tempers of the Recruits, 1852</b>	<b>380</b>
<b>Appendix D</b>	<b>Officers of the Native Police Force, 1848–59</b>	<b>383</b>
<b>Appendix E</b>	<b>European Non-commissioned Officers, 1848–59</b>	<b>385</b>
<b>Appendix F</b>	<b>Aborigines Identified in This Volume Who Served in the Native Police Force</b>	<b>386</b>
<b>Notes to Text</b>	<b>396</b>	
<b>Sources</b>	<b>434</b>	
<b>Index</b>	<b>437</b>	

# Illustrations

*Following page 224*

- 1 An Aboriginal camp
- 2 Typical Aboriginal tribal ceremony
- 3 A hut in the pioneering days
- 4 A settler's hut at Laidley
- 5 "A night attack by blacks"
- 6 A warrant for the apprehension of Aborigines
- 7 A squatter's station
- 8 Eidsvold station in 1853
- 9 The Spring Creek Native Police barracks in the 1860s
- 10 The best shot in the Native Mounted Police
- 11 Lieutenant G. Murray, two junior officers, and seven of his "boys"
- 12 Native troopers dispersing an Aboriginal camp
- 13 The best Native Mounted Police detachment in 1870
- 14 Bullock dray
- 15 A village on the Darling Downs
- 16 The Rock of Cashel Hotel, Sugarloaf, around 1872
- 17 A settler and his family outside their house at Rosewood, 1880
- 18 Colonel Sir Maurice O'Connell
- 19 Map showing the area of pastoral settlement in Queensland by 1859
- 20 Map of the Balonne and Macintyre areas
- 21 Map of the Macintyre and Condamine areas
- 22 Map of the early Burnett district
- 23 Map of the early Wide Bay district
- 24 Map of the early Moreton Bay district

- 25 Map of the early upper Dawson area (Leichhardt district)
- 26 Map of the early Leichhardt (lower Dawson River area) and Port Curtis districts
- 27 The sites of Native Police stations (to 1859)

# Acknowledgments

My thanks are due to the Archives Authority of New South Wales, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the State Archives of Queensland, and the John Oxley Library, Brisbane, for permission to use and quote from original or copied material in those libraries and for the assistance given by their staffs in the necessary research.

A large measure of thanks is due to Mr. A. Queale for his valuable assistance in research and advice. Thanks are also due for the assistance given by Mr. A. B. Yeates, Surveyor General of Queensland, especially regarding the reproduction of early maps. I would also like to thank Miss A. Alwill for her efficient typing of the manuscript.

# Abbreviations

- HRA**      *Historical Records of Australia*
- NSWGG**    *New South Wales Government Gazettes*
- NSWVP**    *New South Wales Votes and Proceedings*
- QVP**      *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*
- COL**      Colonial Secretary's Office of New South Wales files
- QSA**      Queensland State Archives, Brisbane
- OL**        John Oxley Library, Brisbane
- NMP**      Native Mounted Police
- 1856 Select Committee:** The Select Committee of 1856–57 appointed by the New South Wales Legislative Assembly on 8 November 1856 “to inquire into the present state of the Native Police Force employed in the Colony, with a view to the improvement of its organization and management”
- 1858 Select Committee:** The Select Committee appointed by the New South Wales Legislative Assembly on 15 June 1858 “to inquire into and report upon the murders which have recently taken place on the Dawson River, and generally on the state of outrage between the white population and the Aborigines in the Northern Districts, with a view to providing for the better protection of life and property”
- Queensland 1861 Select Committee:** The Select Committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly of Queensland on 1 May 1861 “to inquire into and report on the organization and management of the Native Police Force; and further, to inquire into and report how far it may be practicable to ameliorate the present condition of the Aborigines of this Colony”

# Introduction

During the colonial era of England, her laws did not apply to all colonies upon their acquisition. Colonies gained by treaty or conquest generally retained their own laws. Those which had been colonized by Englishmen or formed by peaceful settlement adopted the laws of England so far as they suited the conditions of the colony. The colonies in Australia belonged to the latter class. In fact however, the history of settlement in this country contains many pages of the old story of conflict between the former occupiers of land and those who dispossessed them.

The first settlers found a land of virgin soil used as the hunting grounds of tribal and nomadic Aborigines who naturally resented encroachment on their domain, the denial of access to customary sources of food, and the destruction of certain fauna and things sacred to them. The tribesmen had a strong attachment to their own territory and, when dispossessed, did not retire far into the unoccupied lands but sought to return. Resistance was offered by various Aboriginal groups who used the only tactics available to them.

W. H. Wiseman, commissioner of crown lands for the Leichhardt district, in 1855 was "of the opinion that no tribes would allow of the peaceable occupation of their country but, following the counsel of the boldest and strongest man amongst them, would endeavour to check the progress of the white men by spearing their cattle, stealing their sheep and murdering the shepherds". This he had known to be invariably the case. Wiseman based his opinion



on personal experience of Aboriginal habits over fifteen years. Wiseman also wrote: "History tells us that no people or tribe however small or weak, submitted tamely to the insolent intrusion of strangers, nor is the savage of Australia, however despicable some may deem him, so utterly devoid of courage and pride as to yield without a struggle that country which he has used to obtain his food and to which he is undoubtedly attached. Every attack on the white man is the result of the deliberation of the whole tribe and it is very seldom that a blow is struck or an outrage perpetrated unless counselled by the leaders and old men . . ." <sup>1</sup>

However, there were squatters who managed to keep the peace with the tribes on their runs, despite the occasional killing and stealing of their stock. They had the knack of getting on with the Aboriginal inhabitants or of knowing how to handle them. The local tribes were allowed to remain, some of the members, despite lapses of unreliability, being employed on seasonal and other occasional jobs such as sheep washing and drafting, and cutting bark. These squatters never ill-treated or deceived the Aborigines although they treated them with firmness and never took foolhardy risks. They saw that their employees followed this line of behaviour also. Between these settlers and the local Aborigines there arose an understanding in which the latter continued to regard the run as their home.

William Archer of Gracemere was one of these squatters. Having formed four stations in the districts of Moreton Bay, Burnett, and Port Curtis he had many opportunities to become acquainted with the habits of the Aborigines before giving evidence before the 1858 Select Committee. He did not believe in driving the Aborigines off their own territory and thought it most unjust to keep them out from the stations, stating: "They must exist somewhere; they cannot be driven from the face of the earth altogether. If they were allowed in they would have less temptation to commit aggressions." Archer knew the Aborigines might revenge the offence of a servant upon the squatter's family, but believed that if every person would allow the Aborigines to remain on the station the risk would be less. <sup>2</sup>

However no tribal right to any title to land was recognized

by the laws of England. Only recently, on 27 April 1971, the Yirrkala Aboriginal village on Gove Peninsula, Northern Territory, lost its legal battle for recognition of tribal land rights before Blackburn J. on the principle expounded over the years that on the foundation of each Australian colony all land became the property of the crown.

In many cases, fear by squatters for life and possessions caused them to drive the tribes off their runs. The squatters felt they were taking protective measures in anticipation of danger.

Aborigines and settlers had different interests in occupying the same tract of country: the Aborigines for continued access to their tribal grounds to which their souls were bound by their sacred totemic associations and for their food and water; the settlers for undisturbed occupation for farming and grazing. The modes of life, habits, laws, and viewpoints of the two groups were irreconcilable.

Often, the spark which caused a violent clash between the two groups was the act or omission of some irresponsible individual, a broken promise, some unmerited abuse, a careless relationship, often springing from ignorance, greed, fear, revenge, or hostility. An instance of a broken promise with unmerited abuse which occurred in the town of Brisbane was given by R. B. Sheridan before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee. Sheridan cited the case of an Aborigine who, after cutting wood for a townsman, was given an order on a baker allegedly in payment. The order in fact did not authorize the supplying of a loaf but directed that the Aborigine "be kicked about his business with very strong language". On the fictitious order being presented that evening, the direction was complied with.<sup>3</sup> The night attack on Leichhardt's camp in which naturalist Gilbert was killed apparently was caused by the interference with Aboriginal women by two Aboriginal members of Leichhardt's party the previous day. It seems that Captain M. C. O'Connell referred to such occasions as these when he stated he had "never seen the blacks do mischief without some previous injury being inflicted on them by the whites". O'Connell was commissioner of crown lands for the Port Curtis district when he made this statement before the 1858 Select Committee.<sup>4</sup>

Outrages or depredations by Aborigines, howsoever caused, led to reprisals, the frontier punishment by "teaching a lesson". This in turn was followed by revenge. It was a trail of linked violence and many innocent people on both sides suffered in consequence. Superior arms and means of movement remained with the settlers. This superiority could only be countered by wile and acts of so-called treachery.

Group punishments of tribes in retaliation for murders and stock killings were involved early in the frontier policy of direct action, a policy which did not arise from any peculiar viciousness in individuals. Brought about by the nature of the contact with tribesmen, it was generally recognized as a means of establishing peace and order. The settlers considered they had a right to take "protective measures" in defence of their property and lives. If the government could not afford to protect them, they thought they were entitled to take the law into their own hands.

In the colony of New South Wales, which included much of the territory of what is now Queensland until the separation of this colony in 1859, the ultimate responsibility for native administration remained with Britain up to the completion of the grant of self-government in 1856. Britain, generally speaking, had continued its strong interest and concern over the native question. To such secretaries of state as Glenelg, Russell, Stanley, and Grey, the matter was a live one. Official policy was normally expressed, though not necessarily framed, by the secretary of state for the colonies or the governor of the colony.

At the very beginning, Phillip was instructed to open an intercourse with the natives and to conciliate their affections, to enjoin all subjects to live in amity and kindness with them, to bring offenders who wantonly destroyed them or gave them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations to punishment according to the degree of the offence, and to report in what manner intercourse with these people could be turned to the advantage of the colony.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently from time to time the British-appointed governors were instructed that "the natives should be protected in the enjoyment of their possessions, preserved from violence and injustice, and that measures should be

taken for their conversion to Christianity and their advancement in civilisation".<sup>6</sup>

A select committee of the House of Commons of 1836–37, under the chairmanship of Foxwell Buxton who already had laboured for prison reform and the abolition of slavery, recognized the right of the Aborigines to their soil. It recommended increased expenditure for missionaries and for protectors, the reservation of hunting lands, the education of the young, and special laws to protect the Aborigine until he learned to live within the framework of British law. The committee referred to reports of conflicts between the Europeans and the Aborigines in New South Wales and Western Australia and noted the inconsistency of the Europeans acting "avowedly upon the principle of enforcing belligerent rights against a public enemy" while the Aborigines, being British subjects, were defended by British law as often as their lives or property may be attacked. The committee's two reports, which revealed genuine concern for the people being colonized, were accepted by the House.<sup>7</sup>

The same ideals in England had founded in 1836 the Aborigines Protection Society. That body actively pursued its objects throughout the nineteenth century despite charges that it lacked a realistic knowledge of the conditions existing on the frontiers of settlement in Australia. These ideals were publicly expressed in New South Wales. Gipps's public notification of 21 May 1839 read:

As human beings partaking of our common nature — as the Aboriginal possessors of the soil from which the wealth of the country has been principally derived — and as subjects of the Queen, whose authority extends over every part of New Holland — the natives of the Colony have an equal right with the people of European origin to the protection and assistance of the law of England.

To allow either to injure or oppress the other, or to permit the stronger to regard the weaker party as aliens with whom a war can exist, and against whom they may exercise belligerent rights, is not less inconsistent with the spirit of that Law, than it is at variance with the dictates of justice and humanity . . .

His Excellency thinks it right, further to inform the public, that each succeeding despatch from the Secretary of State, marks in an increasing degree the importance which Her Majesty's Government, and no less the Parliament and the people of Great Britain, attach to the just and humane treatment of the Aborigines of this country; and to declare most earnestly, and

solemnly, his deep conviction that there is no subject or matter whatsoever in which the interest as well as the honour of the colonists are most essentially concerned.<sup>8</sup>

In 1839 the attention of owners of stock and the public in general was drawn to the extensive powers vested by the squatting or Border Police Act (2 Vic. No. 27) in the commissioners of crown lands acting beyond the boundaries, "as one of the principal objects which the Council had in view . . . was to put a stop to the atrocities which have of late been so extensively committed beyond the boundaries, both by Aborigines and on them".<sup>9</sup> The public were also notified that distinct instructions had been received by Governor Gipps from Her Majesty's Government to institute an inquest or enquiry in every case where any of the Aboriginal inhabitants came to a violent death in consequence of a collision with white men. Irrespective of race or colour, all were to be brought, as far as was in the governor's power, to equal and indiscriminate justice.

During the years following the 1839 notification, the considerable correspondence which passed between the Colonial Office in England and the colonial governors shows that this humane policy was continuously in view. However, the policy was doomed to failure.

In 1836, the Supreme Court of New South Wales had to decide whether Aboriginal tribes were amenable to the laws of Great Britain in the courts of the colony for offences against the public peace committed on each other, or whether they were governed by usages and customs of their own from time to time immemorial, practised, and recognized amongst them.

These questions arose in the case of an Aborigine named Jack Congo Murrall, arraigned for the murder of another Aborigine named Jabinguy. The court had assigned counsel and attorney for the defence, and on a plea to the jurisdiction of the court being entered by counsel Stephen the attorney general demurred to the plea, which brought the question of law fully before the court. The court unanimously decided that Aboriginal tribes had no sovereignty at the time of possession of the colony, the offence had been committed within the territorial jurisdiction of the court, the

British government had exercised its rights in the colony over a long period, offences against an Aborigine must be punished to protect his civil rights, and there could be no distinction from a case where the victim was a white man.<sup>10</sup>

Two years later, in the Myall Creek case, the Aborigine's right to the protection of the law was confirmed when seven white men were found guilty of murdering one of the children included in the massacre of twenty-eight Aborigines. Those found guilty were subsequently executed by hanging.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, Aborigines had been subject to the penalties of the law. The following case is mentioned as it resulted in the first execution according to law of Aborigines of the territory of what is now Queensland. Two Aborigines, Meridie and Nungavil, were tried before Burton J. in Sydney for the murder in 1840 of William Tuck, a white convict from the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement. Tuck had been assigned to assistant government surveyor Stapylton who was also killed at the time by Aborigines. They were found guilty and sentenced to death.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the humane policy of the British government and equality of European and Aborigine under the law, the settlers on the frontier considered these objectives were impractical, caused by inexperience and distance from the facts, and proposed by people who knew nothing about the settler's difficulties. On the frontier there was a natural concern to be secure in life and possessions. They felt the government should afford some protection or let the settlers protect themselves. Sufficient power to enforce the law and to control the settlers was lacking.

On the other hand, the Aborigine also was not in a position to have recourse to justice according to law. He was unorganized, ignorant of the colonial law, and had no accessible advocate to look after his interests. The evidence of an Aborigine who did not understand the nature of an oath was inadmissible under the law. The evidence obtained from inquests or enquiries into the deaths of Aborigines could be of little value in criminal cases. The chief depositions, and often the only depositions, necessarily then were those of the white men concerned. The evidence of

Aborigines, even if obtainable, was not accepted in criminal cases.

An Act (3 Vic. No. 16) to admit the evidence of Aborigines, was passed in New South Wales in 1839,<sup>13</sup> but was disallowed by the crown on the advice that to allow heathens to give evidence would be "contrary to the principles of British Jurisprudence".<sup>14</sup> It was considered in New South Wales in 1841 that the inadmissibility of the evidence of Aborigines acted quite as often in their favour as against them, the admission of their evidence being "as much called for . . . by parties who had suffered from the aggressions of the Blacks as by those who advocated their civilization".<sup>15</sup> An Aborigine might consider praiseworthy the act he was accused of, and boastfully describe his exploits. However, in 1843, power to legislate to remove the difficulties founded on the inadmissibility of Aboriginal evidence was conferred by England on the local legislature,<sup>16</sup> but in New South Wales there was a failure to pass legislation under that power.

Rather unique circumstances had existed in the Myall Creek case. A resolution "to exterminate the whole race of blacks in that quarter" had resulted in the massacre of twenty-eight Aborigines on a run held by Henry Dangar. The resolution did not have the support of all settlers in the area. One of the whites present who did not participate informed the nearest magistrate. The first jury acquitted eleven men charged but Attorney General Plunkett had seven charged on a further count of murder, hoping that one of the other four might turn queen's evidence. When this did not happen the other four were not prosecuted on a further count because the chief evidence against them was that of a civilized Aborigine working on Myall Creek, whose evidence was inadmissible.<sup>17</sup>

One result of the Myall Creek massacre and case was the Border Police Act of 1839. So far as the Aborigines were concerned, no mention was made in that act for their protection or welfare under the law. It was considered that the existing law required neither improvement nor alteration. All that was required was the means to execute the law. These means, it was hoped, would be supplied by the police to be

established under the act and it would be, of course, for the executive government to direct the application of them. The Border Police Act was of fixed duration, two years only, but was renewed for a further five years in 1841 (5 Vic. No. 1). In each of two districts of Queensland before separation — Moreton Bay and Darling Downs — a Border Police Force operated until 1846. A short reference is made in chapter 1 to these two units, although the subject of the book is the Native Police Force which functioned in this territory three years later.

The short-lived Border Police, which operated on the pastoral frontier, were succeeded in this territory by a constabulary of some three or four constables attached to each court of petty sessions outside of Brisbane Town, with about the same number of troopers attached to each commissioner of crown lands. These isolated and small police groups were primarily concerned with matters other than the restoration of peace and order between settler and Aborigine in the vast areas in which the groups were employed.

During the years to which this story relates no laws were enacted in the colony after the 1839 Border Police Act to assist in maintaining the equality of legal status of the Aborigine or in bringing justice according to law to Aborigines, not only on the extending frontier but in those areas left behind. Over this period, the attitude generally of the government and public of the colony towards the Aborigines hardened.

Even a report by the Reverend Christopher Eipper, minister of the Church of Scotland and a missionary at Brisbane Town from 1838 to 1843, suggested the establishment of one or more penal settlements for the Aborigines as a field for missionary enterprises. In referring to the declaration that Aborigines were under the protection of and amenable to the British law, Eipper wrote:

its protection I grant, they have often, and do often undeservedly enjoy; as to their accounting themselves, and being in reality amenable to the law, very little consideration and observation will shew, that it is a very shadowy pretence. Life and property are frequently taken by them with impunity; and so long as nothing else but the course of regular justice is opposed to that lawless course of proceeding, many lives and much property will be sacrificed. It is true that public and private retribution has now



and then been made upon the Aborigines, and no doubt the innocent have paid with their blood and life for the misdeeds of their brethren.<sup>18</sup>

However, the question of the moral rights of the Aborigines was still exercising the mind, in England, of the secretary of state for the colonies. On 25 June 1847, Earl Grey wrote to Sir Charles FitzRoy acknowledging the latter's despatch of 25 October 1846, in which had been transmitted a report from the superintendent at Port Phillip, pointing out the defective state of the law as it affected the Aborigines of Australia and the insufficient security it afforded, both as regards the protection of the natives and their punishment for acts of aggression on the settlers. Two circumstances had been pointed out in that case: first, the inapplicability to the Aborigines of the law of evidence as it then stood, and second, the impediment to the administration of justice arising from the variety of the forms and technical rules of procedure under which the law was administered. It was represented that murders and other crimes were inflicted with impunity by the Aborigines not only upon each other but also upon the settlers.

As FitzRoy had transmitted that statement without comment, Grey wrote that he was led to infer that the governor had probably overlooked the act (6 Vic. cap. 22), entitled "An Act to authorize the Legislatures of certain of Her Majesty's Colonies to pass Laws for the admission in certain cases of unsworn testimony in Civil and Criminal proceedings". That Imperial Act had been transmitted to FitzRoy's predecessor on 6 July 1843. Grey added:

The Statute in question imparts to the local Legislature all requisite powers for removing the difficulties founded on the supposed inadmissibility of the evidence of the Aborigines. But I must acknowledge that it is to the care and vigilance of the Executive Authorities alone, that we can trust for such an application of the Law as may effectually ensure the Administration of Justice and the prevention of those crimes of which the Natives are either the perpetrators or the victims. To exempt the administration of the Law from cumbersome formalities and superfluous rules is, as you are well aware, an attempt of almost hopeless difficulty, in whatever Country and in reference to whatever class of Society that attempt may be made.<sup>19</sup>

However, the colonial legislature was loath for many years to enact for the reception of the evidence of Aborigines. In

New South Wales, the Legislative Council in 1844 and 1849 rejected bills to enable the Imperial Act to apply, and it was not until the Evidence Act 1876 was enacted in that colony that a judge was able to take evidence otherwise than on oath. In 1876 Queensland also admitted the evidence of those ignorant of the nature of, or incompetent to take an oath.<sup>20</sup> The person authorized to administer the oath was to be satisfied the taking of an oath would have no binding effect on the conscience of the person giving the evidence and he understood he would be liable to punishment if his evidence was untruthful.

On 11 February 1848 Grey, in writing to FitzRoy on the difficulty of locating the Aboriginal tribes absolutely apart from the settlers, stated that this made it more incumbent on the government to prevent the Aborigines from being altogether excluded from the land under pastoral occupation. Grey thought it essential that it be generally understood that leases to settlers granted only an exclusive right of pasturage and of cultivating such land as the occupiers might require within the large limits assigned to them. The leases were not intended to deprive the natives of their former right to hunt over these districts, to wander over them in search of subsistence, or to the spontaneous produce of the soil except over land actually cultivated or fenced for the purpose.

A distinct understanding of the extent of mutual rights, Grey thought, was one step at least towards the maintenance of order and mutual forbearance between settlers and natives in the outlying districts. In this despatch, Grey also referred to the setting apart of reserves for the benefit of Aborigines, schools and training for Aborigines, and the remedying of the law of native evidence.<sup>21</sup> The Executive Council of the colony, on 18 July 1848 following receipt of an opinion given by Attorney General Plunkett, advised that such a condition as Grey envisaged could not be introduced into the leases by the local government and that the requisite authority only could be obtained by a further order of her majesty in council (under 9 & 10 Vic. cap. 104).<sup>22</sup>

The position was that the attention and resources of the colonial government were becoming more absorbed by the growing white community and there was no time or money

to spend on what was generally regarded as a doomed race. Rusden in his *History of Australia* wrote in relation to New South Wales:

Though only two Governors, Phillip and Gipps, had dared to be just, in the long line of responsible Governors, many of them had been kind and well-meaning. Supported by the humane counsels of Secretaries of State, and by the provision for the welfare of the Aborigines secured by Lord Stanley under his Land Act of 1842, Governors had tempered, if they could not quell, the cruel blasts of persecution which raged over the land. But on the disappearance of the Governor's active control, there arose a confidence that the Executive Government, dependent on the people's voice, would not dare, if even it should desire, to mete out equal justice to the two races. Dwellers in the outlying Districts denounced as impertinent any questionings as to the number, or the manner of the violent deaths of natives on their cattle stations. The four responsible Ministries of Donaldson, Cowper, Parker, and Cowper, which existed between 1856 and 1860, did nothing to ameliorate the condition of affairs in the northern districts.<sup>23</sup>

The failures of various colonial administrations to carry out the policies laid down in England are not further pursued here.<sup>24</sup>

In Queensland before separation, then part of the northern districts of New South Wales, the rapidly expanding frontier produced requests from the settlers for a Native Police Force for their protection. The problem for the colonial executive was one of keeping the peace between two kinds of British subjects — the whites and the native tribes.

Governor FitzRoy had reason to believe that the establishment of the Native Police Force in the northern districts would not only have the effect of checking the collisions between the white inhabitants and the Aborigines "which in some instances have had very deplorable results", but he was "also sanguine in the hope that it may prove one of the most efficient means of attempting to introduce more civilized habits among the native tribes".<sup>25</sup> Civilized habits were to be introduced to the Aborigines by punitive measures when it was considered by officers themselves that the occasion warranted them.

The story of the Native Police Force contained in this particular volume is only part of its whole story, being limited to the years when it served in the then northern districts of the colony of New South Wales. It begins with the

first arrival of Walker's detachment on the Macintyre River and ends when members of the force were taken over by the government of the new colony of Queensland in 1859. The story here presented is largely compiled from official records. It is realized that much of the history of the force was not reported, therefore the whole will never be written. It is beyond human memory.

Operating as a punitive expedition, the force is tangible evidence of the final bankruptcy of frontier policy. While the Native Police system may well be condemned, wholesale strictures of all members of that force are unjustified. Foul deeds in excess of the duty imposed were certainly perpetrated by a few,<sup>4</sup> but generally the work of the force is well summed up by W. E. Parry-Okeden, commissioner of police of Queensland, in 1896 following his investigation into the Native Police: "The Native Police have had in the past a most difficult duty and their officers have borne a heavy burden of responsibility. In carrying out that duty under most adverse conditions, many of them lost their lives, some have been severely wounded, and others have spent a lifetime of hardship in protecting life and property, and in honestly carrying out on the very outskirts of civilization the responsible work thrust upon them."<sup>2 6</sup>

The Aboriginal members of the force generally share in this commendation. We have ample evidence of their loyalty to their officers and of their courage. Many lost their lives in carrying out the duties imposed on them. Parry-Okeden, in his report, referred to their capacity for being trained to a high state of discipline and added: "But by reason of their light-hearted nature they will with much greater relish join in a friendly 'Yabba' [talk], hunt, or corroboree with, or help feed, their fellows"<sup>5</sup>.

Many references have been made over the years to the Native Police Force and to its individual members. Occasionally, manifest inaccuracies have occurred and it is hoped that this volume will rectify some of those errors.

The story of the Native Police Force is part of the history of the first white settlement of this land. The frontiers of settlement expanded for many years. The raking up of the misdeeds of our past may be regarded by some as a matter

which should now be forgotten. However, often the lack of some historical dimension is the cause of failure to apply correct treatment to a present problem.

If this volume is of assistance, even in a small degree, in now promoting true Aboriginal welfare in Australia, then the work entailed will have been worthwhile.

Words such as “blacks”, “whites”, “natives”, “savages”, although somewhat out of place today, are used in the historical context of this story. Likewise, words relating to any Aboriginal action against the settlers are those that were used at the time of the incident.

# 1

## Beyond the Limits of Location

During the 1830s in the New South Wales colony there was a transformation in the nature of its population and problems. This development, at first scarcely noticeable, was obvious in 1835. During the latter years of the decade, the old convict days were drawing to an end<sup>1</sup> and free immigration and monetary capital were flowing to this land of promise.

The prospect of riches obtained from flocks and herds and the possession of new pastures were magnets of attraction. Wool growing was the primary thought. At the commencement of the 1830s Australian wool was gaining recognition in England and was already attracting good prices. Two million pounds weight of wool had been sent from the Australian colonies in 1830 and the following year New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land exported no less than a million and a quarter pounds each. The figures continued to climb and in 1839, over ten million pounds of wool were exported. Australian wool was then definitely established on the market and its economic future assured.

Gregory Blaxland, accompanied by Lieutenant Lawson and student W. C. Wentworth, in crossing the Blue Mountains in 1813, had opened the way for the inland invasion by the stockmen with their drays, flocks, and herds.

Very slowly at first, pastoral occupation had gradually expanded from Sydney. The extension of settlement by 1829 caused a proclamation by Governor Darling of "limits of location" or "limits of settlement" in the colony.<sup>2</sup> The imaginary boundaries of this area divided eastern Australia into two regions — settled and the unsettled — the latter

“beyond the boundaries”. This expression as well as that of “within the limits of location” and similar expressions were commonly used for decades in the colony. Nineteen counties — really comprising the area in which land was then occupied by settlers — were proclaimed and subsequently the county of Bourke in the district of Port Phillip was added to the original counties. This proclamation sought to apply the British government’s policy of concentration of settlement. The government was influenced by the doctrine of systematic settlement in the colonies advanced by E. G. Wakefield and his theorists that sales of land, immigration of labour, and spread of settlement, all under strict control, should move together in orderly balance. The theory assumed that the dispersion of settlement meant the ruin of any colony.

However, imaginary boundaries could not deter the search for good pastures. Stockmen continued to drive their sheep and cattle beyond the limits of location despite the handicaps. Beyond the boundaries a trespasser had to rely entirely on himself and, at first, land could be neither purchased nor occupied under lawful authority.

By 1835, stock were roaming well beyond the limits of location. The Police and Gaols Committee produced evidence of the way in which settlement had outstripped government provision for it. Governor Sir Richard Bourke recognized that trespasses beyond the boundaries could not be stopped when he reported in a despatch of 10 October 1835: “The proprietors of thousands of acres already find it necessary, equally with the poorer settlers, to send large flocks beyond the present boundary of location to preserve them in health throughout the year. The colonists must otherwise restrain the increase or endeavour to raise artificial food for their stock. Whilst nature presents all around an unlimited supply of the most wholesome nutriment, either course would seem a perverse rejection of the Bounty of Providence.”<sup>3</sup>

In 1836 Governor Bourke moved to legalize occupation by reputable persons beyond the boundaries. The resulting Act (7 Wm. IV. No. 4) “to restrain the unauthorized occupation of Crown Lands” was equally a law to recognize and encourage legitimate grazing. It recognized the principle of dispersion by authorizing the granting of annual licenses, at a

fee of ten pounds, conferring the right to depasture stock on any unoccupied lands beyond the boundaries of location for the term of one year. The act also authorized the appointment of commissioners of crown lands – one for each district – to remove undesirable intruders, but did not define their precise duties. No provision was made by the Act for the preservation of law and order beyond the boundaries of location.

Sir George Gipps who assumed the governorship of the colony in February 1838, reported:

... it is too late to calculate the evils of dispersion in New South Wales. All the power of Government, aided even by a Military force ten times greater than that which is maintained in the Colony, would not suffice to bring back within the limits of our twenty counties the Flocks and Herds, which now stray hundreds of miles beyond them; and, therefore, the only question is whether we will abandon all control over these distant regions, and leave the occupiers of them unrestrained in their lawless aggressions upon each other and upon the Aborigines, or make such efforts, as are in our power, to preserve order amongst all classes.<sup>4</sup>

Gipps moved to preserve order “amongst all classes” beyond the boundaries of location. From the countryside around, there had been arriving in Sydney continual news of outrages by natives and, on the other side, rumours of atrocities by squatting parties. The Myall Creek trials assisted in producing a climax. On 14 February 1839, Gipps opened an extraordinary session of the Legislative Council of the colony, stating that he had summoned the council to pass “a measure for the establishment of a Police Force beyond the settled districts of the Colony”. The governor further stated: “The vast interests, which have grown up in those distant parts of the Territory, and the number of persons of all classes now engaged in depasturing Sheep and Cattle beyond what are called the Boundaries of Location, might be sufficient themselves to call for the protection of a Police Force; but the necessity of it is rendered far more urgent by the frequent aggressions made of late by the Aboriginal Natives upon the Flocks and Herds of Stockmen, by the outrages which have been committed on the Aborigines as well as by them, and particularly by one atrocious deed of blood for which seven unhappy men have suffered death on



the scaffold.”<sup>5</sup>

Gipps then detailed the provisions for the proposed bill to establish a Border Police, so-called to distinguish them from the more regular Mounted Police Force of the colony.<sup>6</sup> With some changes this bill was passed on 22 March 1839. The Act (2 Vic. No. 27) was entitled “An Act further to restrain the unauthorised occupation of Crown Lands, and to provide the means of defraying the expense of the Border Police” Enacted for a period of two years only, this Act, generally referred to as the “Squatting Act”, was hated by the settlers who were taxed for the maintenance of the Border Police.

Amongst other provisions, authority was given for the proclaiming of border districts adjacent to and beyond the limits allotted for location, for the appointment of a commissioner, being a justice of the peace, in each border district, and for a Border Police Force, under the orders of and attached to the commissioner, in each border district. The commissioner, apart from powers conferred in relation to the occupation of crown lands, was required to keep the peace in his district, to protect the lives, property, rights, and privileges of all persons, and to maintain order and regularity amongst them.

Apart from existing deficiencies in the law, which were not remedied in the Act, the Border Police Force of each commissioner was incapable of keeping the peace between settler and Aborigine. Composed until October 1844 largely of military convicts, often each force was short of replacements. In the Darling Downs district, rarely more than three active troopers and one dismounted trooper were employed in looking after the station. Much of the troopers’ time was spent in performing duties relating to the occupation of crown lands and to the commissioner’s functions as a magistrate; collecting returns from settlers, serving assessment notices, serving summonses and executing warrants for alleged offences against the law generally, and escorting prisoners to centres of trial or places of imprisonment. Little time was left for patrolling the large area of the district to keep the peace between settlers and Aborigines. Even then, in practice, protection of the settler was the main objective. Commissioner Rolleston of the Darling Downs district reported that his force had been barely able to afford pro-

tection to the stations within the limits of his district — limits embracing an extent in length from north to south of nearly two hundred miles and in breadth an average of fifty miles.<sup>7</sup>

Generally, from the squatters' viewpoint the Border Police Force was inefficient. Most witnesses before the Select Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Council, sitting in 1844 on the Crown Land Grievances, stated this. Members of the Border Police were accused of being ill-conducted, drunken, and disorderly.<sup>8</sup>

However, R. Vernon Dalhanty, an extensive proprietor of sheep beyond the boundaries with experience of the Border Police, considered that the police, although composed of bad materials, by their presence produced a good effect by keeping off the blacks and by preventing the harbouring of disorderly fellows and runaways. He knew there was a prejudice against the members of the force but he believed it principally arose from their being convicts and the general feeling that they should not be placed in a situation of trust.<sup>9</sup> There were several other witnesses who shared the opinion that the force beyond the boundaries performed its duties "better than the public could reasonably expect". The commissioners in charge of the divisions of the Border Police generally performed their duties conscientiously and as well as the law and circumstances allowed.

The Border Police Force, established by the hated "Squatting Act" of 1839, in fact was a pawn in the struggle between the solid masses of the squatters and Gipps over the land question, a struggle which ended in Stanley's despatch of March 1845 announcing that the governor could come home with the full approbation of the government. However Gipps continued his fight against the pastoralists' demands. Shortly after opening the session of the Legislative Council in 1846, Gipps, on 15 May, presented a bill to continue the Squatting Act of 1839 for one year. On 4 June the bill was rejected, all of the representative members present voting against it.

On 20 June 1846, each commissioner was directed by a confidential circular from the colonial secretary's office to discharge such men from the Border Police as were in receipt of pay from the government. A discretionary power was left with each commissioner to retain "until further orders" a

portion of these men, not exceeding one-half, where any collision "had lately taken place or might be apprehended between the white population and the Aborigines". On the subject of Aborigines, the commissioners were reminded of the "anxious solicitude which is felt for their protection by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament".<sup>10</sup>

In Queensland before separation, Patrick Leslie and assigned convict Peter Duff Murphy pioneered pastoral settlement on the Darling Downs early in 1840, thirteen years after Cunningham had discovered the region. Other squatters pressed hard on Leslie's heels. For some eighteen months afterwards, access to the "Downs" from the immediate seaboard remained forbidden without official permission. The convict settlement at Moreton Bay, formed towards the end of 1824, still existed. Other settlement within fifty miles of Brisbane Town was prohibited. By a proclamation dated 10 February 1842, the district of Moreton Bay was discontinued as a penal settlement and opened to free settlers. Squatters immediately moved into the Brisbane Valley within the former fifty miles limit. Despite the financial crises and bad seasons in New South Wales during the years 1841 to 1844, pastoral activities in these northern areas continued. To the north of Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs stretched unknown areas — a lure to squatters and explorers. In the Wide Bay area, Tiaro station was established late in 1842. Shortly afterwards, Henry Stuart Russell with William Orton and Jemmy, an Aborigine from the Severn, discovered the Stuart River and what they thought were the upper waters of the Boyne.<sup>11</sup> Russell and W. H. Glover afterwards established Burrandowan station on the former's Boyne River.

In 1844, explorer Leichhardt and his party left Jimbour on the Darling Downs on a successful overland expedition to Port Essington, north Australia. Early on this journey, he travelled downstream along the banks of the Dawson River.

Westwards of the Darling Downs, in 1846, Colonial Surveyor General Sir Thomas Mitchell and party travelled upstream along the banks of the Balonne River. Northwards, Mitchell named Mount Abundance and the country surrounding that peak FitzRoy Downs in honour of the governor of

New South Wales.

Squatters quickly followed into those areas and new contacts between settlers and Aborigines were made continually. During the period 1842 to 1848, following the extension of settlement, five districts were proclaimed in the territory of what is now Queensland: Moreton Bay, Darling Downs, Maranoa, Burnett, and Wide Bay respectively.

Until 30 June 1846, a Border Police Force served in the districts of Moreton Bay and Darling Downs under commissioners Dr. Stephen Simpson and Christopher Rolleston. These two districts proclaimed under the Squatting Act were then the most northerly districts of the colony of New South Wales.

In the Moreton Bay district Aboriginal attacks directed against carriers and oxen-hauled supply drays toiling up the eastern slopes of the Dividing Range caused Simpson to make representations in 1843 for the establishment of a military post at the foot of the range. Drays were escorted over that part of the road for more than two years. While in charge of the Border Police, Simpson experienced at least one case of the death of an Aborigine by poisoning. He collected evidence against a prisoner of the crown employed as a chandler at a boiling-down establishment near Ipswich, but the prisoner was not brought to trial owing to the death meanwhile of the doctor who had analyzed the contents of the stomach of the deceased Aborigine.<sup>1 2</sup>

The Moreton Bay district, being interspersed by scrub-clad mountains, was exposed to depredations by Aborigines. At the end of 1845, Simpson in his report on the Aborigines in his district stated: "they are no longer at open warfare with the squatters, rushing off mobs of cattle and carrying off whole flocks of sheep, but they have adopted a system of pilfering which no foresight can prevent. even in the vicinity of Brisbane." Simpson referred to the carrying off from his own station (at Woogaroo) of not less than seven tons of sweet potatoes in a few weeks and added: "Some of the better disposed give the names of the marauders, but in the present state of the law nothing can be done with them upon such evidence."<sup>1 3</sup> Simpson also reported that, besides some serious assaults, three men had been killed by

Aborigines during 1845. For the six months previous to the disbanding of his Border Police, Simpson reported that the Aborigines had been very troublesome to the cattle stations – the cattle being dispersed because of the drought – and many cattle had been speared.

In the Darling Downs district Rolleston, on receiving notice of the disbanding of the Border Police, reported that “only one out of the numerous tribes frequenting the district is in the slightest degree to be depended upon”. Although the Aborigines had caused loss to life and property, he was convinced that the presence of the Border Police in and perambulations round the district had had a great effect in checking their aggressions and maintaining the friendly relations which it had been his chief object to re-establish between the two races. Rolleston referred to the indefinite limits of the northern and western quarters of his district, which were exposed to the aggressions of the numerous and warlike tribes occupying the dense scrubs along the banks of the river Condamine and its tributaries. In that neighbourhood, he stated, new runs were every day being explored and occupied, and collisions must be expected to occur. In the absence of all police protection, these could produce serious losses of life and property.<sup>1 4</sup>

After the disbanding of the Border Police in 1846, the policing of the districts of Moreton Bay and Darling Downs, as well as of districts later proclaimed, was left to small groups of constabulary. Each group was attached to a court of petty sessions. Proclamations of places for the holding of these courts were made as the area of pastoral settlement expanded. The commissioners of crown lands, as such, had the policing of the occupation of crown lands to attend to, and the few troopers retained by them, although sworn in as constables, were actually employed to assist in their work as well as to provide for their own protection. The duties of commissioners, as magistrates, did not differ from those of the few squatters who were appointed to the commission of the peace. The keeping of the peace between settler and Aborigine was virtually left to the parties themselves.

Records of most of the occasions when settlers took the law into their own hands in “teaching a lesson” to Aboriginal



marauders by shooting and even poisoning, have perished with the participants and witnesses. However some records of these incidents still remain. In the Moreton Bay district up to 1853, one hundred and seventy-four white men were killed by Aborigines.<sup>15</sup> Captain John Coley who had arrived at Brisbane at the latter end of 1842, when giving evidence before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee, referred to those early murders of whites: "the blacks were severely chastised on account of these murders. For want of Police protection, the settlers had to protect themselves, and their retaliation, by shooting, was very severe."<sup>16</sup>

Evidence was given before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee that on the Macintyre River runs were abandoned by squatters after loss of life and property caused by Aboriginal action. Sixteen white men had been killed on the area later called Callandoon. About 1846, these abandoned areas were again occupied by squatters. Again station hands were killed and heavy losses of cattle occurred as a result of Aboriginal resistance.<sup>17</sup>

John Ker Wilson, who in 1846 or 1847 arrived on the Macintyre to take charge of cattle stations, recalled counting eighty carcasses of cattle in one morning on the Callandoon run; "blacks' dogs were all about the place and spears sticking up in the carcasses; some of the heads were cut off and stuck up on sticks; other cattle were disabled, some hamstringed and let go" Wilson stated that the Aborigines would take what beef they wanted, but generally they would cut a little hole in the flank and take out the kidney fat. Wilson added: "We were not able to protect ourselves, being shorthanded and often scant of provisions; and also in those days very poor and unable to form large establishments". After Callandoon was taken up, Wilson said, "many settlers came up and lived on the stations and were much more vigorous in protecting themselves against the blacks (although) it was made a rule never to touch any of the gins". The early attempts at squatting in the Callandoon area were frustrated by Aboriginal action. Wilson considered that many of the difficulties which had taken place with the Aborigines were largely owing to the fact that stations were weakly manned and the men were generally frightened. Wilson quoted two or

three men living together at a station, not being strong enough to go out and fight the blacks, popping a gun through the slabs of the hut and firing upon Aborigines, "perhaps killing a blackfellow". At other times they would put poison in a damper and give it to the blacks. He said: "When these men — hutkeepers and others about the station — got alarmed, they frequently shot at a blackfellow, or quietly gave him a dose of poison, and the blacks took revenge for it, not always killing the same man but by taking the life of some white man."<sup>18</sup>

Jacob Lowe, another squatter in those years on the Macintyre, found on one occasion seventy-five carcasses of his cattle, three weeks after turning the herd out. The remainder of the herd was dispersed and he never knew his exact losses. The Aborigines had only taken the tongues and the fat from the cattle killed. Lowe and his party followed the blacks on that occasion and "punished them for this slaughter". He said the natives had been "shot in battle in short". Lowe considered the cattle had been destroyed, not for the purpose of food, but to frighten the settlers to drive them away out of the district: "The hearts of two Hereford heifers who had very rich coloured coats, were stuck on two poles, facing each other, as if gateway posts." Lowe had heard from his neighbours of Aborigines coming to their hut with the kidney fat of a slaughtered bullock stuck on a spear. The natives had called to the people that they (the Aborigines) would give a share of what they had helped themselves to, that they were not greedy like the whites.<sup>19</sup>

Shortly before the proclamation in November 1848, under the imperial Act of 1846 (9 & 10 Vic. c. 104), of the three commissioners' districts of Maranoa, Burnett, and Wide Bay, reports by commissioners and others from the northern districts of depredations by Aborigines and rumoured reprisals by settlers had induced Governor FitzRoy to raise a Native Police Force for service in the northern unsettled districts.

It had long been customary in the colony to resort to the assistance of Aborigines in tracking offenders against the law — bushrangers as they were commonly called. For some years Governor Gipps had endeavoured to attach two or three

Aboriginal natives to each party of Border Police, as well as to the more regular force of "Mounted Police" stationed "within the boundaries".<sup>20</sup>

The first experiment of a Native Police was tried in 1837. It appears to have been introduced upon the suggestion of Captain Maconochie, in a letter addressed by him to Sir Richard Bourke on 10 June 1837. Captain Maconochie also appears to have addressed a letter to the secretary of state, Lord Glenelg, on the same subject, and an extract of this letter was transmitted to the colonial government.

About the same time, Captain Lonsdale, then police magistrate at Melbourne, suggested the employment of the natives in this way, and he received authority to engage Christian L. J. De Villiers, who had had some experience with the native Hottentot police at the Cape of Good Hope, at a salary of £100 a year, and an assistant at £40 a year. However, in consequence of some difficulty with missionary Langhorne, the matter was given up. In 1838, an attempt was again made. De Villiers was re-engaged but shortly after resigned. In 1839, authority was given to form a Native Police, but the experiment failed from various causes. In 1842, the attempt to form a Native Police was again made under the superintendence of C. J. La Trobe and direction of H. E. Pultney Dana, an Englishman, by whom the experiment was satisfactorily conducted.<sup>21</sup>

The establishment of the "Native Police", distinct from either the Mounted or the Border Police, first appeared on the Port Phillip estimates for the year 1843, when the sum of £2,675 5s. 0d. was voted to support it. This annual cost remained about the same in each yearly estimate up to 1848. Port Phillip was regarded as a settled district. In 1844, the Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances had reported that in the district of Port Phillip, where alone this kind of police had been tried, they had been found useful. However the committee saw no reason to believe that the Aborigines could be used generally as an independent force, "though probably some advantage may be obtained by attaching a few of them to European Police, as is now done with the Mounted Corps".<sup>22</sup>

Replying to a circular letter from that select committee,



Captain John Clements Wickham, police magistrate, Moreton Bay, had questioned the policy of arming a number of natives “when it was well known that the natives of one tribe would destroy those of another, upon the slightest provocation”. Wickham stated that he thought, with respect to a Native Police, there would always be much uncertainty attending such a force — “the natural fondness of the native for a bush life would induce him to leave any employment for the sake of joining his tribe at certain seasons of the year (there were instances of such in this District); if taken away from their own districts more reliance might be placed in them, but at best they were scarcely to be trusted”.<sup>2 3</sup> It is interesting to note that in 1856 Wickham assumed control of the Native Police Force in the northern districts.

In 1848 Governor FitzRoy had reason to believe that the establishment of the Native Police Force in the northern districts would not only have the effect of checking the collisions between the white inhabitants and the Aborigines “which in some instances have had very deplorable results”, but he was “also sanguine in the hope that it may prove one of the most efficient means of attempting to introduce more civilized habits among the native tribes”.<sup>2 4</sup>

No measure of law was enacted nor any official policy declared to determine the functions of the force or its duties and obligations. On 17 August 1848, the appointment of Frederick Walker, Esquire to be commandant of the Corps of Native Police to be employed beyond the settled districts, in the Sydney district, was notified in the Government Gazette.<sup>2 5</sup> The words “in the Sydney district” appear to have been used to distinguish the corps from the Native Police first established in the Port Phillip district.<sup>2 6</sup>

Although the first detachment of the corps was recruited in the latter months of 1848, it was not until 1849 that FitzRoy transmitted to the Legislative Council an estimate amounting to £1,000 for the formation of a small Corps of Native Police beyond the settled districts. Before the commencement of that financial year the corps was actively employed. The instrument of “native administration” in the colony for years ahead had been shaped with little official announcement and without public opposition. However it

appears that the formation of the corps was quickly known on the northern frontier. On 30 November 1848, Commissioner Rolleston of the Darling Downs district wrote from his headquarters at Cambooya reporting "the murder of five white men by blacks on the Lower Condamine" and asking that a party of Native Police be stationed in that neighbourhood "for the natural protection of blacks and whites".<sup>27</sup> Walker and his recruited native troopers at that time were making final preparations to leave the Murray River district for the Macintyre country.

## 2 First Use of the New Corps

Frederick Walker was about twenty-eight years of age<sup>1</sup> when appointed commandant of the Corps of Native Police to be employed beyond the settled districts. He had been a clerk of petty sessions in the colony, his first appointment being at Tumut on 5 January 1847.<sup>2</sup> Walker and his brother had migrated to Australia from England. In 1854 his mother and sister lived at Dawlish, Devonshire.<sup>3</sup>

He had held, also, the position of station superintendent or manager for an absent squatter.<sup>4</sup> While resident in the south-western districts he became very familiar with the Aborigines in those areas.<sup>5</sup>

A recommendation, oral or by letter of introduction from a friend of rank or influence, was an important qualification for appointment to the colonial service. Walker's appointment was no exception. A former employer, William Charles Wentworth, and Augustus Morris, member of the Legislative Council, were personal friends of his in Sydney.<sup>6</sup> During most of his commandantship, Walker was strongly supported by members of the colony's council. Ten years after his appointment as commandant, it was acknowledged that Walker understood the Aboriginal character and what was necessary to make Aborigines act as a force, and that he was a good bushman. This was maintained by Alfred Brown of Gin Gin station and others before the 1858 Select Committee.<sup>7</sup> John Watts in his "Personal Reminiscences 1901" described Walker as a first-class man for the appointment.<sup>8</sup>

Walker, who resided at Wagga Wagga after leaving Tumut, recruited his force of fourteen from four different tribes,

each speaking a different language,<sup>9</sup> in the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Edward Rivers area where he was known to the Aborigines.<sup>10</sup> Troopers were recruited at first under an agreement of employment which was later dispensed with.<sup>11</sup> Some who regarded the Aborigines as stupid and careless thought he never could get his troop into "good working order".<sup>12</sup> Within four months of his appointment as commandant, on 6 December 1848, Walker and his small force of fourteen Native Police started for the Macintyre River.<sup>13</sup> His journey up the Darling was accomplished under some hardships.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, requests for police protection for settlers on the western areas of the Darling Downs were addressed to Sydney. Rolleston's request for the stationing of a party of Native Police in the neighbourhood of the lower Condamine was referred by his chief commissioner to the colonial secretary on 2 February 1849. As Walker and his force were then proceeding northwards, the purpose behind the following note by the governor on the correspondence is obscure: "There are no funds at present at the disposal of the Government to defray the expense of the protection applied for, but the subject can be taken into consideration when the estimates for the next Sessions are in course of preparation."<sup>15</sup> An expenditure must have been incurred in the recruitment of the force and the provision of horses and equipment. Whether the vote from which those monies were taken was by then ended or whether the destination of Walker's force was being withheld from the public are questions now unanswerable.

Rolleston's request had been followed by his further report that the station of Captain J. G. Barney, Kogan Creek, had been attacked by Aborigines, one of the shepherds killed, and all Barney's sheep driven off.<sup>16</sup> Early in 1849, settlers in the western areas of the Darling Downs had forwarded to the governor a petition for police protection.<sup>17</sup>

Walker arrived on the Macintyre River on 10 May 1849.<sup>18</sup> The mode of operation of his force was first disclosed close to the camp of William Butler Tooth. Walker there found Aborigines killing Tooth's cattle and a fight ensued. Before the 1858 Select Committee Tooth said: "The blacks were so

completely put down on that occasion and terrified at the power of the Police, that they never committed any more depredations near there. The place was quiet at once, and property became fifty per cent more valuable." Tooth went on: "Larnach sold the station at a sacrifice, as the blacks had been very troublesome. Scarcely a man would go into the district for double the wages paid anywhere else and no woman would go near it at all. The hutkeepers would not venture to go down to a waterhole without being armed with gun or pistol. In three months after the police came, the district was so quiet a man could walk about anywhere."<sup>19</sup>

John Watts recalled Walker and his force, including Corporal Harry, coming up the Severn during Watts's last visit there. A few days before Walker's arrival, the only carrier then on the road in the district, who went by the name of "The Smiler", arrived at Beeboo station with supplies on his drays for the Macintyre. The Smiler had been told by his black boy of the intention of the natives to attack him at his usual camping place about ten miles down the river where the scrub came down to a point on the bank. The Smiler waited at Beeboo for the arrival of the Native Police, hoping they would escort him past that camping place to where the country was more open. Walker, on arriving, told Smiler to camp as usual on his old camping ground and to place his drays as close to the river bank as he could, pulling down the tarpaulins round his drays but leaving the ends next to the river open, and to turn out his bullocks. Walker said he would be there as soon as the Smiler had camped. Walker and his police, leaving their horses about a quarter of a mile up the river, crept along the river close under its banks which by flood action were at least three feet high, and got under the drays. A short time afterwards two Aborigines came out of the scrub and asked the Smiler to give them tobacco. The Smiler took a fig out of his pocket and was breaking off a piece for each when one said, "Bale [no] break 'em, we want 'em all, and suppose you bale give it me take 'em altogether, dray and bullocks." On the Smiler's refusal, the Aborigine gave a cooey, and a large tribe dressed in "war paint" came out of the scrub. Watts stated that the police discharged their guns and the natives immediately retreated inside the scrub

where formerly they were safe as no white man dared follow. However, the Native Police immediately followed the Aborigines and, in the words of Watts, "the number they killed no one but their commander and themselves ever knew."<sup>20</sup>

Walker left part of his force on the Macintyre under the orders of Augustus Morris, J.P. and grazier of Callandoon, and proceeded with ten troopers for the Condamine where he arrived on 24 June 1849.<sup>21</sup> He found the Condamine country disturbed. Several stations had been abandoned, twelve white men murdered, and a considerable number of cattle and sheep lost. The station of John Dangar, Wallann Creek, had been attacked by Aborigines and the store robbed and burnt and the hutkeeper killed. An attempt by combined FitzRoy Downs, Dawson, and Condamine tribes, numbering about one hundred and fifty, to again attack this station resulted in two "collisions" with the Native Police. The word "collision" meant a fight in which superior police arms always produced the same result: a number of Aborigines killed and the rest scattered. Walker reported: "on the first occasion, the FitzRoy Downs tribes (who had killed seven men of MacPherson's on Mount Abundance, a shepherd of Blyth's besides spearing Blyth himself, and two men of Hughes) suffered so severely that they returned to their own country, a distance of eighty miles". He also reported that on the second occasion, he had proceeded in pursuit of some natives on the Tannin, near Dangars, among whom were some sworn, by the survivor on Charley's Creek of Edwards's three men, as the murderers of the other two. Walker's troop cleared these natives from the scrubs from which they had issued to commit their outrages. Some of the pursued fled across country towards the Boyne and some towards Drayton. Having replaced Blyth, Chauvel, and Ewer on their stations "and re-established confidence amongst the settlers", Walker returned to the Macintyre.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, Augustus Morris, under whose orders as a justice of the peace Walker had left part of his force, had been happy with the presence of the Native Police detachment. Morris wrote to Walker on 18 October 1849 that the Native Police had conducted themselves in a highly satis-

factory manner. Morris had accompanied the detachment to meet and escort the drays carrying the police clothing and ammunition. He had found the road down the Severn was not looked upon with the same dread as it had been before the arrival of the Native Police. Formerly, he wrote, few could leave their abodes without being fully armed, but arms had been totally neglected since the arrival of the police.<sup>2 3</sup>

The punitive measures taken by Walker when introducing his force to the Macintyre and Condamine areas were generally approved. However, on 8 August 1849 the colonial secretary wrote to Walker cautioning him not to commit acts of aggressive warfare against the Aborigines and pointing out that the command of the Native Police Force had been entrusted to him for the maintenance of peace and not for the purpose of carrying war into the Aborigine's country.<sup>2 4</sup> Walker replied that he had only acted when he held warrants for the apprehension of sundry Aborigines accused of murder and overtaking them he had found them in the act of committing felony. The murderers against whom the warrants were issued had been aided and abetted by a large number of other Aborigines and in attempting to apprehend those subject to the warrants he was obliged to engage the whole party or retire. Had he retired the contingencies would be impossible to foresee. As a result of his action, Walker claimed that the number of Aborigines anxious to show themselves as friendly was three times the number it was previously.<sup>2 5</sup>

However, similar action taken in the past by local squatters themselves had been endorsed by the colonial administration. Even from remote Yass, Macdonald wrote to Walker on 4 August 1849: "I was exceedingly delighted to see by the papers that you and your little band are getting on so well. You must indeed have been very useful when it appears you were called upon by the inhabitants of the district to remain there to protect them. I also noticed an account of your skirmishing with the natives and your bravery on the occasions. So far as your own bravery went, I never had two opinions on the subject."<sup>2 6</sup>

Aboriginal resistance to the settler's invasion of those areas was weakened. Although depredations continued for some

time, never again were stations abandoned on the Macintyre and Condamine as a result of Aboriginal action. Aborigines knew there was a force employed there to hold them in check. The scrubs would never be the places of refuge as previously. This information would be passed on in due time to neighbouring tribes. Reprisals by the squatters in those areas were almost ended. Morris wrote to Walker: "The enforcement of peace and order was altogether left to the Force."<sup>27</sup> Settlers were also avoiding Aboriginal revenge for the actions of the Native Police.

Towards the end of 1849, Walker submitted his proposals for the operations of the Native Police Force in the immediate future to the colonial secretary.<sup>28</sup> Callandoon, with which there was then no postal communication, was to be his headquarters.<sup>29</sup> There it would be sufficient to leave a sergeant and ten men to act under the direction of the local magistrates during his absence. This was the only occasion that Walker allowed magistrates (apart from Land Commissioner Halloran of Wide Bay) to control Native Police. One officer, with twelve troopers, was to establish himself on the border of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts. Another officer, with ten troopers, was to take charge of the lower Condamine and the Maranoa district. These two forces were to meet occasionally on the Dawson. Twelve troopers under Walker's own charge were to form a force which could be sent to any part of the colony where it was needed.<sup>30</sup> These proposals envisaged a corps, under Walker, of two officers, one sergeant, and forty-four troopers for which a further recruitment was necessary. (On 13 October 1848 William James had been appointed a sergeant of Native Police but did not commence those duties.<sup>31</sup> On 22 January 1849, the colonial secretary wrote to Walker regarding the appointment of a sergeant and later, when on the Macintyre River, Walker replied that it was not his intention to select a sergeant until January 1850. Walker then thought persons likely to apply were so dissatisfied and idle as to be unfit for the arduous duty which the Native Police would have to perform within the next twelve months.)<sup>32</sup>

Walker was elated with the conduct of his troopers. "I am convinced", he wrote, "that if properly officered by white



persons, the natives of this colony would make as good troops as the native troops of India. I know that as long as their officers stood, none of the native police would stir.”<sup>33</sup>

When submitting this plan, Walker earnestly requested that no portion of his force be sent to the Macleay, Richmond, or Clarence River districts “for the present”. Walker considered the emergency was greater in the distant out-settlements.

The two officers and the sergeant referred to by Walker were appointed soon after his plan was written. On 5 January 1850, Richard Purvis Marshall and George Fulford were appointed to be lieutenants, 1st Division and 2nd Division respectively, of the Native Police.<sup>34</sup> Witnesses before select committees maintained that both lieutenants were efficient officers. On 7 January 1850, Thomas Whitmill was appointed sergeant major of the Native Police.<sup>35</sup>

At Callandoon, Walker found that stock owners in the most northerly districts of the colony, Burnett and Wide Bay, as well as stock owners in the Maranoa and Darling Downs districts were all asking for the immediate presence in their localities of the Native Police. Sixteen stockholders in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts had complained of cattle destroyed and dispersed and sheep driven off runs. One man had been murdered on the station of Richard Jones (Mondure) and another on Murray’s station (Wulooga). On the high road between the Burnett and Brisbane districts men travelling had been attacked and sheep and working bullocks speared. In attempting to rescue portion of the stock driven from Freill’s run “two gentlemen were speared and a horse killed”.<sup>36</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Bidwill of the Wide Bay district had made a lengthy report to his chief commissioner on 16 October 1849 of the aggressions there by Aborigines.<sup>37</sup> Bidwill’s station had even been attacked and Bidwill with his six men — three troopers and three in his private employ — were forced to retire to his buildings to protect the women and children of his workmen. In the Maranoa district, Allan McPherson at Mount Abundance had written to Commissioner of Crown Lands Durbin at Surat, referring to eight white men killed by Aborigines in that area during the previous nine months and sheep and cattle lost.

McPherson was "disposed to believe that some astringent measure is absolutely necessary to prevent the total abandonment of the Maranoa district from its northern to its southern limits".<sup>38</sup> Durbin, a fortnight later, reported that while encamped at Hall's station, Balonne River, Aborigines drove off and, he feared, destroyed five working bullocks, the property of the government.<sup>39</sup> Walker's force was not sufficient in number to attend to these complaints over such a vast area.

Marshall, upon his appointment, was ordered by Walker to remain, with ten troopers, on the Macintyre and Condamine.<sup>40</sup> Walker left for the south to recruit a second time on the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan. Although Marshall served for six years with Walker, Marshall did not think he spent as many as six weeks with him.<sup>41</sup> On 3 March 1850, Walker was at Deniliquin. Already he had fifteen of the thirty-two authorized for the additional force and was waiting for the arrival of arms, clothing, and saddlery before starting down the Murray. The delay in receiving the accoutrements and clothing, Walker feared, would defer his arrival back on the Macintyre from June to July and in the meantime, he reported to the colonial secretary, "a great deal of damage would probably be done to settlers in the Wide Bay and Burnett districts".<sup>42</sup> Walker was still at Deniliquin awaiting his accoutrements and clothing on 4 April 1850. He had found it impossible to manage twelve police horses without assistance and had hired a man, at ten shillings a horse, to "back them before the native troopers mount".<sup>43</sup> The horses had frequently broken out of the yard, three of them were missing, and he had found it necessary to keep on two men who accompanied him from Sydney to look after the horses at ten shillings per week and the usual ration until he was ready to start for Callandoon.

Fulford had been appointed to the force but had to journey down the Darling to join Walker. Fulford on 4 April had travelled nine hundred miles and his horses were tired; he was eighty miles from Deniliquin.<sup>44</sup> On 6 May 1850, Walker had received the accoutrements and clothing. Walker started his thirty-two recruits for Callandoon on 13 June under the command of Fulford.<sup>45</sup> Walker went back searching for the

stray horses which he recovered. The roads were heavy but he expected to average ten miles a day and hoped to reach Callandoon about 15 September. On the way up the Darling, Walker found that the Aborigines had been committing "great depredations".<sup>46</sup> He held an enquiry, in conjunction with Frederick Gardiner, J.P., into an assault on a shepherd, Theophilus Jones. A large number of Aborigines had surrounded Jones, "tied him down, gagged and blindfolded him, and then bled him in the neck and sucked his blood to such an extent that the man was senseless for a considerable time". Being anxious to reach his destination and not wanting to fatigue the horses, Walker had succeeded only in apprehending four, "all accused of sheep stealing and of severely beating another shepherd". Walker, allegedly exercising his magisterial powers, found the charge not sufficiently borne out against two and released them. Another Aborigine escaped by slipping the handcuffs at night "off his ankles". The remaining native Walker took with him, although he did not think any good would arise "from putting the Colony to the expense of prosecuting him, but he is too mischievous to be left behind".<sup>47</sup>

During Walker's absence from Callandoon, despite requests for Native Police assistance elsewhere, Marshall with his ten troopers had remained on the Macintyre and Condamine as ordered by Walker. Depredatory action by Aborigines continued throughout those regions, causing demands for the services of Marshall's detachment.

In January 1850, shortly after Marshall's commencement of duty in the corps, two troopers of his detachment, Logan and Yorky, shot an Aboriginal prisoner called "Nobody" — accused on oath of murdering Edward Bevilley — who was attempting to escape. The enquiry into the prisoner's death later held by Walker revealed that Thomas Young of Callandoon saw the two Native Police start with the prisoner. Six hours later the troopers returned. They stated that their prisoner twice had attempted to escape and on the third attempt they shot him, as he would have escaped into the scrub. Marshall and Young accompanied the police to the spot where the body of the prisoner was found about eight miles from Callandoon, four hundred yards off the road and

close to scrub too thick for a horseman to pursue a man on foot. The police showed Marshall and Young the places where the prisoner twice had attempted to escape and where he nearly had pulled trooper Yorkey off his horse. Dugald William Campbell, postmaster of Callandoon, deposed he was present when Marshall started two troopers in charge of Nobody for Warialda. Marshall told Nobody that if he attempted to escape he would be shot. Nobody was also so warned by Aborigines belonging to the neighbourhood of Callandoon, who then were also present. Walker, when forwarding the depositions, stated that he had implicit confidence in trooper Logan's report as he had known Logan for six years and had never known him to tell a falsehood.<sup>48</sup>

During February 1850, requests for police protection were addressed to Marshall by stock owners on the lower Condamine.<sup>49</sup> There cattle were being speared and dispersed. On Wallann, John Ferrett's men were intimidated and it was only with the expectation of police protection that Ferrett could induce them to remain on the station. The numbers of Aborigines were increasing as they returned from the Bunya season.<sup>50</sup> J. A. Blyth on Tieryboo was momentarily expecting an attack on some of his flocks and was afraid that some of his men would lose their lives. He had heard from two men lately arrived from Ferrett's station that Ferrett had been forced "to go out after the Aborigines".<sup>51</sup>

Marshall arrived at Wallann on the lower Condamine at the beginning of March. Ferrett and James Bennett accompanied Marshall out on to the run. The tracks of those who had been spearing cattle were found and followed. After three days' pursuit, the Aborigines were overtaken at camp. Some ran while others resisted Marshall's endeavours to apprehend them. The police party fired and some Aborigines fell, although it appears that the number killed was not counted for official purposes. In the camp were found several articles taken from Wallann station when it was burned down and a hutkeeper killed during April 1849. Among the Aborigines killed were two who had been present on that occasion. A magisterial enquiry was held into the deaths of these Aborigines by Commissioner of Crown Lands Roderick Mitchell on 14 March 1850.<sup>52</sup> Walker, when writing to the

colonial secretary on 9 November 1850, pointed out that in respect of this collision on the Condamine warrants had been issued for the apprehension of twenty Aborigines and, as the police were resisted, he could not see how they could avoid using their arms. Such collisions invariably took place in dense scrubs. Walker was not astonished that these men, knowing themselves guilty and backed up by other Aborigines, should prefer resistance to surrender.<sup>53</sup>

On the return of Marshall to the Macintyre shortly afterwards, Aborigines again speared and dispersed cattle on the lower Condamine. Blyth, whose flocks had been so reduced as to require replacement, left Tieryboo to obtain more stock in the southern districts. His departure encouraged further stock killings on the lower Condamine and further appeals from that region for police assistance were made in June and July.<sup>54</sup> On 10 June 1850, a shepherd named James McKirk was killed and twenty-five sheep of his flock stolen on John McMillan's station on the Weir River. When McKirk's body was found, his flint lock musket and all his clothing, save his boots and trousers pulled down as far as his boots, were missing.<sup>55</sup> Ten miles below McMillan's, on John McGeachie's station Retreat on the Weir River and also on John and James Howe's station Merriwa on the Severn river, stock were being speared by Aborigines apparently led by one called "Mickey".<sup>56</sup>

About the middle of July, Marshall, at the request for his assistance from brothers Robert Ker Wilson and John Wilson, visited Booranga where cattle were being killed. Accompanied by R. K. Wilson, the Native Police detachment followed tracks leading from a beast killed the night previously. After two days a deserted Aborigines' camp was found. In it were the remains of beef and a large quantity of heavy cattle spears which the police broke. An Aborigine called Talbot was met coming to the camp. On seeing the police he ran and was pursued for about a mile. Marshall and the Native Police frequently called upon Talbot to stop and surrender. When overtaken, Talbot threw a tomahawk at trooper Willy who fired but "without effect". Talbot then threw a piece of wood at Marshall. If it had struck Marshall it would have knocked him off his horse. Trooper Edgar then

fired, killing Talbot. R. K. Wilson deposed to this at a magisterial enquiry held at Goondiwindi station by Walker on 11 November 1850.<sup>57</sup>

Mickey's leadership of tribesmen of the Severn was of short duration. About 8 August 1850, Marshall with his detachment and accompanied by Rowland Yeomans, when pursuing stock killers on the latter's station Boganbilla, overtook Aborigines at a lagoon called "Copranoranbilla". Marshall gave orders to his troopers not to fire unless they were forced to do so in their own defence. He then divided his detachment so that a portion could proceed along each side of the lagoon. Troopers Tommy Hindmarsh, Harry, and Yorky were seen by Yeomans from the opposite side to overtake Mickey who raised his spear at the three troopers. Two shots were fired and Mickey fell. Yeomans deposed as to this occurrence at a magisterial enquiry held by Walker at Goondiwindi station on 11 November 1850.<sup>58</sup>

On returning to Callandoon from his recruiting expedition on the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan, Walker found a number of requests for assistance from the Native Police awaiting his attention. During Walker's absence, Marshall had received a letter from the bench at Surat, requesting that he be good enough to move to that neighbourhood a portion of his force, sufficient in his opinion, to check the continued hostilities and aggressions of the Aborigines. The writers from Surat stated that during the previous eighteen months one-fifth of the white population of the district had been murdered by Aborigines and some six thousand sheep either driven away or destroyed.<sup>59</sup> Marshall had replied a month later stating that he had been ordered by Walker to confine himself with ten troopers to the Macintyre and Condamine and "being so ordered and the state of the former river being such, he did not deem it prudent to leave".<sup>60</sup>

At the commencement of the second half of 1850, some twenty-five stockholders of the southern portion of the Burnett district petitioned the governor for the appointment of a sufficient detachment of Native Police to that area "for the protection of life and property from the atrocities of the Aborigines".<sup>61</sup> However, on his return to Callandoon Walker was not in a position immediately to give the assistance sought. Sickness swept through his troopers.

# 3

## The Corps Moves Out

Walker reported the sickness of his troopers as influenza. At least two deaths occurred but several who had been in a dangerous state recovered.<sup>1</sup> Walker had been notified of the death of one, Corporal Jack, by letter from Augustus Morris written on 20 May 1850. Morris, stating that Corporal Jack had caught a cold which settled on his lungs, had added: "The poor fellow thought of you in his last minutes, saying that you would cry for him and be angry at his death. He entreated the rest never to fight amongst themselves nor to impute his death to the Blacks about here, for he said he saw 'Wellington' in his sleep and that he had caused his death on account of his gin."<sup>2</sup> Before the 1856 Select Committee Lieutenant Nicoll stated that the Aboriginal troopers brought from the south "were very subject to fever and ague which the northern troopers [recruited subsequently] did not suffer from".<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, despite prevailing sickness, the Native Police were being trained, horses were rested, and attention was given by Walker to correspondence. When transmitting to the colonial secretary a letter concerning a report from Marshall of his duties during Walker's absence, Walker raised an important question: What was the legal position of the Native Police when Aborigines were killed during a collision with the force? He wrote that he was troubled over taking measures illegally and did not know how to act in future. The settlers had suffered much loss and witnessed the murder of many of their friends and servants and, having to pay for the support of a force strong enough for emergencies, naturally expected

that the outrages of hostile Aborigines would be stopped at once. They were not satisfied if Walker told them he had no legal power to act. They stated that an armed body of white men, under a strong government, would never allow the fearful depredations and cruelties to go unpunished and if the law was defective it required attention. Walker was of the opinion that whatever measures were decided upon to put a stop to these outrages, they must be put into force at once and with energy. He said the results of measures taken on the Macintyre were the stopping of bloodshed, the introduction of a better class of white servants into districts previously filled with the most desperate of men, the diminishing of wages, and the admission of Aborigines into the stations, assisting them in their search for food. Under the kindly protection of the Native Police, Walker envisaged the Aborigines being provided with tobacco, papers, blankets, and clothing. He had never found the settler niggardly in supplying these things when the district was peaceable.<sup>4</sup>

On 26 October 1850, the colonial secretary expressed his opinion, with the approval of the governor, that in the case of fatal collisions between the Native Police and Aborigines enquiry into deaths should be held by the officer in command of the police as soon as circumstances permitted and the report furnished to the attorney general as in the case of a coroner's inquest.<sup>5</sup> He had referred the matter to Attorney General J. H. Plunkett. In returning these documents on 9 November 1850, the attorney general stated that he entirely subscribed to that opinion and, as he might be called on to consider those proceedings as public prosecutor, he refrained from giving any further opinion. However it could not be too strongly impressed on Walker and his officers that they should only fire in extreme cases, when the necessity of it was clear and obvious, and that even in all such cases a detailed investigation on oath should take place and be furnished to the attorney general's office. It appeared from the report of Marshall, the attorney general added, that Marshall must be entirely ignorant of his duty in this respect.<sup>6</sup>

Walker replied to this opinion on 9 November 1850 pointing out that when Marshall was on the Condamine he was not



sworn in as a magistrate and could take no depositions. When Marshall could procure a magistrate he did see that the enquiry was held. Walker added that Marshall's report disclosed that, although the Aborigines had been fired on no less than seven times, those occasions, lamentable as they may be, had taken place in a period of nine months and not in one tribe or in one district, but with six different tribes and at places fifty to two hundred miles apart.<sup>7</sup>

In November 1850, shortly after receiving the opinion of the attorney general, Walker wrote from Callandoon to the colonial secretary requesting the further opinion of "that Gentleman as to what he considers the duty of a Police Force would be under the circumstances alluded to which are in fact one of the greatest difficulties I have to contend with".<sup>8</sup> Walker stated that the case was simply this:

A large number of blacks are assembled together armed. Cattle are killed and the remains found in all their camps; although the ownership cannot be sworn to positively. Sheep are stolen in large numbers and men are constantly murdered. No man is identified as one of the murderers or thieves. The only evidence which can be obtained is that with my men I can generally (almost always) track the aggressive party; but this if it implicates anybody would implicate any blacks who may have joined the party since the offence.

It is such a case (a case which now exists at Wide Bay and Burnett) that I would wish to know from the Law Officers of the Crown how the Police Force under my command can act *legally* in order to put a stop to such outrages.

His Excellency the Governor has hitherto left it to my discretion, which although flattering to me, involves a great responsibility on the officers which I would like to see diminished. I in my turn am obliged to leave a great deal to the discretion of my Officers and I stated in conversation with you in Sydney their views of discretion might possibly differ from mine.

In the Macintyre country I used my own discretion, and although the Hon. the Attorney General told me he feared I had not acted legally throughout, yet the result shows that I was morally right for I affirm that the County of Cumberland is now more secure from the aggressions of the aboriginal natives.

A reply was made by the colonial secretary on 3 December 1850. This reply again referred to the need of an enquiry by the officer in command of the police touching any death resulting from a collision between the Native Police and Aborigines.<sup>9</sup> This correspondence clearly reveals the attitude of the colonial executive at the time to the frontier conflicts

in the north. It had established a Native Police Force to attend to those matters and was not taking any further action to assist in the solution of the problem.

FitzRoy's objective of checking the collisions between the white inhabitants and Aborigines, which had in some instances "very deplorable results", had been achieved on the Macintyre by a police force of the crown using similar punitive measures. The Native Police was already recognized as "a most efficient Corps". In 1850, a select committee of the colony's Legislative Council, appointed "To enquire into the State of the Police of the Colony" briefly referred to the Native Police.<sup>10</sup> The committee recorded that the almost unanimous opinion of observers was that the Native Police, both in the Port Phillip District where first established and in the Sydney district where more recently introduced, had proved a most efficient corps. As the fitness of the Aborigines for the particular duty had been proved beyond all doubt, the committee suggested that an attempt be made to attach them to the local police in the several districts beyond the settled districts. In the first instance, two native troopers might be assigned to each petty sessions in the squatting districts. The committee thought whilst this would, on the one hand, be the means of supplying an efficient and inexpensive police corps, on the other hand it would extend the field for the employment of the Aborigines in a way which held out the most encouraging prospect of their ultimate civilization.

W. C. Mayne, auditor general and late inspector of police, stated before the 1856 Select Committee, the duties of the Native Police were to be confined to the protection of the white population on the extreme limits of the frontier districts. It had been a principle he had always endeavoured to carry out, and also the view taken by the legislature.<sup>11</sup>

However, the heavy burden of responsibility for the actions of the Native Police, so far as the executive government was concerned, was to be borne by the officers themselves. Action to be taken by officers was to be left to individual discretion. The commandant was to be the chief scapegoat. The attorney general might be called upon to consider any action of the Native Police in his position as public

prosecutor and could only counsel firing by the police "in extreme cases, when the necessity of it was clear and obvious". The attorney general had already told Walker, obviously after the latter's expeditions on the Macintyre and Condamine, that he feared Walker had not acted legally throughout. The executive government was not attempting to assist in the legal problem then realized by Walker. Innocent Aborigines were also to suffer and the Native Police themselves were without full protection under the existing law. The executive government's only direction was that where deaths of Aborigines occurred in collisions, an enquiry should be held by the officer in command of the police touching the deaths as soon as circumstances permitted. The value of such an enquiry as this, apart from its being a disciplinary measure, was negligible.

It was not until November 1850 that the Native Police Force, still at its Callandoon headquarters, was ready to visit the Burnett and Wide Bay districts from where appeals for its assistance had been made. Of its then four sections, Walker reported that the first and third were "in admirable order and their horses in splendid condition".<sup>12</sup> "It will give you some idea of the 1st section", he wrote, "when I state that they average 5 ft. 10 ins. in height and 11 stone 5 lbs. in weight. I have not hitherto been able to turn any party out in such a good state of discipline."<sup>13</sup> In 1858, a number of witnesses before the select committee on the murders by Aborigines on the Dawson River stated they had never known the Native Police Force in such an efficient state as during the early years of Walker's command. He had individual knowledge of his troopers, he was very severe, and saw that he had good officers. Alfred Brown of Gin Gin station said: "He understood the native character and what was necessary to make them act as a Force".<sup>14</sup> William Forster, M.P., said: "It would appear Mr. Walker was extraordinarily familiar with them".<sup>15</sup>

The first section, under Marshall, left Callandoon on 4 November 1850 for Gayndah and Wide Bay. On Monday, 11 November 1850, Fulford started with the third section for the Condamine where, it was proposed, he would only delay for a short time and then proceed to join Marshall on the

Burnett. The second and fourth sections, in which there had been "a great deal of sickness from Influenza", were to accompany Walker on the "Wootu and perhaps the Moonie" before returning to Callandoon to start again in the first week of December 1850 for Wide Bay "taking the Maranoa on the way".<sup>16</sup> Walker, possibly to favourably impress with his leadership in any comparison with his lieutenants, often reported he had retained "the backward squad". On receiving this report, FitzRoy directed that Commissioner of Crown Lands Bidwill at Maryborough, Wide Bay, be informed of the proposed movement of the force.<sup>17</sup> Walker, however, did not visit the Maranoa district as intended.<sup>18</sup> Police clothing had not arrived at Callandoon before his departure. Consequently, when travelling to the Wide Bay district, after calling at Drayton<sup>19</sup> he visited Ipswich at the head of navigation on the Brisbane River to collect the clothing.<sup>20</sup> He later called at Goode's Burnett Inn — the present site of Nanango. There he revealed his carelessness with accounts. Six orders drawn by him in favour of Jacob Goode for payment of his stay were dishonoured when presented for payment in Sydney. The accounts were only paid after Goode had written to Walker on the matter.<sup>21</sup> At Goode's, Gordon Sandeman of Burrandowan discussed with Walker the assistance by Native Police to stockholders in the Burnett district.<sup>22</sup>

By 17 February 1851, Walker, Marshall, and Fulford had joined forces at Maryborough. Walker believed in a show of strength to the Aboriginal inhabitants of an area, a practice later condemned by several squatters as it took away from a particular locality the protective force stationed there.<sup>23</sup> On that date the three Native Police officers assisted in constituting the Maryborough bench of magistrates to report on certain charges made against clerk of petty sessions Jamison of that centre.<sup>24</sup> The next day a meeting of magistrates was held again at Maryborough. Besides the three Native Police officers, Commissioner Bidwill and squatter Edmund B. Uhr were present.<sup>25</sup>

Warrants had been issued against a number of Aborigines accused of murder and felony.<sup>26</sup> It was thought the majority of the accused were then on Fraser's Island to where

Aborigines had previously retired after committing murder and from where they could issue to commit fresh crimes. The magistrates also considered that lives and property in the Wide Bay district would not be safe until the Aborigines understood they would not be able to continue this system. Previously there had not been a police force to do this, and as the Native Police Force was then available for the work it was resolved to put into force the warrants issued and that such a proceeding "would finally put a stop to collisions between whites and blacks".<sup>27</sup>

On the same day, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary enclosing the resolutions of the magistrates.<sup>28</sup> He reported that he had no means at his command by which he could reach Fraser's Island. The settlers had failed in procuring the boats "and it was impossible to find any men who would pull except at an exorbitant rate of wages". Walker's troopers had not then seen the sea and could not pull. Walker suggested that either a vessel belonging to the government be sent to Wide Bay to assist in the matter or that an arrangement be made in Sydney for a coaster to land the Native Police on the island and wait for their return. He stated that either of these plans would be preferable to procuring the assistance of the settlers in any way as he had no control over their proceedings and their views differed from his.

Walker was satisfied that, unless the Native Police went to Fraser's Island, as soon as three sections left the district and the fourth went to a distance from Maryborough the natives on the island would recommence their outrages and probably again induce the well-disposed to join them. Walker was going with some men into the Burnett district but would return in three weeks to Maryborough where he would await the colonial secretary's answer. He also enclosed with his letter copies of affidavits taken by the Native Police officers from settlers for the colonial secretary's perusal, the originals of which were forwarded to the attorney general. These would show, he stated, that the disturbances in the Wide Bay district were very serious. He was glad to be able to say that a large number of naturally well-disposed blacks had abandoned the murderers and were showing a wish to live peaceably with the whites. Walker was very anxious therefore that the

natives on Fraser's Island should learn that they placed the law at defiance by retreating there. Walker wrote that it was imperative for him to go the following month to the Maranoa, and anything short of three sections of thirty-six men would be useless at Fraser's Island.

Attorney General Plunkett, to whom Walker's report was referred, advised the governor that the statements in the depositions together with the fact that warrants had been issued for the thirty-five or thirty-six Aborigines named in the resolutions of the Maryborough bench would justify the government in providing the Native Police with the means required by the commandant to convey his corps to and from Fraser's Island. Plunkett stated that the only light in which he could, upon a reference to him as legal adviser of the government, view the subject was that in which he should be bound to regard the actors as if they were European subjects of the crown of England. It could not be a matter of doubt, he added, that if a number of lawless white men should, after committing murders and thefts, retire to some stronghold from which they could issue at discretion for the purpose of repeating their crimes it would be the duty of the government to furnish the police with the means of executing warrants for their apprehension. Plunkett continued:

It must, unhappily, be expected that the proposed attempt at arrest may lead to a warlike conflict and perhaps to loss of life, but the aim of the law must not be paralysed by the expectation of such results. If the offenders were white men engaged as banditti in committing attacks upon life and property of their fellow subjects, an armed Force would necessarily be employed against them, or if an armed resistance were made by a body of such persons to the legal attempt of the Police Force to arrest any of their number, it would be the duty of the latter (if their strength permitted) to overpower them even, if necessary, at the sacrifice of life. The same law of course holds with regard to the Aboriginal natives, although notions of humanity ought to suggest that in executing those laws against these unfortunate beings, a more than ordinary anxiety should be manifested — to act with the utmost amount of forbearance consistent with the safety of the Police and the effectiveness of their operations.

Plunkett thought that Walker's proposal to act with his own force only, and without the assistance of settlers whom he could not keep sufficiently in check, was judicious and proper. "There would be no objection to the employment of

whites as Special Constables in cases where the available Native Police Force were found or esteemed insufficient to give such an irresistible superiority to the Police as would at once secure them from failure and perhaps prevent a conflict by making resistance hopeless or of short duration." Plunkett also referred to the time which would elapse before Walker had a sufficient force available, and stated "it would perhaps be deemed the best course to authorise him to engage some coasting vessel himself, after she had discharged her cargo at Wide Bay".<sup>29</sup> FitzRoy directed that this opinion, or a copy of it, be forwarded to Walker for his information and guidance.<sup>30</sup>

This opinion was transmitted by colonial secretary's letter dated 7 April 1851 and Walker acknowledged its receipt on 6 July 1851 from "Lower Condamine". He did not regret the advice not reaching him sooner than the previous day "as the state of my health and that of my men would have prevented me from acting on it". He feared the Aborigines would keep up a system of murder and robbery and eventually themselves be great sufferers if the system were not stopped at once. Walker wrote that he would therefore act upon the authority of the governor general as soon as he could collect a sufficient force at Maryborough which he hoped to do before the end of September.<sup>31</sup>

Following his visit to Maryborough, Walker travelled to Gayndah in the Burnett district. From there, on 5 March 1851, Walker reported on a complaint made by the bench at Surat that no assistance from the Native Police had been rendered to the Maranoa district. Walker wrote: "The Native Police cannot be everywhere at the same time and the Bench at Surat must, like every other party, wait with patience until I can send them the assistance required."<sup>32</sup>

Shortly afterwards, illness amongst Walker's men, which he had hoped was on the decrease, "broke out again with greater violence causing the death of two and laying up in turn every man of the Force".<sup>33</sup> This illness, in the first half of 1851, amongst Walker's troopers did not however completely put a stop to the duties of the force. Walker went with a small detachment "to afford protection to the settlers on the Upper Burnett" and Marshall, with a strong party, visited the

neighbourhood of Forster's and Blaxland's station<sup>34</sup> in the Wide Bay district. At both these places outbreaks had been expected but did not eventuate. However, Walker reported to the colonial secretary his visit to the Upper Burnett was of assistance there "as a few sheep had been stolen at Mr. Charles Archer's [Eidsvold] station and violence threatened to the shepherds; the timely arrival of the Police was the cause of prevention".<sup>35</sup> This view was not held by David Archer from a neighbouring station, Coonambula, who on 4 July 1851 wrote to Commissioner of Crown Lands M. C. O'Connell of the Burnett district, stating: "the presence of the Native Police does not seem, so far, to have had any moral effect upon the blacks whose attitude in this part of the district is now decidedly more hostile than it has been for two years past". During the previous month Aborigines had assembled in large numbers on that run "and in spite of every precaution short from the use of firearms, had succeeded in extracting from the folds at night, upwards of forty sheep".<sup>36</sup> On 21 September 1851 David Archer wrote to Marshall reporting cattle killed and sheep stolen.<sup>37</sup>

On 18 April 1851, Walker, then in the vicinity of Gayndah where the police force had concentrated, was joined by Sergeants Dolan and Skelton who had commenced duties at Callandoon after Walker's departure. The force again separated.<sup>38</sup> Marshall, accompanied by Dolan and thirteen native troopers, proceeded to the station of "Messrs. Tooth" in the Wide Bay district where Aborigines had begun to destroy cattle. On the approach of the police, the Aborigines returned as usual to the sea coast. Marshall proceeded next to Maryborough where fears were entertained that a very large number of Aborigines assembled near the "Boiling Down Establishment" would commit some outrages. It was alleged that this assembly had stolen three sheep but no evidence was obtained implicating any of them.

One man was apprehended by Marshall on suspicion of the murder of Mrs. Mary Shannon and Andrew Gregor on the North Pine River.<sup>39</sup> Marshall also attempted to capture two of the murderers of "the late Mr. Blaxland".<sup>40</sup> The two natives pursued, however, took to the Mary River and, it not being possible to apprehend them, they were fired at. It was



believed both were killed. Marshall next proceeded to Forster's Tirroan station, a report having been received of a threatened attack there from Aborigines. The alarm raised on this occasion proved to be groundless. Marshall then started, according to Walker's instructions, for Callandoon, "it having been previously arranged that Lieut. Fulford would relieve him in the duties which he had been so active in performing".<sup>41</sup>

Walker had left Gayndah when Commissioner O'Connell reported from there that further murders had been committed by Aborigines.<sup>42</sup> Shortly afterwards O'Connell, accompanied by Chief Constable Bannister of Gayndah and Station Superintendent Mason, dispersed a large assemblage of Aborigines on Mondure station where depredations had been committed.<sup>43</sup> FitzRoy, while thinking it desirable that the commandant and officers of the Native Police communicate their movements to the benches and commissioners of crown lands, declined to give any orders to the commandant which would fetter his discretion in any way.<sup>44</sup>

Walker had left Gayndah for the Dawson River where he "found that the reports spread of drays having been attacked and Mr. Stephens having been threatened were untrue". However, the Aborigines again had been at their old habits of cattle spearing and Stephens had suffered losses. Walker, during fourteen days, endeavoured to secure some of those responsible, who were tracked by Native Police from where they had been recently killing cattle. Walker reported: "They . . . not liking the vicinity of so large a Force, made off towards the 'Grafton Range' but four of them during the pursuit, having fallen across the Native Sergeant Willy alone, he was obliged to fire in his own defence and one was killed."<sup>45</sup>

Upon leaving the Dawson, Walker visited the lower Condamine where he endeavoured "not without success" to check the stealing of "one sheep at a time and the spearing of cattle by small parties of blacks". Walker was convinced that the good feeling "of late" by the settlers in that neighbourhood towards the Aborigines would tend to keep it more in a state of peace than any police force.<sup>46</sup> He encouraged squatters to open their runs to Aborigines. On 12 March

1851, H. S. Scholfield of Tabil, lower Condamine, had written, apparently to Marshall, that he had lately returned with Blyth and one thousand head of stock to the lower Condamine and had found the Aborigines "relapsed into their former habits (despite the severe lessons you taught them) contrary to our expectations". Scholfield stated that the Aborigines were being admitted generally into all the head stations save, within the previous ten days for having hunted cattle off the run, Ewer's station Womba. Lester had arrived with his stock at Tieryboo and, on nearing that station, had to furnish his men with arms before they would proceed.<sup>47</sup> Thomas Roskelly at Womba had written to J. G. Ewer on 4 March 1851 requesting him to write asking for a party of police on the Condamine River. Roskelly could not find more than fifty cattle on the run and in consequence of Ewer's thinking, had ordered the Aborigines away the previous day. The Aborigines had seemed unwilling to leave and had "hung about the ridges all day".<sup>48</sup>

On 23 April 1851 Goggs of Chinchilla, Condamine, complained again of depredations by Aborigines on the lower Condamine. He wrote that the residents of that river had concluded that a part of the Native Police would be permanently stationed there. He referred to the three flying visits made by the corps which had done good for the time being, but the Native Police had been so long away that the Aborigines had come to think there was no check on them. Goggs feared murders and loss of property in the proportions that had occurred in 1849.<sup>49</sup>

At the request of the settlers on the lower Condamine a police station was established on the frontier of the Darling Downs district, on the east bank of Tchanning Creek, lower Condamine, at the junction of Barracks Creek with the Tchanning. It was situated eighteen miles from Dulacca station which adjoined Ferrett's Waltami and Gordon and Coxen's Wambo Forest. The new station was to be known as "Wondai Gumbal". The buildings at the station had been provided by the squatters themselves without cost to the government. This was in accordance with Walker's plans made towards the end of 1849 that an officer, with ten troopers, was to take charge of the lower Condamine area

and the Maranoa district.<sup>50</sup>

However it was not Walker's intention, when the Wondai Gumbal station was erected, to have the section to be allotted to that part of the country permanently stationed there. In a letter dated 2 June 1851, written to Ferrett and Burnett of Wallann, lower Condamine, Walker stated that the section of twelve men intended for that part of the colony should patrol through the Maranoa district and lower Condamine and Dawson country and were not to be stationed anywhere, although he admitted it would be a great service to the force if in each district they had a station to which they could look to as a home.<sup>51</sup>

On leaving the lower Condamine, Walker went to the Maranoa district. This was his first visit to that region and there he found the position worse than in any of the northern districts. He thought "the determined hostility of the blacks there must eventually lead to loss of life or the abandonment of the stations". Walker attempted to halt the hostility of the tribesmen, but the want of grass and the heaviness of the ground from late rains completely knocked up all his horses. He returned to Callandoon directly through the scrub, walking part of the way to relieve the horses.<sup>52</sup>

At Callandoon, Walker found his lieutenants, Marshall and Fulford, awaiting his return. The police who had returned with Fulford had not escaped the sickness "from which their comrades had suffered so much". Fulford, in consequence, had not been able to carry out Walker's instructions for relieving Marshall in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts. The Macintyre country was reported by Fulford to have been remarkably quiet. A few head of cattle had been speared but not to a greater extent than in the districts of acknowledged quietness such as the Murrumbidgee. Both Marshall and Fulford reported that at the stations visited by them on their way to Callandoon the accounts of the peaceable behaviour of the Aborigines were satisfactory, except at McGeachie's on the Wootu where it was reported they were killing cattle. Walker suspected the offenders were "Moonie blacks".<sup>53</sup> On 27 July 1851 Walker reported to the colonial secretary that twenty-four troopers, under the command of Fulford, were to proceed without delay to the Maranoa district. That

division would in future receive at the new Wondai Gumbal police station its clothing and other supplies. Walker also reported that, as the Burnett and Wide Bay districts had been unavoidably left longer than anticipated without protection, he was using every exertion to get a party to proceed there as speedily as possible, but the state of many of the horses was very bad.<sup>54</sup> Walker added that Sergeants Dolan and Skelton had proved themselves very efficient assistants; the men were then in good health and great spirits and had been much gratified when he told them “that His Excellency the Governor had been pleased to express his satisfaction with their services and good conduct”.<sup>55</sup>

Walker addressed his corps of police at Callandoon on Monday, 4 August 1851.<sup>56</sup> The address throws considerable light on both Walker and his troopers:

As the police will shortly again go into the bush I have some things to say to you all.

1. No policeman is to take grog or wine from anybody but his officer. Any serjeant or corporal who does so will be broke and have the red cloth taken off his jacket and cap for three months. Any troopers will be soundly flogged. Although I tell you this, I am not afraid of any of you disobeying by taking grog because you have before behaved so well, and I know you will do so again. Never mind what any person says to you. When any person tells you I said he might give you grog, he tells you lies, for neither I nor Mr. Marshall nor Mr. Fulford ever will tell anybody to give you grog when we are not there.
2. I say nothing to you about fighting because anybody can fight — but I want you to shew everybody that *I command* a body of *clean, sharp* and *good* policemen not a lot of *dirty, lazy* charcoles or stupid constables.
3. No policeman is to walk about without his carbine — if he does so he will be punished every time.
4. Every policeman must take care of his arms, his horse, his saddle and bridle, and his clothes. They belong to the *Queen, not to you.*
5. The Governor has been *very good* to you and *he* will expect *you* to do your duty.
6. When a policeman washes his shirt, he must not put it on again until it is *quite dry*. He is not to take off his cloak unless his officer tells him to do so — and when it is warm, he will strap his jacket *on the top* of his cloak.
7. Keep away from Gins<sup>57</sup> when you are at a *gunya*.<sup>58</sup> Do what you like when you are *in the bush*. I will not be angry with you then.
8. When you are sick, tell your officer *directly*.
9. Serjeants Dolan and Skelton are to you the *same as officers*.
10. *Logan's policemen* are now going to the Balonne and you will have something to do because the Balonne blacks are

*not* old women. Old Simon can shew you how to fight; he likes always close up directly – mind I must not have any charcoles beat my police. Do not make my friend Logan ashamed of you.

11. What the Governor wants from you is to make charcoles quiet, he does not want them killed, and he *won't let* white fellows do so. If they won't be quiet, you must make them – that's all. But you will not shoot unless your Officer tells you. Mind if the charcoles begin to throw spears or nulla nullas *then* don't you wait but close up knock them down.
12. I shall be quick after you, and when the charcoles in the Balonne think that will do, I shall leave my rogues with Mr. Fulford at Wondai Gumbal and take Logan and Willy's two sections to help Mr. Marshall and Cobby's men *to cramer* [capture] *the Island* [Fraser's Island]. Logan's men will then come back here to the Sgt. Major and the Sections 1 and 3, if the Governor says Yes, will go with me to Moreton Bay.

Now boys this is all I have to say to you except take care of yourselves. Don't get sick any more for it breaks my heart. When you bogy [bathe, swim] don't stop long in the water. Mind this is not your country.

This address by Walker was made six days before the corps again commenced to separate. This proved to be the last assemblage of the whole corps of Native Police.

# 4 The Active Force of 1851

On 4 August 1851, Sergeant Skelton left Callandoon for the new barracks at Wondai Gumbal with Sergeants Willy and Logan and troopers Warbracan, Neddy, and Geegwar. They took with them stores in a cart pulled by three horses.<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Dolan left on the same day with troopers Hairy, Simon, Rodney, Donald, Dick, and Rinaldo, to patrol FitzRoy Downs, the Coogoon, and across the Maranoa.<sup>2</sup>

Fulford left Callandoon with eleven men (eight troopers, his own native orderly, and two supernumeraries) on 10 August 1851 for the Maranoa district. McPherson's station on FitzRoy Downs had been burnt and it was reported that Hall's station on the Balonne would be attacked on 16 August. Fulford arrived at Hall's Yamboukal on the sixteenth in time to prevent the attack on that station. He then proceeded to where Aborigines had burned down a hut on McEncroe's Ockobolla station and went in pursuit of the offenders but did not find them. After this patrol, Fulford proceeded to take possession of the new station at Wondai Gumbal.<sup>3</sup>

The first section under Marshall left Callandoon for the Burnett and Wide Bay districts on 8 September 1851.<sup>4</sup> On 15 September 1851 Walker left Callandoon with twenty men for the Maranoa. He checked the cattle killings there and then went to the station at Wondai Gumbal. From there Fulford started eastward to stop cattle killing at Blyth's Tieryboo. Walker went westward with the fourth section into the Maranoa district. Aborigines were caught five times in the act of cattle killing by these two parties of police and, refusing to

surrender, two or three of them were killed. Walker reported he had "the usual inquiry" on his return to Wondai Gumbal.<sup>5</sup>

Walker's contemptuous use repeatedly in his reports of the expression "the usual inquiry" indicates a knowledge of the useless purpose they served, although he appears to have followed conscientiously the executive's requirement to hold an enquiry when death resulted from Native Police action. Walker and his officers were appointed justices of the peace so such an enquiry as this was in keeping with the practice developing in the colony of holding a magisterial enquiry into the sudden death of any person. On the frontier, witnesses at any enquiry held by a magistrate into the death of an Aborigine were necessarily settlers or employees knowledgeable of the circumstances. In the Legislative Council of Queensland in 1874 speaking on the Evidence Further Amendment Bill, the Honourable W. Thornton said: "It was possible for a white man who might be in a scrub with black men to commit murder with the most perfect impunity, as no Aboriginal native's evidence could be received against him, and no notice could be taken of it."<sup>6</sup> In the case of action by the Native Police witnesses were members of that corps unless at the time the police were accompanied by a settler or his employee. Walker's reference to making "the usual inquiry on his return to Wondai Gumbal" indicates that, on that occasion at least, the only witnesses were members of the Native Police Force.

Statements by Aboriginal troopers were not taken at an enquiry as the law at the time did not allow statements to be made under oath by those not understanding the nature of an oath, nor allowed evidence not under oath to be admissible in criminal proceedings. Only reports, often verbal, were made by the troopers.

Marshall, when asked before the 1856 Select Committee could he generally depend on the evidence given by native troopers, replied: "I could depend upon any man I knew speaking the truth as much as I could upon a white man; but I could not do so in the case of a man I had never seen before."<sup>7</sup> The application of this outlook at the time may have been of value for police administrative purposes, but evidence obtained in an enquiry was sent to the attorney

general to whom evidence not on oath was useless. Moreover, the holding of an enquiry by an officer of Native Police into a death caused by a member of that force naturally could not be freed from certain bias.

The crown law officers certainly appear to have checked on the holding of an enquiry where the death of an Aborigine was reported. Police reports were referred to the attorney general. An instance of this occurred when, on 29 August 1852, the crown law officers informed the colonial secretary that it seemed at least three Aborigines had been shot by the Native Police but it was not known if any enquiry had been made to show whether the shooting was justified by the circumstances.<sup>8</sup>

Sergeant Skelton left Wondai Gumbal station at the end of September 1851, after receiving information that a man had been killed by Aborigines on Ferrett's station, Wallann. On 24 August 1851, John Harmer, the overseer who was then acting as hutkeeper at Six Mile Creek, was killed by Aborigines. Harmer was found lying dead against the hurdles by stockman Donald Urquhart. Harmer had three large cuts made with a tomahawk in his head. The Aborigines left two spears and a shear blade knife behind. They had taken from the hut all clothing, rations, and firearms. They had pulled Harmer's coat off and had tried to pull off his shirt. Urquhart tracked the Aborigines about one and a half miles from the hut down the creek. (These details were supplied by Urquhart in his information on oath for the issue of a warrant against unidentified Aborigines.)<sup>9</sup> Skelton was on the spot in a few hours, but rain made it impossible to track the murderers.<sup>10</sup> On 8 October 1851, Skelton left Wondai Gumbal with ten troopers for the Dawson River (then in the Burnett commissioner's district) where Walker had reason to expect an outbreak of Aboriginal resistance.<sup>11</sup>

Walker with three troopers returned to Callandoon where he arrived on 20 October 1851. The fourth section which rode with Walker on his Maranoa patrol had covered seven hundred miles in five weeks. Walker reported that this could not have been done at any other season of the year. Three troopers sent shortly afterwards from Callandoon with a despatch to Fulford on the Balonne, rode one hundred and



fifty miles in three days.<sup>12</sup>

On 22 October 1851 the sergeant major of the force, Thomas Whitmill, died. He had served at Callandoon for twenty-one months. Reporting the death to the colonial secretary, Walker wrote that the late sergeant major had been a valuable assistant and feared it would be impossible to find another man who would have the same command over the troopers and be able to obtain their esteem and affection.<sup>13</sup> Walker recommended that John Stafford, a constable at Murrurundi who had been highly recommended to him by the late sergeant major, be appointed sergeant in the place of Sergeant Dolan.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, Stafford had been appointed an ordinary constable at Goulburn. The inspector general of police would not approve of Stafford's appointment to the Native Police. Stafford was an efficient and trustworthy constable and could not be spared from Goulburn for these reasons and "owing to the vicinity of the southern gold mines to Goulburn and the influx of persons consequent thereon".<sup>15</sup> Walker was requested to recruit some other person to fill the vacancy. Sergeant Dolan was promoted to sergeant major.<sup>16</sup>

At Callandoon, Commandant Walker found in his mail a series of complaints which had been received by the colonial secretary and transmitted to him. Eleven stockholders of the Burnett district had written, calling attention "to the very injudicious disposal of the Corps of Native Police appointed for the protection of the Northern Districts". The writers' complaint was that no part of the force had been in that district or any contiguous district since the latter part of June. Within the month previous to their writing, three murders had been committed by the Aborigines who, being aware of the absence of the Native Police, appeared to think they could "commit outrages with impunity". While willingly admitting the energy and activity of the officers when patrolling the district, the writers expressed their regret that the commandant should have made his arrangements so injudiciously as to leave the districts without protection at a season when, more than any other, the Aborigines always had been troublesome. The writers feared "that these barbarous murders, ere long will be followed by others which besides

the loss of life will at this season when the lambing and shearing of the flocks is about to commence entail considerable pecuniary loss upon the stockholders". It was requested that instructions be given so that in future there would never be less than one section of the Native Police in the Burnett district.<sup>17</sup>

Five stockholders of the Wide Bay district called attention to the numerous outrages committed there by Aborigines since the departure of the Native Police. One murder had been committed in that district, apart from the three in the Burnett district, and the writers stated: "scarcely one of us have escaped without severe losses both of stock and stores, having in some instances had as many as fifty sheep destroyed, besides the great injury the flocks sustain in being driven off the runs, sometimes to a distance of twenty miles". They asked for the giving of instructions to the commandant of the Native Police to send to their assistance as speedily as possible "at least one section of that very efficient Corps whose presence alone is a great restraint upon the Aborigines".<sup>18</sup>

Richard Jones, a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, had sent an extract of a letter he had received from a settler, a constituent of his at Mondure in the Burnett district. The letter complained of sheep stealing and referred to the murder of a man and his little daughter by Aborigines. Jones's constituent claimed that the Native Police Corps was "trammelled with such restrictive orders from the executive, as to render its services useless for the purposes intended, and the sooner we are rid of them and left to manage the savages ourselves the better".<sup>19</sup> FitzRoy had directed that Jones be informed that the writer was entirely in error in suggesting that the movements of the Native Police were trammelled by restrictive orders from the executive.<sup>20</sup>

Jones suggested that this corps was travelling too much over the country and thereby rendering their horses unfit for hard work. Its consequences were much felt in another way as where they went they had "to be victualled, and this in many instances nearly created a Famine on some stations".<sup>21</sup> Although the settlers were paid for supplying the Native Police, claiming on the commandant, some considered the

scale of payment too low. Settlers at times had difficulty in procuring supplies. Francis Nicoll, then an officer of the Native Police, stated before the 1856 Select Committee that he had seen all the shepherds and hutkeepers of the district where he was on a ration of half a pound of rice a day because there was no flour to be had in the district.<sup>22</sup> During 1850, E. W. Layton & Co. as agents for John Goodfellow were authorized by the governor to supply forty-seven rations daily for the force under Walker's command.<sup>23</sup> The sergeant major received one shilling per day in lieu of rations.<sup>24</sup>

Gideon Scott had written on 22 September 1851 drawing attention to the murders and robberies by Aborigines of the Burnett and Wide Bay districts, claiming that within the previous twelve months he "had lost, through the blacks, upwards of £2,000 in property".<sup>25</sup>

Walker reported from Callandoon on these complaints, stating that the censure signed by the most respectable people in the Burnett district was hurtful to his feelings. He referred to his arrangement for Fulford to relieve Marshall in order that neither district should be without a police force for its protection. The unfortunate circumstances (sickness) which prevented Fulford from following his instructions were unknown to Walker until his return to Callandoon on 27 July. Walker stated that since forming the police force he had had little rest and much anxiety which had been increased by the illness of his men. He had been out in all weather and had never been in a house except for a few days at a time. He had incurred great responsibility and damaged his health in endeavouring to make his small force as available as possible and had met with a very poor return.

Walker also referred to certain writers who had criticized him in the press and who would hunt to death any public servant if they only had the power. From his reports, which were substantiated by affidavits, he thought the governor alone could judge whether his arrangements, considering the force at his disposal, were judicious or not, and carried out with energy.<sup>26</sup> FitzRoy noted this report: "The observations made by the Commandant appear to be both reasonable and satisfactory."<sup>27</sup>

On 4 November 1851, Walker reported to the colonial secretary: "I start this day from Callandoon for the Condamine and proceed from thence to the Burnett."<sup>28</sup> After visiting several stations on the upper Condamine "to settle some accounts", Walker then went down the Condamine to Wondai Gumbal police station. There Fulford "had been indefatigable" during Walker's absence. The murderer of Ferrett's man had been caught in possession of a blanket stolen at the time. "Being well supported by a large armed body of natives, he resisted and was shot." Walker reported on 31 December 1851 that some evidence was still required but when it was obtained the depositions would be sent to the attorney general.<sup>29</sup>

Police from Wondai Gumbal had from 16 August to 20 November patrolled in all directions the lower Condamine country and the Maranoa district. Every scrub had been penetrated and Walker claimed that the numerous horse tracks of the police had caused the hostile tribes to believe that there was a much larger force employed than really was the case. In his report of these activities, Walker stated every settler he had met had congratulated him on the success of his plan, but added that Fulford would not be able to carry it out completely until he had two sergeants.<sup>30</sup>

On leaving Wondai Gumbal, Walker went to the Dawson where he found Sergeant Skelton had been very active. Unknown previously to Walker a party of settlers headed by a man whose surname was Coutts, had proceeded a long way down the Dawson since Walker's last visit to the area in June previously.<sup>31</sup> Coutts was attacked by Aborigines and lost two men as well as some five hundred sheep. A settler, Neil Ross, was also killed. Skelton, upon hearing of this, proceeded to the spot. He secured some property but heavy rains had made the ground so boggy that the police could not follow the murderers. On this subject, Walker stated he might as well be expected to afford assistance to Cape York as to protect people who pushed out in such a manner without giving him notice and before he was able to plan for their protection.

While on the Dawson Walker was informed that Aborigines intended to attack Roach's station. Skelton, on Walker's

orders, proceeded to the station and dispersed a large body of Aborigines assembled near it. Skelton, with the second section, was then sent in to Wondai Gumbal to assist Fulford.<sup>32</sup> Walker, with the third section, proceeded to the Burnett.

At Livingstone's station, Boubyjan, (as Walker described it) a serious affray with firearms had occurred between some Chinese and white servants. Walker, in his magisterial capacity, committed three of the Chinese for trial and two to imprisonment for twelve months in default of finding bail. He escorted the prisoners to Maryborough.<sup>33</sup> Ten miles from Maryborough, near the site of the present township of Tiaro, Marshall with the first section joined Walker. Marshall reported on the activities of his section since leaving Callandoon on 8 September 1851.

In September, Sergeant Major Dolan had been sent to Archer's station on the Burnett while Marshall remained on the upper Condamine to look for horses. On 2 October 1851, Dolan with his troopers apprehended one of the men accused on oath of being concerned in the murder of settler Street. Three troopers were sent by Dolan to escort the prisoner to the next station, Mackay's Dalgangal, and to await his arrival there. About five miles from Dalgangal, the escort was attacked by a large number of Aborigines and the troopers, seeing the prisoner would escape, shot him and one of the leaders of the attackers. The three troopers chased the Aborigines into the scrub.<sup>34</sup>

On 7 October, information was received from J. C. Mackay by Dolan that two thousand sheep had been taken away from Dalgangal and the shepherd nearly killed. The police went in pursuit and about 4 p.m. the same day overtook the Aborigines. Dolan had warrants for six of them. The Aborigines attempted to make their escape but two men were killed. An Aborigine, Jemmy, mentioned in a warrant as a murderer, was believed to be one of those killed. In the Aborigines' camp the police found a coat which had belonged to Street, four axes, six shirts, five blankets, and many other articles supposed to have been stolen when Street was killed.<sup>35</sup>

Marshall had overtaken Dolan at Archer's on 15 October.

Marshall then visited the stations of Trevethan (Rawbelle) and Mackay (Dalgangal). After having had his horses shod at Gayndah,<sup>36</sup> Marshall went to Toomcul, one of J. C. Ferriter's stations, having warrants for the apprehension of two natives, Ball and Devil, on a charge of killing cattle at one of Tooth's stations, Widgee Widgee.<sup>37</sup>

The wife of Ball was set forth in the information on oath upon which E. B. Uhr had issued his warrant. Daniel Driscoll, employed by Tooth, deposed that an Aborigine whom he thought was Ball had delivered a false message to overseer Taylor and himself that another settler named Murray was coming across the creek. On Taylor and Driscoll going there they were surrounded by some two hundred Aborigines. On Taylor firing his gun at the Aborigines they managed to escape to a hut. Spears were thrown at the hut before the Aborigines dispersed. Driscoll considered Ball was the ring-leader of Aborigines who had killed cattle on the station.<sup>38</sup>

Ball was apprehended,<sup>39</sup> but Marshall discharged him on being satisfied by an affidavit made by John Broadbent, superintendent on Toomcul, that Ball had been shepherding for Broadbent and could not have been at Widgee Widgee at any time during the period from two days before to three days after the offence was stated to have been committed.<sup>40</sup> Devil was not apprehended. Henry Herbert of Ban Ban declared before Marshall that Devil of the Barambah tribe was at his station on the day named, at least seventy miles in a direct line from Widgee Widgee.<sup>41</sup> An Aborigine named Milbong was killed at Toomcul on 1 December 1851 during an attempt by Marshall's section to apprehend him on a charge of sheep stealing. This appeared to be the man who had been mistaken for Devil, as they both had one eye and both had been wounded in the shoulder.<sup>42</sup>

These activities of Marshall's first section were included in Walker's report of the Native Police from 1 August to 31 December 1851.<sup>43</sup> When the report was received by FitzRoy, the governor directed that it be sent to the attorney general for his perusal, stating: "A great many blacks are reported as having been killed by the Police but I think that the depositions when received will prove these acts of severity to have been unavoidable."<sup>44</sup>

On Marshall's first section joining Walker's third section, both sections proceeded to Fraser's Island. For this purpose the schooner *Margaret and Mary*, sailed by Captain Currie, was engaged. Two boats also were placed at Walker's disposal by Wilmot and Norman Leith Hay, each with two troopers manning a boat. James Leith Hay also accompanied the force. Captain Currie, his crew, Wilmot, and the two Hay brothers were sworn in as special constables and all were armed. Besides Walker, Marshall, and Sergeant Major Dolan, the Native Police Force consisted of twenty-four men who had never seen the ocean.

The force started down the Mary River on 24 December 1851. On their way downstream, police were landed on the south bank of the river. On shore they found at an Aboriginal camp the remnant of some flour, several pieces of bark cut for making bread on, and books with the name "Livingstone" written on the first page. On 27 December Currie landed Walker, James Leith Hay, Dolan, twenty troopers, and one horse at a point on Fraser's Island where a tree was marked and painted NP. Walker's party visited near this point a large camp which had been seen from the schooner. In the camp they found more flour and more of Livingstone's books. A party under Marshall had marched off in another direction.

Meanwhile those in the boats under Walker's command, "who were keeping vigilant guard", saw a small boat containing natives "making off". The boat, which had been stolen from a resident named Blackman of Maryborough, was captured. The police fired at another large boat full of natives and several balls struck. The natives abandoned the boat and escaped to a small island. Two troopers jumped into the sea to attempt to capture the boat, but it drifted too far away and the two troopers lost all their cartridges. The boat probably sank as it could not be found by Walker's party on their way back to their landing point on Fraser's Island. The land party camped at this site on the night of 27 December. Currie with his vessel and the boats, as previously arranged, anchored at another point, although James Leith Hay with six troopers attempted to alter this arrangement. However they were too late to do so.

During the night it rained heavily. The Aborigines made

frequent attempts to surprise the Native Police camp and two Aborigines were killed in the engagements. Next day, finding that the horse was an encumbrance because of a large number of fresh water creeks, Walker sent Dolan and five troopers with it back to the rendezvous where Dolan was also to meet Hay. With the remaining troopers Walker followed the Aborigines who had annoyed them during the night. The police closed on them but the Aborigines being then on the top of the range, escaped. Heavy rain continued all day and the dense scrubs made it difficult for the police to find their way. Worn out with fatigue, Walker's party returned to the rendezvous, having walked and waded at least twenty-five miles.<sup>45</sup>

Marshall's party had captured several Aborigines. Two of these were later tried and acquitted by the Circuit Court at Brisbane after being charged with wounding George Furber of Maryborough with intent to do grievous bodily harm.<sup>46</sup>

On 30 December, Currie brought his vessel back to the rendezvous. Native Police Sergeants Edgar and Willy asked Walker's permission to pursue the Aborigines on the island. Walker was too footsore to accompany them. The native sergeants with troopers followed the island Aborigines from 31 December to 2 January. The two sergeants did not overtake them until they had reached the east coast of the island where the Aborigines took to the sea. Another book of Livingstone's was recovered by the trooper Aladdin and one boat was found. The police reported that the Aborigines had partly eaten one of their own party killed in the attack on the police camp on the night of 27 December — the remains being found cut up in bags.

Walker wrote his report of this expedition on 5 January 1852. He praised the aid received from Currie, Wilmot, and the Hay brothers and directed attention to the services of Marshall who "had acted with his usual energy and discretion". Walker also referred to the hardships from rain at one time, excessive heat at another, and myriads of mosquitoes and sandflies which caused the whole party to suffer. One-half of the police were lame.<sup>47</sup>

FitzRoy noted Walker's report: "The Commandant has I conclude, observed the rule which must invariably be



followed when deaths occur in the collisions which may take place between the Native Police and the Aborigines, of making and sending to the Attorney General depositions as to the facts of each case. The Commandant's movements appear to have been conducted with much judgment and Lieut. Marshall and the Gentlemen who accompanied the Police are entitled to the thanks of the Government. The property recovered should if possible be returned to the owners."<sup>48</sup> Captain Currie was paid a reward of ten pounds.

Meanwhile, Edmund B. Uhr of Yululah, Maryborough, had written to the colonial secretary on 26 December 1851, complaining of Walker's conduct towards him.<sup>49</sup>

# 5

## Disapproval of Walker's Management

Uhr, who had been a magistrate for a number of years, was then performing the magisterial duties of Commissioner of Crown Lands Bidwill who later died. On 24 December 1851, Walker, accompanied by Norman Leith Hay, had called at Uhr's house and told Uhr he required Duncan Cameron (Uhr's superintendent) to accompany him to Fraser's Island as he understood Cameron could identify a number of Aborigines whose apprehension was required under warrants held by Walker.

Uhr informed Walker that he could not let Cameron go as the station was very unprotected and he had some three thousand pounds' worth of property under his care. Uhr added that Cameron's information was only hearsay and that Cameron did not know himself any of the Aborigines who had committed depredations. Walker then replied that he would take Cameron's deposition on oath and if he found Cameron to be of use he would compel him to go.

Walker and Hay then went to Cameron's cottage which was owned by Uhr. After putting Cameron on oath, Walker questioned him, despite Uhr's protest against the proceeding. Uhr considered that Cameron should have been summoned to the police office at Maryborough to give evidence. Uhr asked to be informed whether Walker had the power of pressing hired servants from their occupations for an indefinite period.<sup>1</sup>

Walker and Leith Hay, apparently anticipating Uhr's complaint, also wrote to the colonial secretary immediately on returning from Fraser's Island on 1 January 1852.<sup>2</sup> They

had deemed it necessary that some person who could identify one or more of the individuals accused should accompany the force. The only case upon which they could act was that of the murderous assault on George Furber who had his mail contract from Maryborough to Gayndah to attend to. Furber had been excused from accompanying the expedition, as Cameron had told Walker and Hay he could point out the man responsible. Furber had shown the man to Cameron who had frequently seen him.

Walker and Hay wrote that Cameron was ready to go with them but that his employer, Uhr, not only refused to allow him to go but threatened Cameron if he did. Walker and Hay had considered it necessary that Cameron should be examined on oath for the purpose of being sure he could point out the individual, but Uhr, by his violent conduct, had prevented them from taking the deposition. In consequence, Walker and Hay stated, they would not act in future in concert with Uhr as a magistrate. FitzRoy thought that a service had been performed by the Native Police for the protection of Uhr in common with other persons who had been exposed to the attacks of the Aborigines. FitzRoy trusted that the ill-feelings between Uhr and Walker, "which could only have arisen from excessive zeal often shown in the performance of public duty", would be forgotten.<sup>3</sup>

Uhr, whose brother had been killed by Aborigines in the Brisbane Valley seven years before, again wrote to the colonial secretary on 30 December 1851.<sup>4</sup> Uhr stated that a native of China named "New" had been murdered by Aborigines eight days previously while cutting timber up the River Mary about twenty miles from the village of Maryborough. The natives had threatened to destroy any men in quest of timber and most labouring men were fearful to go any distance from the village. This combined with the scanty population of the settlement — most former inhabitants having gone to the southern gold diggings — rendered their position dangerous. Uhr was daily apprehensive of an attack upon their village by the coast Aborigines who, Uhr claimed, were well known to be the most dangerous and daring tribes in the colony. Uhr, who had a large family, was settled only one mile from the village and his family were afraid to move

even a hundred yards from the house. He had expended some considerable sums, otherwise he would have abandoned the district at once. He requested that a small portion of the Native Police be stationed at Maryborough.

A copy of Uhr's letter was sent to Walker who noted on its margin: "If this village of Maryborough is not safe, how does a single shepherd tend his sheep at a distance of some miles from assistance?"<sup>5</sup> Whether this noting was transmitted to the colonial secretary is unknown, but Walker wrote to that officer in reply from Taromeo station on 22 March 1852.<sup>6</sup> Uhr's letter had not given Walker much cause for apprehension. Walker wrote that he had been over a great part of the Wide Bay district and everything was quiet. Lieutenant Murray was then in the vicinity of Maryborough. Sergeant Major Dolan had patrolled that end of the district since the murder of the Chinaman New who, Walker believed, there was good reason to suppose had been killed by "another Chinese". Walker stated that Maryborough was not sufficiently central for a Native Police station but it was frequently visited by patrols.

FitzRoy directed that the substance of Walker's report be sent to Uhr.<sup>7</sup> Walker's reference to Lieutenant Murray was to a newly appointed officer. Following Walker's recommendation, John Murray, the son of a settler of the Wide Bay district, was appointed on 17 February 1852 to be a lieutenant, fourth division of the Native Police and to be a magistrate of the territory.<sup>8</sup> Lieutenants Marshall, Fulford, and Murray, all of whom were recommended by Walker for appointment, were considered efficient officers by witnesses before select committees of the Legislative Assembly on the Native Police in later years.<sup>9</sup> Henry Hort Brown, a medical officer of the Native Police, in 1856 stated: "By far the best officers were appointed by the commandant himself." He added, speaking of appointments made prior to 1856, that those officers whom he had spoken of as inefficient were Sydney appointments.<sup>10</sup> An augmented Native Police establishment had been voted by the Legislative Council for the year 1852.

Before leaving Maryborough, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary referring to the usual quarterly advance to the

Native Police of £575 6s. 0d. and requesting an advance for the quarter ending 31 March 1852 of £800, for the purpose of purchasing horses.<sup>11</sup> He was prepared to account for the expenditure before the end of that quarter. Walker added that some cheques of his had been dishonoured in the previous quarter, because the sum to be advanced for the period had not been paid to his credit at the Bank of Australasia at the time the cheques were presented. Quarterly advances for the maintenance of the corps were paid into Walker's account and Walker accounted for his expenditure on behalf of the force. Walker, remotely situated from his bank, in drawing cheques had to rely on advances being made early. He had also to follow the then existing system of work being performed in the district for which money was voted. For instance, for the period 1 July 1850 to 30 September 1851 crown expenses incurred on the Native Police had been appropriated to Darling Downs £1,200 13s. 7d., Wide Bay £7 8s. 0d., Maranoa £1,200 13s. 6d., and to Burnett and Moreton Bay nil.<sup>12</sup> This would also account for the Burnett and Wide Bay districts having been neglected to some extent by the Native Police during that period. Before the 1856 Select Committee, Charles Archer thought it would be better to make the vote a general one, letting the distribution rest with the officer in command of the force.<sup>13</sup>

Following his expedition to Fraser's Island, Walker returned via Gayndah to his headquarters at Callandoon. Marshall went to the Burnett district.<sup>14</sup> While Walker was at Callandoon, on 1 March 1852, two new sergeants commenced duty in the corps — Patrick Lawless and Richard Dempster. These two men were selected by Walker himself. Although Walker reported their commencement of duty on 1 March 1852,<sup>15</sup> it was not until 18 May that he officially requested their appointment while in Sydney.<sup>16</sup>

Troop orders issued by Sergeant Major Dolan on 7 March 1852<sup>17</sup> required the sergeant on duty for the day to see: the men up every morning; blankets removed from barracks and placed on the fence or line, weather permitting, but not on the ground so as to endanger the health of the men; shelves dusted; clothes neatly folded and put up; barracks armoury and front of commandant's office cleaned; the men did not

loiter about barracks; horses got and then cleaned after breakfast; brushes, currycombs, and halters taken to the armoury; the parades and drills attended at the appointed hour; and those men for mounted duty got ready to march in good time. The sergeant on duty was to be present at the serving of rations morning and evening, to visit the barracks frequently in the day and order any Aborigines found there to the other side of the creek, call the roll every night, report any absentees to the sergeant major, and not to allow Aboriginal women at the barracks without the commandant's permission.

The sergeants of sections were required to see their men turn out clean to parade and drill, to check that the saddlery and accoutrements of their sections were clean and in their proper place in the armoury, and to assist the sergeant major in drilling and making new recruits fit for duty. They were also to have the men spread their kit every Saturday for inspection by the commandant or sergeant major and to report those deficient. They were to attend to the delivery of rations to the police and to see that the proper quantity was given to the troopers and none wasted. In no case were the commandant's or officers' servants to be allowed to interfere with or give orders to troopers.

During March, Walker paid a brief visit via Taromeo station to the Burnett<sup>18</sup> and then returned to Callandoon.

Early in 1852, Native Police had been engaged in executing warrants in the Gayndah area, issued against Chinese who had offended against the Master and Servants Act. On 27 February 1852 Gordon Sandeman from Burrandowan, Burnett River, wrote to the Native Police detachment at Gayndah requesting their assistance.<sup>19</sup> Sandeman said that a few days earlier "a spirit of insubordination instigated by some of the white men broke out amongst the Chinamen upon this Establishment". Numbering twenty-eight, these servants absconded in a body, taking the road to Moreton Bay and leaving twenty thousand sheep unprotected. Sandeman despatched a messenger to the nearest magistrate, W. Haly, and with his assistance and as large a force as Sandeman could muster induced the absconders to turn back. Warrants for the apprehension of the ringleaders were

obtained by Sandeman from magistrate Haly. Lt. John Murray, replied to Sandeman's letter, regretting that he could not comply with this request.<sup>20</sup> His horses were weak from hard work, two of his men were suffering from fever and ague, and he was under orders to proceed to the lower Dawson. Sandeman wrote to Lieutenant Marshall, expressing disappointment with Murray's reply, and requesting Marshall's assistance not only at Burrandowan in preventing insubordination but also in the interests of other stations in the district.<sup>21</sup>

So many Chinese prisoners were apprehended that Provincial Inspector of Police Heyward Atkins at Brisbane reported that the ordinary constables attached to the petty sessions could not do the escort duty to larger centres. It was suggested that a non-commissioned officer and five Native Police be stationed at Gayndah as an auxiliary unit to the petty sessions constabulary, for the apprehension and escort of Chinamen only.<sup>22</sup>

Walker, on being asked for his report on the suggestion, queried Atkins's authority to request the Native Police Force to be an auxiliary unit of the ordinary constabulary force with which the Native Police could never act in immediate concert.<sup>23</sup> Walker wrote that he could not allow men with whom he had taken so much pains, "to be subjected to the tyranny of men who like the constables [attached to each petty sessions] outside the limits are so totally devoid of discipline". He added that the chief constables almost everywhere were good men who could do no good under such a system. FitzRoy decided that the Native Police must be confined to the service for which they were raised and could not be employed as suggested by Atkins.<sup>24</sup> Atkins's request appears to have limited subsequently the assistance previously given by Native Police to local benches of magistrates in cases of simple breaches of the law.

Walker was on his way to Sydney when he returned to Callandoon from the Burnett. Before leaving Callandoon, Walker delivered an address to the Native Police as follows:

I have called you all together, because tomorrow I am going to Sydney. The reason I go to Sydney is to make the storekeeper boroborai [run] in sending up the jackets, shirts, trousers, boots,

caps, saddles, bridles, carbines, pistols, swords and cloaks for the new policemen. I have got too to buy forty horses, to get you blankets, guernsey shirts, socks, braces, and brushes. And when I am gone, I expect you boys won't be lazy but work. I will have no going to camp until I come back. I want you to learn to be clean like Martin . . . I want you to learn to march and to wheel and to drill before I come back. Remember I must hear of no quarrelling. All the policemen must be like brothers. Let me hear of no sleepy fellows. When you are not on parade, play about and walk about. Billy, Rint, and Harry, you must make these men of yours more clean. They must have to wash themselves and cut their hair. They are never like charcoles. Callandoon Jemmy, you have got one man Barney and I am afraid he is no good. I have heard that he is a thief that he crammers totuno [steals tobacco] and the policemen's monies. Now there is no good in punishing a thief for he will always be the same. And all of you boys, if you find one thief among you, take away his cap and kick him out of the Police. A thief will never make a policeman. I can get plenty more policemen. I shan't be long away and when I come back let me hear from the sergeant major that you have done well. Let me find you clean policemen, not dirty charcoles. The Governor will ask me all about you, mind, and I am obliged to tell him everything. There is one thing that you must all mind and this is never to tell a lie. The old policemen have been with me now three years and they never told me a lie, never drink grog, never swear, and never quarrel. I want you all to be the same.<sup>25</sup>

While in Sydney, Walker recommended the appointment of commissioned and several non-commissioned officers to the Native Police Corps. He also arranged for the return to the bench at Maryborough of the dinghy captured at Fraser's Island and sent by him to Sydney.<sup>26</sup> (FitzRoy had directed that the property recovered should if possible be returned to the owners.) His recommendations for appointments to the rank of sergeant, as well as his suggestion that in future he fill any vacancy in that rank, simply notifying the government of the appointment, were approved by FitzRoy.<sup>27</sup> However, the government kept entirely in its own hands future appointments to commissioned rank.

Upon his return to Callandoon, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary on 23 July 1852, reporting on the state of the Native Police Force.<sup>28</sup> Fulford from Wondai Gumbal had reported that the lower Condamine was quiet, and Walker believed the Maranoa district to be in the same state, with the exception of some petty cattle stealing. However, Walker regretted to report that a collision again had taken place in the Maranoa district between the police and the petty cattle



stealers. Aborigines had been killed by native troopers who had left Sergeant Dempster, under whose immediate command they were, to accompany a man named Johnson. This was contrary to the first clause of written instructions given by Walker to all the European sergeants, who were "not to allow any person unconnected with the Native Police Force to interfere with, or give orders to, any of the troopers under their command". It appeared to Walker that the police must have had the sergeant's consent or orders to do so, in which case he was unfit to be entrusted with a detachment, or that the troopers had left without his consent, in which case it seemed he was unable to command them. Walker did not expect the latter to be the case, as the men of the section entrusted to Dempster had thitherto been noted for their steady, obedient conduct. Walker reported that he had written to Fulford requiring a full explanation.

The circumstances surrounding this incident were revealed in Fulford's and Dempster's reports. Fulford, at Wondai Gumbal barracks, had received information that Aborigines were killing and disturbing cattle on Ogilvie's station, Wachoo. On 20 April 1852, he ordered Dempster to start that morning to patrol the Balonne River with a detachment comprising Corporal Edward and troopers Capita Simon, Rodney, Tom Thumb, Rinaldo, Dick, Bunya Jimmy, and Donald.<sup>29</sup> Dempster was to visit Wachoo and any other station suffering from Aboriginal depredations. Fulford, in his written order to Dempster, stated he had no doubt the presence of the police would be sufficient to put a stop to outrages. Dempster was ordered, should any collision occur with Aborigines, to use every endeavour to prevent "the unnecessary effusion of blood and sacrifice of life" and to strictly adhere to the commandant's instructions to sergeants in command of detachments, dated 17 March, 1852. Dempster was to remain on patrol for three weeks or longer if necessary, but as some of his men were only recovering from fever and ague Dempster was to return to Wondai Gumbal immediately the men became unfit for duty.

On arrival at Ogilvie's Wachoo station, Dempster found that Aborigines had been destroying and rushing the cattle. Heavy rain prevented finding the offenders' tracks until the

detachment was five days on the station. The whole of the sixth day was spent following the tracks discovered, but the detachment did not overtake the pursued Aborigines. On the seventh day, Dempster and troopers Tom Thumb, Rodney, and Dick became ill with fever and ague. The detachment then returned to Wachoo station. Cattle continued to be killed. Rodney and Dick having recovered from their illness, Dempster sent the police, under Corporal Edward, out on the run again. Dempster, with troopers Tom Thumb, Bunya Jimmy, and Rinaldo, remained at Wachoo. Corporal Edward and his troopers were accompanied by Johnson who resided at Wachoo. According to Dempster, Johnson went with the detachment for the purpose of showing "the near ways through the bush".<sup>30</sup>

Some days later Dempster received a letter from superintendent Duncombe of Yamboukal, Hall's upper station, that Aborigines were killing and disturbing cattle there. It appears that Johnson, who was then in the company of Corporal Edward and his troopers, had met the person carrying the letter on the Balonne below Surat, and had opened and read the letter addressed to Dempster. Johnson had then persuaded the police to accompany him with Duncombe into an Aboriginal camp at Yamboukal only one mile from the court of petty sessions at Surat. There a collision occurred in which a number of Aborigines were killed.<sup>31</sup>

Although Johnson and Corporal Edward's detachment had not returned to Wachoo, on receipt of Duncombe's letter Dempster with troopers Tom Thumb, Bunya Jimmy, and Rinaldo started for Yamboukal.<sup>32</sup> Fulford wrote to Dempster on 13 May 1852 regarding the collision between Johnson with the Native Police and Aborigines at the Yamboukal camp:

It is one of the most particular instructions I have, never to allow the Police to go after Blacks with any white persons whatever unless they have one of their officers with them. I have committed a great fault in allowing them to go after the blacks with Mr. Johnson, as they have been induced to go into the Camp at Yamboukal, and from the evidence which I can get, I am sorry to say there is a very strong case which I should not be at all surprised, will lead both myself and you, with Mr. Johnson into a mess. The Police must not on any account whatever be permitted

to go after Blacks without an Officer with them, *not even in the case of murder*, because they may be induced by either *foolish* or *designing* persons to fire on Blacks who are perfectly innocent of the offences laid to their charge.<sup>33</sup>

Fulford, knowing that Dempster and three of his men were sick, sent enough quinine to last four days and requested Dempster to start at once by easy stages for Hall's station where, if possible, he was to patrol. A large number of Aborigines were in that neighbourhood, disturbing the cattle. Fulford warned Dempster that before attacking these men he must have good proof that they were the actual offenders, and referred to the instructions issued by the commandant to sergeants in charge of detachments.<sup>34</sup>

Dempster and his troopers met Johnson and the detachment at Werribone, Hall's lower station. They then proceeded to Yamboukal where cattle still were being killed. For the next ten days rain fell heavily. Horses were unable to travel over the heavy ground. It was not until 31 May that Dempster was able to go out on the run where cattle had been killed. He found two deserted camps containing the remains of freshly slaughtered cattle and followed tracks to another camp from where Aborigines ran on hearing the approach of the police patrol. Dempster reported that this camp was situated in such an impenetrable scrub as to prevent the apprehension of any of the Aborigines, even if the police had come upon them unheard.

Rations of the detachment had become short and the police returned to Yamboukal. There Dempster found a letter for him from Ogilvie's superintendent, Hazard, stating that Aborigines were amongst his cattle again. Dempster returned to Wachoo. One of Dempster's horses was lost on the first day after his arrival there. At sunrise on the second morning, some of the Aborigines from Fitzgerald's station, Warroo, came and informed Dempster that during the night the "Myall Blacks" had come to Warroo and speared to death five Aborigines, including a boy and two women, and wounded others. Dempster and his detachment immediately proceeded in pursuit of the murderers. After following their tracks for about thirty miles, the police came to their encampment "in a nearly impassable Bendis scrub".

The Aborigines had either seen or heard the police before

they came upon the camp. Police saw some of the Aborigines running away wearing "nearly new white shirts". In the camp they found some new knives, a great quantity of fat, and a lot of beef only recently killed. That night the police horses had to be tied up for want of feed and water. The next day the tracks of the Aborigines were followed, but at night the police were forced to leave the tracks. Three days were then spent before the police got out of the scrub, and on the fourth day they arrived at Werribone.<sup>35</sup>

Meanwhile, troopers Bunya Jimmy and Rinaldo, who Dempster previously had despatched with a report, had arrived at Wondai Gumbal and on 8 June 1852 Fulford had written to Dempster recalling his detachment to the barracks. Fulford wrote that Dempster's section was the only disposable force Fulford then had to do the duty of the whole district, and the people on the Balonne could not be allowed to monopolize its entire use. Dempster had patrolled the Balonne River for nearly two months. Fulford also wrote that he did not have a single man at Wondai Gumbal who was not ill. Fulford asked Dempster to be very economical to enable the former to make up for the extra rations he was obliged to use at the barracks "having so many gins and supernumeraries to keep". Fulford could not send shirts that had been requested by Dempster nor white trousers as "this is the season when the men ought to wear their blue ones".<sup>36</sup> Fulford sent a dozen pipes by the postman to Yamboukal. Dempster consequently proceeded to Wondai Gumbal barracks where he expressed his approbation of the conduct of his men throughout his patrol.

On receiving Fulford's report, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary regretting that he had not the power to remove Dempster at once "as his offence was a very dangerous one". The sergeant had sent the Native Police away from the only protection they had, as their evidence "was not admissible in a Court of Justice". According to Walker, the affray at Surat was of a "doubtful nature" and the native troopers had complained of ill-usage from Europeans. Walker added that the bench of magistrates at Surat had held an enquiry, the result of which was unknown to him.<sup>37</sup> As late as 1857 T. G. Rusden in the Legislative Council asked a question on the

killing of station Aborigines by Native Police in 1852. His statement brought replies from Walker who supplied the facts, and from Marshall who pointed out how easy it was to make statements without foundation.<sup>38</sup>

When authority for the discharge of Dempster was sent to Walker, the latter was informed that, while it was not thought expedient to authorize him to discharge non-commissioned officers from the corps at his own discretion, there was no objection to his suspending from duty at once any non-commissioned officer who misconducted himself, subject to confirmation of the governor general upon the case being reported.<sup>39</sup>

The killing of station Aborigines at Yamboukal in the Maranoa district during his absence in Sydney was only one of Walker's troubles. On 26 April 1852, William Forster (later colonial secretary for New South Wales) had written a letter from Gin Gin station, Wide Bay, to the colonial secretary containing charges against Walker in his capacity "as commandant of the Black Police".<sup>40</sup> Forster had forwarded a copy of this letter addressed to "the Commandant of the Black Police, Burnett River". Forster reported that three times within the last month his shepherds had been attacked by Aborigines, their lives endangered, and sheep taken from them. He had not advised the "Officers of the Black Police" of these occurrences because he knew from his neighbours that requests for assistance had been lately disregarded. The previous year when a flock had been taken, Marshall had visited Forster's station. However, finding the greater part of the sheep had been set free and recovered previous to his arrival, Marshall made no effort to capture the depredators, although they were supposed to be concerned with the murder of the late Gregory Blaxland at Gin Gin station, then named Tirroan station. Forster had been informed that Marshall did not believe the flock, not being then in the possession of the Aborigines, had been taken at all and that Marshall thought he had been summoned without occasion.

Forster wished to impress on the government that the efficiency of the Native Police was by no means as great as it had been represented to be and a feeling was gaining ground in the Wide Bay and Burnett districts that they were very

mischievous. Their sojourn on certain stations in many instances had been followed by Aboriginal outrages. In this Forster instanced the murders of Clarke and Trevethan. Forster made the following charges which he declared he could substantiate:

1. Promiscuous intercourse between the native women of the two districts and the Native Police, if not encouraged, was not prevented. Troopers had been infected with venereal disease.<sup>41</sup> The women had acted as spies and messengers for various tribes and were commonly offered as bribes to conciliate the favour and mitigate the hostility of powerful antagonists.
2. Officers of the Native Police delegated their functions to their sergeants.
3. The commandant and his officers took upon themselves to decide whether warrants which had been issued should be executed or not. Forster instanced Marshall's release after formal enquiry of an Aborigine apprehended under a warrant and Walker's seizing a number of local Aborigines who had been working on a vessel and lodging them in the Maryborough lock-up without making any charge, before proceeding to Fraser's Island. Walker was claimed to have given an order to the chief constable to detain them for a few days. (This presumably was to prevent their being taken away on the vessel's departure.)
4. *The commandant had been intoxicated on several occasions.*
5. The Native Police were in the habit of attaching themselves to certain favoured localities or stations generally not situated in the disturbed portions of the two districts. Individual preferences appeared to influence the officers on these selections. Forster claimed the northern frontier of Wide Bay had been visited twice only since the arrival of the police and only for a short time on both occasions.

Forster concluded by attributing to Walker the degradation of the corps but did not infer the evil would be remedied by his removal. Some form of local control Forster considered necessary. (Forster before the 1856 Select Committee stated: "I have been accused of having had a strong feeling against Mr. Walker myself, but to my knowledge I never saw

the man in my life.”)<sup>42</sup>

The murder of Adolphus Henry Trevethan, referred to by Forster, had occurred at Rawbelle station at 9 a.m. on the last Tuesday in March 1852. At the same time a Chinese employee was also murdered and about seventeen hundred sheep driven away. The deaths were reported by David Archer of Coonambula to clerk of petty sessions K. MacKenzie at Gayndah.<sup>43</sup> Archer had heard that Marshall and his men were lately seen on their way there. Mr. J. Thompson had gone to the Dawson to report the death to Lieutenant Murray. On 20 May 1854 an Aborigine named Davy, who had been committed for trial by the Gayndah bench and escorted to Brisbane by Native Police,<sup>44</sup> was convicted at the Circuit Court at Brisbane for the wilful murder of Trevethan and sentenced to death.<sup>45</sup> The sentence was carried out by hanging at Brisbane on 22 August 1854.<sup>46</sup>

Aborigines had threatened the occupiers of Rawbelle station before Trevethan's death. On 4 February 1852 about two hundred Aborigines appeared and some twelve of them came to within seventy yards of the hut. William Trevethan, nephew of A. H. Trevethan, asked an Aborigine called Killamarrie what he wanted. The latter made no answer and commenced beating a stick against a stump. Trevethan then went into the store for a gun and on returning to the hut, Killamarrie threw a waddy at him. Trevethan went into the hut and loaded his gun and then went out on to the verandah with a man named Walker. Aborigines Killamarrie, Jacky, Peter, Davy, and the Doctor each threw a spear at them. Trevethan and Walker then fired at Killamarrie but did not hit him. Some men in a hut about one hundred yards away then called to Trevethan to escort them to his hut. On Trevethan's doing this, the Aborigines rushed into the vacated hut and took everything out of it — blankets, quart and pint pots, flour, tea, sugar, mutton, and other things. Another party of Aborigines went and drove away thirty sheep to the scrub. At the same time, five Aborigines near the occupied hut threw spears and waddys whenever anyone attempted to leave it. After remaining about three hours, the Aborigines went to the wool shed on the opposite side of the river and took from the shed fifty pairs of shears and two

pairs of blankets.<sup>47</sup>

Publicly expressed differences of opinion existed between Walker and a number of other stockholders in the Burnett district as to the policies which should be adopted by the Native Police and the settlers towards the Aborigines. The controversy appears to have originated when Walker wrote to the colonial secretary on 1 March 1852. Walker had referred to the causes of difference and expressed his opinions as to the policy that ought to be adopted by the government and the Native Police Force towards both northern settler and Aborigine. He instanced the sanguinary views of three settlers who considered it necessary and the duty of the government to evince a certain amount of vindictiveness against the Aborigines. He also referred to occasions when he and his officers had been prevented from obtaining evidence. Walker stated that the system adopted by many settlers of not allowing the Aborigines access to their stations was, in his opinion, the principal cause of outrages.<sup>48</sup>

Practically all the squatters of the Burnett and Wide Bay districts had kept the Aborigines off their stations but in course of time allowed them to remain. William Butler Tooth, then M.P. and who had formed stations in the Wide Bay district, stated before the 1858 Select Committee that as soon as Walker came with a company of police, the squatters agreed to let the Aborigines in at their stations, but before that they dared not to do it.<sup>49</sup>

William Archer before the 1858 Select Committee stated their plan always had been to allow the first tribe they found on the station when they occupied it to remain on it. They got information from the tribe as to the movements of the tribes outside. They knew that the Aborigines might revenge themselves, as a result of misconduct of servants, upon a family adopting this scheme. However, he thought if every person would allow Aborigines to remain on his station, there would be less danger — the natives would not be so disposed to commit aggression. He would prohibit the meetings of two or three tribes “for certain religious purposes of their own” at places where white people were. “Where such large numbers of Blacks are located for any length of time, their food gets scarce, and then they attack and kill the shepherds



in order to get at the sheep.”<sup>50</sup>

A copy of Walker's report was laid before the Legislative Council and appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 16 June 1852. Fifteen stockholders on the Burnett River wrote to the colonial secretary on 24 July 1852, to place on record their dissent from Walker's conclusions and their disbelief of the statements on which they were founded. A copy of this letter appeared also in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The stockholders indignantly denied that such sanguinary views as had been attributed to northern settlers were generally entertained by them, nor did they consider it “necessary and the duty of the Government to evince a certain amount of vindictiveness against the blacks”.

The settlers challenged Walker to produce the names of the three to whom he had attributed “certain very extraordinary sentiments”, and to particularize the cases in which he and his subalterns had been prevented from obtaining evidence. They stated it was a notorious and disgraceful fact that innumerable warrants on capital charges, granted by local magistrates against well-known Aborigines, repeatedly had been placed in the hands of officers of the Native Police who generally had failed to execute them or even to attempt to enforce them. It was no wonder, they wrote, that complainants had grown tired of trying to produce evidence on which the police could legally act. The stockholders sought an enquiry into the proceedings, both of the Native Police and the settlers, towards the Aborigines.

With regard to the system adopted by many settlers of not allowing the Aborigines access to their stations, which Walker had held to be the principal cause of the outrages, the stockholders stated this was not borne out by facts, as it was too well known that most of the murders and outrages perpetrated “by these savages” had taken place on stations to which they had been admitted and where they were supposed to be on friendly terms with the residents. They alluded to the murders of Blaxland and his two shepherd boys at Tirroan station, of Trevethan at Rawbelle station, of Wilkins's two servants at Yenda station, and of shepherds serving Humphreys and Herbert of Wetheron, Corfield of Gigoongan, and Murray of Wulooga respectively, as a few of

many instances contradictory to Walker's observations on this point.

The writers had little hope that the force would be ever useful "without a complete reform of its present defective management which seems to us to be in a great degree owing to that unlimited confidence reposed in the commandant by His Excellency the Governor General". In conclusion, the stockholders regretted that the government had adopted "without discouragement, the caluminous misrepresentations of an individual against a large and respectable community".<sup>51</sup>

Walker read the Burnett stockholders' letter in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and replied to it in a letter to the colonial secretary on 1 October 1852 on the eve of leaving Callandoon for the Pine river.<sup>52</sup> He expected the stockholders' letter probably had been sent to him for explanation, although it had not been received. He referred to the inconsistency of certain of the writers, instancing the cases of Herbert, who had stated in another letter that everything the Native Police could do as a legal force had been done by them, and Mactaggart, who had written that the police ought to be a military and not a police force.

In a further letter dated 20 October 1852, Walker denied saying that sanguinary views were generally entertained by northern settlers and denied as well the charge that officers of the Native Police had generally failed to execute or even attempt enforcing warrants.<sup>53</sup> On the Macintyre, Walker stated, each of the five murderers of Edward Bradley was either killed trying to evade capture or apprehended, except Boney who had died. Many other men accused on oath of murder or felony also had been killed while resisting the police. On the Condamine, the murderer of Ferrett's man was killed. Walker cited the attempts of the Native Police to apprehend Aborigines who had murdered Europeans prior to the arrival of the Native Police — the men who had murdered eleven Europeans on the Condamine in 1849. He referred to the action taken in relation to the murders mentioned by the Burnett stockholders.

According to Walker, one of the murderers of Corfield's shepherds had been apprehended by Sergeant Major Dolan,

but was liberated by the local magistrates at Gayndah because Corfield had neglected to prosecute. Walker also referred to instances where murderers, who could not be apprehended, had been killed by the Native Police. He stated it was difficult at times to apprehend Europeans who had committed felony or murder. He said that frequently months had elapsed before those offenders were brought to justice: "This difficulty is naturally much greater when the offenders are wild savages and it is possible that some may never be apprehended but there is no reason to accuse the Native Police of unwillingness to capture them." It appeared to him strange that four magistrates of the territory should place their signatures to such a misrepresentation.

Walker felt sure the governor general would not consent to an enquiry being suddenly instituted when he would have to answer charges of which he previously had no idea. He considered the settlers ought at least to make their charges first. In older districts, Walker stated, successful attempts had been made to conciliate the Aborigines. The facts mentioned in the settlers' letter, Walker added, did not prove as incorrect his opinion that the system of not allowing Aborigines at the stations was the principal cause of the outrages. If it was justifiable for the settlers to make the Aborigines feel their strength, it was equally justifiable for the Aborigines to retaliate.

To FitzRoy, this report appeared to be a perfectly satisfactory refutation of the statements contained in the settlers' letter. As the receipt of this letter had been merely acknowledged, he did not think it necessary to take any further steps which would only have the effect of continuing the controversy.<sup>54</sup>

Attacked by settlers for his defective management of the Native Police, Walker was to be confronted with more trouble over the increased strength of the force voted by the Legislative Council for 1852. More native policemen had to be found and recruiting expeditions southwards occupied time which the officers of the corps, in view of the complaints of non-assistance, could not afford. Local Aborigines therefore had to be recruited. This produced further complaints from those settlers already using certain Aboriginal labour.

# 6

## Continued Aboriginal Attacks in 1852

Most of the forty-eight Aborigines recruited during 1852 to increase the strength of the Native Police Corps were tribesmen from the Barwon, Balonne, Namoi, Condamine, and Macintyre areas.<sup>1</sup> Only a few had been previously employed by Europeans. The recruits were drilled by Sergeant Major Dolan who reported to Walker they had been attentive to drill, orderly in barracks, and respectful to those placed over them. Dolan had refrained from harshness, severity, and bad temper to the recruits. Twenty-two of the men had never crossed a horse's back and soon could sit their horses in a good trot. The men were well drilled on foot and had a knowledge of the use of carbines, swords, saddles, and bridles. They had become cleaner and smarter and some had cast off their drowsy habits. Dolan had no hesitation in saying that if they were kindly and well treated they would make good policemen.<sup>2</sup>

Those who had been "broken in"<sup>3</sup> by squatters were desirable recruits. Naturally, the squatters who generally were short of servants did not wish to lose these men to the police. Henry Hughes, M.L.C., wrote to the colonial secretary on 20 July 1852, enclosing a letter he had received from a squatter named Wilkie, on the lower Condamine, complaining of Walker's practice of obtaining Native Police recruits who were in the private service of Wilkie and others. Wilkie particularly mentioned the case of Bungaree, an educated Aborigine in his service.<sup>4</sup> Hughes considered that if this system were persisted in no good feeling could exist between Walker and the squatters, thus preventing "that hearty co-

operation between them which was desirable for the efficient performance of the duty for which that Corps was specially appointed".<sup>5</sup>

Colonial Secretary Deas Thomson wrote to Walker privately, stating it was most desirable that the practice should be discontinued. Walker replied to this letter, denying Bungaree's enlistment in the roll of forty-eight recruits forwarded to the auditor general and colonial treasurer. He had never seen Bungaree or Wilkie, but admitted that he had been told in 1849 that Bungaree wished to join the Native Police. He had been informed also that Bungaree was educated at the Sydney College, taking most of the prizes there, by the late Stephen Coxen who had intended to send him to one of the English universities. In July 1851, Walker stated, he had instructed Sergeant Skelton to take Bungaree, who was then a hired servant of Colin MacKenzie, to Callandoon "if Bungaree was still insisting to serve the Queen". Sergeant Major Dolan had reported later that Bungaree had finished his agreement with MacKenzie and had gone to Wilkie. Walker had told Dolan to write to Bungaree and tell him he might join the police if he liked. Walker thought that Bungaree, a free British subject, was able to decide for himself and that, if any man had a right to control him, it would be Charles Coxen who could be considered his guardian. Walker considered that Wilkie's idea, that Bungaree was his property, was slavery. Walker instanced that he had no legal power to keep ninety-six men in the queen's service. They could leave that service in a minute.<sup>6</sup>

After writing this reply, Walker requested Sergeant Major Dolan to make an official report. Dolan reported that on 29 January 1852 he had met Bungaree about five miles from Wilkie's station. Bungaree said he had written to the commandant requesting employment as a trooper and after returning from a three weeks' trip with cattle to Ipswich, he would come in to join the corps on the understanding he would receive £10 a year with rations. Dolan, on arriving at Wilkie's station, had informed Wilkie of his conversation with Bungaree and Wilkie had said that Bungaree would not do for the police force. Dolan stated that Bungaree had not joined the corps up to the time of making his report.<sup>7</sup>

However Bungaree had been engaged by Fulford at Wondai Gumbal. This was revealed when Fulford wrote to Walker on 12 November 1852.<sup>8</sup> In February 1852, after receiving a letter addressed by Wilkie to Walker which he had not sent on, Fulford had seen Wilkie and promised him, as well as telling Bungaree, that Bungaree was not to leave until the fat cattle were taken down to Ipswich. Bungaree after doing this had to gather cattle at Wilkie's run for Coxen and drive them to Bunbyan. Wilkie had paid Bungaree his wages and settled with him before he started. After delivery of the cattle at Coxen's, Coxen had lent Bungaree a horse for the purpose of getting to the police barracks. Fulford stated he had seen Wilkie since then. Wilkie had seemed pleased that Bungaree was well satisfied.

Upon hearing from Lieutenant Blandford that Wilkie had complained, Fulford personally had engaged Bungaree on wages at the rate of £25 per year until such time as Walker arrived at Wondai Gumbal. Fulford reported to Walker he had done this "so that you can answer that he is my servant and you have nothing to do with him". Apparently Fulford and Walker then were on very friendly terms and Fulford was endeavouring to shield Walker or both Walker and himself.

A copy of Walker's report was sent by the colonial secretary to Henry Hughes, M.L.C., who passed it on to Wilkie. On 18 November 1852, Hughes informed the colonial secretary that Wilkie was far from satisfied with Walker's letter of explanation and Hughes thought that the best and easiest remedy would be to prohibit all recruiting in the districts where the force might be stationed.<sup>9</sup> FitzRoy thought it was sufficient for the commandant to be instructed not to recruit any of the Aborigines who were in the service of the settlers.<sup>10</sup>

On 25 January 1853 Walker replied informing the colonial secretary that no Aborigine had ever been taken from the service of Europeans with his consent unless it was with the consent or at the request of the settlers.<sup>11</sup> He was only aware of one having been taken without his knowledge: Bimligo, who had absconded. When Walker knew of this, he had not discharged Bimligo for he had previously witnessed the cruel treatment Bimligo had been subjected to. Walker then

enclosed the reports he had received from his officers on Bungaree's employment.

Walker stated he could not suppose that his excellency objected to Aborigines joining the police because once they had been in the employment of some European, or to Walker's right to enlist anyone he found out of employment. If such should be the case and had such an order been given to him in 1848, it would have amounted to an order not to raise a Native Police Force. Walker added that he had never departed from his original plan of not employing Aborigines in their own country.

FitzRoy thought that Walker had taken a correct view of the intentions of the government respecting the recruiting of the Native Police and that the letters of Wilkie to the commandant of 20 February 1852 and of Fulford of 12 November 1852 showed very clearly that Bungaree was enlisted with Wilkie's written consent if not actually at his request.<sup>1 2</sup>

Shortly after Walker's return to Callandoon from Sydney in July 1852, he was requested by the colonial secretary to detach a party of Native Police to the Pine River, north of Brisbane, at once if he had any available from the Moreton and Wide Bay divisions of the force. Walker delayed answering this letter until he was in a position to inform the colonial secretary what could be done.<sup>1 3</sup> The Wide Bay division had not arrived at Callandoon. Articles for the new recruits had arrived at Brisbane on 14 August but were not expected at Callandoon until 18 September. It was not expected that the new recruits would have the sense of duty of peace officers until amalgamated with the original nucleus of Native Police. Walker thought also that the new recruits should not be subjected to the temptation of towns. Walker's reply on 4 September 1852 stated it had been arranged for the original fourth section of the Native Police to start from Wondai Gumbal for Brisbane on 4 October. The new recruits would proceed from Callandoon under Lieutenant Blandford and Sergeant Major Dolan — one party to be mingled with the second section at Wondai Gumbal and the other with the first and third then in the districts of Burnett and Wide Bay. Walker added that, as the Native Police would not act unless

they were under the orders of their own officers, an officer must proceed to the Pine River. As he wished to arrange accounts with the Ipswich agent for the Native Police, he had resolved upon going himself. The Ipswich agent was Richard Gill, storekeeper, saddler, and postmaster.

From October 1852 to March 1853, Walker and the fourth section were in the Moreton Bay district in the neighbourhood of Brisbane. Lieutenants Marshall (first section) and Murray (third section) were in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts respectively and Fulford at Wondai Gumbal with the fifth section and also in charge of part of the sixth on the Dawson. Blandford appears to have been attached to Callandoon.<sup>14</sup>

In the Burnett district a site for Native Police barracks had been selected and early in 1852 a contract made with Adam Grant for the erection of buildings at a cost of £150. These consisted of the commandant's house, a kitchen, a sergeant's hut, a police barracks, and an armoury.<sup>15</sup> Traylan was the name of the new police station. It was situated on the Burnett River about six miles north of the present township of Eidsvold.<sup>16</sup>

From the Wide Bay district, a number of requests for Native Police assistance had been addressed during 1852 to Lieutenant Marshall, the senior officer on the most northerly frontier of pastoral settlement.

J. C. Mackay of Dalgangal, when travelling to Sydney, had been detained at Yululah, Maryborough until 2 March 1852, awaiting the arrival and departure of the *Elizabeth Jane* at the "Boiling Down" on the Mary. Shortly before Mackay boarded the vessel on his departure, he was informed that Walker's hut near the "Boiling Down", where three Chinese servants of Mackay's were quartered, had been attacked by Aborigines and two of the Chinamen killed. Mackay went to the hut and found the two victims only badly wounded, although one was not expected to recover. The Aborigines had left them for dead. Before his departure, Mackay wrote requesting the police to come to Maryborough to give the Aborigines a lesson as the attack was unprovoked.<sup>17</sup>

On John Stephen Ferriter's station, Toomcul, a shepherd was killed and a flock of sixteen hundred sheep taken during



January 1852. Ferriter acknowledged the "energy and intrepidity" of the officer and men in rescuing his property.<sup>18</sup> On 25 March 1852, he again requested that a few Native Police troopers make their appearance, as a large party of "Salt water" and Wide Bay Aborigines had been reported assembled between Toomcul and Widgee Widgee for the purpose of taking sheep. Numerous fires seen in that direction had indicated the truth of this report.<sup>19</sup> Shortly after this request, Ferriter reported that a large meeting of Aborigines had been held within fifteen miles of his head station.<sup>20</sup> Ferriter's request was followed by an appeal for assistance by William Taylor, superintendent for William B. Tooth of Widgee Widgee where cattle had been killed and scattered in all directions.<sup>21</sup>

At the same time W. O'Grady Haly reported that Aborigines were assembled also in large numbers near Taabinga.<sup>22</sup> On that station, "strange" Aborigines had been surrounding shepherds' huts and taking sheep from the hurdles at night for some time. One hutkeeper, a Chinaman, had been beaten on the back and arms with a nulla nulla, and the hut robbed of tea, sugar, flour, tobacco, knives, and clothing.

Six weeks later, John Landsborough at Teningering wrote informing Walker that Neddie, the murderer of Blaxland, and Billy Barlow alias Boomer, a notorious stock stealer, had arrived the previous day on his station. Landsborough thought that if they could be made an example of the remainder of the Aborigines from Gin Gin station, who were with Neddie and Barlow, would not be feared. Eleven days later, Landsborough again wrote that these Aborigines were stealing sheep at every opportunity although Aborigines belonging to the run and engaged in shepherding sheep were behaving very well.<sup>23</sup> A fortnight later Landsborough, thinking that Walker may not have received his letters, wrote to Marshall for assistance.<sup>24</sup> Neddie, Billie Barlow, and their companions then were camped close to the scrub and as opportunity offered came "out on the sheep like native dogs". On 24 September, Landsborough was still reporting sheep losses caused by Aborigines under the leadership of Neddy.<sup>25</sup> It was not until 26 November that Lieutenant

Murray appeared on Teningering station to take information on oath for the issue of warrants against the Aborigines concerned.<sup>26</sup>

In July 1852, Tooth & Co. of Widgee Widgee had complained of the system of cattle killing on their stations since the police came to the district, because the Aborigines found there was less danger of detection in killing cattle than by carrying sheep off in thousands. Tooth stated that, as there were no other stations carrying cattle in the district, Aborigines from neighbouring sheep stations were killing his cattle.<sup>27</sup>

On 30 August 1852, William Henry Walsh of Degilbo wrote informing Lieutenant Marshall that a Chinese named Na Tean, who had absconded from his station, had been murdered by Aborigines on the roadside within a few miles of Maryborough. Aborigines had been observed wearing the deceased's clothes.<sup>28</sup> Marshall made inquiries of E. B. Uhr, who investigated the death, and Dr. Palmer, who held a post-mortem. Both stated there was no proof to show the Chinaman had been murdered by Aborigines.<sup>29</sup>

Walsh, on 14 September 1852, wrote again to Marshall complaining that a Native Police trooper, who had delivered a message to Degilbo, had entered a hut and stolen twenty shillings in silver, a knife, and other articles.<sup>30</sup> Three months later Walsh wrote to Lieutenant Murray complaining of Aborigines under Neddy attacking a shepherd and stealing his flock. Walsh stated it was only when the police were or just had been in his immediate neighbourhood that he was ever molested by Aborigines.<sup>31</sup>

On 21 September, James Leith Hay of Gigoomgan gave information on oath before Marshall that a Chinese shepherd "Ang Chew" had reported his flock had been attacked by Aborigines.<sup>32</sup>

On 2 November, Hay wrote to Marshall<sup>33</sup> reporting that his blackboy had come to him stating that a rein belonging to his bridle had been removed and another put in its place. Some days later pieces of rein from which a buckle had been removed were found under a bush. Consequently Hay had examined the accoutrements of Sergeant Lawless of the Native Police who had been living in the saddle room from

where the rein was taken. Lawless recently had repaired his surcingle on which was found a buckle corresponding exactly with the buckle on the remaining rein and which fitted exactly the rein which had been missing. Lawless, formerly of the military, evidently had no inhibition as regards the means of keeping his accoutrements in repair. Whether he was permitted to remain in Hay's saddle room is unknown.

On 9 December 1852, Gordon Sandeman of Burrandowan wrote to Lt. John Murray asking that a sergeant and a few troopers be sent to that station with the least possible delay. Sandeman's Chinamen were on the "eve of a rupture again having no doubt heard of all of Mr. Ivory's [a neighbouring station owner] having absconded".<sup>34</sup>

Murray had trouble in his own fourth division of the force during the same month. On 19 December, Murray wrote to Commandant Walker reporting that on that day about 5 p.m. he had arrived at Bouverie's station, Mundubbera, and found Sergeant Kerr and Corporal Thomas Hindmarsh still there. Murray previously had ordered Kerr with the section under Murray's command to proceed from Gayndah to Bouverie's station and then to go to David Archer's Coonambula station. Murray twice ordered Kerr, who was intoxicated, to mount and follow his men who already had departed for Archer's station. Kerr refused on both occasions, replying: "No, I must go to the public house for some grog." Kerr also said that after the first of the next month he would be no longer in the Police Force and would disobey Murray's orders. Kerr invited Murray to put him under arrest, taking off his accoutrements saying: "Two minutes will serve to undo a Sergeant of Native Police any time." Kerr then became abusive and Murray said: "I should be compelled to put you in handcuffs for being drunk and disorderly." Kerr defied Murray who told him that he could only deliver up his accoutrements to Murray at the barracks. Corporal Hindmarsh, who was also under the influence of spirits, obeyed Murray's order to mount his horse and go with Murray to Archer's station.<sup>35</sup>

At 9 p.m. that night at Archer's, Murray visited the men's camp where he was accosted by Corporal Hindmarsh who was still under the influence of drink. On being told by

Murray that he should be put in handcuffs, Hindmarsh ran to his saddle, taking up a pair of handcuffs and shaking them in Murray's face, saying: "I don't care for you. You have no business to speak to Sergeant Kerr that way. I tell all Policemen you no good." Murray roared: "Silence." Hindmarsh replied: "No, I won't silence, I'll talk to you." Murray refused to put Hindmarsh in handcuffs informing him his conduct would be reported to headquarters. Sergeant Kerr who also was at the camp was still intoxicated and very abusive. Murray added in his report that there was a mutinous feeling in the camp that night, chiefly caused by Kerr's conversation with the men and his mutinous example. On 20 May 1853, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary recommending the acceptance of the resignations of Sergeants Richard Kerr and Patrick Lawless.<sup>36</sup> R. P. Marshall stated before the 1856 Select Committee that out of thirteen sergeants who were employed in his time there were only three efficient men. The only men who were found useful as white sergeants were men who had formerly served in the old Mounted Police. It was on his recommendation that sub-lieutenants were substituted for the white sergeants. He thought that the native troopers would look with more respect on those who associated with gentlemen than on those who associated with the labouring men at the stations they visited and who were continually getting drunk and setting a bad example. He said the Aborigines were very imitative and even followed the manners of a man they had been with for any length of time.<sup>37</sup>

In the Maranoa district during the latter half of 1852 Native Police patrols clashed with Aborigines. Sergeant Dempster, who up to then had not been suspended from the force, following Fulford's instructions of 3 August 1852, left Wondai Gumbal barracks for the Balonne River with Corporal Larry and troopers Donald, Dick, Rodney, C. Simon, and Rinaldo.<sup>38</sup> After encamping for the first night on Tchanning Creek, the detachment headed for FitzRoy Downs. Near Wallumbilla Creek recent tracks of cattle were observed with tracks of Aborigines in pursuit of them. As rain threatened, the detachment made for the creek but were forced to encamp before reaching it. Heavy rain forced the

detachment to stay there for two days. On breaking camp the detachment travelled only two to three miles when fresh Aboriginal trails were found. Following these tracks about two miles they found the recently deserted Aboriginal camp. Following tracks the detachment first came in sight of four women and later two men who did not see the patrol. They also heard a tomahawk being used. Later camps were found but, as there were no signs in those camps of offences committed, the Aborigines were not disturbed.

On finding a further camp trooper Rinaldo just avoided a boomerang thrown at him by an ex-trooper, Priam, who had deserted the police at Callandoon. Rinaldo shot Priam as he was picking up nulla nullas and spears. Another Aborigine threw a nulla nulla at trooper Rodney, just missing his head as he bent low on his horse. Rodney then shot him also.

The patrol then proceeded on its journey, crossing the Bungil and Yulebone Creeks to the Mucadilla. The state of the country after the heavy rain caused the patrol to go on to the Balonne. At Ogilvie's station, Wachoo, the "Cubba Galoes" tribesmen were killing cattle. Next day the patrol started in pursuit, but at night the horses were startled by something and split into four or five mobs. The patrol was detained three days finding them. The patrol consequently returned to Wachoo and thence proceeded down the Balonne River, visiting the stations of Dangar, Loder, Baldwin, Ezzy, and Grover respectively. At Ezzy's and Grover's stations, cattle had been killed by Aborigines and some on an adjoining run were seen with spears in them. The patrol was out for three days on Ezzy's run without seeing fresh Aboriginal tracks. Further heavy rain caused the patrol to return to Ezzy's hut.

The patrol then made its way up the river again to Ogilvie's station, arriving there on the evening of 2 September. Thirty-five of the Cubba Galoes tribe then were encamped about two hundred yards from the back of the station hut. They had been there for four or five days. The second day after the patrol's arrival, these tribesmen went out and returned with fresh beef. The station Aborigines joined with them in their celebrations.

Next morning Dempster and his detachment left with the

intention of capturing Oromondi, a notorious leader in depredations by the Cubba Galoes. Upon coming up to the Aboriginal camp near the station hut several waddies were thrown at the detachment and the Aborigines then scattered in various directions. Dempster told his men to shoot Oromondi if they could not take him. Trooper Donald found and chased Oromondi who threw a boomerang at Donald. The latter flattened himself on his horse and the boomerang grazed his back. Donald then jumped off his horse and shot Oromondi. Three more Aborigines were shot. During this time, Dempster was about a hundred yards from the back of the hut. He was then informed there was a white fellow dead at the hut. There had been only Johnson and Abraham Parker, the stockman, at the hut when Dempster left it. Dempster hurried to the hut. The space under the verandah was filled with "hut" or station Aborigines, gins and piccaninnies. Dempster saw Johnson in front of his own door of the hut and asked him where Abraham was. Johnson replied he did not know. Johnson had a double-barrelled gun in his hand and told Dempster he had fired a shot in a different direction to Parker's hut. Dempster went to the other doorway of the hut where he found Abraham Parker lying dead. Dempster then went out to the police again and in a few minutes firing ceased. The remaining Cubba Galoes escaped across the river. In the afternoon of that day, Dempster counted 122 Aborigines including women and children in the Aboriginal camp.

The wounds of the deceased Parker had been caused by ball and buck shot. Dempster claimed this exonerated the Police whose ammunition only was powder and ball.<sup>39</sup> Parker's killer was never identified by the records. Fulford when writing to Walker on 21 May 1852 referred to Johnson, stating: "I know from report the man was an ass but he is a greater fool than I took him for."<sup>40</sup> In his report, Dempster stated that Corporal Larry had behaved improperly nearly the whole of the time on this patrol, repeatedly leaving his men on the road and in the bush despite Dempster speaking to him about it. Larry had been sulky both with Dempster and his men. After Parker was buried Larry left the detachment and was not seen until he rejoined it at Hall's lower

station, Weribone.<sup>41</sup>

Eleven days after returning to Wondai Gumbal from this patrol, Dempster and troopers Donald, Dick, Rodney, Simon, and Rinaldo left on a further patrol of the Maranoa district.<sup>42</sup>

On 9 November 1852, Fulford with Sergeant Skelton and four troopers of the sixth division returned from the Dawson to Wondai Gumbal barracks.<sup>43</sup> On 11 November, Fulford started Sergeants Skelton and McGrath with a detachment of Police down the Balonne.<sup>44</sup> At Yamboukal the detachment, accompanied by Hall's superintendent Duncombe, followed tracks of stock killers. These tracks led to within a quarter of a mile of McEncroe's hut on his station, Ockobolla. Leaving the Native Police with McGrath, Skelton, accompanied by Duncombe, visited McEncroe's hut around which about a dozen Aborigines were gathered. Skelton recognized among them one believed to have murdered a shepherd of Scott's on the Dawson and two women who were on the Dawson when Skelton recovered Scott's sheep from Aborigines. Another Aborigine had two separate "ball mark wounds" and Skelton thought he had been involved in the murder of the shepherd and the stealing of his flock.

McEncroe, who was at the hut, informed Skelton that the Aborigines had come there the previous day to murder him. One Possum Murray had called out for "Peter", an Aborigine McEncroe had with him in his hut. Peter went outside. Possum Murray told Peter he had come to kill "Paddy", meaning McEncroe, and that Peter had to go to the camp with him. Peter refused and Possum Murray and Peter commenced fighting. McEncroe came to the door of the hut, and an Aborigine threw a paddy melon stick at McEncroe, which missed him but drove a hole through a tin dish within a yard of him. The Aborigines had kept McEncroe "bailed up" inside his hut until the arrival of Skelton and Duncombe.

Skelton then brought the Native Police to the hut. The Aborigines who had surrounded the hut ran to the creek, less than a quarter of a mile away, to where other Aborigines were. All then advanced towards the police, throwing spears and paddy melon sticks. Skelton reported he was forced to use severe means to disperse them. Possum Murray, the

Aborigine with the ball mark wounds, and four other Aborigines were shot before Skelton could drive the Aborigines from the station.<sup>45</sup> Skelton returned to Wondai Gumbal on 19 November, leaving McGrath on the Balonne.<sup>46</sup>

From 25 to 29 November, Fulford patrolled around all the stations in the neighbourhood of Wondai Gumbal and found all quiet. On 7 December Fulford left Wondai Gumbal to inspect McGrath's men and visit the Balonne stations. No outrages had been committed on the Balonne but Fulford found the stations in the "back country" had suffered cattle losses. At Charles Ezzy's station on 29 October a large number of Aborigines, thought to be "Culgoa Blacks", had sneaked up on the quiet Aborigines about the hut and "killed two blackfellows and three gins who were encamped close to the hut". On Loder's run in October, bush Aborigines thought to belong to the Culba and neighbourhood had killed three Aborigines employed about the hut, taken away four women, and speared one woman employed to mind the horses at the station. Warrants were obtained to apprehend those considered responsible.<sup>47</sup>

Fulford subsequently patrolled eighty miles down the Culgoa and across to the Balonne and Bokhara and between Bokhara and the Narran. He returned to Wondai Gumbal on 9 January 1853, reporting to Walker that all the men had suffered from influenza. Corporal Billy who had taken sick the day Fulford had reached Grovers, the lowest station on the river, had been left at Surat.

Fulford reported that although he had been forced to punish some of the new hands the general conduct of the men had been good and much better than could have been expected from new recruits.<sup>48</sup>

During 1852 the Native Police Force had been increased in numerical strength. Further officers were to be appointed in 1853. The management of a corps scattered remotely over sparsely settled areas was to bring fresh troubles to its commandant.



# 7

## Official Disapproval of Walker's Letters

At Brisbane on 20 January 1853, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary on the matter of payment of the sergeants of Native Police.<sup>1</sup> Having previously informed the colonial secretary during an interview that he could not procure sergeants unless their pay was increased to £40 per annum, Walker had promised the sergeants engaged in April 1852 that their pay would be increased to that sum from 1 July 1852. Walker was informed subsequently that this increase would be placed on the supplementary estimate for 1852. Not having heard whether the sum necessary to meet these increases had been voted, Walker had paid each sergeant the extra sum of £5 as guaranteed by him, out of his own salary. Walker's letter brought the result desired by him. He was authorized to credit himself with the amount of the increases he had paid.<sup>2</sup> The increases had been placed on the estimates for 1853 but for the last half of 1852 they were charged on the gold revenue.

On the same day that Walker's letter was written, Fulford at Wondai Gumbal forwarded to Walker the resignation of Sergeant James Skelton from 31 March 1853.<sup>3</sup> Skelton considered his pay insufficient after seeing in the newspapers that the pay of an ordinary constable of police was about £10 a year more than his own. He also thought his duties were more severe and arduous than any constable's. He complained also that he had not received the money due to him for the previous year in lieu of clothing while articles due to him such as a cloak, saddle cloth, spurs, and cap had not been sent to him. Skelton had been constantly employed and

thought his was a hard case when he saw sergeants coming from Callandoon fully equipped. Fulford regretted sending Skelton's resignation, stating it was impossible for a person to attend to the latter's many duties in a better manner than Skelton had done. On 20 May 1853 Walker recommended the acceptance of the resignations of Skelton and Sergeant Benjamin Pincott.<sup>4</sup> Skelton later was appointed chief constable first at Wambo and later at Dalby.

From early in 1853, as it was later revealed, Walker was becoming careless in the financial accounting of the corps. This appears to have been in keeping with his attitude to his own personal accounts. While Walker was clerk of petty sessions at Tumut, he had incurred an indebtedness to storekeeper John Strahan. This debt was only partly paid by 28 September 1849. Payments to settle the debt had been made by the Treasury from Walker's salary. On that date Strahan wrote to Walker stating it was long time since Walker had sent a few lines as promised to him.<sup>5</sup> Richard Gill, storekeeper and postmaster of Ipswich, wrote to the colonial secretary on 5 February 1853, informing the latter that he held three cheques drawn by Walker, as commandant of the Native Police, on the Bank of Australasia, all of which had been duly presented and dishonoured. As the cheques were all drawn on public accounts he thought it his duty to call attention to them in order that they be no longer allowed to circulate to the discredit of the government and the injury of individuals.<sup>6</sup>

On this letter being referred to him, Walker replied stating that the sum, which he expected would have been paid to his credit in the first week of January, had not been paid until the end of that month in consequence of which many of his cheques had been dishonoured.<sup>7</sup> He added that the sum due to him for money expended for the use of the Native Police in the previous September had not been paid until 1 February; many cheques subsequently presented had been paid. Early in 1853, Lieutenant Marshall wrote to Walker informing him that the cheque Walker had given Lieutenant Murray for £50 had been dishonoured. He enclosed a lawyer's letter on the subject.<sup>8</sup>

The system which then operated in relation to the Native

Police Force was that, excepting for the pay and allowances for the officers themselves paid into their respective personal banking accounts, all advances on account of the force were paid to Walker's public account at the Bank of Australasia. Generally, these advances were made quarterly and only for paying the members, other than officers, of the force and for the purchase of horses. From his public account Walker transferred an amount to the credit of the public account of each lieutenant at the Bank of New South Wales sufficient to meet the pay of their detachments and to buy rations for their men during the quarter.

The sums advanced to pay the whole force were accounted for at the end of each quarter, and those for the purchase of horses as soon as receipts for horses bought could be procured. Horses were bought in various localities and between some there was no postal communication.<sup>9</sup> In 1853 a new regulation required private accounts of officers to be kept at a bank other than where the public account was kept.

When all officers of the colony were instructed in a circular letter dated 20 May 1853 to carry out the regulations relating to financial accounting by them, which included the forwarding of bank pass books periodically for the auditor general and the sending in of vouchers monthly accounting for expenditure, Walker wrote from Traylan on 14 July 1853 stating he could not see how, under the peculiar circumstances of the service in which he was employed, he could follow the instructions.<sup>10</sup> Walker stated that the auditor general was welcome to inspect his pass book as often as the auditor general could get it. Walker was very glad if he could get it once a quarter and he seldom had it more than three times a year. The lieutenants also complained they could hardly ever get their pass books. As for sending vouchers monthly accounting for expenditure, Walker stated this was impossible unless he was allowed a clerk and four orderlies to take them round to each officer for his signature and then return them to him. The orderlies would have to travel about thirty miles a day and have four horses each.

Walker pointed out he had no clerks and no office and most of his official correspondence was written at some station "where everybody is hurrying about on his business"

and no room or table was left for one hour at his disposal. Walker stated he consequently went into the bush where the troopers made a bark table and chair and the answers were written and then forwarded by an orderly.

While he was willing to follow any instructions as to accounts which the auditor general might give him, Walker stated the governor general would easily perceive that they must be very simple and only come into force on the first of January following, to allow each officer to be informed of the alteration.

To the colonial secretary it appeared that Walker's letter only required an answer instructing him to carry out the regulations as far as the peculiar circumstances of the service on which he was employed would allow. The initial provisions of the regulations were already observed by the commandant who would perceive that he was relieved from the inconvenience of adjusting his advances on particular dates as unexpended balances of public accounts were repaid into the Treasury.<sup>11</sup> FitzRoy approved of this reply to Walker who also was informed that an advice note was forwarded to him by the colonial treasurer whenever a sum was placed quarterly to his public credit at the Bank of Australasia to enable him to pay the salaries and allowances of Native Police Corps. For the quarter ended 30 September 1853 this sum was £1,295 4s. 6d. and it was placed to his credit on 13 August 1853.<sup>12</sup>

However, the arrangements still were not to Walker's satisfaction. He replied that he had always to keep the different Native Police stations supplied six weeks in advance on account of the difficulty in getting anything conveyed such a distance from Sydney — "a difficulty of late years very much increased". Walker stated that the settlers who supplied the police with rations required to be paid without delay and he had been much annoyed at being repeatedly dunned for these amounts. The lieutenancy had complained "of the same evil". The greatest evil however, Walker wrote, was the fact that he had to pay eight per cent for all the supplies from Sydney — "a serious deduction from the men's ration allowance".<sup>13</sup>

From Taromeo on 21 March 1853 Walker had written

several letters to the colonial secretary. One of these contained his report on Gill's complaint that three of his official cheques had been dishonoured.<sup>14</sup> Two other letters referred to the 1853 and 1854 estimates for the force. Forms for the 1854 estimate had been received by him by the last post from Gayndah, but, having to perform patrols himself through a shortage of subalterns, he wrote that he could not make out the estimate in a proper manner without visiting headquarters. From Taromeo, he had to visit several stations, meet his orderly from Traylan on or about 30 March at the Burnett Inn post office, and then proceed to Wondai Gumbal to obtain signatures of different patrol parties. He proposed then to go to Traylan and would forward the estimate from there.<sup>15</sup>

Another letter stated that he had observed in the 1853 estimates that twelve additional men were allowed for the lower Darling but he had received no orders on that point and did not understand what were the intentions of the government. There was no provision for officer, non-commissioned officer, or arms and ammunition. He recommended that a section of picked men be sent there under Murray, an experienced officer.<sup>16</sup> This letter produced the reply that the twelve Native Police alluded to were to be employed under the orders of the commissioners of crown lands in the lower Darling and Murrumbidgee districts and not under Walker's command.<sup>17</sup> On receiving this information Walker protested from Yabba.<sup>18</sup> He deeply regretted he had not been so apprised sooner, as he had fed and clothed these twelve additional men since the first of the previous January and he dared not dismiss them by turning them adrift for no fault of theirs. He had the honour to advise that his excellency had appointed him commandant of the New South Wales Native Police and he therefore suggested that any Aborigines employed as peace officers not under his command should be styled native constables. He questioned how an estimate of a force over which he had no control could be formed, and protested against the expenses of such a force being charged against his own force. Already he had been annoyed sufficiently by having had attributed to his men that which years before he had heard related of the

Melbourne Native Police. He had no wish to bear more unwarranted abuse.

FitzRoy considered there was no alternative under the circumstances but to allow Walker to retain these men although Walker had no authority for their enlistment. However he could not sanction Walker's addressing the government in a disrespectful manner and directed that Walker should be more cautious in the terms he used in future.<sup>19</sup> Walker from Traylan replied to this rebuke, observing there was a precedent for his error because the only intimation he received for the raising of forty-eight additional men in 1852 was the estimate for that year. He regretted that his excellency should have reason to complain of the disrespectful manner of a communication from him and assured that he would endeavour to avoid this offence in future.<sup>20</sup>

Officially the matter was adjusted by adding the twelve recruits to Walker's strength as a division of the Native Police to be formed for Port Curtis.<sup>21</sup>

Walker was at Traylan on 30 April 1853 when he wrote to Fulford at Wondai Gumbal.<sup>22</sup> Walker referred to Fulford's report of sixteen "hut blacks" in the Maranoa district being murdered during the first months of 1853" by those whom you are pleased to call Waddy Jacks, in English, Outlaws". Walker did not understand by what right any British subject dare proclaim another British subject an outlaw. Walker informed Fulford of his disapproval of the policy being carried on in the Maranoa district by the settlers. Consequently he had ordered Marshall to proceed to Wondai Gumbal. Fulford's attention was drawn especially to the report, existing in the Darling Downs district in 1849 and 1850, that settlers in the Maranoa were accompanied by some of the Aborigines belonging to the Balonne called "station or hut blacks". These had been styled Native Police when going out in search of Aboriginal cattle stealers or killers. Walker had been told this policy continued in the Maranoa district until his arrival on the Macintyre. He drew Fulford's attention particularly to this as he attributed it to all the mischief that had occurred in the Maranoa district since.

Walker then wrote that, having disapproved of the action taken by the settlers over which he had no control, he would

refer to the proceedings of a force over which he thought he had some control — namely the division of Native Police under Fulford's command. Walker referred Fulford to four occasions when Native Police in the Maranoa district had fired at and killed Aborigines *at stations*. "The first time under Edward and Larry at Yamboukal under circumstances which I have no doubt will have been satisfactory to the Hon. the Attorney General. The second time at Yamboukal when the Native Police were inveigled into an attack upon the Blacks for no fault that I can see, except that one of your waddy outlaws had quarrelled with a hut Black about meat. The affidavits in this matter must be unsatisfactory to the Hon. the Attorney General. They were unsatisfactory to me for I perceive that the Police that I have taken so much pains with, have in that case been entrapped to commit murder." The third case occurred in an attempt by Sergeant Dempster to apprehend an Aborigine named Oromundi. Walker stated that he wished to be informed by what right Dempster had made this attempt as Dempster had been simply told by a settler that Oromundi was a notorious killer. Walker also referred to "the lamentable death" of Abraham Parker on that occasion through a disregard of Dempster's orders. The fourth case was the result of action taken by Sergeant Skelton at McEncroe's station. Walker wrote that the evidence on which that action was taken had shown only the commission of a common assault and referred Fulford to the fourteenth clause of his (Walker's) instructions to sergeants: "if he sees an assault committed; *but not if he hears of an assault having been committed*".

Fulford on 26 August 1853 wrote to Walker that he was extremely sorry that Walker thought there were always disturbances taking place at his station. Fulford believed that a recent occurrence reported by him would never have taken place unless the men had misunderstood entirely Walker's orders.<sup>2 3</sup>

From Traylan Walker returned to his headquarters at Callandoon where a division of the Native Police was being prepared for service in the Clarence and McLeay districts.<sup>2 4</sup>

The area of Native Police operations was being extended both northwards and southwards. Additional officers were

being appointed. On 14 February 1853, Edward Norfolk Vaux Morisset had been appointed to be lieutenant, third division Native Police.<sup>25</sup> Morisset did not commence those duties immediately. On 5 April 1853 he applied successfully to the colonial secretary to be allowed a government pack saddle from the colonial store as the Moreton Bay steamer had ceased running and he therefore had to travel overland to join the force under Walker.<sup>26</sup>

At Callandoon Walker received a letter from Sergeant Matthew McGrath written at Gayndah on 9 May 1853 referring to the resignations of Kerr, Lawless, Pincott, and Skelton: "I understand from Sergt. Small that you are much displeased for the sergeants leaving. I beg leave to state that the cause of leaving is in consequence of the 8th section, as they would do nothing but what they please, and as you have taken them from me, I have no objection to stop if you have any wish."<sup>27</sup> Walker noted McGrath's letter: "If Sgt. McGrath cannot command the 8th he is unfit to take charge of any section. The 8th were delivered to him by the Sgt. Major at Callandoon for duty and were especially approved of by me. Sgt. McGrath has returned them to me in very bad order and disorganized."<sup>28</sup> McGrath subsequently resigned. On 2 June 1853, when informing the colonial secretary from Brisbane of the reasons why a section of the Native Police Force had not started for the Clarence and Macleay country, Walker forwarded McGrath's letter "for the purpose of showing His Excellency how unfit such men are to be entrusted with a detachment".<sup>29</sup>

Walker was in Brisbane from 29 May to 5 June 1853 inclusive to start the fifth division to the Clarence. Charles Hughes had requested police protection for the New England district. Walker, when supplying his reasons for the late departure of the Clarence division, stated that on 1 January of that year the first section was ready to start for the Clarence and Macleay country. However, on account of Blandford (who resigned) having given vague orders to Sergeant Small in the Dawson valley, Walker had to send a valuable officer — Lieutenant Murray — with the first to remedy the blunders made by Blandford. The fifth section was then got ready without delay and for the previous four



months had been prepared for duty in the Clarence and Macleay country, but Lieutenant Morisset had not up to then joined him nor even taken the trouble to write. Walker added that in consequence he would have to send the fifth section under the command of a sergeant with strict instructions not to detach the troopers.<sup>30</sup>

Three sections of the police were then without a European officer to guide and direct them. Walker stated it was fortunate that the Aboriginal corporals, especially Edward of the fourth section, obeyed his instructions to the letter. He added that he was much weakened by fever and ague and it had been very difficult for him to manage nine sections of the Native Police with so little assistance.

In conclusion, Walker considered that the Native Police Force should be reorganized as a frontier police only, and the sending of that force to the Clarence, Macleay, and New England country was a retrograde step. Walker wrote: "If such a step is repeated it is possible that the Native Police will be in Maitland in 1854. There is more fuss and nonsense made about the Aborigines in long settled districts than in the newly occupied country." Some three years later before the 1856 Select Committee Richard Bligh, commissioner of crown lands for the Clarence district and a brother of Lieutenant Bligh then in charge of a detachment of Native Police (both grandsons of "Bligh of the *Bounty*"), stated that the Clarence district had been occupied about fourteen years before the Native Police were sent there and he considered the outrages decreased afterwards.<sup>31</sup> However even up to 1856 the Aborigines had been very troublesome, spearing cattle in many parts of the district. At least two rapes had been committed on respectable women: one in January 1856 on a girl of fifteen, the daughter of a shepherd; and the other in February 1856 on the wife of a schoolmaster at Woodford Island.

On 6 June 1853, the fifth section started "in a high state of discipline" under the command of Sergeant Dempster who after three months suspension had been reinstated on 1 June. A letter informing the colonial secretary of this was written that day by Walker who stated the fifth section would act independently of the commandant, and Lieutenant Morisset

would have written instructions as well as Sergeant Dempster.<sup>32</sup> Walker had received a communication from Morisset and had ordered that officer to join the fifth at once. Walker had paid into the Bank of New South Wales, Brisbane to the credit of Dempster the allowances in lieu of troopers' rations to the end of 1853. As this would encroach on his advance he requested a further advance of that sum. Walker, in this letter, expressed his dissatisfaction with Lieutenant Marshall who at Callandoon had given, according to Walker, vague orders to Lieutenant Morisset who had arrived there. Those orders had upset Walker's plans. Walker claimed that Morisset arrived at Callandoon on 12 May but, acting upon Marshall's instructions, proceeded to join Walker in the Burnett district although Walker in fact had left with the fifth division for Brisbane. Walker stated that Marshall knew that Morisset was to take the command of that division.

This was the first condemnation in Walker's reports of Marshall who previously had been frequently praised by him. Coupled with Walker's letter of rebuke to Fulford six weeks earlier, it gives credence not only to the allegations later that the intemperate habits of Walker were coming under the notice of his officers by 1853, but also to Marshall's complaint on 1 September 1854 of the commandant's irregularities, drunkenness, and abuse to them.

Fourteen days after the departure from Brisbane of the fifth division for the Clarence, Walker was at Yabba and writing again to the colonial secretary on Marshall's lapse.<sup>33</sup> Walker stated that the "Burnett District" was a very wide term and when Morisset was at Callandoon he was three hundred miles nearer to Armidale than the Burnett district. The most simple plan would have been to let Morisset stop there until he had received his instructions. Even if it were necessary for Morisset to see the commandant, Walker considered that Marshall should have instructed Morisset to join Walker at the Burnett Inn post office to which Marshall had addressed a letter to him and where he proposed to be at a certain time to receive the abstracts and adjust the accounts for the quarter.

FitzRoy considered this was a matter the commandant should settle himself by reprimanding Marshall if he

considered such a course necessary, unless he wished to make a personal complaint against Marshall for wilful disobedience of orders.<sup>34</sup> On receiving advice of the governor's viewpoint, Walker reported he had considered it sufficient to express in a private letter to Marshall his dissatisfaction with the instructions given to Morisset, and the only reason he had referred to the matter was to show that he was not to blame for the delay in sending the division to the Clarence.<sup>35</sup> On 7 April 1853 three officers were appointed to the Native Police. Samuel James Crummer Irving of Drayton, former lieutenant 28th Regiment who had been recommended on 8 June 1852 by Walker for a lieutenancy, was appointed senior sub-lieutenant.<sup>36</sup> Four months later his appointment was altered to sub-lieutenant.<sup>37</sup> John O'Connell Bligh and Frederick Keen were appointed sub-lieutenants.<sup>38</sup> On 28 May 1853 Robert Walker was appointed sub-lieutenant.<sup>39</sup> His appointment under his full name of Robert George Walker was again gazetted in August.<sup>40</sup>

On the afternoon of 14 May 1853, Lt. John Murray with the first division left Traylan for J. Leith Hay's station, Rannes. That morning he had received Hay's letter, written three days previously, reporting that two of his shepherds had been murdered by Aborigines and requesting the services of the Native Police. Murray, when writing to Walker before his departure, expected to have a month's hard work and had left instructions for Morisset, should he come to Traylan in his absence, to join Walker without delay.<sup>41</sup>

Murray and his section arrived at Rannes station "on one of the creeks falling into the Dawson" on 16 May. He immediately held an enquiry into the murder of the two shepherds. Sheep numbering some six thousand had been driven off at the time but next day all but eighty were recovered. Two days later Murray started in search of the Aborigines responsible, travelling towards Port Curtis. The country was scrubby and water was scarce — the Native Police often going some ten miles off their route to look for it. The Aborigines had dispersed and their tracks were found in almost every direction. After seven days' search, including two without water, the horses were in a weak state. The section then returned to Rannes station.

After allowing the horses sufficient time to recover a little strength Murray again started, but this time in the direction of the Dawson River. On the fourth day, the section came up with a number of Aborigines hunting in a scrub. The Aborigines ran and one man was shot. In their camp was found a quantity of mutton fat. After remaining at this spot until the Aborigines had thoroughly dispersed, Murray returned to the station. His horses were incapable of further work until shod. One horse ridden by trooper John Reid died and another Murray left at Rannes station knocked up. Murray reached Traylan on 24 June and wrote his report to Walker next day.<sup>42</sup>

On 14 June 1853 Walker wrote to the colonial secretary from Durundur station in the Brisbane River valley.<sup>43</sup> He considered the Macintyre and the lower Condamine as no longer "disturbed country". The Burnett district was quiet excepting for the murder of Mackay's Chinese shepherd. He stated that this peace over the previous six months was due to the indefatigable exertions of Marshall and Murray. Wide Bay district also had been peaceful with the exception of the supposed murder by Aborigines of a Chinaman in Uhr's employ. One matter that had called for the attention of the Native Police was the great bunya season. For six years there had never been such an assemblage of Aborigines. A Chinaman had been murdered at Balfour's station Colinton in the Moreton Bay district. Walker thought it remarkable that every alternate year a man was murdered there in the month of November. Walker stated he knew who the murderers were but there was no legal evidence. He had kept up a constant system of patrols cutting through the scrub in all directions and had so pursued the Aborigines as to cause them to disperse at the end of the season without doing any damage whatever. Not a shot had been fired.

Walker reported that by reason of the want of subalterns he had been managing three sections at a time with only one assistant. The difficulty of corresponding under such circumstances had been great. The greatest evil suffered however had been prostrating fever and ague. He stated that Marshall, Murray, and the sergeant major had been ill and it was "no joke shivering and shaking three to five hours one day and

riding twenty-five miles the next". The cure was almost as bad, Walker added, "for the quinine quite stupefies me".<sup>44</sup> Walker also reported the admirable behaviour of the Native Police excepting the eighth section which had become masters of Sergeant McGrath and, after the latter's resignation, had come under Walker's own command.

This report of Walker's was confirmed by Commissioner of Crown Lands Stephen Simpson of the Moreton Bay district in his annual report on the Aborigines for the year 1853.<sup>45</sup> Simpson stated that, since the settlement of Wide Bay, Burnett, and Maranoa, collisions between the squatters and Aborigines of the older districts had almost entirely ceased or had been so insignificant as rarely to come to his knowledge. The only exception to this favourable report, Simpson added, was to be found in the vicinity of Brisbane where the coast Aborigines continued to be very troublesome to small settlers. The main cause for this was to be found in the indulgence in spirituous liquors which attracted the evil-disposed Aborigines to the neighbourhood of Brisbane. The facility of escape to the islands in the bay also enabled them to carry on the outrages with impunity. Simpson thought that a boat party of Aboriginal police stationed for a time on "Bribie's Island" would probably be the most efficient remedy "to reduce them to subjection".

He reported that the introduction of the Aborigines into the police force of the colony undoubtedly had been a very successful measure. The attraction of fine clothing and good rations with a roving life and occasional skirmishing with the Aborigines would no doubt continue to induce many of the more intelligent and warlike to join the force. However, he added, the life the Native Police led in the bush was so little different from that of their savage brethren that it promised little as a means of civilization.

Simpson had referred to the coast Aborigines continuing to be troublesome to small settlers. In May 1853 an Aborigine called Mickie was tried before Mr. Justice Therry in the Circuit Court at Brisbane for the murder of Gregor and a servant, Mrs. Shannon, on the Pine River — committed back in 1846. Mickie was convicted and a sentence of death recorded.<sup>46</sup> It then became a matter for the executive as to

whether the sentence should be carried into effect. On 9 June 1853, Judge Therry was requested by the colonial secretary to state what amount of punishment he would propose. Therry considered seven years hard labour on the roads and other public works would be a suitable commutation. He stated that, although Mickie was present with a large number of other Aborigines thereby becoming legally guilty of aiding and abetting in the commission of the crime, he did not appear to have taken any active part in the participation of the deed and for the most part was engaged in stealing flour and sugar from the store whilst the murder was perpetrated by others.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile Walker had forwarded the following letter to the colonial secretary:

At the last Assizes at Brisbane a black of the name of Mickie apprehended by the Native Police, was convicted for the murder of Mrs. Shannon and Mr. Gregor (I presume an accessory after the fact). Now it is certain that he did rob the hut after the murder, but you must understand that he was a mere boy at the time and that the murderer made every boy, woman and child carry away the property. I can give the Attorney General half a dozen more under the same warrant. All I have to do is go around the different stations and take the boys who are tailing cattle, bullock driving or otherwise employed. There ought to be an amnesty for every one included in that warrant excepting Dundalli who was an actual murderer. I hold several other absurd warrants such as two for Blacks, names unknown and no description.<sup>48</sup>

FitzRoy directed that a copy of Walker's letter be sent to both Mr. Justice Therry and the attorney general. Therry, in replying on 8 August 1853, stated:

I beg to remark this gentleman's observations on proceedings at Brisbane are founded on error. It is an erroneous and incorrect assumption on his part to assume that Mickie was indicated as an accessory after the fact. He was indicted as an "aider and abetter" present at the time of the murder. The statement of Mr. Walker that he can give the Attorney General half a dozen men under the same Warrant, and his expression of several absurd Warrants certainly seem to be a very unsuitable mode for this gentleman to express himself respecting Warrants issuing under competent authority; and as to his opinion that "there ought to be an amnesty" I can only say I never heard of such a thing in cases of capital felony. Mr. Walker, I apprehend, would not have written such a letter as he has done if he knew that all who are present at a felony though not actually aiding in the commission of the offence are in such a situation as to be able readily to come to the assistance of others engaged in its commission, the knowledge of

which was calculated to give additional confidence to his companions . . . This was Mickie's case, and that of the whole party who accompanied him. He was engaged plundering the stores, whilst the others were engaged at the same time and at the same place in committing the murder. They were all ready to assist if necessary and were all aiders and abettors. No doubt there are shades and degrees of guilt in the participation each had in the commission of the crime and it is for this reason that I recommended commutation in Mickie's case. Mr. Walker's letter does not in the slightest degree alter my opinion as to the propriety of that commutation and I venture further to suggest that though Mr. Walker's sympathy may be very commendable, it appears to me that the fate of Mr. Gregor and his servant is not without some claim to sympathy too, and that it should not be exclusively bestowed on those who break the law.<sup>49</sup>

The reply of Attorney General Plunkett on 27 July 1853 also referred to Walker's mistake in supposing that Mickie was convicted as "an accessory after the fact".

FitzRoy directed that the substance of Judge Therry's observations be communicated to Walker whose comments appeared "to have been made without due caution or while under feelings of excitement" which "Mr. Walker has given way to in some of his own recent communications with the government".<sup>50</sup>

Walker's sympathetic approach to the problems of the Aborigines was not in accordance with the hardening attitudes of many others in those times. Gradually he was exposing himself to further attacks on his commandantship. He had been rebuked by FitzRoy and Judge Therry. However he had established friendship with a number of people on the frontier. In the adverse times ahead of him, many of these relationships remained unbroken.

# 8

## Further Indications of Walker's Intemperance

A friend of Walker was James McLaren who on 10 June 1853, after selling his land and sheep, wrote from Wulooga expressing his thanks for Walker's assistance in sending Corporal Donald and his men to escort McLaren to the Obi Obi country in search of another run. McLaren found Donald to be efficient, cautious, and with nerve if required. McLaren had tendered for a run on the upper Dawson where Marks had offered him the use of a portion of his run and of his wool shed until after shearing. (McLaren's choice of the upper Dawson proved a bad one as he was killed there by Aborigines.) McLaren asked if Walker could confer another obligation on him by sending a small detachment with him until he got a place erected to put Mrs. McLaren and the children in. McLaren wished Walker could stop with them a night before he left as he could give Walker "a glass of something stronger than what you had on your former visit".<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Jane Goode, wife of Jacob Goode of Burnett Inn, wrote on 3 December 1853 to Sergeant Humphrey: "Mr. Walker acts as a gentleman wherever he goes and commands great respect which he deserves".<sup>2</sup>

On 30 July 1853 Francis Nicoll was appointed to be a sub-lieutenant of Native Police.<sup>3</sup>

On 5 August 1853 Walker reported to the colonial secretary that matters had not been going to his satisfaction at Wondai Gumbal. Horses had been lost and the accounts of clothing, arms etc. and the horse list were in such confusion that he could make nothing of them. The troopers there were in a dissatisfied state and evidently had neglected their duty



as Fulford had to advertise for lost horses. Walker had no doubt that the illness of Fulford was the cause of so much confusion.<sup>4</sup>

As the newly appointed sub-lieutenants Irving, Bligh, R. G. Walker, Keen, and Nicoll had then to learn their duty and were not sufficiently acquainted with his system, Walker requested that Sergeant Major Dolan who was so thoroughly acquainted be appointed acting adjutant as an experiment to 31 December 1853. Then, if the experiment was successful, Walker would recommend his appointment as permanent adjutant. Meanwhile Walker reported that he had authorized Dolan to act in that capacity until the governor general's pleasure was known. Governor FitzRoy did not object to this authorization of Dolan.<sup>5</sup> In December, on Walker's recommendation,<sup>6</sup> FitzRoy approved of the continuance of Dolan's appointment with the same pay and allowance as a sub-lieutenant.<sup>7</sup>

On 19 August 1853 Walker, after inspecting the Native Police on the Dawson under the command of Bligh, wrote complaining of the continued delay of the Colonial Storekeeper's Department in forwarding clothing for the corps for 1853.<sup>8</sup> Not one article included in his requisition sent in August 1852 had reached Walker who was astonished by the delay because in 1851 the Legislative Council had voted money for providing the 1853 clothing from England. Walker wrote that he had been hampered by the delays of that office for five years and was never notified when articles were sent to enable him to arrange for their conveyance to his headquarters for sorting and sending to the different detachments. Colonial storekeeper Buchanan's defence to Walker's charge was that Walker's requisition was dated at Callandoon on 20 October 1852 and received in November. Being in excess of the vote, it was submitted with a special report on 31 December 1852 and, after some correspondence, approval was finally given on 31 March 1853. By that time contractors in Sydney were fully engaged on clothing ordered for the southern and western patrols, for additional Sydney police, and for the gold escorts. The contractors had found difficulty not only in procuring sufficient materials but also in keeping workmen because of the rush to the gold diggings. The

speedier completion of the large quantity ordered for the Native Police had been impossible. The whole of the Native Police clothing had been sent on 6 September 1853 to Wide Bay where a part of the year's supply had been sent previously on 1 June together with the annual proportion of ammunition. Notification of these shipments, Buchanan added, had been sent to Walker. Buchanan referred to previous complaints by Walker and stated: "What new grounds may be discovered for tomorrow it is hard to say but it is hoped that no injustice is done to Mr. Walker in anticipating its occurrence, for want of perseverance on that score cannot be imputed to him. And if the reputation of this Department has reached so low an ebb as to be dependent upon his opinion for support, the animus exhibited on repeated occasions leaves little doubt but that his potential aid would be marked in vain were so unfortunate an emergency to arise to render it necessary to seek it."<sup>9</sup>

FitzRoy thought due notice of the sending of the supplies was given to Walker though it may not have reached him. The commandant should be informed that the delay was unavoidable and caused by circumstances beyond the control of the colonial storekeeper. Walker also was to be told to avoid "the use of strong irritating language which could only give offence to the Parties complained against, particularly when complaints were made without sufficient grounds".<sup>10</sup> However, Walker's letter caused the balance of his supplies to be promptly forwarded.

Some idea of the supplies, including clothing requirements, is gained by Dempster's requisition for one sergeant, and twenty-five troopers at Wondai Gumbal for 1853: 26 jackets blue, 52 pairs of trousers blue, 104 pairs of trousers white, 53 pairs boots, 104 shirts, 52 caps cloth blue, 52 pairs of spurs, 52 pairs hobbles, 12 pairs reins bridle, 12 bits bridle snaffle, 600 rounds ball cartridges (to be packed in legs of boots), 700 caps percussion, 3 sets chevrons sergeants, 4 sets chevrons corporals, 1 nipple wrench, 12 nipples carbines, 6 nipples pistols, 6 cock screws carbines, 4 cock screws pistols, 3 yards scarlet cloth, 24 cloak straps, 12 carbine straps, 26 saddle cloths, 12 gun buckets.<sup>11</sup>

Rations for Wondai Gumbal to last eight months were

returned on 1 September 1853 as: 5,500 lbs. flour, 1,660 lbs. sugar, 210 lbs. tea, 315 lbs. soap, 83 lbs. tobacco. Eighty sheep in the yard were expected to last until November.<sup>12</sup>

Earlier in 1853, after Walker protested against sending twelve enlisted troopers to the lower Darling, Darling, and Murrumbidgee districts, he was allowed to retain them for a new division intended to be formed for Port Curtis. On 9 August 1853 authority was given him to raise a division for duty at Port Curtis.<sup>13</sup> On 28 August 1853 Walker requested that supplies and equipment for that division be forwarded to Wide Bay. He would arrange their conveyance to Callandoon. Volunteers, he stated, were impatient to join but it was useless his enlisting any until he had the necessary accoutrements. He suggested that, if there was no saddlery in the colonial store, ordinary stockmen's saddles of good quality could be purchased and afterwards have the holsters affixed under contract. He trusted that nine months would not elapse for the delivery of these supplies "as happened in 1852".<sup>14</sup> However Walker's fear of a delay in the delivery of these particular supplies proved groundless. They were forwarded by the colonial storekeeper to Brisbane on 4 August before Walker's letter was written. The ammunition was sent a month later because the schooner *Zone* "refused to bring to off Pinchgut to receive it and no other vessel could be induced to receive it on board".<sup>15</sup>

The raising of a division for Port Curtis appears to have been the first occasion where Native Police were dispatched to an area prior to its being opened for settlement. Walker had complained of settlers occupying lands on the Dawson River without alerting him so he could arrange their protection.<sup>16</sup> It was not until 10 January 1854 that the Colonial Secretary's Office notified in the *Government Gazette* that the survey undertaken at Port Curtis had so far progressed as to enable the governor general to determine what extent of country it was expedient to throw open to immediate settlement. With the exception of land already settled, the tract of land comprised in five counties, to be known as the Port Curtis district extending from south of Gladstone north to Broad Sound, was proposed to be opened for tender for pastoral purposes.<sup>17</sup>

On 20 August 1853, Walker requested from Traylan that a block of five miles square be reserved for the use of the Native Police Force near Port Curtis on Auckland Creek, as there was no water at Port Curtis. He suggested this reserve be made at once before Surveyor McCabe left Port Curtis so that there would be no interference with the tenders of settlers. Walker stated that Lieutenant Murray would examine the ground for the best grassed and watered situation. He suggested that Murray take a copy of the colonial secretary's instructions on this point to Surveyor McCabe.<sup>18</sup> On the same date, Walker wrote requesting that the sum of £300 be provided for Native Police Force buildings near Port Curtis as he could never get any accommodation for the police in any township excepting Brisbane. At Port Curtis there was an opportunity of remedying this and Walker had no doubt that by 1854 Port Curtis would be the headquarters of the force. There he could get his supplies by sea, have better and quicker communications with the government, and have all his stations except two in line.<sup>19</sup> Although the sum for Native Police buildings near Port Curtis asked for by Walker was placed on the estimate for 1854, it was not spent. By October 1854, following a report by government resident Captain O'Connell at Gladstone, the selection of the permanent location for the Native Police in the Port Curtis district awaited the influx of population to mark with certainty the direction in which the occupation of the area flowed. Temporary accommodation only was provided meanwhile and charged as a police contingency on the territorial revenue.<sup>20</sup>

Port Curtis never became the site of the headquarters of the Native Police. The growth later of the town of Rockhampton ensured its selection for this purpose.

On 2 August 1853, H. T. Euston, of Billa Billa near Callandoon, wrote to the colonial secretary regarding the murder of a German woman on his station by an Aborigine called Sippy. Euston blamed the Native Police for not proceeding against Sippy long beforehand. He referred back to October 1852 when Sippy had been employed by him on a lambing station where he was residing. One morning Sippy had absconded taking with him "a complete set" of Euston's

clothes. Proceeding to Smith's station about eighteen miles away, Sippy robbed one of the shepherds there of his blankets and rations. About a month later Sippy had visited one of Euston's shepherd huts and robbed the shepherd of his rations, razors, and other articles. Sippy had then proceeded to Young's station, fifteen miles away, and robbed one of the huts of a gun and rations. A month later, Sippy returned to Euston's station and robbed one of the huts of rations and other articles.<sup>2 1</sup>

Euston stated he had applied to Walker in person for a warrant for the apprehension of Sippy. When Sippy took Euston's own clothes Euston, with the assistance of another Aborigine, had tracked Sippy to a scrub where Euston's clothes were found. The Aborigine tracking Sippy had showed Euston where Sippy had put on the stolen clothes and also the track of Euston's boots worn by Sippy. Aborigines later got the clothes from Sippy and delivered them to Euston.

Walker had refused to grant a warrant on this evidence nor in relation to the stealing by Sippy on Smith's station. Euston claimed that Walker had treated those cases lightly stating that theft was not frequent among the Aborigines. Euston was firmly convinced that, if Walker had acted to take Sippy at that time, "the life of a fellow-being would have been saved". Euston added that Sippy had not been taken since the recent murder though he had certain proof that Sippy was always hanging around one of his sheep stations. In consequence he was having difficulty in keeping white men on the run, for whilst this young murderer was allowed to roam at large their lives were in danger.

Euston then referred to the great inconvenience felt in the neighbourhood through the want of a court house and a few constables, "the Native Police being seldom or never at Callandoon". Euston stated that only because Lieutenant Marshall was at Callandoon when the murder was committed he had been saved a ride of two hundred miles to report the murder to a magistrate. He requested the erection of a court house at Callandoon or in its vicinity in conjunction with the stationing there of an officer of Native Police and six native troopers.

Walker, to whom Euston's letter was referred by the colonial secretary, replied from Traylan on 14 October 1853.<sup>22</sup> Walker stated it was rather difficult to make out what Euston really wanted. If it was a court house without a court of petty sessions, the quarters of the Native Police officers at Callandoon were quite sufficient for any magistrate acting in his ministerial capacity and consequently no court house was required. However, Walker believed that Euston really wanted a court of petty sessions with its constabulary. Walker stated he had not acted in the stolen clothes case as Euston had brought him nothing but hearsay evidence. Sippy, he added, was a boy about fourteen years of age and, having been apprehended meanwhile by the second section under Sergeant Graham, was then in Brisbane Gaol. FitzRoy did not think it necessary to do anything further in the matter.

Euston wrote again to the colonial secretary on 21 December 1853. He asked the favour of Walker's objections, "which appeared to have had so much weight in the Governor General's decision in the matter", to the erection of a court house at Callandoon or in its vicinity. He regretted that the governor general had asked Walker for information on the subject as Walker had not the slightest interest in the locality and, in his opinion, was incompetent to judge in the matter.<sup>23</sup> FitzRoy directed that Euston be informed it was not usual to furnish the information applied for.<sup>24</sup>

Sippy was committed from Callandoon by Lieutenant Marshall for trial at the circuit court at Brisbane for the murder of the German woman. He was escorted from Callandoon by Sergeant Graham and two troopers on 15 September 1853. Graham had entered into a recognizance before Marshall to give evidence as a witness against Sippy at the Brisbane trial.<sup>25</sup>

On the night of 10 November 1853, Sippy escaped from the Brisbane Gaol. He was recaptured the following year. In May 1854, Sippy was convicted at the Circuit Court at Brisbane for robbery with violence. He was sentenced to imprisonment in Darlinghurst gaol for three years with hard labour.<sup>26</sup> The reasons are unknown why he was not indicted for the murder for which he was committed for trial. No

record appears to be now available as to whether the evidence was insufficient to proceed on such a charge as murder, or whether or not other considerations prevailed in not pursuing the charge.

In September 1853, huts of sawyers on Pine Mountain near Ipswich in the Moreton Bay district were robbed of their contents by Aborigines. One morning Hugh McGowan a licensed sawyer, after giving some Aborigines working about his hut some tea, sugar, and flour, went into the sawpit to sharpen a saw. Hearing the women in his hut screaming, he ran and found the Aborigines in possession of the hut. One had possessed himself of McGowan's gun and "snapped the gun" at McGowan twice. Four armed with tomahawks told McGowan if he came up to the hut they would kill him. The Aborigines took from McGowan's hut a bag of sugar, one hundredweight of flour, some blankets, tin kettles, money and a razor and a knife. From a neighbour's hut they took blankets and sheets, counterpanes, and clothing.<sup>27</sup>

In the Maranoa district during 1853, Aborigines killed one white man and attempted to kill two others, and attacks on the settlers' cattle were frequent.<sup>28</sup>

In the Wide Bay district, Commissioner of Crown Lands Arthur E. Halloran found Aborigines had become troublesome when their depredations had remained unchecked. In June 1853 a man had been speared near his own hut. Consequently, on 13 October 1853, Halloran wrote to Walker asking if two or four Native Police troopers could be placed under his orders at Tinana for a few months to operate as a check upon the Aborigines. Halloran stated he would take the troopers under his own surveillance and see they were not interfered with by anyone. There were good paddocks at Tinana for their horses and quarters for the men.<sup>29</sup> Walker replied to Halloran from Rannes on 26 October 1853.<sup>30</sup> Walker stated he had always strongly objected to detaching any of the Native Police to act under the command of any person who was not their own officer. His reasons were that constables and commissioner's orderlies were in the habit of ill-using and abusing troopers on account of their colour and, instead of setting them a good example, had received the contempt of the troopers for habits of drinking and of

keeping arms and accoutrements in a dirty state. Drinking had applied equally to European sergeants of Native Police, Walker stated, and he had been obliged to dismiss nearly every one of them. Walker added that the presence of a European officer was the only protection the Aboriginal troopers had. Acts of oppression had been practised on the troopers by the labouring class. The latter thought the troopers were the means of lowering wages — they felt that, without troopers, settlers could employ neither Chinese nor Aborigines. Guns had been presented at troopers and on one occasion a trooper fired at. These assaults were always attempted when no European officer was present.

One proposal held out in Halloran's letter induced Walker to depart from this usual rule which had received government approval. Walker alluded to Halloran's statement that he would keep the troopers under his own surveillance. Walker therefore, on his return to Traylan about 10 November, would send Halloran a Native Police corporal and five men but under the conditions mentioned by Halloran and also that they be quartered separately, away from Europeans, and not placed under orders of any person but Halloran and the officers of the Native Police. Walker added that, so long as the Aboriginal corporal fully understood the instructions given to him, he could be sent alone with his men to carry out any order.

Walker had only arrived back at Traylan from Rannes when he received a letter, dated 11 November 1853 from James Leith Hay at Rannes, requesting that a detachment of Native Police be stationed there for a few months. Aborigines had killed two of his best Chinamen and taken away one hundred sheep.<sup>31</sup>

On 8 December 1853 Murray of the fourth division received notice from W. H. Walsh of Degilbo, Burnett district, of an attack on one of his shepherds and a number of sheep taken by Aborigines amongst whom was Neddy for whose apprehension the police held a warrant. Murray arrived at Degilbo station on the evening of 10 December, Next morning, accompanied by Walsh, he started for the scene of the attack. There they saw where sheep had been killed and afterwards roasted in fires. Tracks of Aborigines were found



leading from the scene. After following the tracks for about sixteen miles, a large number of Aborigines were found camped that afternoon on the edge of a scrub. In their possession were found a number of shorn and unshorn sheep skins which Murray had no doubt had been stolen from Walsh and Landsborough respectively. The skins of the unshorn sheep were from washed sheep and Landsborough had washed his sheep a few days previously. Three Aborigines were shot by the police in an endeavour to capture them. Murray remained on the spot until the Aborigines had dispersed. From their large number and the extraordinary amount of weapons in their possession, Murray believed that they had meditated another attack on a station.<sup>32</sup>

On 28 December 1853, Gordon Sandeman of Burrandowan, who feared a disturbance amongst the Chinamen on his station, asked Murray for Native Police assistance. Sandeman had sent several Chinamen to Gayndah on charges of felony and, being in the midst of a long shearing in which the principal overseers were employed, he was apprehensive of trouble. Sandeman could not expect aid from the small force of constables at Gayndah. If the Native Police could not help, he stated he would not be responsible for the consequences of his compulsion to use extreme measures.<sup>33</sup>

At Traylan on 10 December 1853, Walker held an enquiry into a charge of neglect of duty made by Sub-Lieutenant Keen against Sergeant Charles Humphrey. Keen, in command of the detachment at Yabba, was called to the Brisbane area to search for two Aborigines against whom he held warrants. He left Yabba with troopers on 25 October 1853 and, after visiting areas near Brisbane, Cash's station, and Durundur, returned to Yabba on 27 January 1854. His charge was that, during that period, Humphrey had absented himself from the Native Police camp. Keen had left orders with Humphrey that trooper Forrester be sent to Dr. Wilkes at Burnett Inn for medical attention.<sup>34</sup>

Humphrey's defence was that Keen had left five sick troopers — Forrester, Gilbert, Anthony, Sandy, and Callaghan — with him. Having no able trooper to take Forrester to the doctor, Humphrey had taken him to Burnett Inn. There he found Dr. Wilkes himself ill in bed. Humphrey,

under the doctor's instructions, was forced to stay at the inn to attend to Forrester. When Forrester had improved and the doctor had agreed to his leaving, Humphrey had returned to the camp. Humphrey then had sent Sandy with trooper Anthony to leave the latter under the doctor's care. When Sandy returned, Humphrey took trooper Callaghan to the inn. Callaghan had become worse. Humphrey stayed at the inn on Sunday and next morning found that the police horses had got out of the paddock. They were not found until Tuesday night. Humphrey, with Anthony, then left the inn on Wednesday morning and arrived at the camp on Thursday evening. Four days later Keen arrived at the camp.<sup>35</sup> Humphrey's statements of Dr. Wilkes's illness, Humphrey's forced attendance on Forrester, and trees falling on the paddock fence allowing the horses to get out were corroborated by Mrs. Jane Goode of Burnett Inn in a letter to Humphrey. Mrs. Goode described Keen as a "puppy and two-faced who made little of his commandant".<sup>36</sup>

Walker evidently did not take further action against Humphrey who remained in the force until sought after by A. C. Gregory when preparing for his north Australian expedition nearly two years later.

On 31 December 1853, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary referring to a letter in the *Moreton Bay Courier* of 17 December, reflecting upon two troopers of the Native Police and accusing Sub-Lieutenant Bligh of refusing redress. Walker reported that this letter was not consistent with the truth. When the complaint was originally made, Bligh had investigated the case and reported it to Walker. It appeared that Bligh, when patrolling, was followed at some distance behind by two troopers bringing up the pack horses. Upon passing a sheep station one trooper, named Jimmy McCann, got off his horse and walked, perhaps rather abruptly, into the hut to get a light for his pipe as well as one for his mate. A newly arrived German woman, who was not accustomed to the bush, took alarm and fancied that the trooper wished to take indecent liberties with her. Walker was satisfied as to the correctness of the trooper's explanation to Bligh and that the taking of indecent liberties with the woman had not entered his head. Walker had examined the men separately and they

did not vary from their previous statements. Walker considered it most scandalous to attempt to run down a young officer like Bligh who was disposed to do his duty. He stated that his excellency would not be surprised to learn the letter had emanated from a person named Marks "an individual whose atrocities on the Macintyre I believe first induced His Excellency to command me to raise the Native Police".<sup>37</sup> FitzRoy marked Walker's letter "Read".

Trooper Jimmy McCann, whose explanation was accepted by Walker, deserted from Keen's third section at Rannes on 28 January 1854, shortly after Walker's letter was written. He took "away nothing of his clothing but one shirt, a tomahawk, and a gin belonging to the station".<sup>38</sup> Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll, when referring on 1 April 1854 to the desertion of Jimmy McCann, asked whether he should be treated "as a good riddance".<sup>39</sup>

Walker also had referred to atrocities on the Macintyre committed by Marks the writer of the letter to the *Moreton Bay Courier*. Doubtless Aborigines were killed by Marks but it is unknown whether this occurred before or after certain events mentioned by Jacob Lowe before the 1861 Select Committee.<sup>40</sup> Lowe stated that Aborigines had on Marks's run on the Macintyre killed his son, about eight years of age, who was shepherding while his father went to dinner. When Marks came back the boy was missing. A search did not find the boy, and the assistance of some of the neighbours was obtained. They found the boy cut up in pieces and put into hollow parts of trees. Lowe also said that about the same time Aborigines attacked Marks's teams and took all the provisions and articles carried. About twelve months later, Aborigines attacked a bullock team of Marks's and killed the bullock driver and speared some of the bullocks.

At the end of 1853, Walker replied to instructions from the governor general of 5 December that he communicate with the colonial storekeeper to consult upon a less expensive mode of supplying the several detachments of Native Police with clothing.<sup>41</sup> The colonial secretary, when forwarding these instructions, had stated it was desirable that supplies be sent to the headquarters of each detachment so as to prevent the withdrawal of men from their appropriate districts and

the fatigue and deterioration of their horses in travelling to the corps headquarters.<sup>42</sup> (Before the 1858 Select Committee Captain O'Connell and W. Archer agreed that the men should be brought to headquarters at certain intervals.)<sup>43</sup>

Walker referred to the approval of this practice, given on 22 November 1851, though since then the only sections to come into Callandoon were patrolling parties from Traylan or sections relieving others gone forward to the Port Curtis country. He stated that, with the exception of Wondai Gumbal and Traylan, there were no headquarters of any division. Callandoon had become a mere outpost. Walker pointed out that if the colonial storekeeper sent the clothing addressed to each detachment the storekeeper could not provide for the long inland carriage. That would devolve on Walker, as the carriers would not carry for the police on account of the police having no return load. The most difficult station to supply was Wondai Gumbal which was about three hundred miles from Brisbane and little further from Maryborough passing by Traylan. The Moreton Bay and Wide Bay section received its clothing at Maryborough from the police agent and had not come into headquarters until relieved. The Clarence River detachment alone would require to have its clothing made up separately. FitzRoy thought it best to leave the arrangement respecting the places to which the supplies were to be forwarded to the commandant and the colonial storekeeper, as the former might consider to be the most desirable with the exception of the Clarence and Macleay detachment.<sup>44</sup>

On 26 April 1852, William Forster of Gin Gin, Wide Bay had written to the colonial secretary charging Walker with having been intoxicated on several occasions. The following incident reveals that Walker's habits of intemperance were known to FitzRoy by at least the end of 1853.

On 5 December 1853, Walker had written to the colonial secretary recommending that John Sidney, whose general publican's license had not been renewed at the annual licensing meeting of magistrates at Gayndah owing to Sidney's neglect in not providing sufficient sureties, be placed on the commission of the peace. Walker added: "one or more magistrates were required in the Dawson part of the Burnett

district".<sup>45</sup> Sidney, following the refusal of his liquor license, had taken up Toondooincunigy station on the Burnett.

FitzRoy upon enquiry was informed by the colonial secretary that Sidney kept a public house in Gayndah, was not in any way a fit person for the magistracy, and, as his station was on the Burnett and not on the Dawson, upon appointment to the magistracy he would sit upon the Gayndah bench. Under the circumstances the governor thought that Walker's recommendation was "to say the least of it extremely inconsiderate", that Walker should be reminded that it was not customary to make appointments to the magistracy the subject of official correspondence, and that the private secretary was the proper channel through which those recommendations should be forwarded.<sup>46</sup>

FitzRoy also appended to the colonial secretary's report a pencilled note: "Perhaps Mr. W. [Walker] thinks from the *Bar* to the *Bench* is a natural course of promotion."<sup>47</sup>

On 31 December 1853, Walker recommended that Senior Sub-Lieutenant Irving be appointed lieutenant in command of the division for Port Curtis and Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll, an ex-English army officer, be appointed Senior Sub-Lieutenant and also placed on the commission of the peace. William Hamilton Fortescue was recommended by Walker for appointment as a sub-lieutenant.<sup>48</sup> These appointments were made.<sup>49</sup>

During the year 1853, the Native Police Force had been strengthened and the frontier districts had remained relatively peaceful. Despite certain criticism of the Native Police, Walker's distribution and working of the force had been such as to protect those districts.

However the year 1854 was to mark a decline in the efficiency of the force.

# 9

## The Northern Districts in 1854

Walker spent January 1854 at Traylan endeavouring to bring order to the accounts of the corps and attending to correspondence.

He had kept a friendly relationship at Callandoon with his near neighbours and at Traylan he was on good terms with settlers on the upper Burnett. On 13 January 1854, he wrote to the colonial secretary on postal facilities at Traylan.<sup>1</sup> Since 1851, in fulfilling a promise made to J. C. Mackay and Charles Archer (justices of the peace and occupiers of runs in that area), either his orderly or a trooper had brought from Gayndah, a post town fifty miles away, not only the government correspondence but also the letters and newspapers for all settlers in that part of the Burnett district. He had not recommended previously the establishing of a permanent post office at Traylan as the government, without any representation from him, had established one at Callandoon. Moreover, Traylan had not been appointed the headquarters of the corps. He referred to other most northerly settlers in the valleys of the Dawson and Auburn who supported a private post and to which he was a subscriber so that he could communicate with any patrol party in those valleys. He thought the upper Burnett settlers had more right to the privilege of a post.

Walker suggested a weekly post, leaving Traylan every Saturday and arriving at Gayndah on Sunday evening. This mail would then leave with Gayndah mail for Maryborough on Monday morning and for Sydney on Tuesday morning. He also suggested that the mail from Gayndah to Port Curtis be

carried via Traylan the distance of ninety miles by armed troopers. That mail would leave Traylan every second Wednesday reaching Port Curtis on Friday evening. Mail would leave Port Curtis for Traylan next day and reach Traylan on Monday evening. He recommended that John D. L. Ferguson be appointed postmaster at Traylan and storekeeper Wilmot postmaster at Gladstone. Walker personally had engaged Ferguson for the sole purpose of straightening out the financial accounts of the corps and ascertaining the true position.<sup>2</sup> Wilmot was the Native Police agent at Gladstone.

Marshall later in a letter to Walker, dated 5 July 1854, claimed it was at least one hundred miles by the route selected, forty miles of which was over very broken country. He claimed it would be very severe on the horses to do the distance in less than four days and the journey to Gladstone and back to Traylan in six days was almost impossible. Marshall suggested the return from Gladstone on the Tuesday following the arrival of the mail on Saturday, arriving at Traylan on Friday in time to meet the Sydney mail.<sup>3</sup>

Walker, in his recommendation of 13 January 1854, added that three troopers would be needed on the journey. They would serve also to maintain the road free of danger from Aborigines. He thought the Post Office Department should provide him with the three horses required, at £20 each. When troopers were no longer required, these horses could be either transferred to the Native Police or sold by that department.

Postmaster General Christie, to whom Walker's letter was referred, after communicating with the government resident at Gladstone, recommended that no post office be established for the present at Traylan but that the commandant be allowed to draw the sum for the horses as part of his establishment, with the understanding that the mails between Gayndah and Gladstone be carried by troopers until more matured arrangements were completed.<sup>4</sup>

FitzRoy approved on 18 March 1854 of the mail communication between Gayndah and Gladstone via Traylan being opened at once, of the mails being escorted by armed troopers, and of the issue of a warrant for £60 to Walker to

enable him to provide three horses for the mail escort.<sup>5</sup>

Walker then asked on 8 June 1854 that he be allowed, for the purchase of a horse to carry the mail from Gayndah to Traylan, to expend the balance of £20 remaining from £180 advanced for the purchase of horses for the Survey Department. Eight horses had been purchased by Walker for Surveyor McCabe at Port Curtis. The reason given by Walker for the purchase of this extra horse for this part of the Gayndah to Gladstone mail run was that mails to Traylan were sometimes too heavy for the orderly to bring. He stated in support that his postage from Traylan in the year 1853 had cost £12 15s. 0d. and the mail from Gayndah to Traylan then would be carried by supernumerary Condally at no extra expense.<sup>6</sup> FitzRoy approved on 30 June 1854 of the purchase of the extra horse by the means suggested and of this arrangement.<sup>7</sup> Walker's request for the purchase of this extra horse shows clearly that he incurred expenditure first and asked for its approval later. Walker had purchased the horse from Dr. Henry H. Brown of Gayndah before he made the request.<sup>8</sup>

Walker did things first. He had ordered the marking of a tree line from Traylan to Gladstone, even if for Native Police purposes only, before submitting his proposal for the mail communication between those places escorted by armed troopers. This marked tree line was not completed free of an attack by Aborigines on the Native Police party engaged on the work. Lt. John Murray of the third division, who had proceeded to Port Curtis with Native Police, on 8 January 1854 sent from Gladstone Sgt. John Bungaree with troopers John Reid and Richard of the first section to complete the line. The three Native Police went to sleep in their camp on the evening of 10 January 1854. As no tracks of Aborigines nor smoke from fires had been visible, they had not the slightest reason to suppose Aborigines were in the neighbourhood. Consequently no watch was kept. During the night, a large body of Aborigines attacked the camp. Bungaree awoke with three Aborigines on top of him. One gave him a hard blow on the head with a nulla nulla. Bungaree grappled with him and received a severe bite on the left hand. Trooper John Reid also received a severe cut on the head and trooper



Richard a spear in his chest. The three policemen fought desperately and after wounding two of their attackers – one with a spear thrown by Richard and the other with a nulla nulla used by John Reid – their assailants were driven off. This convinced Murray later that the Aborigines thought they were attacking a party of whites. They were not aware they were attacking Native Police until the conflict was taking place. The Native Police were unable to identify their attackers. With trooper Richard suffering from his wound, the police party arrived back at Gladstone next day. On 25 January Murray was happy to write to Walker that the men were recovering.<sup>9</sup>

When endeavouring to straighten out the accounts of the corps Walker wrote to the colonial secretary on 17 January 1854 on the subject of allowances for troopers' rations.<sup>10</sup> For the year 1854, the Legislative Council had allowed to the corps 1s. 4d. per diem per trooper for the obtaining of rations where provisions were not supplied by the corps. During the last half of 1853 this allowance had been increased to 1s. 6d. only by special vote of the council. Walker wrote that he could not procure rations on an average under 1s. 6d. per diem owing to the increasing price of meat. Although he had secured six hundred sheep, which would avoid the rising price for some time, he requested that the 1s. 6d. per diem previously allowed continue. FitzRoy approved of the continuance of that rate from 1 January, the extra sum of two pence to be charged to the general appropriation for the Native Police until a supplementary vote was taken.<sup>11</sup>

On 17 January 1854, Walker also recommended that the pay of the troopers be increased, as from 1 January, from three pence to five pence per day.<sup>12</sup> FitzRoy approved on 21 February 1854 of this increase being included in the next supplementary estimates but no augmented rate was to be paid until the sanction of the council had been obtained.<sup>13</sup>

On 20 January 1854, Walker wrote informing the colonial secretary that at the close of 1853 he was not able to meet all accounts incurred on behalf of the force.<sup>14</sup> He stated that the expense of rationing men on patrol had exceeded his calculation and, although he had paid several accounts out of

his own salary rather than apply to the government, he was not able to meet all demands. He attributed his miscalculation to being so much away on duty because of the lack of officers. He was also unable to get either officers or settlers to send accounts quarterly. Consequently "a heap" of accounts had come at the end of the year. As he had John D. L. Ferguson employed for the sole purpose of keeping his papers and accounts in order, Walker stated he would be better prepared in future.

Walker added that this letter and an enclosed list of articles purchased out of the men's provision allowance for their own use would convince the governor general that William Forster's statement lately made in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, implying that officers appropriated a portion of the men's allowances as perquisites, was "an infamous libel". Walker stated nearly every officer expended some of his own funds to turn out his men in a neat manner.

This letter from Walker admits that early in 1854 his financial accounts were in disorder and confirms evidence of that disorder before later select committees.<sup>15</sup> While there is no evidence to support Forster's allegation that officers appropriated a portion of the men's allowances as perquisites, the fact that some of that money was used for purposes of the corps other than the object for which it was advanced was confirmed by Walker himself in letters written on the same day.<sup>16</sup> Families of the Native Police were kept at the several barracks out of the ration allowance of the men. The police while on patrol were supplied with rations by settlers who charged at least the cost of obtaining those rations.

Moreover, advances were only made to Walker's public account from time to time as abstracts were sent to Sydney. Debts were incurred before those credits were made and officers' salary and forage allowance payments were slow in coming. At the close of 1853 Walker had found that he was unable to meet all accounts from the advances made in respect of the ration allowance.

On 4 February 1854, Ferguson wrote informing Walker that the colonial treasurer had placed to his credit in the Bank of Australasia a sum short by £704 5s. 0d. of the estimate for the quarter.<sup>17</sup> On 9 February 1854 Ferguson

wrote again informing Walker that unless that balance was paid there would not be sufficient funds to the credit of that bank account to meet the promissory notes due on 3 March 1854.<sup>18</sup> On 12 May 1854 Marshall wrote informing Walker that no notice had been received at Traylan of the pay and allowances for the quarter ending 30 June having been paid to Walker's credit.<sup>19</sup> On 1 June 1854 Marshall wrote to Walker acknowledging receipt of the cheque for Marshall's pay and forage allowance for the quarter ended 31 March 1854.<sup>20</sup> Murray's pay and forage allowance for the same quarter were paid at the same time.

The following letter shows that Walker did use money from the ration allowances for other purposes of the corps. On 20 January 1854, having found it expedient to purchase a horse dray, two tarpaulins, and harness for seven horses to accompany him on his recruiting expedition for the new division, Walker requested authority for the payment of £60 for the purpose, to be defrayed out of the sum of £150 voted for 1854 for incidental expenses. He stated that the horse dray, driven by troopers, would save the expense of carrying clothing, saddlery, arms, and accoutrements from Brisbane at the rate of sixteen shillings per one hundred pounds. Walker had been using two police drays for the purpose of conveying supplies to the various detachments. One was driven by a European paid at the rate of £78 per annum and the other by supernumerary trooper Oliver, likewise paid and rationed by the force. One of the drays and fourteen bullocks, with tackl- ing and tarpaulin complete, had cost £114 which was paid out of the provision allowance of the troopers.<sup>21</sup>

FitzRoy approved of the auditor general preparing a warrant for the advance to Walker, out of the sum voted for incidental expenses of the Native Police for 1854, of £60 for the horse dray, tarpaulins, and harness for seven horses and, until the supplementary vote was taken, of £114 for the police dray and fourteen bullocks. The latter approval was subject to the furnishing of an account supported by the report of two competent persons as to the sufficiency of the service and reasonableness of the charge.<sup>22</sup>

On 21 January 1854, Walker wrote asking for an advance of £280 for the purpose of purchasing horses, at an average

of £20 each, for the additional sections for Port Curtis.<sup>23</sup> FitzRoy approved of this request on 10 March.<sup>24</sup>

Towards the end of January 1854, Walker proceeded southwards on his recruiting expedition for the new sections to be raised. The strengthening of the corps also resulted in the appointments on 1 February 1854<sup>25</sup> of William Hamilton Fortescue to be a sub-lieutenant at a salary of £120 a year and 3s. 6d. a day in lieu of forage, Francis Nicoll to be senior sub-lieutenant, and, on 2 February 1854,<sup>26</sup> Samuel James Crummer Irving to be a lieutenant.

After Walker's departure to recruit troopers, Traylan was nearly deserted. Sergeant Humphrey left there on 30 January to join Murray at Port Curtis.<sup>27</sup>

Acting Adjutant Dolan left Traylan with troopers Pelham and Hugh on 5 February to inspect the Native Police stationed near Maryborough. After a fortnight's absence, Dolan returned and on 23 February left for Port Curtis with troopers Rinaldo, Timothy, Hugh, Paul, Pelham, and Sambo.

Left at Traylan were Ferguson with troopers Walter and Oliver and the families of certain troopers.<sup>28</sup> Marshall was to leave Callandoon on 30 January 1854 to take charge at Traylan. Meanwhile Ferguson wrote to Walker asking what would be his duty in case of any letter coming for police assistance, as he did not think it was Walker's intention that the barracks be left without any troopers. Ferguson's reason for this query was that Berry, who was then at Traylan, said there were a large number of Aborigines gathering about his station and friendly Aborigines had told him it was their intention to steal sheep. A man from Ross's Redbank station had arrived also at Philpott's place looking for the police and for a doctor. Ross, who had been stabbed by Aborigines attempting to take sheep from the hurdles, was not expected to live many hours. Dr. Small, who was visiting Philpott's station, had left for Redbank.<sup>29</sup>

Ferguson, in his letters to Walker from Traylan, mentioned that goods ordered for the Native Police at Port Curtis had been made ready by Kirchner and Co. who did not know whether these could be shipped to that port as the *Tom Tough* was chartered to take the government resident and other officials there.<sup>30</sup> In a later letter of 12 May 1854

Ferguson wrote that these supplies had been landed at Maryborough and bullock driver William Hammond had left Traylan for them.<sup>31</sup>

Murray with a detachment of Native Police had preceded Government Resident O'Connell to Gladstone. Walker's recommendation that the headquarters of the corps be removed from Traylan to Port Curtis was not approved. FitzRoy thought the placing of the headquarters of a force such as the Native Police at the extremity of the country it had to patrol would be against all rule and precedent. FitzRoy also considered that to the government resident should be left the selection of the site of the Port Curtis detachment and also the question of whether stores for the Native Police headquarters should be landed at Port Curtis and then sent overland. If the health of the officers or men required sea air or sea bathing an invalid station could be established at Port Curtis.<sup>32</sup>

Murray at Port Curtis early had difficulty in carrying out his duties in that district on account of the state of his horses. Owing to the stony nature of the country his horses could not do more than three days work without getting lame. He asked for an increase in the number of his horses and for a supply of horseshoes with the necessary tools. Murray reported that nearly the whole of the escorts required for drays travelling between Gladstone and Rannes had been supplied from his detachment.<sup>33</sup> Murray also requested that two boats be supplied to his detachment but FitzRoy referred this to the government resident for report. Walker, who had submitted Murray's requisition, was informed by the colonial secretary's letter of 21 February 1854 that because no explanation had been given as to why the boats were required nor as to what description of boats would be necessary it was impossible to sanction a requisition sent in this "loose sort of way".<sup>34</sup>

Early in 1854 the first section based near Gladstone and another section of Native Police at Rannes were serving in the Port Curtis district. Sub-Lieutenant Frederick Keen had been posted to the command at Rannes from Yabba. He arrived at Traylan on 21 February and left for Rannes on 25 February, taking Corporal Hammond with him.<sup>35</sup>

On 8 March 1854 the section at Rannes was inspected by Acting Adjutant Dolan who made an unfavourable report on finding clothing, arms, accoutrements, and saddlery dirty and all the horses except one in bad condition and with sore backs. Norman Hay of Rannes informed Dolan that this resulted from the habit of the men, while out on duty and in the absence of an officer, hunting emus and kangaroos. Dolan also reported that shortly before Keen's arrival at Rannes Sergeant Willey had quitted his post, taking troopers Barry and Delaney with him to Traylan. They allegedly had left to get blankets. Six troopers were left at Rannes. Dolan found Delaney at a station with his horse knocked up and suffering from a bad fistula. Barry, who was found later, informed Dolan that the old hands were in the habit of sending him on all fatigues so that some days he went without breakfast until the middle of the day. Dolan reported there were five old hands and four young troopers in the section and "when it came to pointing, wherever Corporal Coreen Jimmy and trooper Paddy were, the young hands had no chance with them". Dolan had directed Keen to use every exertion to bring his men into their former good state of discipline and order and also had written to Lieutenant Murray on the subject.<sup>36</sup>

On 25 February 1854 Walker, then at Brisbane, had written to the colonial secretary stating that on frequent occasions the officers had complained of the impertinent manner in which Dolan had conducted himself towards them. Walker enclosed with his letter a charge by Dr. Brown of Gayndah of impertinence by Dolan towards him. Walker recommended that Dolan be removed from the Native Police Force.<sup>37</sup> Dolan subsequently tendered his resignation to Walker but later withdrew it. In writing to Walker, Dolan stated he had never shown any disrespect to the former and denied he had been harsh to the men of the Native Police. He added that he would cut the ears off any person speaking about the commanding officer and his sergeant major.<sup>38</sup>

On 1 June 1854 Marshall wrote from Traylan informing Walker that he feared Keen had little or no control over the third section and it was evident he was inattentive to his duties. Marshall stated that horses coming into Traylan from

the section were evidently subject to a great deal of hard galloping and men had arrived without any return of what they should have with them. Marshall gave the instance of trooper Billy Easy arriving with one holster, no jacket, and one shirt which, if Keen had sent a return, could have been checked as having been brought away with the trooper or not.<sup>39</sup>

Shortly after writing this report, Marshall with troopers John, Sambo, Sam, and Paul, and accompanied by Dr. Swifte, visited Rannes. There several of the Native Police were found ill with influenza but recovered after attention by Dr. Swifte. Marshall removed trooper Barry, who evidently was overworked and who looked half-starved, and replaced him with trooper Sambo. Marshall, on finding that Murray had not visited Rannes, wrote instructing him to do so and to rectify the evident mismanagement going on.<sup>40</sup>

On receiving Marshall's report, Walker suspended Sub-Lieutenant Keen in consequence of inefficiency.<sup>41</sup> FitzRoy, on receipt of Walker's recommendation, approved of Keen being continued in his rank until the end of the year in order that he could have another opportunity of learning his duty at headquarters under a superior officer, but not in command of a detachment. FitzRoy's attention had been drawn previously to Keen. Elyard of the colonial secretary's office had informed Walker by letter of 9 August 1854 that Keen was at Port Curtis when FitzRoy was there and his conduct had been represented to the governor general as discreditable. As this had not been reported officially to FitzRoy, the latter had not noticed it nor enquired under what authority Keen had left his post to visit Port Curtis.<sup>42</sup> In July Keen was replaced at Rannes by Sub-Lieutenant Robert Walker, formerly stationed during 1854 at Thomson's station Walla in the lower Burnett on the route between Maryborough and the Kolan River.<sup>43</sup>

Although Ferguson, when writing from Traylan to Walker,<sup>44</sup> had mentioned there was as usual no information in Robert Walker's despatch, an excellent report on the sub-lieutenant and his seventh section at Walla had been made by Acting Adjutant Dolan after his inspection in February 1854. Dolan found the men of the seventh section in good health,

order, and state of discipline, horses in good condition without sore backs, and arms, accoutrements, saddlery, and clothing clean. Local graziers had reported to Dolan that the section had been of great service to that part of the district.<sup>45</sup>

Following the request by Commissioner of Crown Lands Halloran at the end of 1853, a detachment of Native Police led by Corporal Edward had been stationed under Halloran at Tinana for the protection of Halloran and the neighbourhood of Wide Bay. Following the orders of Walker to visit this detachment and report on its state as well as to enquire whether Halloran was going to change his residence from Maryborough to Gayndah, Dolan inspected the detachment on 10 February 1854. On his way to Tinana, Dolan had met Halloran on the road within thirty miles of Maryborough. In Halloran's party were the new district surveyor and Native Police troopers Dick and Tahiti acting as his orderlies. A white trooper of Halloran's had told Dolan the party was proceeding to report on new runs down the Burnett. Dolan passed on without speaking to Halloran. At Maryborough, finding the report of Halloran's intention to remove to Gayndah to be true, Dolan wrote to Corporal Edward instructing him to hold himself and party in readiness to return to headquarters the day Halloran left for Gayndah. Edward gave the note to Halloran who wrote to Dolan that he would forward Dolan's note to the commandant as it made the men unsettled and wish to return to their comrades. Halloran queried the right of a subaltern to interfere with men placed under his command. Dolan wrote to Walker reporting the detachment in good order, the men in good health and discipline, and the horses free from sore backs and in good condition. He enclosed the note he had received from Halloran.<sup>46</sup>

Dolan made a further report to Lieutenant Marshall at Traylan on 16 March 1854.<sup>47</sup> Marshall next day wrote to Walker querying Halloran's right to employ the Native Police troopers stationed at Tinana as his orderlies.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, Halloran, following Dolan's visit, had written on 28 February 1854 from Tinana to Walker.<sup>49</sup> Halloran stated he had found the men orderly and obedient, never



using any improper expression, and the task of bringing them to this state must have required no ordinary degree of energy and perseverance. The men had been useful in keeping the Aborigines from Tinana and in dispersing salt water Aborigines lately assembled in large numbers round the town and threatening to rescue an Aborigine named Derobbery who was in the lockup after his committal for trial for murder. Sometimes there had been squabbles amongst the men caused by the Aboriginal women for, in addition to Louisa, one named Margaret had come with Dick with the sanction of a Native Police officer. Halloran wrote that a few weeks previously he had seen Corporal Edward take up a heavy stick and go to Dick's room and strike Margaret one or two blows and then Dick a blow. A scuffle had occurred then between Edward and Dick. Halloran, after separating them, reprimanded both who later shook hands and appeared reconciled.

Halloran informed Walker that, as he was a bad bushman, he had taken Dick and Tahiti — both not well he thought from want of exercise — with him to the Kolan River. Both had improved from the trip. On returning to Tinana after Dolan's visit, Halloran wrote that he found Edward very unsettled and discontented. Edward told Halloran he had been ordered by Dolan to return to Traylan to bring down his wife. Halloran allowed him to go.

Shortly afterwards, Halloran again wrote informing Walker that, two days after the scuffle between Edward and Dick, Edward and Rodney were sent to bring in Rodney's horse running at Corfields. Edward then without permission had gone to Walla and reported to Sub-Lieutenant Walker that Dick had struck him and disobeyed his orders. Halloran also believed that Edward had made a similar report to Dolan who had taken down Dick's name for punishment. Halloran added that he looked forward to making Walker's personal acquaintance.<sup>50</sup>

Corporal Larry was sent from Traylan to relieve Edward. He arrived at Tinana on 28 February. In defiance of Halloran's orders, Larry left on the night of 16 April to return to Traylan. Larry not only took his two police horses but also a kangaroo dog belonging to Halloran. Shortly after

leaving Tinana, one of Larry's horses had an eye knocked out and was left behind.

Halloran, in reporting Larry's misconduct to Marshall, stated that Larry had attempted to visit Maryborough without permission and after being turned back by a town constable had left. Halloran added that Rodney was leaving with him for Brisbane on 1 May. He also asked for the replacement of Tahiti, a quiet well-behaved man in whom Halloran had great confidence, as Tahiti's wife wished to return to Traylan.<sup>5 1</sup>

On 19 May 1854 Marshall wrote informing Walker that Larry had been sent to accompany Sub-Lieutenant Fortescue to Callandoon.<sup>5 2</sup>

At Traylan Marshall, who had not received a reply from Walker as to Halloran's right to use Native Police troopers as orderlies, again wrote on 19 May to Walker on the subject. He referred also to Halloran's proposal to take Rodney with him to Brisbane. He said he had given written instructions to Dolan to remove the detachment from Tinana if Walker's purpose, for which the detachment had been placed under Halloran's orders, had not been carried out — unless by doing so Halloran's family would be left without protection during his absence in Brisbane.<sup>5 3</sup>

Dolan found Tinana poorly protected as Rodney and Dick had accompanied Halloran to Brisbane. He referred the matter back to Marshall who meanwhile had received Walker's instructions to remove the detachment. Marshall had sent Sergeant Sam to carry out those instructions.

Halloran had returned to Tinana and, after meeting Dolan, had forthwith started Bunya Jimmy and Tahiti for Traylan.<sup>5 4</sup> The two troopers passed Sergeant Sam on the road. When travelling to Brisbane, Halloran had left troopers Dick and Rodney at Balfour's station Colinton when Dick became ill. On Dick's recovery, instead of returning direct to Tinana, both had visited Cressbrook and then Yabba.<sup>5 5</sup> Sergeant Sam found them at Corfield's station.

Marshall, when reporting to Walker the removal of the Tinana detachment, stated that the horses returned were in a dreadful state. Corporal Larry's horse had lost an eye. Marshall referred also to Halloran's violation of his promise

to Walker by taking two troopers as orderlies to Brisbane and expressed his thought that this action of Halloran's showed that the neighbourhood of Maryborough was not as disturbed as Halloran had reported.<sup>5 6</sup>

At Traylan in May 1854 the shortage of Native Police was such as to cause Marshall to write to Walker requesting instructions as to how the postal communication between Traylan and Port Curtis was to be carried on. Marshall then had only three men at the barracks fit for duty and these troopers were to be employed as an escort for Hay's cattle for Rannes that were expected daily. Troopers Rinaldo and Timothy (who died soon afterwards) were escorting sheep to Port Curtis. Oliver had left for Sandeman's Burrandowan for police supplies and trooper Conway had arrived from Burrandowan totally unfit for duty. Colds were prevalent at Traylan.<sup>5 7</sup>

Sub-Lieutenant Fortescue with the horse team and ten troopers, recruited by Walker for the new ninth section, arrived from Callandoon at Traylan on 23 July.<sup>5 8</sup>

During the first six months of 1854 the districts of Port Curtis, Burnett and Wide Bay had been relatively peaceful. Sections of the corps then were serving on the Richmond and in the districts of Darling Downs and Maranoa and in the newly formed Leichhardt district.

# 10

## A Board of Enquiry

Lieutenant Irving was in command at the Wondai Gumbal Native Police station during the absence on sick leave of Lieutenant Fulford during the early months of 1854 until Fulford's resumption of duty on 11 April. Irving was assisted by Senior Sub-Lieutenant Francis Nicoll, who arrived at Wondai Gumbal on 22 January 1854, and Sergeant Graham.

Irving found early that frequent patrols were necessary because of the unsettled state of the neighbourhood. For this purpose there was a shortage of hobbles, quart and pint pots, saddle straps, saddle cloths, stirrup leathers, girths, bridle reins, and ball cartridge and he quickly requisitioned supplies of these items from Callandoon.<sup>1</sup> Fulford had requisitioned for five hundred sheep required for rations for Wondai Gumbal for the year 1854.<sup>2</sup>

Irving enquired into and on 20 February reported on the supposed murder of an Aborigine in the district by a white man named Burnsides who had shot at an Aborigine prowling about at night. However Irving could obtain no evidence that the shot had killed the Aborigine nor that a body exhumed by Sergeant Graham was that of the Aborigine prowling about that night.<sup>3</sup>

On 20 February, Irving forwarded Sergeant Sam of the second section to Callandoon headquarters and reported to Walker on the sergeant's insubordination.<sup>4</sup> On the evening of 6 February Irving had observed a new gunyah in course of erection at the gins' camp. On being informed by trooper Toby that it belonged to trooper Robert, Irving had ordered it to be pulled down, saying that young policemen were not

allowed to take gins and put up gunyahs without first obtaining permission. This was in accordance with the system laid down by Walker. Sam then came up and stated with much abusive language that the gunyah was for him. Irving cautioned Sam as to the possibility of his stripes being removed and Sam then became violent before the whole of the police quartered at Wondai Gumbal. Irving then threatened Sam with handcuffs. Sam defied Irving to do anything to him and, running into the barrack, brought out a pair of handcuffs. He invited Irving to go to his camp as the key was there. Sam then turned to the men of his section and ordered them to throw Irving down and put the handcuffs on him. Although Sam repeated this order the men refused to obey him. Sam repeatedly had used such expressions as "You be damned", "You be buggered", "You damn bugger", and had kept shaking his fist in Irving's face. The men had expressed their disapprobation of Sam's conduct.

Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll and Sergeant Graham had witnessed the whole incident. Irving enclosed with his report a report from Nicoll stating that on 15 February 1854, during Irving's absence from Wondai Gumbal on patrol, he heard loud screams in the women's gunyah and there found Sam beating Bungaree's gin "unmercifully with a riding whip". Walker subsequently posted Sam to Traylan.

Fulford, whom Irving relieved, had been instructed by Walker when Sergeant Skelton was removed from the Dawson on 31 October 1852 to have nothing to do with the Dawson district except in cases of emergency.<sup>5</sup> Irving, who had received no such instructions however, told Nicoll that if he went to the Dawson he must do so on his own responsibility.<sup>6</sup> Nicoll may have brought the subject up with Irving. Nicoll was at the time writing direct to Walker on friendly terms. Nicoll did start for the Dawson on 9 March and was forced by flooded creeks to return to Wondai Gumbal on 24 March 1854. Nicoll wrote his report to Irving on the day of his return.<sup>7</sup> After leaving Irving at Tieryboo, Nicoll with his detachment had proceeded to Wallann where he searched two Aboriginal camps in the vicinity for escaped prisoners but found no trace of those sought. On 12 March Nicoll started for Royd's station Juandah where he waited four days in

hopes of spare ammunition reaching him. Then Miller's dray from Kinnoul arrived with reports of outrages committed by Aborigines on the upper Dawson. After making sixty rounds of ball cartridge from powder and lead supplied by Royd, Nicoll travelled to Roche's station Mary Dale. There, shortly after his arrival, corporals Jingle and Walter with trooper Mulberry came up with a supply of ball cartridge, having ridden from Bogandilla that day. Their horses were so tired as to prevent Nicoll leaving Mary Dale the following day.

Over the next three days rain fell without cessation. On the rain clearing, Nicoll started for King's station on 20 March and arrived there after swimming several creeks. He pushed on the same afternoon to Sandy Creek which was impassable. Nicoll then returned for that night to King's. As the country was saturated, Nicoll decided to return to Bogandilla and proceed from there along the marked tree line to Kinnoul. He remained a day at Juandah to rest the horses but between there and Bogandilla nearly all the horses knocked up. As the troopers' saddles were in such a state as to cause injury to men and horses, Nicoll was compelled to return to Wondai Gumbal from Bogandilla.

Nicoll stated that a strong and fully equipped party would be required for the river Dawson by reason of the immense size of the scrubs and the fact that the chief Aboriginal depredations were committed on the most distant parts of the cattle runs.

Writing a personal letter to Walker from Wondai Gumbal on 1 April 1854, Nicoll referred to the floods beating him to the Dawson, the thermometer falling forty-eight degrees in twenty-four hours, and the men getting ill and the saddles being literally in pieces. With the assistance of Sergeant Graham, Nicoll had taken the saddles to pieces and restuffed them with wool shorn from the ration sheep. He had never seen anyone work harder than Graham. Nicoll thought he should be ready for another start in a couple of days "and then Dawson gentlemen, look out!" He stated that fate had sent him into the bush before becoming quite acclimatized. He had been ill for some time after coming to Wondai Gumbal and expected to be laid up again unless he could get some vegetables. He had seen by the papers that Walker had

got more recruits. He had heard deserter Jimmy McCann had been at Warra Warra. He wrote of a well-knit and intelligent lad speaking English well and about seventeen years of age who wished to join the Native Police. Nicoll mentioned the departure of Lesters from Tieryboo. Mrs. Lester had wished to be remembered to Walker. She had used the Aboriginal name bestowed upon Walker by his police, Morum Billak.<sup>8</sup>

On 5 April Nicoll again started for the Dawson. Dividing his party and sending Sergeant Graham with Corporal Robin Hood and troopers Wilfred Owen, Brennan, Numa, Hannibal, Steeny, and Owen by way of Bogandilla, Nicoll proceeded with Corporal Walter and troopers Robert, Peter, Luke, Jerome, Herbert, and Norman by way of Wallann. On 6 April, Nicoll arrived at Juandah where on the following day he was joined by Graham and his detachment. On 9 April, he proceeded to Roche's Mary Dale where no Aborigines had been seen on the run for some time. Next day he arrived at Kinnoul where no traces of Aborigines had been found for upwards of two months. On 11 April, Nicoll proceeded across the river to Owen's station Onnaberry. There he made inquiries respecting an attack on Owen and the murder of his "Black boy". Next day he proceeded to Scott's station Hornet Bank where he found all quiet and took an affidavit from William Fraser respecting a recent case of cattle killing there.

Leaving troopers Wilfred and Owen sick at Hornet Bank, Nicoll on 14 April travelled up Scott's Creek and camped that night in the broken country at its head. Next day he travelled along the range west northwest and camped at night near the head of the Dawson River. On 16 April, he travelled along the range in a north northeast direction and coming to a part of the broken country impassable for horses made for the open country. He camped that night on the plains about sixteen miles from Scott's station. Next day he returned to Hornet Bank having seen no traces of Aborigines although he had stationed troopers on the highest trees he could find, both at sunrise and sunset every day, to look out for smoke. The horses were much knocked up from the boggy nature of the country.

Heavy rain fell for two days and on 20 April Nicoll pro-

ceeded to Onnaberry where Robert Owen had returned and an affidavit was taken by him as to the murder of Owen's "Black boy". Next day Nicoll sent to barracks Sergeant Graham, who had been subpoenaed as a witness in the trial of Sippy at Brisbane, and also Corporal Walter and troopers Wilfred Owen, Steeney, and Numa. The first three native policemen were sick and Numa had been injured in crossing the broken country. Numa's horse, also injured, had been left at Hornet Bank in Fraser's charge. From 20 to 25 April Nicoll found no traces of Aborigines on Onnaberry, Kinnoul, or Bungaban. The overseer of Bungaban on returning from Cockatoo station reported all was quiet at the latter station. On 26 April Nicoll proceeded to Juandah, nearly the whole of his party being sick. On 27 April he arrived at Wallann and next day arrived at Wondai Gumbal.

With the exception of Aborigines on Wallann, Nicoll reported to Fulford he had seen only one Aboriginal woman, said to be Corporal Larry's and left by Sub-Lieutenant Bligh at Kinnoul. He also reported he had had difficulty in procuring fresh meat for the troopers and most suffered from sickness in consequence.<sup>9</sup>

At Wondai Gumbal Lieutenant Irving — having heard from Lieutenant Fulford, who had resumed duties, that Commandant Walker had not heard from him since 1 January 1854 — wrote to Walker on 29 April stating there had been no neglect on his part as he had written frequently. Irving thought his letters had been detained at Traylan.

Irving also referred to Sergeant Graham starting for Brisbane without a shilling to take him down. Irving had loaned Graham some money. Graham had given Irving an authority to receive his pay cheque which had been returned to Graham in the previous February "defaced from an error in the date". Ferguson had written from Traylan stating he had forwarded the defaced cheque to Walker. Irving wrote that he was getting hard up as, apart from lending Graham money, he had since spent £12 on account of the Native Police. Irving asked how the outstanding accounts were to be paid. He had settled some and forwarded them receipted to Traylan and expected the remainder by the next post as he had written circulars to the settlers for them.<sup>10</sup>



On 19 May 1854, Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll also wrote from Wondai Gumbal to Walker, drawing attention to his not having received one farthing of his salary and forage allowance for the current year. Nicoll claimed that his horses from his patrols were unfit for service and, until he became aware of his arrears of salary and forage allowance having been placed to his credit at the Commercial Bank, Sydney, he would not be able to remount himself. He had forwarded the necessary abstract and vouchers, duly signed, to headquarters in March.<sup>11</sup> Nicoll had ceased writing friendly letters to Walker. Instead he wrote complaining to the colonial secretary of not receiving any salary or forage allowance for the current year. Nicoll asked whether the government would approve of his taking legal steps to recover the arrears due to him.<sup>12</sup> On 8 August 1854 the Colonial Secretary's Office wrote to Walker asking him to offer any comment on the complaint received. Walker replied from Traylan that on his arrival at Wondai Gumbal in August he produced to Nicoll his cheque book showing that the amount due to 30 June 1854 had been paid into the Union instead of the Commercial Bank which had caused Nicoll to be without his pay until September when it was transferred.<sup>13</sup>

From 18 May to 13 June 1854, Lieutenant Irving with a detachment patrolled the Moonie River and neighbourhood and reported the country quiet. Until 21 May 1854, Lieutenant Fulford with a detachment patrolled the country between the Tchanning and FitzRoy Downs. Aborigines were rushing and killing cattle near the heads of the Yuleba and Bungil Creeks. A collision occurred and two Aborigines were shot by the police. From 31 May to 7 June, Fulford patrolled in the neighbourhood of Wallann and reported all quiet save at one out sheep station which had been robbed a few days before his visit. No tracks could be found. From 15 to 25 June, Nicoll patrolled the country between Wondai Gumbal and Surat. From 23 to 25 June, after information received that a large number of Aborigines in that neighbourhood intended attacking the station, Irving with a detachment went to Warkon but found all quiet. From 30 June to 18 July, Nicoll patrolled the Balonne River.

From 1 July to 9 July, Fulford travelled up Tchanning

Creek, visiting Wallann, Kettle's station Bogandilla, and then on to Tieryboo. On returning to Wondai Gumbal, Fulford received information that a flock of sheep had been taken by Aborigines from a Chinese shepherd of Rea's. Enquiries revealed the Chinaman had seen only three Aborigines in the bush and had run away. Fulford recovered all the sheep with the exception of three. Fulford arrested three Aborigines who were identified by the Chinaman as those seen by him but, after marching them to Blyth's, Fulford let them go. Fulford returned on 17 July to Wondai Gumbal where a number of Native Police had been sick with colds and influenza. A trooper had died on 13 July.<sup>14</sup>

After leaving Traylan at the end of January 1854, Walker's movements during the following three months are obscure. Correspondence was addressed to him at Yabba and Drayton. It seems he visited the Clarence district to recruit. On 4 May 1854 he wrote reporting to the colonial secretary that he had succeeded in levying the two new sections authorized to replace those gone on to Port Curtis district.<sup>15</sup> He wrote of the arduous duty entailed, having had no assistance and being often obliged to drive the dray. New recruits required constant attendance from morning till night and to add to his difficulties seven of the men fell ill and never recovered by nursing and good diet.

These recruits, Walker reported, were a very orderly obedient lot of men only requiring "patience and tact to make them efficient police". They had then already made great advances in riding and carbine practice. Two of them, Romulus and William Brisbane, were already so complete that Walker was sending them with Sergeant Boney to Wondai Gumbal as fit for duty and to exchange with two old troopers who would materially assist Walker in drilling the others. Corporal Robin Hood, asked for by Walker, was absent from Wondai Gumbal on patrol so Nicoll sent Walker trooper Toby in his place.

Walker had written to Sub-Lieutenant Fortescue, then at Traylan, requesting the latter to join him at Callandoon. By the time Fortescue arrived, Walker expected to have one section ready for service. Fortescue joined Walker at Callandoon on 2 June and started on 15 June with the new ninth section

and the horse team for Traylan.

Walker also wrote of having trouble with the horses which could be obtained only half-broken. Many of the men had never been on horseback and one horse had broken the leg of one of Walker's best rough riders, Alerigo. The saddlery and accoutrements supplied, being of a different pattern, had to be altered.

Walker expressed his intention of sending Sergeant Graham on 30 June with three men to reinforce Lieutenant Morisset on the Clarence. He was taking the remainder with him to Wondai Gumbal direct through the scrubs. From Wondai Gumbal Walker intended proceeding to the Leichhardt district where he wished to show the Aborigines he had such a force as to deter them from future aggressions. For this purpose the fourth section from Traylan and the sixth section, if it could be spared from Wondai Gumbal, were to meet him in the Leichhardt district. Leaving the tenth section in the latter district under Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll, Walker then intended proceeding with the fourth section to Rannes to inspect the seventh section there. Walker added that he had made arrangements with Mr. Gordon Sandeman for the rationing of the police in the Leichhardt district and Sandeman had placed a hut at his disposal for the use of the troopers. Sandeman, who had purchased Owen's run, in writing to Walker had mentioned that the settlers on the Dawson were anxious to have a resident police force.<sup>16</sup>

At that time Government Resident Wickham of Brisbane also had requested the appointment of a small body of Native Police in the police district of Brisbane. Wickham was informed by letter of 30 June 1854 that the governor feared the matter was too late for the estimates shortly to be submitted to the Legislative Council but the acting colonial treasurer and the acting auditor general had been apprised that it was considered desirable to place the amount required on any additional estimates which may be brought forward before the close of the session. The governor was quite aware that the protection sought was much required in parts of the district where the Aborigines were dangerous and troublesome.<sup>17</sup>

Walker, on arriving at Wondai Gumbal in August, wrote to

the colonial secretary explaining the reason why he had not sent a report as promised before leaving Callandoon. He had been awaiting the returns from Wondai Gumbal and, on arriving there, had found those returns had been sent to Traylan, so unwillingly he was compelled to delay his report until he reached the latter place.<sup>18</sup> It is evident that Walker's intention of proceeding to Rannes after visiting the upper Dawson had become subservient to the problem of the financial state of the corps.

Up to 31 July 1854 Walker wrote that all the extensive districts over which the Native Police had been patrolling were in a state of peace, unbroken except for the murder of Kettle on 5 February, "an unfortunate occurrence which might have been prevented if the information relative to the intention of the blacks to revenge themselves on Mr. Kettle had been made known to the officers of the Native Police at Wondai Gumbal".

Before the 1856 Select Committee, Lieutenant Francis Nicoll stated there was one place on the Tchanning — namely Bogandilla where Mr. Kettle who was killed by Aborigines built a station — which was close under the range and where he did not think the Aborigines would ever be quiet.<sup>19</sup> On 3 July 1855 Commissioner of Crown Lands W. H. Wiseman wrote to his chief commissioner from Rannes: "The Tribe which frequented the Upper Dawson River and the waters of Dogwood and Tchanning rivers running into the Condamine were the same which had murdered George Kettle Esq. and took away his sheep during the previous year." Wiseman thought this was also the same tribe that in the first month of his commissionership had murdered no less than six persons: Mr. James MacLaren, his shepherd, two shepherds of Mr. Joseph King, and also another helper and his wife on the Tchanning.<sup>20</sup>

Walker, when writing from Wondai Gumbal in August, stated he had previously reported his fears for the safety of the Leichhardt district "consequent to the unavoidable retirement of Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll from that District", and he regretted to state that his fears had been realized. The previous day he had received news of the murders, on 4 and 5 August, of MacLaren and his two shepherds on Kinnoul near

the Dawson River.<sup>2 1</sup>

Walker was then on the point of starting to the assistance of the settlers in that district with but a newly raised section. The carbines of five of the men were of such a description as to be unable to hit a target at sixty yards. Nicoll and the troopers whose assistance Walker had expected could not be spared from patrol service at Wondai Gumbal and the fourth section which ought to have supported him from Traylan had not started from there on 1 August.

Walker also expressed fears for the safety of the stations about Rannes as it appeared that only five men of the seventh section (the remainder being invalids) had proceeded there to relieve the third. Walker wrote that he had expressed his great dissatisfaction to Marshall on having thus risked the lives and property of the settlers and their servants when he could easily have provided for their protection. He stated that Marshall had by his own report six men idle at Traylan.

On 20 or 23 August<sup>2 2</sup> Walker left Wondai Gumbal for the upper Dawson. Upon his arrival at Miller's station Kinnoul, where MacLaren and his two shepherds were killed, he was joined by the fourth section under Sergeant Alexander Walker. Leaving three troopers for the protection of Mrs. MacLaren's property, where Miller had supplied a good hut for the sole use of the Native Police, Walker started the sergeant with eight troopers of the fourth section "to look after Blacks who were still hovering about the vicinity of the place where they had committed such wanton murder".

Walker with the new recruits of the tenth section followed the tracks of Aborigines though feeling sure he was not following the main body as there were only the tracks of sixteen men. From the top of Lynd's Range Walker saw the smoke of the main body in the very direction that he had sent the sergeant. After four days "anxious tracking" Walker and his troopers overtook a small party "camped in an extraordinary place on a rocky eminence at the foot of a range". So well did the new recruits obey Walker's orders that, unseen by the Aborigines, they scaled the rocks and took possession of the camp and spears. As soon as the women and children got out of the way, by Walker's orders, the men fired and two Aborigines were wounded. Walker was satisfied

with this. Although he knew these Aborigines had been at the camp at the time of the murders, he could not be sure that the actual murderers were present.

Walker then returned to Miller's. He found that the sergeant had allowed the main body to pass him "notwithstanding the advice of the Native Corporal Larry". In the meantime troopers Orlando and Pelham, after going to Juandah to fetch up his papers, had returned and reported that the main body had gone into the stations and that friendly Aborigines had pointed out two of the murderers at Juandah.<sup>2 3</sup> Walker required his papers for his visit to Traylan. He was hastening there to forward his delayed report to the colonial secretary from the returns sent there by the sections.

Consequently, for the security of the settlers on the upper Dawson during his absence at Traylan, Walker proceeded to distribute his troopers among the stations. Four troopers were posted at Fraser's Hornet Bank station which he considered the most exposed to attack. Three troopers took charge of the late MacLaren's property, three troopers were posted at an out-station of Miller's, and two strong patrol parties were started to watch the Aborigines in the district.

Corporals Larry and Tahiti commenced the patrols and Corporal Edward acted as orderly corporal to Sergeant Walker for the purpose of carrying the latter's orders to the different posts. The sergeant was given written instructions from the commandant and every post had written orders for reference to the settlers at those stations where they were placed. Walker accompanied the patrol parties, but as the horses were nearly knocked up the greater part of the men walked, changing with the men who were mounted. Walker took his turn with the troopers. Walker's object, to use his own words, was to disperse the main body and if possible to punish the murderers. Walker reported that the murderers were found mixed up with friendly Aborigines and being afraid to injure the innocent he ordered his corporals to disperse them without firing a shot. This was done. The police marched into their camp at nine o'clock at night. The Aborigines were surprised and broke up into three parties. The police followed until those pursued took refuge at Cockatoo,

the station of Livingstone "who was much gratified at these men being dispersed without his own friends being injured".

On 21 September 1854, Walker started for Traylan. The corporals returned to the sergeant with a letter from Walker directing the first patrol to watch the Aborigines as soon as the horses were fit for work.<sup>24</sup> Despite these precautions two men, Charles Moreton and George Page, were murdered shortly afterwards in the Leichhardt district. Later, on 21 October 1854, Walker wrote to the colonial secretary from Traylan stating that the arrangements made by him precluded the probability of the Dawson Aborigines approaching the station where the murders were committed. Walker stated he had received intelligence that the murders were committed by an Aborigine named Walleyed Jemmy who was a fellow servant of the murdered men with whom he was shepherding and lambing. The murderer had been sent from the Darling Downs to the Dawson by Sandeman at whose station the crimes were committed.<sup>25</sup>

On 28 August 1854, apparently some five days after Walker had left Wondai Gumbal for the upper Dawson, eight settlers of the Leichhardt district had petitioned the governor general, stating that for years they had been subjected to the continual attacks of the Aborigines and that above the loss they had suffered in their own property not less than twenty-one lives had been sacrificed by the Aborigines. The petitioners were quite willing to acknowledge the great services rendered to them by the Native Police on more than one occasion, especially when under the command of Sergeant Skelton, but stated that that protection which ought to have been permanent had been only temporary. The murder of MacLaren and two shepherds had caused them to feel the insecurity of their lives and they did not feel confident that a change for the better would take place. Several of the petitioners had interviewed the commandant who had stated that Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll had been specially sent there for their permanent protection but Nicoll had left the district allegedly because the settlers had fed the police with salt meat, causing sickness amongst them. The petitioners denied this as they believed that at one station only the troopers were supplied with salt meat. They claimed Nicoll had paid only a

flying visit to the stations and had returned without having made any arrangements for the protection which the commandant said Nicoll was sent to afford them. The commandant had promised the petitioners that he would specially attend to their defence in the future but the petitioners asked that during his absence the large force which had been left for their protection should be better commanded than the local force had been. They blamed "the person who commands the Native Police" for their position.<sup>26</sup>

When departing from the upper Dawson for Traylan on 21 September 1854, doubtless Walker was unaware of the extent to which the opposition to his leadership had been marshalled. Representations had been made by certain residents of the Burnett and Wide Bay districts that Walker "had fallen into habits of great intemperance that incapacitated him from performing his duties properly". W. H. Walsh of Degilbo and W. Forster were the principal complainants.<sup>27</sup>

On 1 September 1854, Lieutenant Marshall had written to the colonial secretary complaining of Walker's "irregularities, drunkenness, abuse to the officers, and his general irregularity in the management of the Force". Marshall stated he had written with the support of certain officers. These appear to have been Lieutenant Irving and Sub-Lieutenants Nicoll and Bligh. Marshall sent copies of his letter to Lieutenants Fulford and Murray and tendered his resignation.<sup>28</sup>

These complaints reaching Sydney moved Walker's close friend Augustus Morris, member of the Legislative Council and settler of Callandoon, to write to Walker on 6 September 1854 from the Australian Club, Sydney. Morris wrote: "I have only a moment to write to you. All sorts of charges are being made against you and your Police . . . The plot seems to be thicker against you. That terrible failing, as I have warned you so often, I fear will be the ruin of you." Morris then stated he intended on the following Friday to move for a select committee to enquire into and report upon the general management of the Native Police. Morris gave the names of those who would comprise the committee and added: "This is the only course by which you can get justice and be brought face to face with your accusers. I will of course be the chairman. I have just told the Colonial Secretary that I



am writing to you to come. He will write by the Steamer next post. *You must not delay a moment.* Bring with you the means of defending yourself and giving everything — the excessive charges of the Settlers for rations — everything.”<sup>29</sup>

On the same day, Morris wrote another letter, informing Walker he was charged with being unfit to be entrusted with the ration money of the police, it being said that the rationing ought to be done by contract. Morris stated he knew this to be nonsense and added: “I will fight your part to the last but you must reform. You must *purge* your officers at all risks and hazards. I send you the *Herald* but the paper never gives the discussions in Committee at any length. A tremendous onslaught was made on you. Lose no time in writing to me.”<sup>30</sup>

On 19 September 1854 Morris wrote to Walker again: “The Government intend to order an inquiry on the spot into the management of your Force and I greatly fear that you will be sacrificed to the clamour against you. However well you may prove you have managed the Force, nevertheless your intemperance will be seized hold of as sufficient to dismiss you. I must say that I fear your Force is dreadfully disorganised — your officers and yourself do not stand to one another in the relation you ought. Now I have always warned you against intemperance — I always saw that the habit would be your stumbling block and the more, merely that you had deceived yourself into a belief that you scarcely ever exceeded.” Morris hoped that he would hear from Walker before the general estimates came on and that Walker could reestablish his character “and by the past correct the future”. Morris had little doubt that Walker’s troop required wholly to be reformed and from every side he had heard there was discipline neither amongst officers nor men. Morris indicated he could not assist his friend Walker further.<sup>31</sup>

On 21 September 1854, the day Walker started from the upper Dawson for Traylan, Elyard of the Colonial Secretary’s Office wrote informing Walker that in consequence of certain representations having been received from the officers under his command, seriously affecting his character as an officer, his excellency the governor general had deemed it expedient to relieve him from duty until they could be duly investiga-

ted. Walker was also instructed to proceed to Brisbane where he would receive further instructions through the government resident there.<sup>32</sup>

It is almost certain that although Walker had received previously at least some of Morris's letters he did not receive the notice of his suspension from duty until 12 October.

On 26 September Lieutenant Marshall was suspended from duty by Walker.<sup>33</sup> Marshall however had been appointed acting commandant by the governor general and the colonial secretary's letter notifying this dated 24 September, was received at Traylan on 12 October.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile Marshall, who had not received his pay after 30 June 1854, had written to Walker on 1 October requesting payment for the quarter. Walker had returned Marshall's letter, stating he had closed his accounts for resigned officers and referred Marshall to the auditor general.<sup>35</sup>

At Wondai Gumbal during Walker's visit in August it had been arranged between Walker and Nicoll that, upon the return to Wondai Gumbal of Sergeant Graham, Nicoll was to proceed to the Dawson to take command there. Hearing that Walker proposed to suspend all officers who refused to serve under him and presuming that Walker had given instructions to Sergeant Alexander Walker in command of the tenth section on the Dawson not to take orders from Nicoll, Fulford wrote to the colonial secretary on 11 November requesting instructions how they were to act.<sup>36</sup>

Fulford and Nicoll were wrong in their presumption. Walker wrote to the sergeant of the tenth section on 3 October, regretting hearing that two more men had been killed on the Dawson notwithstanding the precautions he had taken and trusting the sergeant had tried all he could to discover the murderers. Walker reminded the sergeant, whenever going out on duty, to give orders in writing to whatever corporal he left behind and to be cautious in carrying out the written instructions to sergeants. Walker regretted to state it was possible he would soon leave the force and most of the troopers would resign with him. He asked the sergeant to send troopers Dick and Jemmy with the light cart and his horses "except Juandah which Orlando will keep". Walker also stated he would see that the sergeant was provided for

and by next post he would receive his pay up to 30 September. Walker added that Edward would want the sergeant to write for him and to send it on the next post signed by Corporals Edward, Tahiti, and Larry.<sup>37</sup>

Walker had written also to Corporal Edward addressing him as "Ned" and stating that Mr. Marshall, Mr. Irving, Mr. Fulford, and Mr. Nicoll had made the governor Coola (angry) with him and he thought he should go away. In that event Walker asked Edward to write what he, Larry, and Tahiti were going to do and also to ask all the fourth section and the new policemen this question. Walker wrote: "I been write Governor all No. 4 go with me. Yes." He added that some policemen said they would stop with Mr. Marshall, some said they would "go back Murray", and others said that when Morum Billak<sup>38</sup> goes they would no longer be policemen.<sup>39</sup>

On 7 October Walker wrote to the colonial secretary advising that the vacancy caused by the death of native Sergeant Bungaree, who had died at Traylan on 21 July 1854 from inflammation of the lungs, had been filled by the appointment of David Fitzgerald until the end of the year so that meanwhile it could be ascertained whether the appointee was fit for the duty.<sup>40</sup>

On 11 October Walker wrote again to the colonial secretary on the subject of the Native Police camp at Port Curtis. He regretted that the barrack, without his being consulted and notwithstanding his experience of six years with the constitutions of his men, was being erected at the unhealthy place from which he had earlier ordered the camp to be removed. He stated that Bungaree and David had died within a fortnight of each other. Edwin was very ill and if the section stopped there they would very soon all die. He entreated the giving of orders that the buildings be stopped at once and that some other place be fixed on.<sup>41</sup>

Government Resident O'Connell at Port Curtis, to whom Walker's letter was referred, denied the land was swampy but conceded that the situation was lower and more level than he would desire it. The need for a site where there was a permanent supply of water narrowed the choice of situation and if the men were stationed some distance from Gladstone then their services would be of doubtful avail. O'Connell believed

that Bungaree left Port Curtis apparently in sound health and died at Traylan. David returned from Traylan, to where he had been sent with the post, so ill that O'Connell did not at first recognize him. David had died eventually of peritonitis as the resident surgeon had reported. O'Connell did not believe there was a greater amount of sickness amongst the Native Police stationed at Port Curtis than amongst a similar number stationed elsewhere. Mr. Murray had remarked frequently to him that the men always got ill when sent to Traylan, "a place notorious in the Burnett district". FitzRoy considered O'Connell's explanation quite sufficient.<sup>42</sup>

On 11 October Walker referred to his report on 2 January of a collision between the Wide Bay or sea coast Aborigines and the Native Police when the Aborigines had resisted the passing of the police at Yabba Creek. The cause of the collision had been unknown. Although a wanted native named Durobberee was present, Walker had not thought this sufficient. The Aborigine could easily escape and in fact had done so. Walker now reported he had discovered the real reason. A white runaway convict named Gilberry, who for years had been among the Wide Bay Aborigines, was present and resistance was for the purpose of preventing the police seeing him. Gilberry always was accompanied by some of the murderers of Mrs. Shannon. Walker wrote that he had arranged a plan for his capture. It had appeared strange to Walker that none of the patrol parties had ever discovered the tracks of this man as the track of a white man was different from that of an Aborigine. However this could be explained as some of the women invariably trod over his tracks.<sup>43</sup>

On 20 December 1854, Sub-Lieutenant Bligh reported to Marshall that after receiving information that the escaped convict John Fahay, alias Gilberry or Kenbarry, was encamped with Aborigines at Ubee Ubee flats at the head of the Mary River he had searched and found him in a camp in a scrub at that place. Bligh had taken Fahay and brought him to Brisbane and delivered him into the charge of the constabulary there.<sup>44</sup>

On 15 October 1854 Walker wrote asking for the usual advance to the corps and requesting that no alteration be made in the matter during the quarter as he had drawn

cheques against that advance for police supplies and would not wish them to be dishonoured.<sup>45</sup> FitzRoy did not think it right that the officers and men of the Native Police should go without their pay pending the enquiry directed to take place in relation to the commandant. A transfer warrant was made in Marshall's favour for £1,500.<sup>46</sup>

It is clear that before leaving Traylan for Brisbane to receive further instructions from the government resident, Walker was considering a future out of the Native Police Force. On 22 October 1854, Francis Lear wrote to Walker from Callandoon giving authority to use his signature in obtaining a license for a run, as proposed by Walker. Lear stated he would leave his employment as soon as Walker got a run and thought it was a good time to purchase stock.<sup>47</sup>

A board of enquiry had been appointed to investigate and report upon the charges preferred in certain letters from officers of the corps. The government resident at Moreton Bay was informed by the colonial secretary on 23 September that the board was to comprise the government resident, Captain J. C. Wickham, Crown Commissioner S. Simpson of Woogaroo, and the police magistrate at Ipswich, Colonel C. G. Gray. The members were to assemble either at Brisbane or Ipswich, as was convenient. The board was required to "procure the attendance of such witnesses as may enable them to form a correct opinion of the truth or falsehood of the charges, and also of the general management of the Native Police under Commandant Walker, and the system established by him; but the Board should be careful not to require the attendance of more of the Officers than may be necessary, that is to say, the Board should be careful not to leave the Native Troopers without a sufficient number of Officers to control them, and preserve their discipline."<sup>48</sup>

On 22 November 1854, Wickham wrote informing the colonial secretary that the commandant of the Native Police had arrived in Brisbane on Saturday, 18 November and that a letter had been addressed to Lieutenant Marshall, requesting him to proceed to Brisbane with as many officers as could be spared. Wickham hoped there would be no further delay respecting the investigation ordered.<sup>49</sup>

# 11

## Dismissal of Frederick Walker

The board of enquiry assembled at noon on Tuesday, 19 December 1854. Witnesses in attendance were Acting Commandant Marshall, Lieutenant Irving, and Sub-Lieutenants Nicoll and Bligh. The evidence of Lieutenant Fulford and Adjutant Dolan had been required also by Wickham but Marshall had not requested them to attend as their absence would hinder the carrying on of police duties.

Walker failed to appear on time and, after waiting half an hour, the board proceeded to examine Marshall. During this examination, at about 1 p.m., Walker appeared before the board accompanied by eight or nine Native Police troopers whom the board declined to admit to its proceedings. Walker took his seat but was so intoxicated he did not recognize Marshall who was sitting beside him. The board, in view of Walker's condition, then requested him to retire. Walker declined to do this and thereupon the board adjourned. Walker and his troopers then left and were proceeding to cross the river to South Brisbane when Marshall and the other officers who had attended before the board of enquiry successfully dissuaded all save two of the troopers from accompanying him.<sup>1</sup>

That evening those two troopers re-crossed the river bringing their horses with them. They then approached Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll stating they wished to be taken from attending on Mr. Walker as they were ashamed of his conduct in being continually drunk. They requested that an officer re-cross the river with them to get their private property as they were afraid to go by themselves. Marshall then consulted

the members of the board of enquiry as to the propriety of his taking possession of the arms and accoutrements belonging to the government which had been brought to Brisbane by Walker and his party. With their approval, and as Marshall did not wish to come personally in contact with Walker, Lieutenant Irving accompanied by the chief constable of Brisbane proceeded to South Brisbane to take possession of these articles as well as of the private property of the troopers. During this action Walker drew his sword and threatened Irving.<sup>2</sup>

The board met again on 20 December and examined those officers present as to the arrears due for pay and rations. Marshall stated he believed that nothing had been paid for ration money and the men's pay for the quarter ended 30 September 1854. He had received a list of unpaid accounts up to 30 June 1854 from J. D. L. Ferguson, private secretary to Walker. More than twenty-five creditors of the corps were listed and the total amount owing was £1,347 2s. 11d. The troopers under the immediate orders of Senior Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll had not received any pay since 22 January 1854, nor any necessaries in lieu of pay. Nicoll, out of his own pocket, had expended more than £30 since he joined the force in purchasing clothing, blankets, and flour for the men. There had been no flour at Wondai Gumbal since September, causing Fulford and Nicoll to buy nine bags of flour from the squatters. Lieutenant Irving had not received pay after 30 June 1854. Ferguson had written to Walker stating that Irving had been overpaid £20, but Irving considered this as an instalment in part repayment of about £40 which he had spent in purchasing rations for the men and having no reference to salary. Irving had incurred a bill of £28 9s. 0d. at Horton's Inn, Drayton for five men in September 1854. Under orders from Walker, Irving had taken the men to the inn and fed them well in the kitchen, giving them plenty of vegetables. He had remained there thirteen days as the men were sick during the whole time. Wine was given to the men by orders of Dr. Bond whose account for medical attendance was paid from Irving's own pocket. Sub-Lieutenant Bligh's pay was also in arrears to the extent of £141.<sup>3</sup>

On taking this evidence and after expressing its regret on

the embarrassing position of the officers even in having to pay their ordinary expenses when journeying to Brisbane, the board again adjourned its proceedings but made to the colonial secretary on 20 December the following unanimous report:

1st. That Commandant Walker is in constant habits of intoxication, that render him totally unfit for any responsible post under Government, and particularly for that of Commanding the Native Police.

2nd. That the accounts of the Native Police Corps are in such a state of confusion, and the arrears due for pay and rations so heavy, (as shewn in an account for rations supplied by several persons for the use of the men . . . ), that, in the opinion of the Board, immediate steps should be taken to stop the appropriation of any further sums on Mr. Walker's orders.

3rd. That Mr. Walker is tampering with the Police, and endeavouring to render them disaffected to their Officers and the Government. The Board have ample evidence under their own eyes, although they have no fear for the result.

4th. That, in support of the above opinions, we have the honor to refer His Excellency the Governor General to the accompanying minute of the proceedings of the Board during their meetings; and, waiting His Excellency's further orders in the matter.<sup>4</sup>

As regards the board's finding of "tampering with the Police", a letter dated 25 November 1854, written to the colonial secretary from Traylan by Marshall, had been forwarded by the former to the Board. Marshall had stated that Walker, knowing he had forfeited all right to command the Native Police, had moved to disorganize it for a successor by sending messages to the different stations informing the troopers that he would have all the officers dismissed and would take the troopers back to their own country. Marshall added that this had "unsettled the men's minds" but he felt confident that few men would leave in the event of Walker's dismissal. There was no doubt, Marshall wrote, that should Walker be in a position to take the men from the Murray back mounted, as he had brought them from there, they would be glad to return, but most of those men had expressed their determination not to walk back. Marshall thought therefore that any statement by Walker about the disaffection of Native Police troopers towards the officers should "be looked upon with an eye of suspicion".<sup>5</sup>



Although Walker did in fact “tamper with the Police”, there is no reference in the board’s report of evidence having been taken regarding the matter. This finding therefore appears to have been based only on Marshall’s letter to the colonial secretary which causes the board’s proceedings to be viewed as irregular. This view is confirmed by the fact that it was later ascertained that the letters of complaint from the officers to the colonial secretary and forwarded to the government resident at Moreton Bay on 23 September were lost by the board after having been laid before it.<sup>6</sup>

On 22 December 1854, Dr. H. Bell of North Brisbane gave the following certificate: “I hereby certify that Commandant Frederick Walker, Native Police, has been under medical treatment for some days past suffering from nervous debility. I am not much acquainted with this gentleman, having attended him for the first time a few days since, but I can state that a person in this condition may, in both walking and speaking, very much resemble a person directly under the influence of liquor.” This certificate was forwarded by Walker to the colonial secretary with his letter written at Brisbane on 1 January 1855. Walker stated that although the board had not communicated to him its decision he was aware that it had given a decision adverse to him. On this he wished to make no remark. However, he complained – in sentences which were not clear – of the seizure on the day previous to the board’s meeting of the private property of the two troopers Dick and Bunya Sammy who had acted as his orderlies. The horses, arms, saddles, and accoutrements taken were allowed to the orderlies, and Walker conceived that no one had the right to take them without the authority of the governor general. Walker, who wished to write to trooper Considine on the Dawson regarding some articles he had left there, asked that two troopers be allowed to accompany Considine when conveying them in as he would not be able to manage the journey by himself. Walker stated that meanwhile he would remain on the Logan “at the stations of different settlers from whom I have received much kindness during my sickness and have expressed much indignation at such a gross act of violence”.<sup>7</sup>

Marshall, on being invited to make any observations on

Walker's letter, stated that Walker had been guilty of a want of courtesy in taking as his orderlies the two troopers from their duties on the Dawson without his knowledge or sanction. It was not until he had received a letter from Bligh that he became aware of this. On arrival in Brisbane Marshall had found that Walker was again making use of these men for the purpose of trying to disaffect the detachment in Brisbane with Sub-Lieutenant Bligh. Had Walker not so used these men, Marshall stated he would not have thought of taking the horses and firearms from them. Marshall added that if the men had wished to remain with Walker they would have been at perfect liberty to do so, but they had left Walker. Marshall claimed that Considine was not Walker's orderly and that a reference to the pay abstracts would show that Considine had been receiving payment as a trooper for the previous year. He declined sending troopers for the purpose spoken of by Walker without instructions to that effect.<sup>8</sup> Marshall's explanation satisfied Denison who did not grant Walker's request.<sup>9</sup>

Following receipt of the board's report, Colonial Secretary Riddell wrote on 19 January 1855 informing Walker at Brisbane of the material contents of the report and stating: "under the circumstances disclosed in this Report, His Excellency, with the advice of the Executive Council, has desired me to inform you, that you are now dismissed from the office of Commandant of Native Police"<sup>10</sup>

The fact is that Walker was dismissed for his impropriety of conduct in appearing before the board in the state he did. His dismissal was not based on the complaints contained in the letters forwarded to the colonial secretary by certain officers.

The government was criticized by certain settler complainants for holding the enquiry at Brisbane when it was alleged the instances of his misconduct had occurred in the Wide Bay and Burnett districts. They stated the witnesses were nearly all in those districts — so that it was evidently the intention of the government not to receive any evidence from the settlers. They alleged that two magistrates, Mr. Walsh and Dr. H. H. Brown, had both offered their evidence and were told that it was not required.<sup>11</sup>

Sir William Denison on 31 January 1855, very shortly after assuming the governorship of the colony, thought it would be desirable to punish Walker more effectively than by dismissal. He asked could Walker be prosecuted either by the government or by the individuals whom he had defrauded, the government of course defraying the cost of the prosecution.<sup>1 2</sup> However no action was taken although enquiries into claims for moneys owing by the corps were continued for some considerable time after Walker's dismissal.

The humiliating termination of his service in the Native Police Force had been brought about by Frederick Walker himself. His excessive drinking habit doubtless had assisted to alienate certain settlers as well as officers. He had been staying in Brisbane some time before his appearance at the board of enquiry and had failed to appear when required at a previous meeting of the board. Doubtless he had filled in the time on a drinking bout. During 1854, this habit of Walker's appears to have become firmly fixed. For some months after his leaving Traylan towards the end of January 1854, the record of official correspondence from his pen is relatively small in volume.

Apart from this failing Walker was, to use the words of Mrs. Goode, always a gentleman. Evidence has been disclosed already that Walker, although carrying out the duties of "teaching a lesson" imposed on the corps, discouraged the needless taking of lives and was eager to see that justice was done to the Aborigines. Later commandants did not go to the same lengths in this as Walker did, but it is of course now difficult to make a comparison between the leaderships of the several commandants. In the years following, the corps was so reduced in strength as to become from the settlers' view less efficient as a police force. Aboriginal attacks on life and property increased and, in retaliation, numbers of Aborigines were killed by both settlers and Native Police. In fact the position on occasions on the northern frontier became one of war between settlers assisted by Native Police and the tribesmen. There was a deterioration in leadership by subordinate officers causing the needless killings of Aborigines. This was encouraged by the hardening of governmental and public opinion against the tribesmen. The actions

of the commandant at the time were influenced by this attitude.

There had been complaints as to Walker's disposition of his force, but after Walker's leadership ceased there were many settlers who thought the force was most efficient when under Walker. Some stated the force was efficient only in Walker's time.<sup>13</sup>

Captain Maurice Charles O'Connell before the 1858 Select Committee stated that, when he first saw the Native Police as originally raised by Walker, it struck him that Walker had worked a change and improvement in the Aborigines he was hardly prepared to think they were capable of.<sup>14</sup> Other witnesses referred to his keeping the men in proper discipline and to their never deserting, to his understanding of the Aboriginal character and what was necessary to make them act as a force.<sup>15</sup> Walker certainly did possess "a peculiar tact" in controlling his troopers. The value of this was recognized by the 1858 Select Committee which reported: "It appears also that the troopers who did such good service from 1848 to 1852, under their late Commandant, Mr. Walker, on the McIntyre and other places, were brought from the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Edward Rivers; and it is conclusive that the conduct of these men was the cause of the Force enjoying that high character which, it is deeply to be regretted it no longer possesses."<sup>16</sup>

Before the 1858 Select Committee those who had known the force under Walker referred to the frequent habit of the Aborigines, after committing an outrage or murder, of seeking shelter on the border of a large scrub and, when attacked, of immediately disappearing into the scrub. To avoid clothing becoming entangled, the Native Police invariably discarded clothing and entered the scrub with nothing but their ammunition and carbines.<sup>17</sup> In the pursuit they would get ahead of any white man with them. Captain M. C. O'Connell stated that Walker however could keep up with the troopers through the scrub.<sup>18</sup> He was one of the very few white men who could follow Aborigines in rough country. Marshall stated before the 1856 Select Committee that the only evil influence that was felt in the force was when Walker came in contact with another officer. Then his

irregularities were immediately felt, because it was almost impossible for the officer to have any control over his men.<sup>19</sup>

The Native Police under Walker's command, despite the attacks from time to time on his leadership, had provided the settler with a cheap and effective means of suppressing Aboriginal interference with the settlers' servants, flocks, and herds, and this was acknowledged in the years immediately following his dismissal. The 1856 Select Committee reported:

It appears from the Evidence before your Committee that, previous to the Native Police Force being introduced into the Northern Districts of the Colony, the outrages committed by the Blacks in the outlying districts were of frequent occurrence, extending to murder as well as to the destruction of stock to a great extent. That, although the Native Police Force, then only recently raised, was not, as could scarcely be expected in a recently organized body and so composed, in such a perfect state of efficiency as under proper management there was no reason to doubt it might have attained, that body after its introduction into the troubled districts effected a great amount of good in checking the lawless state of outrage on the part of the native Blacks that had previously existed.<sup>20</sup>

This committee was also of the opinion that a far greater amount of life must have been sacrificed and a much greater extent of property destroyed had the Native Police Force not been established in the most recently occupied districts and those immediately adjoining.

Before the 1858 Select Committee William Forster, a complainant against Walker, referring to the settlers, stated: "Enterprising men, induced by the large profit or appearance of profit held out in undertakings of the kind, will always go beyond any protection the Government can give them; and, in that case, murders will be committed by the natives, and upon the natives, in spite of any force you can organise."<sup>21</sup>

E. B. Uhr of Maryborough also stated before that Select Committee: "We have had experience of gentlemen going out and protecting their stations, going into the scrubs and successfully protecting themselves."<sup>22</sup>

It was considered in those times that but for the Native Police Force there would have been a war in which the settlers would have soon exterminated the Aborigines.<sup>23</sup>

Frederick Walker, after the termination of his service in

the Native Police Force, continued to live on the frontier. In 1858, when employed by settlers on the upper Dawson, he raised his own force of ten ex-troopers of the Native Police for the settlers' protection.<sup>24</sup> This illegal force was disbanded by the government. He then became superintendent of a sheep run on the Comet River. He also continued to explore for suitable runs on behalf of absent squatters. He wrote many letters of complaint when Aborigines were killed needlessly on the upper Dawson and Comet Rivers. One of those letters related to the death of ex-trooper Tahiti on Cockatoo station. When writing to the colonial secretary of Queensland on 10 July 1861, he stated: "when Tahiti, a native of the Colony of Victoria who had faithfully served the Government for five years was murdered, it was from the station of a magistrate that he was illegally taken in irons and notwithstanding the urgent protest of the magistrate."<sup>25</sup> Lieutenant Carr, before the 1861 Select Committee, stated he was the officer who took Tahiti on Cockatoo station.<sup>26</sup> Tahiti was supposed to have deserted from the force. The alleged murder of Tahiti was enquired into by Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman.

Although his service to the colony as commandant of the Native Police may be forgotten, Frederick Walker is remembered as one of Queensland's explorers. He led the Victorian expedition from Rockhampton in search of the missing Burke and Wills. He was accompanied by several ex-troopers of his former command.

He never married and on 19 November 1866, aged forty-six years, died from "diarrhoea" whilst engaged in marking a telegraph line to the Gulf country. He was buried at Flora Ville on the Leichhardt River in lonely surroundings.<sup>27</sup> He was a good bushman to whom danger, fatigue, discomfort, privation, and even monotony were inseparable from the callings he pursued.

Walker's Bend on the Flinders River and several other locations on the map of northwest Queensland bearing his name are his memorials.

# 12

## Marshall Fettered in His Command

Marshall had nearly five years' experience as a lieutenant when he was appointed acting commandant on the suspension of Walker. The Burnett and Wide Bay districts had been his principal area of responsibility.<sup>1</sup> He was popular among the settlers and well acquainted with the bush. Former inspector general of police, William Colburne Mayne, stated before the 1856 Select Committee that his correspondence with Marshall gave him the impression that Marshall was "a very active, anxious, and zealous officer, and that he carried out his duty with benefit to the public".<sup>2</sup> Walker had often praised Marshall.

Marshall, when proceeding to attend the board of enquiry, had left Sub-Lieutenant Keen in charge at Traylan. He also had recommended that J. D. L. Ferguson — who on 28 September had been requested in writing by Walker to act as sub-lieutenant — be confirmed in that appointment as he thought that more than one officer should remain at Traylan.<sup>3</sup> On 20 December 1854 Ferguson was so appointed.<sup>4</sup>

On 3 March 1855 Marshall, to fill the vacancy of lieutenant caused by the dismissal of Walker, requested that the following be promoted: Fulford to first lieutenant, Murray to second lieutenant, Morisset to third lieutenant, Irving to fourth lieutenant, and Senior Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll to fifth lieutenant. Marshall also requested that Sub-Lieutenant Robert Walker be appointed senior sub-lieutenant and that all appointments take place from 1 January 1855.<sup>5</sup>

"Having been put to considerable expense in attending at

Brisbane to give evidence” Marshall also requested that his pay as commandant commence on his acting appointment on 1 October 1854.<sup>6</sup>

The officers who had attended at Brisbane had been placed in financial difficulties in consequence of Walker’s non-payment of their salaries and allowances. Irving, Nicoll, and Bligh “had been subjected to the disgrace of having to discount Bills to enable them to pay their expenses”. Nicoll, “through the kind offices of a friend J. Leith Hay” borrowed £100 from a Brisbane Bank. Marshall, writing to the colonial secretary, asked how their claims against Walker would be liquidated. Marshall had given Irving £60 when endorsing the latter’s bill for discounting at the bank, thinking this sum would clear Irving’s debts up to the time of Marshall’s departure.<sup>7</sup>

When leaving Brisbane on 27 December 1854, Marshall instructed Irving to proceed to Yabba, “a six easy days march”, and take command of the section stationed there. Irving stayed on in Brisbane and did not arrive at Yabba until the evening of 17 March 1855. Two weeks before then Marshall had called upon Irving to explain why he had disobeyed “positive instructions” and, reporting Irving’s absence, recommended his dismissal if he could not show good cause. Marshall also relieved Irving from duty.<sup>8</sup> Denison approved of Irving’s suspension and directed that if satisfactory reasons for Irving’s absence were not shown he be dismissed.<sup>9</sup>

On 17 March 1855 Irving made his explanation. He stated that, owing to a number of his orders drawn upon Sydney having been returned dishonoured, the funds to his credit in the Bank of New South Wales at Brisbane were insufficient to purchase a horse to carry him to Yabba. The horses he had brought to Brisbane were unfit for travelling on patrol duty. After managing to purchase the horse, Irving stated he was attacked “with a violent diarrhoea” and also suffered from “spasmodic stricture” which precluded his riding for some time. Irving added that he wrote to Bligh requesting some men be sent to meet him on the road. After leaving Brisbane when well enough to travel he had patrolled through the stations in the northern portions of Moreton Bay. After



remaining at the Yabba barracks two days he had proceeded on patrol with his section to the Widgee Widgee run and neighbouring stations, experiencing hot weather that brought on another attack of diarrhoea.<sup>10</sup>

On receiving the explanation Marshall forwarded it to the colonial secretary with a covering letter in which he considered Irving had been guilty of wilful and gross disobedience of orders and violation of duty. He stated that Irving had not mentioned while in Brisbane the unfitness of his horses and could have written informing of his difficulties by the weekly mail between Brisbane and Traylan. As Nicoll, who accompanied Irving to Brisbane from Wondai Gumbal and who had a greater distance to travel, had returned to his station at the time appointed, Marshall thought that Irving's attempt at explanation was anything but satisfactory.<sup>11</sup> Denison ruled that Irving had been absent from duty two whole months and his explanation had not made matters better. On 28 March notice was sent to Irving of his dismissal.<sup>12</sup> During 1855 Irving unsuccessfully applied to the governor general for a reconsideration of his case.<sup>13</sup>

Debts incurred on account of the force and unpaid by Walker at the time of his suspension from duty generally were for provisions or rations supplied. Up to 30 September 1854 the moneys owing on the accounts unpaid exceeded considerably the moneys that had been advanced to Walker. The auditor general on 22 December 1854 had written to the colonial secretary stating there were no funds out of which these unpaid accounts could be defrayed. He pointed out that the Native Police were not rationed by the government, but received a money allowance in lieu of provisions which was included in the advances made to the officer in command. He therefore considered that these claims should not be referred to the government for payment. Any arrangements of the commandant on behalf of his men made with settlers and storekeepers were strictly private transactions.<sup>14</sup> On FitzRoy's approval of this view, Marshall's list of unpaid accounts and covering letter were referred to the board of enquiry then sitting, but the board had adjourned before these were received.<sup>15</sup>

Wickham, when in Sydney on 10 January 1855, wrote to

the colonial secretary regarding these accounts. He was not in favour of the board of enquiry assembling again to consider them as this would require the attendance of different officers at Brisbane, causing them inconvenience and expense as well as risking the discipline of the corps because troopers would be left under the control of non-commissioned officers. He had no doubt that certain sums on the list were owing and suggested that arrangements be made for their payment in order that the Native Police would not be prevented from performing their duty in consequence of a failure by squatters to supply them with rations.<sup>16</sup>

Wickham's fears were realized. In 1858, the detachment in the Wide Bay district was finding it difficult to get rations at stations. Many persons objected to supplying them, not only on account of their inefficiency but also on account of the non-payment for rations supplied four years previously under Walker's management. Charles Archer before the 1856 Select Committee stated it did not pay a squatter in his district of Port Curtis to provide the police with rations at the prices allowed by the government. He had provided the Native Police with rations for a long time and had lost by it, but was willing enough to do so in consideration of the protection the police afforded him. The storekeepers had refused to supply rations at government rates.<sup>17</sup>

Some supplies ordered by Walker did not reach the Native Police until after Marshall had assumed command. Denison's ruling on 4 September 1855 was that if Marshall had used these stores he of course must pay for them.<sup>18</sup> Payments made personally by the officers for debts incurred on behalf of the police were never refunded to them. Fulford at Wondai Gumbal for instance on 22 August 1854, when forwarding a list of unpaid accounts, reported he had paid £17 to Ogilvie from his own private funds.<sup>19</sup>

It was over fifteen months after Walker's dismissal that the auditor general attended to the accounts unpaid at the time of Walker's suspension from duty. On 29 September 1855 he informed the colonial secretary that Walker had appointed Monday, 1 October to go through the whole of the claims made against him.<sup>20</sup> Walker disapproved of at least one claim: that of surgeon Henry Hort Brown of Gayndah for

£60 being three-quarters of his allowance of £80 per annum as medical attendant of the force. Walker stated he had been frequently informed by the officer in charge at Traylan that Brown had been very remiss in his attendance on the troopers and during the periods mentioned in his claim Brown was absent on an exploring expedition as far north as Peak Range. Ferguson had informed Walker of this. Walker also referred to the loss of life amongst the troopers through sickness.<sup>2 1</sup>

On 8 March 1856, the auditor general received Marshall's report on Walker's explanations and subsequently wrote to the colonial secretary stating that consequently the whole question would receive the earliest possible attention.<sup>2 2</sup>

Walker's disapproval of Brown's claim was sent to Brown who asked for its full payment or the holding of an enquiry into his conduct. Marshall had noted on a copy of Walker's letter that there had been no negligence by Brown nor had he (Marshall) while at Traylan made any complaint against Brown.<sup>2 3</sup> Brown's claim was met and in March 1856 he offered to supply medicines at Gayndah and visit Traylan police barracks occasionally for £40 per annum, payable quarterly.<sup>2 4</sup> Denison approved of Brown's services being retained, his allowance to be charged upon the vote for medical attendance and medicines for the Native Police in the northern districts.<sup>2 5</sup>

Brown stated before the 1856 Select Committee that the highest number of Native Police under his care was during the time of epidemics and influenza when he had fifteen or sixteen at once. The total number of sick throughout the year, in round numbers, was about seventy or eighty and the average number of sick per month was five or six. Brown also stated there was a certain amount of venereal disease among these patients but the principal diseases were epidemics, such as influenza and mumps, which with Aborigines were always of a most serious nature. He thought their mode of life as police was less favourable to longevity than their mode of life in their natural state, on account of their style of clothing and the artificial habits acquired. They wore very warm clothing which they threw off when in a state of perspiration. He recommended a lighter suit of clothing "as near an approximation to their natural habits of life as practicable".<sup>2 6</sup>

Marshall, who while commandant paid the accounts for rations promptly, stated before the 1856 Select Committee that he believed there were claims for a large amount of rations supplied in Walker's time for the Native Police still outstanding and that recently he had been approached by a person to whom "the Government was indebted" to the extent of more than £100.<sup>27</sup> Before the 1858 Select Committee, Alfred Brown of the Wide Bay district referred to claims still unpaid.<sup>28</sup>

Following Walker's dismissal, Denison asked how Walker's successor was to be made to account for any deficiencies and how a better system of accountability could be secured for the future. He thought the commandant should give security for the full amount likely to pass through his hands before his vouchers could be properly audited and passed.<sup>29</sup> The colonial secretary favoured the continuation of the old arrangements but with the commandant being required to give security.<sup>30</sup> The auditor general suggested that the commandant's own bond for £1,000 and those of two sureties for £500 each would be sufficient security for the due accounting of advances. Denison approved of this.<sup>31</sup> Marshall submitted as his sureties his brother S. Y. Marshall of Callandoon and his uncle R. N. King of Buaraba. As a brother was not admissible as a surety, Marshall later named J. C. MacKay of Dalgangal as his second surety.<sup>32</sup>

It had been feared that on Walker's dismissal a number of troopers would leave the force. Marshall, on receiving his appointment as acting commandant, immediately moved to ascertain the position at the various Native Police stations and to end any discontent.

Acting Adjutant Dolan arrived at the Dawson station on 26 October 1854 and found disorder, the men unsettled and doing as they liked. On the day after his arrival Dolan ordered the men to fall in and explained the whole matter to them. Considine had told the men they would have no more officers and the whites could do what they liked to them. Dolan told them that they would be better looked after than when Walker was commandant, that Marshall would see they always got their clothing, rations, and pay every three months, and that he (Dolan) was going to stop with them

himself. The men then said they would not leave. Dolan had mixed the men on the Dawson with the fourth section, dividing the whole into three parties. He asked that supplies of ammunition, shirts, white trousers, boots, and caps, be sent to the fourth and tenth sections on the Dawson in January by Mrs. MacLaren's drays returning from Maryborough via Bouverie's station Mundubbera.<sup>33</sup>

Fulford at Wondai Gumbal had reported that all of the men, excepting four sick, were absent on duty. He did not think any would resign unless Walker or his agent arrived, as the men liked change and were "easily led by the last comer" so that no dependence could be "placed upon them until the last moment". Fulford's own opinion was that it would be a benefit for the old hands to resign as they had been so pampered and indulged by Walker as to render them unfit to do duty with any other officer. Fulford also asked for supplies of clothing as he had not received any clothing for 1854 and no one had had blankets to use for some months past.<sup>34</sup>

Nicoll informed Marshall in Brisbane that the men at Wondai Gumbal had not the slightest intention of leaving the force, that Walker was not popular amongst the troopers raised in the northern districts, and that even those from the Murray were disgusted with Walker's habits of intemperance. Nicoll stated there were then only three troopers who wished to leave and this was irrespective of Walker's being continued or not.<sup>35</sup>

Sub-Lieutenant John O. Bligh, eighth section Yabba, reported that during his absence with half the section on patrol Walker had sent trooper Bunya Jimmy to Yabba. Bunya Jimmy had caused disaffection by telling the troopers that, should the enquiry be unfavourable to Walker, the latter would come to Yabba and take the troopers away with him. Bligh also wrote that his section had been for some time without boots and saddle cloths so, being at Maryborough, he had opened one case addressed to the Native Police at Palmer's store and had supplied himself with ten saddle cloths and the eight pairs of boots the case contained. Bligh also set forth the articles of clothing, harness, and ammunition required by his section.<sup>36</sup>

Sub-Lieutenant Fortescue at Walla reported that the ninth section were contented and happy and not inclined to leave.<sup>37</sup>

Lieutenant John Murray at Port Curtis, who had intended to resign, reported that he would resume his duties with pleasure under Marshall's command. He had experienced difficulty in managing the troopers of his section "owing to some absurd messages sent to them by Mr. Walker".<sup>38</sup> At Gladstone shortly after Walker's dismissal, Murray reported to Government Resident O'Connell that his men, raised by and having a personal attachment to Walker, were leaving to go and report to Walker. O'Connell asked Murray if he thought there would be any use in his speaking to the men and Murray thought it might have some effect. O'Connell put on his uniform and rode out to the Native Police camp where he spoke to the troopers on parade. They told O'Connell they had been promised by Walker that after a certain time they would be taken back to their own country to see their friends and relatives. They had been then five years in the force and were determined to go. O'Connell told them that the country they were serving was then at war with other white people (the war with Russia had commenced) and it was a disgraceful thing on their part to desert at such a time. O'Connell pointed out they were on the coast where the white enemies might attack and that the whites might suffer from want of their aid. The troopers immediately declared that under the circumstances they would remain and even followed O'Connell into Gladstone "to express more strongly their determination to do so". O'Connell then promised the troopers that the government would find them the means of getting back to their own districts on horseback. He reported this promise to FitzRoy and received a confirmation of his pledge.<sup>39</sup>

Before the 1858 Select Committee O'Connell stated that these Aborigines, who were capable of "generous impulses", remained until about two years afterwards. The local force was in the meantime removed from his control. Afterwards the pledge was broken and the men were discharged to find their way on foot to their own country. He believed they committed many depredations on the road.<sup>40</sup>

(Murray also reported such a shortage of ammunition as to cause on one occasion Sergeant Humphrey and trooper Hurly to be left without a single round for three weeks while escorting Stutchbury's teams.)<sup>41</sup>

From Rannes Robert G. Walker reported to Marshall that he had informed the troopers stationed there of the change that had occurred and, far from being disaffected, they had expressed satisfaction.<sup>42</sup>

Troopers from the Rannes and Port Curtis detachments were escorting the teams of the lower Dawson settlers, the brothers Leith Hay and Daniel Connor between Rannes and Gladstone.<sup>43</sup> Three Leith Hay brothers had taken up the station Rannes. Normal Leith Hay in 1857 was a passenger in the *Seabelle* which after sailing from Port Curtis was never seen again. In 1859 James Leith Hay became gold commissioner at Rockhampton. Later he was land commissioner at Bowen and subsequently a member of Queensland's Legislative Assembly. Charles Leith Hay, who later returned to England, before the 1856 Select Committee stated he knew of twelve white people having been murdered in his part of the country. There had never been any murders without subsequent losses of sheep. The Native Police were not established in that district before his taking up residence there and the Aborigines had committed no depredations for eighteen months after the establishment of the police in the district. The murders and depredations subsequently he attributed to the want of a sufficient force and to the misplaced confidence of the squatters in the Aborigines.<sup>44</sup>

Connor, who later formed Princhester station north of the FitzRoy River, was then occupying part of the Rannes run.

On 14 October 1854 at Rannes, Sub-Lieutenant R. G. Walker enquired into the deaths of Aborigines who were shot by one of these Native Police escorts to Gladstone. Timothy O'Brien deposed that he and the Native Police were about a mile and a half ahead of the drays and saw "a great mob of Blacks by the bank of a creek where the Drays must pass". They were armed and "with feathers in their heads". He went with the police in pursuit of them. One of the Aborigines threw a nulla nulla at O'Brien, which missed him but knocked a branch off a tree. The branch hit O'Brien in the



mouth and knocked him off his horse. O'Brien saw one "Blackfellow" shot by the police. The troopers told Walker they found tracks of Aborigines in all directions close to the previous night's camp where the Aborigines tried evidently to ascertain the number of white men with the teams. William Martin deposed that at a camp the Aborigines were in the creek near the dray he was driving. They said something to two Native Police and, he believed, threw some weapon but by reason of the darkness he could not see what it was. He heard a carbine go off. A policeman brought back a coat which he believed belonged to an Aboriginal boy of Willmot's at Port Curtis and two shirts with some spears and nulla nullas. At another camp named Fifer's Camp Martin heard the Aborigines talking. Martin, thinking it was one of Hay's Aboriginal boys, called out Blucher and then called the police who were asleep. The Aborigines made off.<sup>45</sup>

On 18 November 1854 Sub-Lieutenant Walker wrote from Rannes station informing the colonial secretary that a resident of that district, Mr. Connor, who had then just returned from an exploring expedition, had reported that he had seen three horses and a mule — horses branded ID, the mule unbranded — about sixty miles in a westerly direction from Rannes, "which had evidently for a long time been grazing in that neighbourhood and which may have belonged to Dr. Leichhardt and Party". Walker himself had seen old horse tracks not far from the locality alluded to and had questioned an old Aboriginal female of the district. This female had stated that four white men were killed in that direction and also had given many minute details, such as that two bullocks had been killed. Although this did not make Walker at all sanguine about finding the remains of that party, it was still sufficient in his opinion to warrant further investigation. Although he placed little confidence in the Aborigine's statements, he proposed making a short expedition with the Aborigine and a few troopers to endeavour to ascertain the truth of the statement,<sup>46</sup> FitzRoy thought Walker had exercised wise discretion and directed that the description of the horses and the brand and also of the mule be published in the *Gazette* — "thereby drawing the attention of the neighbourhood to the circumstances as



proposed". It was also to be ascertained whether Leichhardt had a cattle brand.<sup>47</sup>

Walker started from Rannes in search of the remains of Dr. Leichhardt's party on 13 December 1854, taking with him three troopers, the Aboriginal female, and two pack horses. He had found it impossible to take more men with him and at the same time maintain the safety of his district as the furthest outstation occupied by Daniel Connor was then ill-equipped with men and Connor was absent. Walker had not proceeded fourteen miles, travelling in a southwest direction on an old track of his own, when one of the troopers who had been in front came back and reported "an immense number of Blacks approaching along the same track". When the Aborigines, numbering about two hundred, came in sight of Walker's party they halted. No females could be seen. Walker realized that these Aborigines intended to attack Connor's station, then undefended. Their collecting in such a great number as this, the absence of females, and their close proximity to the station disclosed this.

When Walker and his small party came close to them the Aborigines formed in two semicircular lines and shouted to come on and fight. One Aborigine then threw a spear and Walker ordered his men to fire. Two of the shots were fatal and the Aborigines fled. After having, as he then considered, thoroughly disposed of the Aborigines, Walker returned to where he had first seen them and burnt a large number of their spare weapons. Several articles such as looking glasses and large quantities of mutton fat were found, indicating that these Aborigines lately had committed depredations. As MacLaren and two men had been murdered recently at the nearest station Walker presumed that the Aborigines had assisted at those murders.

As it was then sundown Walker and his party proceeded to camp but had to travel several miles because of the scarcity of water. To these circumstances Walker later attributed the preservation of the lives of the party. The Aborigines returned and apparently followed the party's tracks until it became dark. They then had to visit all the waterholes in the neighbourhood until they found Walker's party. Although it was considered unlikely that the Aborigines would venture to

attack, Walker and his party kept watch. About two hours before daybreak Walker's men awoke him, saying that the Aborigines were coming. The attackers rushed up "yelling frightfully and commenced throwing their weapons". Walker and his troopers sheltered behind trees and Walker told his men to hold their fire until the attackers approached close or attempted to rush upon them. Using these tactics the attackers were kept at bay until daybreak when Walker and his small party rushed at them, firing "carbines and pistols with fatal precision". The Aborigines then fled.

Two of the troopers were then sent by Walker after the horses. They returned with the two pack horses and one of the saddle horses, reporting that the others had been driven off. One of the troopers was then sent after the remaining horses. They were found about seven or eight miles away and were returned about the middle of the day. All the hobbles on the horses had been broken and Walker's horse was so lame it could hardly walk. Nevertheless Walker and his troopers immediately went in pursuit of their attackers and before night had completely dispersed them. Seven Aborigines were killed and Walker thought several others were so severely wounded that they were unlikely to recover. At the close of the pursuit Walker found all the cartridges had been consumed and as his horse was hardly able to walk he deemed it expedient to return to Rannes.

When making his reports Walker referred to the coolness and courage displayed by the troopers. The depositions of Walker relating to the attack, made before James Leith Hay, were in due course transmitted to Attorney General Plunkett to whom it appeared that the loss of life which had unfortunately occurred was unavoidable and necessary in self-defence.<sup>48</sup>

On 24 October 1854 Halloran, commissioner of crown lands for the Wide Bay and Burnett districts, writing to his chief commissioner from Tinana had reported a "brutal attack . . . committed by the Blacks on Mrs. McCuaig" who resided at Keogum about thirty-six miles from Maryborough. Her husband was out on the run at the time. It appeared to Halloran that "after ill-using her son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, an Aboriginal struck Mrs. McCuaig repeatedly

with the back part of an axe, breaking three of her ribs and inflicting other serious injuries". Supposing her dead, the man then robbed the house and decamped. Halloran, who understood from a medical man that Mrs. McCuaig was likely to recover, wrote that he intended proceeding to Keogum that day to take her deposition and place the warrant for the apprehension of the Aborigine in the hands of Lieutenant Bligh who was then in town. Halloran also reported in the same letter that, whilst he was at Toomcul on 19 October, a messenger in passing to the police station at Yabba had informed him that Mr. McTaggart had been beaten by the Aborigines. From what he had learned from Aborigines Halloran had no doubt that a Mr. Denty, a passenger on the *Ningpo* when that vessel was wrecked shortly before then and who with part of the crew had landed near Wide Bay, had been murdered by Aborigines whilst making his way to Maryborough. Halloran stated that an Aborigine on the day previous to his writing had offered two half-sovereigns at a store for some flour and was probably one of the party who had murdered Denty. Halloran added that robberies by Aborigines were occurring very frequently and their outrages were becoming of a most serious character.<sup>49</sup>

Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands Barney had informed Halloran by letter that in cases of this class he should communicate with the commandant of the Native Police as he did not see how the governor could do anything further in the matter.<sup>50</sup>

From 1 January 1855 Marshall remained at Traylan. He was the only officer of the Native Police in the Burnett district. On 9 February 1855, his appointment as commandant was confirmed.<sup>51</sup> He had assumed command of a force short of supplies and which, despite the reports made by the officers earlier, proved to be unsettled. Settlers were looking to him for the overdue payment of debts incurred by Walker on behalf of the force. He was not to be given the opportunity he wished to bring the force to its former state of efficiency.

On 2 January 1855, Dolan at the Dawson River station wrote to Marshall again referring to Frederick Walker's letters to Sergeant Walker and Corporal Edward before the com-

mandant's suspension from duty. Dolan requested Marshall to take steps to prevent the former commandant from tampering with the Native Police as Dolan feared it would be beyond his power to keep the men together as they were then very unsettled. If the Native Police were removed, Dolan was confident that neither life nor property would be safe in the Dawson country where a number of murders had been committed by the Aborigines. Dolan thought that if the police were disbanded and let loose on the community it would be difficult to say whether they would return to their old way of procuring themselves food or whether they would live by plunder and constant warfare on the whites. Dolan thought the latter most likely as their term in the police had made the troopers knowing and bolder. They also had been taught the use of firearms so that it would be dangerous to let the troopers go at large.<sup>5 2</sup> In course of time Dolan's fears were realized.

On 15 January 1855 Dolan reported he was short of horses and needed clothing, ammunition, and saddlery for the two sections on the Dawson. He sent to Marshall several accounts incurred by the police and unpaid by the former commandant. Dolan then had just returned to the Dawson barracks after visiting the stations of Frasers, Sandeman, King, Roche, and Rogers, as well as Bungaban and Cockatoo. The Aborigines were quiet and some were shepherding on those stations where they were allowed in. In consequence, Dolan reported, confidence was restored to the working class and wages had gone down 30 per cent since his arrival on the Dawson. Sergeant Walker had brought in a tribe to Juandah station and the Aborigines were found useful while they remained. However, no Aborigines remained long at the stations "from some fear of the whites or the Police". Throughout the district, the Aborigines were watching the movements of the police.<sup>5 3</sup>

On 2 March 1855 Dolan still was asking for clothing, blankets, ball cartridges, and a few horses. He also requested that the two sections on the Dawson be built up to their proper strength so as to be able to render protection to all the stations. New country north of Palm Tree Creek was being occupied and he reported that those settlers "will

require more protection than stations inside that creek which have been formed for years". Dolan also asked that an officer be sent to command on the Dawson as he had acquired an interest in the station on which was situated the police headquarters for the district. He thought the presence of an officer would prevent people saying he gave more protection to his own neighbourhood than others.<sup>54</sup>

On 29 April 1855 Lieutenant Nicoll, who had taken over the Dawson command, reported the desertion of troopers Paul, Brummy, and Jimmy Eaton while at Marydale station. There were then only twelve Native Police in the two sections on the river although he thought twenty-four were required to protect the district. For want of a barrack, these twelve men were quartered at those stations where they could obtain rations. This seriously inconvenienced settlers who could not meet the constant drain on their stores. Nicoll pointed out that the men needed clothing and had not received their pay of threepence daily per man since Walker's suspension. This could not be understood by the men as the Native Police at Wondai Gumbal had their pay. He added that in the event of any outrage committed by the Aborigines the police force on the Dawson would be unavailable in consequence of being entirely destitute of ammunition.<sup>55</sup>

At Wondai Gumbal Fulford, as early as 12 January 1855, drew Marshall's attention to the unserviceable state of the saddlery and accompaniments which had been patched and stuffed so many times. There was hardly a saddle cloth at the station, but with or without cloths it was impossible to keep the horses' backs sound.<sup>56</sup> On 23 February 1855, Fulford asked how the rations for women belonging to the police could be obtained. He could save from the men's pay and allowance when on the station and patrol sufficient to keep a certain number of women, but if he showed the full amount of men's rations as being drawn the settlers' accounts would not coincide with his returns. Fulford also disclaimed responsibility for the rations delivered at Wondai Gumbal as he did not consider it part of his duty as an officer of police to serve out rations and to be a storekeeper. On making up his store account from 1 January 1852 to 30 September 1854, Fulford had found he would require an allowance of

nearly 20 per cent on all the articles served out to make up for the deficiencies through dirty articles, spillings and wastings, tear of bags, and other causes. He asked for the appointment permanently at Wondai Gumbal of a man as barrack sergeant and storekeeper.<sup>57</sup>

From Yabba Sub-Lieutenant Bligh on 13 February 1855 reported the mutinous conduct of Corporal Donald and trooper Dick. The latter had been ordered to search for horses but instead had gone hunting kangaroos with the Aborigines. Bligh later had ordered Dick to get his carbine and walk sentry. Dick had refused to get up from where he was lying. Bligh then had threatened to handcuff Dick who jumped up with a nulla nulla under his arm and dared Bligh to do so. Dick came close to Bligh who pushed him off and told him to go away. Dick then threw Bligh on the ground. Corporal Donald, joining Dick, then threatened to put handcuffs on Bligh, telling Bligh he was not his officer and that Walker had told them that if Bligh "bounced" them they were to do so in return.<sup>58</sup> Donald lived ten days only after this occurrence. On 2 April Bligh reported to Marshall that Donald had died on 23 March from the effects of dysentery.<sup>59</sup>

From Rannes Sub-Lieutenant Walker reported on 1 March 1855 that a party had left that district some time previously to look for runs for stock in the unoccupied country northwards and were then some days beyond the time they had specified for their return. Walker stated that having four troopers only under his command, two being absent on escort duty and two proceeding to Traylan, it would be impossible for him to take any steps to ascertain their fate and also perform his duty in the Rannes district. In any case, Walker added, it would be impossible to track them. Walker referred to the rashness of any small party proceeding into the interior where Aborigines were both numerous and hostile.<sup>60</sup>

Lieutenant John Murray at Port Curtis wrote on 22 March 1855, reporting to the government resident at Moreton Bay that trooper Edwin had absconded from his division about three months previously. Murray added that he had been informed that Edwin was killed in the neighbourhood of

Gladstone by Aborigines whom Edwin had joined for the purpose of keeping out of Murray's way. Sergeant Humphrey of the Port Curtis division, after receiving an advance of pay by sanction of the governor general to proceed to Brisbane, had deserted while there.<sup>61</sup>

Shortly after Marshall's appointment as commandant, a reduction in the numerical strength of the force from one hundred and thirty-six to seventy-two men was proposed to him. He opposed it. Marshall pointed out the impropriety of taking such a step and explained that seventy-two men were not adequate to protect the country. He considered that with seventy-two men he would have to make war on the Aborigines whereas a larger force would act as a preventive and save the lives not only of the white population but of the Aborigines also.<sup>62</sup>

Marshall's statement was unheeded by the government. As Marshall had not favoured the reduction, the force was placed in the middle of 1855 under the inspector general of police at Sydney, Captain William Colburne Mayne, and the office of commandant was abolished.<sup>63</sup> The official reason for this action was revealed by Captain Mayne before the 1856 Select Committee:

I think the means of communication with the central authority in Sydney are very nearly as great as for communicating with any Commandant. In fact, it being known that the central authority can always be communicated with, and is always there, presents a facility which does not exist in the other case, because the "locus in quo" of the Commandant could never be known to any of the officers of the Force. My view is that there is nothing to prevent the Corps being directed in the same way as the Mounted Police Corps was directed, each officer being made strictly responsible for his own command in his own district, but being compelled to act in co-operation and in unity with the officers in contiguous districts.<sup>64</sup>

Marshall was then offered the post of senior officer of the force at a reduction of salary. This he declined. In August 1855 he tendered his resignation. However, he continued to carry out as a lieutenant most of his former duties until some months later when he was informed by the inspector general that he had ceased to be an officer of the force from 31 December 1855.<sup>65</sup>

Marshall then continued to remain at Traylan carrying out

the duties of an officer in charge of Native Police in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts "to merely keep the men together" although he received no pay for those services. During that time, although there was no officer stationed in those districts, he found no occasion to take any active steps against the Aborigines. He stated before the 1856 Select Committee that if there had been need to do this, he would have acted as a magistrate but not as an officer of the force.<sup>66</sup> On 16 April 1856 he was relieved by Lieutenant Morisset.<sup>67</sup>

Marshall then became a stockholder on the Macintyre River in partnership with his brother Sampson Marshall and possibly another brother Harry. They bought Umbercollie station from Dynes. There Richard P. Marshall lived until it was sold in the 1860s to Bell and Hyde. He then lived at Carcoran, a farm close to Goondiwindi. Appointed police magistrate at Goondiwindi he occupied that office until his death on 15 August 1872 at the age of fifty-four years.<sup>68</sup>

In the northern districts of the colony the first half of 1855 had been a period of relative peace in the areas patrolled by the Native Police. The reduction in strength of the force which had seen some of the best men disbanded, including those obtained from the Macintyre and the Balonne, was followed by desertions of troopers from time to time. Aborigines increased their attacks.



# 13

## A Policy to Partially Disband

Early in 1855 several persons named Walker appear in the Colonial Office correspondence relating to the Native Police. After Frederick Walker's dismissal Lieutenant Robert G. Walker and Sergeant A. Walker were still in the force. The name of the postmaster at Gayndah was Walker. Another was Henry Walker of Wide Bay who applied for appointment as an officer in the Native Police. He was informed that under the government's policy to partly disband the force no hope could be held out of his appointment.<sup>1</sup> On 13 February 1856 following attacks by Aborigines on stations in the Port Curtis district he was appointed a sub-lieutenant but soon resigned.<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards from Traylan on 4 April 1856, and for reasons unknown, he claimed a reward of one hundred pounds for finding and opening a dray road between the upper Dawson valley and Port Curtis. He had signed the latter which was in Frederick Walker's handwriting. He was informed that no reward had been offered.<sup>3</sup>

Following information received by Marshall at Traylan that the Aborigines in the Wide Bay district were causing trouble, Sub-Lieutenant Fortescue from Walla Native Police station visited the area after the Burnett River, swollen by recent floods, had fallen sufficiently to cross. Fortescue wrote his report on 19 June 1855 after returning to Walla.<sup>4</sup>

Fortescue had found the Aborigines generally quiet although on one run he was shown a beast killed some time previously. A search extending over six days had found no Aborigines on the run. Four troopers, Sambo, Johnny Brisbane, Duncan, and Sambo's brother Billy Le Bot, had

deserted while Fortescue's section was at Maryborough. There Fortescue was forced to leave two other troopers under the doctor's care. All of the section, including himself, had been sick from colds. Aborigines in the district had beaten a Bert Evans and Fortescue pursued the attackers, coming up with them after three days. The Aborigines ran but one was killed by the section. Owing to the saturated state of the country and also the illness of members of the section further pursuit was abandoned. Fortescue reported he was so unwell that he had been forced to get off his horse every mile or two and lie down for a few minutes.

During Fortescue's absence on patrol, four Aborigines had attacked and beaten a Chinaman on the Browns' station Gin Gin. The Chinaman died several days afterwards. The brothers Brown with an Aborigine of their station as tracker pursued the attackers but did not locate them. Fortescue arrived at Gin Gin station about eight days after the occurrence of the attack on the Chinaman. Rain meanwhile had obliterated all tracks. Fortescue and his section travelled over the country where the attackers were supposed to be as far as the salt water then up to Landsborough's station Westholm. No Aborigines were seen. On returning to Gin Gin station, Fortescue was told by Brown that an Aborigine would take him to where the wanted Aborigines were. Fortescue returned to Walla for fresh horses and started out again but their guide could not locate those pursued. After three days "beating about the bush", during which the highest trees were climbed to look for smoke, the search was abandoned. Fortescue then returned to Walla.

In 1855 a detachment was withdrawn from the strength of the Native Police in the Wide Bay and Burnett districts and stationed in the Brisbane district. Government Resident Wickham had asked for this protection for the settlers from the depredations of Aborigines in April 1854 and Commissioner of Crown Lands Simpson in his annual report made in December 1854 had suggested as a remedy "for an occasional atrocity committed... on the sea coast" the occasional occupation of the Bribie and Fraser's Islands by the Native Police force. On 2 March 1855, following a recommendation by Wickham for funds for the purpose, approval

had been given for the employment of a sergeant and six troopers in the district. These men were to be selected by the commandant and forwarded to Brisbane at his earliest convenience. The command of the detachment, for the want of a sergeant, was given to Sub-Lieutenant Keen who, following his suspension by Walker, had been continued in rank but not in command of a detachment in order to have another opportunity of learning his duty at headquarters under a superior officer.<sup>5</sup>

On 6 August 1855, Keen reported to Wickham that for the purpose of executing a warrant signed by W. A. Duncan, J.P., for the apprehension of an Aborigine called Dick for a capital offence, he had proceeded with five troopers to the German station (now Nundah). There he was informed the offender was with Aborigines camped nearby. He separated his men to surround the camp and succeeded in apprehending Dick who was brought to Brisbane and confined to the lockup. However one of his troopers had reported to Keen that he had been attacked by some Aborigines armed with nulla nullas. One Aborigine after throwing a nulla nulla was shot by the trooper and was thought by the trooper to have been killed.<sup>6</sup>

Subsequently Wickham reported to the colonial secretary that on his sending for the trooper who understood and spoke English well, he was informed that the nulla nulla would have knocked the trooper off his horse had the trooper not stooped his head to avoid it. The Aborigine was in the act of throwing another when shot. Wickham then had directed Keen to search for the body of the Aborigine and endeavour to ascertain whether he was dead or only wounded. Keen was unable to gain any information beyond seeing blood at the place pointed out by the trooper where the incident occurred.<sup>7</sup> The governor general did not see that anything could be done in the matter as it was not known whether any person was shot.<sup>8</sup>

On 22 April 1856, after the withdrawal from the district of Keen's detachment, the Colonial Secretary's Office acknowledged receipt of a memorial from certain inhabitants of Moreton Bay praying that an enquiry be instituted with a view to obtaining protection from the Aborigines.<sup>9</sup> The government resident at Brisbane was informed on 19 May

1856 that there were no means at the government's disposal to supply a force for that purpose but instructions had been given to Lieutenant Morisset then in command of the Burnett and Wide Bay division to patrol the disturbed portion of the Moreton Bay district whenever it was possible for him to do so.<sup>10</sup>

Sub-Lieutenants Keen and Fortescue were amongst those officers to be retired under the policy of reduction of the force. In October 1855 they were allowed to continue until the vacancies of sergeants in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts could be filled.<sup>11</sup>

From Yabba in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts Lieutenant Bligh was sent to take charge of the Clarence River detachment. Upon his departure, Marshall at Traylan was the only officer left in those districts. Bligh before leaving left twelve men at a station of McTaggart's. The latter had promised to ration them. Without an officer in charge these troopers did just as they liked and after two or three months some deserted. It was later alleged that these deserters were responsible for an attack on a woman while they were proceeding through the Macintyre River area.<sup>12</sup>

Marshall on 1 August 1855 had been forced to discharge some nineteen troopers at Traylan. These men were recruited from the Wide Bay district shortly after he commenced as commandant but he found there was no provision made for their pay and rations. When discharging them he reported they had returned to Maryborough where he had recruited them. He had found them in rations only until they reached Gayndah. These men had been on drill at Traylan and he thought it was better to dismiss them in preference to the more experienced troopers. He thought by reason of their training they would be found by the person who employed them in future more obedient than any other employee. The men discharged were allowed to retain their police clothes. Later it was ascertained they posed as policemen and were supplied with rations at different stations where they were believed.<sup>13</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman, who was short of troopers, met Marshall on the road near Auburn and Marshall transferred to him four Native Police who were due for dis-

missal.<sup>14</sup> On 25 September 1855 Wiseman wrote officially to Marshall from Auburn asking him to retain four of the best troopers to be dismissed for him. Wiseman also applied to the government to allow this. He was later required to return those transferred by Marshall in order that they be included in the Native Police dismissed.<sup>15</sup> Sub-Lieutenant Walker at Rannes sent Sergeant Logan and trooper Jim Crow to recover the troopers from Wiseman.<sup>16</sup>

It was later alleged that the partial disbanding of the Native Police had a bad effect in that the Aboriginal tribesmen saw them going away.<sup>17</sup> One of the causes of inefficiency attributed to the Native Police before the 1858 Select Committee was that men had been selected from districts too near the scene of their employment.<sup>18</sup> These men, being near their own tribes, were constantly running away to Aborigines who, through them, were acquainted with many of Native Police tactics. Even though some remained with the police they carried on an intercourse with the tribes from which they were taken. If enlisted from a distance the men became good troopers on account of the strange tribes they would have to pass through to return to their own country. This had been Frederick Walker's plan. W. B. Tooth said: "If you can get men that the tribes have a down upon, they will be true, because they know that if they leave you the tribes will kill them."<sup>19</sup> Communication by troopers with neighbouring tribes was considered desirable so long as the tribes were not allowed near the police camp. It was also thought wise that troopers did not know of future movements of the force.<sup>20</sup>

Marshall, before the 1856 Select Committee, stated that in the Burnett district for ten months previous to the reduction of the force not a single murder had been committed, but in four months after the reduction not less than eleven lives were sacrificed.<sup>21</sup>

It was believed that future attacks on stations were materially assisted by those who had been in the force. It was thought by some that the men discharged, being well acquainted with the strength and the distribution of the Native Police, returned to their tribes and assisted them in their depredations by giving this information.<sup>22</sup> It is a fact

that after a period sufficient to allow the Wide Bay recruits to return to their tribes depredations in that area increased considerably.

At the end of 1855 Commissioner of Crown Lands Halloran at Maryborough wrote to his chief commissioner reporting murders by Aborigines which had caused buildings in course of erection to come to a standstill from want of timber. The sawyers refused to work in the scrubs, considering their lives in danger. On 15 December about thirty persons including sawyers "feeling the insecurity of both life and property from the daring lately exhibited by the blacks" left Maryborough for Sydney by steamer. Halloran attributed this in a great measure to the want of the protection by the Native Police. Marshall had informed him that generally through the country the Aborigines thought that the force was to be entirely broken up. Halloran anticipated "still further aggressions of an equally serious character with those so recently perpetrated unless a portion of Native Police are immediately and permanently stationed at Maryborough".<sup>2 3</sup> Halloran's list of depredations and outrages for the months of November and December 1855 reveal:

- |      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| Nov. | 7  | Mr. White's house robbed of a quantity of flour.   |
|      | 9  | Mr. Palmer's store robbed of tobacco.  |
|      | 12 | Cahill's dray robbed of 200 lbs. of flour.   |
|      | 13 | Mr. Hughes's dray robbed of 200 lbs. of flour and a quantity of rations.   |
|      | 18 | Mr. Melville's house robbed of 60 lbs. of sugar and 45 lbs. of flour.  |
|      | 19 | James Greeten's house robbed of tea, sugar and flour. Thomas McCruddin robbed of 100 lbs. of sugar and 48 lbs. of flour.   |
|      | 22 | J. Church robbed of wearing apparel and rations. Mrs. Gadd laundress robbed of a quantity of linen and clothes.  |
|      | 25 | Mr. Reid's dray robbed of 70 lbs. of flour.  |
|      | 26 | Two of Mr. Reid's walking bullocks speared.  |
|      | 27 | J. Dowdle speared by the Blacks. Denny and McCarty beaten and ill-used by the Blacks and robbed of blankets, clothing, 145 lbs. of flour, 45 lbs. of beef, 50 lbs. of sugar, 2 lbs. of tea and a quantity of cooking utensils. |
|      | 28 | James Western robbed of four sovereigns and beaten.  |
| Dec. | 2  | Walsh's dray robbed.   |
|      | 5  | George Furber <sup>24</sup> and W. Wilmhurst murdered and a large quantity of rations, blankets, clothing and tomahawks stolen.  |

- 6 Michael Joyce — nearly murdered — being left for dead in his hut and robbed of rations, clothing, etc.
- 7 Dowzer and Palmer's store broken into and robbed.
- 8 Mr. Uhr's house and garden robbed.
- 9 Commissioner of Crown Lands [Halloran] garden robbed.
- 10 Herbert's drays robbed of 800 lbs. of sugar and 600 lbs. of flour.
- 11 Martin's house entered.
- 17 Mr. Landrigan's house entered and robbed at night.
- 18 J. Atkin's (carrier) dray robbed of a quantity of sugar and flour.
- 19 J. Leitch's house entered and robbed during the night.
- 20 Mrs. Bennett assaulted and her head cut with a tomahawk.
- 21 Mr. Uhr's store attempted to be broken into.
- 22 Power's store entered and robbed.<sup>25</sup>

Halloran on 5 December 1855 wrote to Marshall at Traylan seeking assistance.<sup>26</sup> Marshall replied stating he had no officer at Traylan and only four available troopers in barracks. The others were on patrol at the head of the Burnett under the command of a native corporal.<sup>27</sup> Marshall stated before the 1856 Select Committee that early in 1856 when he had ceased to be an officer, on receiving a complaint that the Aborigines had congregated in large numbers at a particular spot, he had sent out a party of Native Police without a white leader. He told the men to ride up there and tell the Aborigines to go quietly away.<sup>28</sup> Marshall informed Halloran it would be of no use his applying to the Yabba station as Lieutenant Bligh had been sent to the Clarence by the inspector general, thus leaving the Wide Bay and Burnett districts without either officer or sergeant. Immediately upon the arrival of an officer at either Traylan or Yabba, Marshall would instruct that a party of police be sent to Maryborough without delay.<sup>29</sup>

On 23 December 1855 Edgar Thomas Aldridge — who stated he was the first white man in Maryborough, selecting the site of the township at his own cost and risk in 1848, and was in 1855 the largest individual proprietor of purchased land in the districts of Wide Bay and Burnett — petitioned the governor general for assistance. He referred to the recent depredations in the district and asked for the removal of a

land regulation which prohibited the cutting and taking of timber at a less distance than five miles from the town. His men had come to town refusing to work save in or near there for fear of being either murdered or robbed. As the object of the regulation was to preserve the timber nearby for the use of the future township Denison saw no reason to alter the rule.<sup>30</sup>

Inspector General of Police Mayne on 25 October 1855 forwarded to the colonial secretary a letter from Marshall suggesting the substitution of a third class of officer in the Native Police Force in lieu of sergeant to receive the same rate of pay and the same allowances as those given to the white sergeants. The holders of the new office were to discharge precisely the same duties as a sergeant. Marshall also suggested that the nomenclature of the three grades of officers be lieutenants, second lieutenants, and sub-lieutenants.<sup>31</sup> As the changes recommended did not incur a greater expense they were agreed to.<sup>32</sup> In later years the rank of camp sergeant was instituted.

In the Darling Downs district during 1855 the Aborigines with one exception had not come under the notice of Commissioner of Crown Lands A. W. Manning. The exception was a case where Manning believed the offence was committed in retaliation for injuries previously received. Manning estimated the number of Aborigines then belonging to the Condamine, Macintyre, and Severn Rivers at five hundred. Their habits did not bring them into contact with Europeans. They appeared averse to labour of any kind and could seldom be induced to remain in one place for more than a day or two. Even the townships and public houses were seldom visited by them although when there they "exhibited the same craving for ardent spirits, as was noticeable generally throughout the Colony". Among themselves Manning added "they were constantly engaged in bloody feud or in seeking opportunities of revengeful retaliation".<sup>33</sup>

In the Maranoa district Commissioner of Crown Lands Henry Boyle, who had succeeded Whitty at Surat, stated in his annual report for 1855 that the Aborigines continued to exhibit those strong feelings of hostility to the white men which had characterized them in former years. On the other



hand, Boyle wrote, there had been a gradual improvement in the domestic habits and moral condition of a considerable number of those Aborigines employed in and about the stations. Amongst them were "the best stockmen and shepherds to be found anywhere".<sup>34</sup>

On Tuesday, 13 March 1855, James Bennett, overseer of Ferrett's station Wallann, went to another station of Ferrett's at Bogandilla. That evening he sent William Gillies, overseer of Bogandilla, from the head station to a sheep station seven miles down the creek, which was occupied by Michael Byrnes (or Burns), his wife Anne, and their Son. On Gillies's return, he reported to Bennett there were about thirty Aborigines camped near Byrnes's hut and four or five of them were in and about the hut. An Aborigine called Dicky, found leaning against the door post, was generally considered to have been one of the Aborigines who had killed a former occupier of Bogandilla named Kettle. Gillies had found no women or children with these Aborigines, which had made him sure they had come to do some mischief. Consequently he had ordered them off the station and had told Byrnes this and also on no account to allow them to come into or near the hut. Bennett, on hearing this, decided he would go down next morning and drive them away.

About eleven o'clock that night Byrnes's son came to the head station and stated that, on his coming home with the sheep, he had found his mother and father lying dead on the floor of the hut. They had been stripped of clothing. All the bedding, clothes, and rations in the hut had been carried away. Early next morning Bennett and Gillies went to the hut and viewed the dead bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Byrnes. Although the hut had been robbed no sheep were taken. Gillies then started for the Native Police station at Wondai Gumbal, but losing his way, did not arrive there until that evening. Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll, who had just returned from a patrol, after mustering some fresh horses, left Wondai Gumbal with Gillies and several troopers. They arrived at Bogandilla between three and four o'clock in the morning. After resting his party for three hours, Nicoll proceeded to the hut where he found the bodies of Byrnes and his wife lying on the floor and "frightfully mutilated".

Byrnes apparently had been sitting at one end of the table reading a book. The back of his head had been beaten in with a nulla nulla. It appeared that he had made an effort to rise up and had fallen backwards upsetting his chair. "His feet were scarcely removed from the position they had occupied between the table and overturned chair." The Aborigines subsequently had punctured a small wound in his windpipe but Nicoll "could not say with what instrument".

Mrs. Byrnes had been occupied in needlework at the other end of the table. She had been sitting in an angle of the wall formed by the fireplace behind her and to her left. She had been killed by an axe which had stood in the fireplace. Evidently she had jumped up to assist her husband and, when no longer sheltered by the corner in which she had been sitting, was struck in the face with the axe. She had been knocked back against the upright post forming the corner of the chimney and then, staggering into the middle of the room, was struck again in the face with the axe. There she had fallen dead on her face. She had her thimble on her finger. Her scissors she apparently had retained until she was in the act of falling for they were under her and had made an indentation in the floor of the hut. Her reel of thread lay beside her and a small piece of lace which she had been mending lay on the table which was opposite to the door. Nicoll considered the Aborigines "must have been suffered to come into the hut and proceeded to the fireplace where they had possessed themselves of the axe and had attacked their victims simultaneously. The nulla nulla lay beside the man's body and was covered with human hair and portions of skin. The axe covered with blood lay in the fireplace, evidently thrown there after the deed was committed. The Aborigines had cut and ripped off the clothes of the murdered man and woman but had not moved the bodies". Nicoll reported: "The want of common prudence shown by these unfortunate people is most unaccountable." Gillies had stated "he most distinctly told them of their danger and pointed out a notorious murderer to them". Nicoll, on 25 November 1854 when calling at Byrnes's hut, had warned Mrs. Byrnes "on no account to allow Blacks to enter the hut, when she said that she and her husband were old hands and knew better than to

let any strange Blacks enter the door”.

At eleven o'clock, after the bodies were “decently interred”, Nicoll started on the track of the murderers. For the first ten miles articles, including Byrnes's ration book taken from the hut, were found at intervals of a few miles. On 16 March Nicoll met on the track Lieutenant Fulford who had started that day from Wondai Gumbal and had travelled up Yulbar Creek. Nicoll and Fulford previously had arranged to form two parties in pursuit, in case the Aborigines had left the scene of the murders in more than one body. On the 16th and 17th they followed the tracks through very dense scrub and broken country. On the afternoon of the 17th, Fulford and Nicoll separated to search a very scrubby and broken hill “on the Dawson waters”. Nicoll followed the track of Dicky, which could not be mistaken from the “great size of his foot”. Nicoll's troopers had spread out. Nicoll, on hearing shots to his right, proceeded in that direction and arrived at a camp just deserted by Dicky and two Aboriginal females. Dicky's red shirt, which was identified by Bennett, lay on the ground beside two bags filled with gowns, caps, vests, trousers and other articles that had belonged to Byrnes and his wife. In one bag was £1 10s. 0d. in money and a sheep muster of Byrnes. Nicoll then heard shots in the direction that Dicky had run. Later, the troopers on returning said it was impossible to take Dicky and he was shot. On proceeding to that spot, Nicoll found nothing but a pool of blood and traces of his lying there. The troopers on examining the ground, said he had been carried off on a sheet of bark. Nicoll did not know whether Dicky had escaped or not “as he may only have feigned death”.

From that time the united parties of Fulford and Nicoll did not come on any tracks whatever. As Nicoll was suffering from “fever and ague” which was getting worse, Fulford advised him to go back to the barracks. After Nicoll had left for Wondai Gumbal, Fulford continued the search but the Aborigines responsible for the murder of Michael and Anne Byrnes had vanished.<sup>35</sup>

Lieutenant Fulford, in command at Wondai Gumbal and generally regarded as an able officer,<sup>36</sup> reported to Marshall on 5 July 1855 that he had received some clothing for the

Native Police there but asked whether he was to consider it as due for 1854 or for 1855. The station was still due for twenty-three pairs of white trousers for 1853. The clothing received was not in good order. Several pairs of trousers were very moth-eaten and two pairs were entirely useless, having nearly the whole of the front eaten out. One jacket appeared to have been worn for some length of time. Nearly all the boots were too large for the men and some nine pairs had been nearly destroyed by white ants. Corporal Billy and trooper Neddy still were without boots. Fulford had received clothing only for twenty-one men of the twenty-five on the station, and since then trooper Owen and three recruits Percy, Tommy, and Bingi had arrived from the Dawson. He asked how these men were to be clothed. Fulford had received a request from Graham, who had resigned from the force six months previously, for the clothing due to him up to 31 December 1854. Fulford later sent this clothing to Graham. He also had received a request from Sergeant Walker for part of the clothing due to him up to 31 December 1855. Fulford had received only seven hundred ball cartridges and he asked how long was this ammunition to last as it was impossible for the men to practice ball firing. He also stated the men were entirely without saddle cloths and through shortage of horses two troopers were "as good as dismounted". Finally, Fulford suggested that in future the colonial storekeeper in Sydney be directed to pack up articles for Wondai Gumbal station separately and have them forwarded to Brisbane to the care of Walter Gray and Co. or some other storekeeper in Ipswich. This would enable the station to obtain articles before they had been picked over or even used by other portions of the force.<sup>37</sup>

On 8 August 1855 Fulford forwarded to Marshall the accounts of Wondai Gumbal police station for the quarter ended 30 June 1855 with a meticulous report on the rations drawn. Money had not been expended as rations had been in short supply. By reason of continued wet weather Fulford doubted there were two tons of flour in all that part of the country and some of the stations had not a single pound. At Wondai Gumbal rice had been served out in lieu of flour. Fulford had received three ration books by the post and two

by the cart from the Dawson but he had received no instructions relative to their use.<sup>38</sup>

By 8 October 1855 Sub-Lieutenant Nicoll was in charge at Wondai Gumbal. Nicoll wrote on that date informing Marshall that Fulford was in a "very alarming state and confined to bed being unable to retain any food whatever in his stomach and a constant and violent bleeding at his nose continuing unabated". Nicoll, through the kindness of Wilson of Wambo, had procured a carriage for Fulford and hoped his duties would not prevent his accompanying Fulford to Myall Creek where he had heard there was medical attention.<sup>39</sup> Fulford subsequently died.

On 25 October 1855 Nicoll sent to Marshall a salary abstract for the late Lieutenant Fulford. He asked to be put in possession of the balance of Fulford's public account to enable him to pay the troopers at Wondai Gumbal as he was without funds, either public or private. He also asked that the pay and allowances due for the previous quarter to Sergeant Fitzgerald on the Dawson and Sergeant Walker at Wondai Gumbal be placed to his credit without delay.<sup>40</sup>

On 19 November 1855 Francis Nicoll was appointed a lieutenant in the place of Lieutenant Fulford deceased.<sup>41</sup> Wondai Gumbal appears to have been the least affected by the general reduction in the strength of the force. On 22 January 1856 Nicoll's complete division of twelve men consisted of Boney, Billy, Larry, Walter, Robin Hood, Jingle, Neddy, Mullarney, Cato, Robert, Blucher, and Goondally.<sup>42</sup>

Nicoll before returning to Wondai Gumbal had been in command on the Dawson where he had taken over from Adjutant Dolan. From there he had reported, on 6 July 1855, that although the district as then occupied was small the frontier was great. He asked that the Dawson force be made up to seventeen men as three parties of Native Police were necessary for the district, two for patrol, and one for barracks. He added that as long as the native troopers were allowed only one horse one-third of his men always would be in barracks.

He also reported that Aborigines had robbed a hut on King's station Taroom "under the very nose of the Native Police". He had tracked the Aborigines for two days with

only Corporal Edward and an Aboriginal boy Philip but had not overtaken them. Nicoll in this report stated that should he be given the command of the Macleay detachment he would willingly take the twelve most insubordinate, mutinous, and unmanageable men off Marshall's hands.<sup>43</sup>

Nicoll's reports to Marshall from the upper Dawson during the months of July to September 1855 are lengthy and detailed. He claimed he was building a police station himself owing to the impossibility of procuring adequate workmen. He named this station "Waadingerrie".<sup>44</sup> Included in his reports are a request for a direction as to the disposal of two horses owned by Frederick Walker and left at Palm Tree Creek,<sup>45</sup> and a request for the reservation of a portion of land on the upper Dawson for the use of the Native Police.<sup>46</sup> Marshall, in recommending Nicoll's request for a reserve, stated that a temporary barrack had been erected on Palm Tree Creek and the reserve would prevent the men off duty loitering at the different stations with its injurious effects.<sup>47</sup> Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman of the Leichhardt district recommended the adoption of the boundaries for the reserve as suggested by Nicoll and Marshall, but suggested that the sergeant in charge of the troopers be compelled to stay at the quarters provided for him to see that the grass on the reserve was kept really for the use of the government horses.<sup>48</sup> Denison approved of Wiseman's recommendation on 26 May 1856.<sup>49</sup>

Nicoll stated before the 1856 Select Committee that the horses of the force had nothing but bush feed which was not very plentiful at times. The horses loose in the bush were constantly missing. He did not think there was a paddock at any Native Police station unless Murray had one at Port Curtis. For these reasons he thought the force should have a "good number of horses".<sup>50</sup>

A report by Nicoll from the upper Dawson on 26 August 1855 is recorded as it relates to trooper Toby who appears to have been one of the murderers of Fanny Briggs at Rockhampton in 1860. On 26 August 1855, Nicoll reported to Marshall that he had forwarded trooper Toby to Traylan. Toby by telling a falsehood had managed to leave Sergeant Fitzgerald's patrol. Then with carbine in hand he had

endeavoured to remove a gin from Kinnoul. Nicoll stated he had been repeatedly on the point of putting Toby in irons for "outrageous conduct". The day before Nicoll wrote his report Toby, after throwing a nulla nulla at Rodney, had broken his own head with it. Toby thought that would be an excuse for not proceeding to headquarters. Toby also had suggested to others the selling of government boots to shepherds in the district.<sup>51</sup>

On 30 August 1855 Nicoll wrote asking Marshall to inform him to whom the greyhound that followed the Traylan dray belonged. Billy, one of troopers sent from Traylan then recently, had sold the dog and appropriated the proceeds without informing any of the policemen of his intention. Nicoll had told Billy the price obtained for the dog would be deducted from his pay and meanwhile had taken possession of the dog.<sup>52</sup>

Under the government's policy of reduction of the force the strength of the detachment on the upper Dawson was reduced from twelve to six men. On 22 September 1855 Nicoll wrote to Marshall requesting what was to be done with eight troopers then at Juandah and who ultimately were to leave the Dawson for Traylan.<sup>53</sup>

Although there had been no violent contact between Native Police and Aborigines on the upper Dawson during 1855, Wiseman, when reporting from Rannes on 3 July 1855 and 5 January 1856 respectively on the state of the Aborigines in the Leichhardt district, thought he was justified in saying that these Aborigines were still in a very wild and savage state, showing decided hostility to the whites. On the upper Dawson with the exception of three stations, Cockatoo, Bungaban, and Juandah, no stations admitted Aborigines. According to Wiseman, at these three stations the Aborigines belonged chiefly to tribes in the longer settled districts of the Auburn, Burnett, and Condamine but profiting by the knowledge gained of the ways of the whites they frequently assisted in directing murders or in giving refuge to those pursued. The tribes inhabiting the left bank of the Dawson and the Comet, Palm Tree, and Ruined Castle Creeks and the most northern watershed of the Balonne and Maranoa were in a completely savage state and hostile to the whites.<sup>54</sup>

In the Port Curtis district Lieutenant John Murray had left the Gladstone police station on leave of absence for six weeks on 16 April 1855.<sup>55</sup> There being no vessel from that port at the time, Murray rode overland to Wide Bay which occupied more than a week. With another week's delay at Maryborough waiting for a vessel and then sailing against contrary winds, twenty-four days of Murray's leave was spent before he arrived at Sydney. From Sydney it took him another week to reach his friends outside of Bathurst. It is no wonder that Murray, on 2 June 1855 at Bathurst, applied for two months' extension of his leave hoping that the time he had served in the corps and the arduous duties he had performed would be taken into consideration.<sup>56</sup>

Sub-Lieutenant Ferguson relieved Murray during the latter's absence. Captain O'Connell, government resident at Gladstone under whose authority the Port Curtis detachments had been placed, informed Ferguson that under no circumstances was any portion of his men to act as an armed force without their being accompanied by an officer or non-commissioned officer of the corps responsible for their actions. As Ferguson was the only officer then at Gladstone this order precluded his acting at all unless by leaving his station entirely without guard in his absence. Sergeant Humphrey of the Native Police had deserted while visiting Brisbane.<sup>57</sup>

When Ferguson was called upon to execute a warrant for the apprehension of an Aborigine, O'Connell therefore on 31 May 1855 wrote requesting approval to the appointment of Laurence Finigan to be a barrack sergeant in charge of the Native Police at Gladstone at the usual pay for an ordinary constable of 5s. 6d. per day until a sergeant of that corps could resume those duties. This approval was granted.<sup>58</sup>

On 9 June 1855 Ferguson wrote reporting the death from an attack of fever of trooper Bindago. He also drew Marshall's attention to the small number at Gladstone of six troopers, including Conway who had not been able to do duty for the previous five months. One settler had arrived at Gladstone and others were expected daily to settle on the Boyne River.<sup>59</sup>

On 12 July 1855 Ferguson wrote acknowledging receipt of



Marshall's instructions discountenancing the practice of firing at Aborigines to prevent their escape.<sup>60</sup> Twelve days later, on the eve of starting for Young's station Mt. Larcom, he wrote again to Marshall on a number of matters. Ferguson then asked what was the order about and were prisoners to be allowed to take French leave. He expressed his opinion that the efficiency of the force would be seriously affected by the order. Ferguson also wrote: "The Government Resident has been particularly affable lately. I don't know what is in the wind but it is not without a purpose."<sup>61</sup>

The reduction in the force following the government's new policy even resulted in the inspector general of police asking the colonial secretary on 12 September 1855 that the corps be relieved from the duty of conveying the mail between Gayndah and Port Curtis. Post Master General Christie reported that the only course left open would be to transmit mails to Gladstone by sea "by every opportunity presenting itself"<sup>62</sup> At the time opportunities offered themselves nearly once a month. Denison directed that the existing arrangements continue for a time until a more settled means of sea communication could be obtained.<sup>63</sup>

During the latter half of 1855 action was taken to return to their own country those men who were recruited on the Murrumbidgee.

On 30 August 1855 Second Lieutenant Walker wrote to Marshall from Gracemere, Port Curtis, reporting that in accordance with instructions he had arrived at that station and asked Sergeant Willy, Corporals Coreen and T. Hindmarsh and trooper Paddy who had accompanied Charles Archer there, whether they wished to continue serving in the Native Police, or to serve in the police proposed to be placed on the Darling River, or to return to their own country. They all wished to serve on the Darling.<sup>64</sup> After Murray's return to Gladstone from leave, authority was given on 25 October 1855 to the inspector general of police to retain Sub-Lieutenant Ferguson to take charge of and conduct to the Darling River the men who were recruited on the Murrumbidgee and who were desirous of serving on the Darling.<sup>65</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman, whose headquarters were at Rannes, had reported on 3 July 1855 on the

hostility of the Aborigines of those parts. He had stated that Hay's station Rannes admitted Aborigines who claimed the country near there, although some Aborigines of this and another tribe had menaced the Banana, an outstation of Hay's, and another station thirty miles to the northwest temporarily occupied by Daniel Connor.<sup>66</sup>

On 26 September 1855 Lieutenant Murray, who had returned to Port Curtis, informed Government Resident O'Connell at Gladstone that he had just received information of an attack by a large number of Aborigines on the night of 23 September on Second Lieutenant Walker's section at Rannes.<sup>67</sup> Walker had given Murray no official report on the subject but had written in a private note to Murray that two of his men were killed and all the others except one dangerously wounded, leaving only one man for duty. Walker had also written that the station was in a very precarious state and he urgently requested assistance. Murray requested O'Connell's instructions as to his proceeding in the matter. Next day O'Connell authorized Murray to proceed to the scene of the disaster as soon as he could get his detachment in readiness. There Murray was to lend what aid he could, to restore confidence and if possible to punish the aggressors. However Murray was to bear in mind that O'Connell had no other force at his disposal for the protection of the few settlers in the more immediate neighbourhood of Port Curtis. O'Connell impressed upon Murray the necessity of marking accurately the direction in which the Aborigines concerned in the attack had subsequently taken. Should Murray have reason to suppose they were moving towards the coast he was to fall back upon the country it was the more immediate duty of his section to protect. Murray was also to leave any spare ammunition in a place of safety at Gladstone.

O'Connell forthwith wrote informing the colonial secretary of his instructions to Murray, stating there was a feeling of insecurity in the neighbourhood "not hitherto felt in this part of the country, as it is the first instance of a nocturnal attack which the history of this district furnishes".<sup>68</sup>

O'Connell erred in this statement. Walker's detachment previously had been attacked during the early morning hours

near Rannes. The Native Police engaged in marking a tree line from Gladstone to Traylan had been attacked at night. The Aborigines in the Burnett district, although superstitious like other northern tribes, had stolen sheep at night. Depredations in southern districts at night were not so common apparently as in the northern districts. Later it was revealed before select committees that the northern Aborigines, especially those about the Dawson, not only travelled by night but fought by night, that the men separated from the women, and tribes supposed to be hostile combined their fighting men for the purposes of aggression. A number of stations in those areas including Hornet Bank were attacked at night. Often attacks were made in the early hours of the morning. On 5 January 1856 Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman reported from Rannes that on his "recent journey along the Dawson and its tributaries" his camp had been "occasionally visited and watched by Natives prowling about secretly in the middle of the night, as was apparent from the peculiar whistle by which they communicated with each other in the dark".<sup>69</sup>

On 28 September Murray left Gladstone with his detachment less four of his best troopers who remained behind to protect the barracks and local area. At Rannes Murray was joined by a party of Native Police under Marshall from Traylan.

# 14

## Stations Attacked in the Port Curtis District

By 5 December 1855 Inspector General of Police Mayne had received reports from Marshall and Second Lieutenant Walker, affidavits taken from C. Leith Hay, D. Kelly, and William Battie, and statements of the wounded troopers relating to the attack on the Native Police camp at Rannes on the night of 23 September 1855. The circumstances surrounding the attack are revealed by these and later reports.

Despite the killing of shepherds and the loss of sheep from time to time the Leith Hay brothers had followed the policy of admitting into their station Rannes the tribe of Aborigines who claimed the country around. For two or three weeks previously a large number of Aborigines had collected at the station where they were treated with kindness by the whites and had fraternized with the Native Police. During this time the people at the station had supplied them with a large quantity of food. Notwithstanding this the Aborigines had stolen from seventy to eighty sheep, probably to supplement that supply of food.

Included in the Aborigines assembled were not only members of the tribes of the surrounding district — some of whom previously had menaced the Banana outstation — but also tribesmen from the MacKenzie and FitzRoy Rivers.<sup>2</sup> The tribesmen of the MacKenzie had been reported by Wiseman as so hostile they would attack parties when there was little prospect of plunder.<sup>3</sup>

The Aborigines were allowed to remain assembled at the station even after it was known that sheep had been stolen. As regards this Mayne subsequently observed: “. . . allowing

the Aborigines after this was known, and particularly if they were aware that it was known, to remain at the place, must inevitably produce in their minds a feeling the reverse of respect for those who submitted to attacks on their property or for the Police who should have checked such acts and would encourage them to further aggression and to violence". It appeared to Mayne that on the discovery of the first depredation the Aborigines should at once have been driven from the station and compelled to disperse. He also considered it to be "a want of prudence and discretion as well as a cause of censure" that not only were the Aborigines allowed to remain at the station but they were permitted to camp on the same side of the creek as the Native Police and within thirty yards of Hay's cottage.<sup>4</sup>

On the night of 23 September there were seven troopers in the Native Police camp. All were asleep when some Aborigines stole into the camp and removed their carbines and pistols. When this was done a large number of Aborigines rushed from a nearby scrub and speared the troopers while they slept. Two troopers died quickly. Another, Combo James, who had a spear enter his lungs died some days afterwards. One trooper was slightly wounded and continued to do duty, while three others did not take long to recover.<sup>5</sup>

Those Aborigines who had attacked the Native Police camp immediately fled to the bush taking with them four carbines, five ramrods, and blankets and shirts from the camp. A fortnight later large numbers of Aborigines were still hovering around the station requiring the constant attention of the Native Police arriving at Rannes.

Lieutenant Murray took charge of the Native Police assigned to the immediate neighbourhood of Rannes and pursued Aborigines "who had taken forcible possession of a station and were prevented from murdering the inhabitants by the timely arrival of the troopers." Sub-Lieutenant Walker led a patrol in search of the murderers but did not find them.<sup>6</sup>

Inspector General of Police Mayne, while critical of the allowing of Aborigines to congregate in large numbers in the immediate vicinity of the Native Police camp and station, entirely recognized the propriety and humanity of admitting

Aborigines individually or in small numbers about the station. However, experience and information had taught him that when congregated in large numbers the necessity of food and the confidence which numerical superiority begets produced the planning and commission of depredations on property and violence on the persons of the settlers and servants. Being in camp at Rannes and therefore more liable to surprise than if in close barrack, and particularly when a large number of Aborigines were in the vicinity, Mayne considered the police had not been vigilant. Lieutenant Murray was instructed by Mayne to communicate his views to Second Lieutenant Walker and to impress upon the latter "the necessity of exercising and enforcing in future greater caution, vigilance, prudence and discretion".<sup>7</sup>

Doubtless Mayne was correct. Aboriginal hostility had been revealed in the district. Not only were sheep stolen and shepherds killed but drays had been attacked between Rannes and Gladstone. Second Lieutenant Walker's detachment had been attacked near Rannes in the early morning hours within the past year.

As it had been stated generally that in the districts where Native Police were employed animosity was engendered by troopers carrying on intercourse with Aboriginal women and that the attack at Rannes may have been caused by such conduct, Mayne called for a report on this aspect from Murray.<sup>8</sup> Although Murray's report has not been located it is likely that the taking of Aboriginal females by the Native Police at Rannes did occur.

Captain O'Connell before the 1858 Select Committee stated that when he first allowed the wild Aborigines to come into his camp at Port Curtis they soon complained that the Native Police had taken one of their women. It had caused great excitement amongst them. O'Connell requested Lieutenant Murray to parade his men. O'Connell told them the woman had to be returned by sundown. Murray's men said the woman had been taken by a trooper who had come down on escort from Rannes and promised they would have the woman returned. This they did.<sup>9</sup>

Charles Archer before the 1856 Select Committee stated that most of the Native Police had women of their own

which he considered desirable. These women hunted for themselves and when the police were not on duty they were always hunting. When the men of the force were transferred from one district to another their females accompanied them, riding horses and sometimes dressed in trousers and a blue shirt. He stated that men belonging to the Native Police did take women of the surrounding tribes but did not think it was a case of the Aborigines being tyrannized over by the police on that account. He thought an arrangement was made with the consent of the men of the tribes. He had certainly known instances of disturbances on account of the women but said the white men were just as bad.<sup>10</sup>

Native Police administrative policy had been to allow women to be kept by the troopers. The women did not accompany them on patrols. Earl Grey in 1850 had approved and advocated the troopers bringing their wives into the encampment. He thought such things as the supervised and enforced conformity to the rules of cleanliness were important and would in turn it was hoped be communicated to their countrymen and children.<sup>11</sup>

Inspector General of Police Mayne gave positive instructions that Native Police were not to have any of the women with them except with the entire and full consent of the tribes and the individual members of the tribes to whom they might be supposed to belong.<sup>12</sup> It was claimed by some that the women always acted as emissaries between the wild tribes and those with whom the Native Police dealt. Others considered it was one way of keeping the troopers quiet although it was believed that on occasions the women passed on information as to where the next movement of the force would be.<sup>13</sup>

Events subsequent to the attack on the Native Police camp at Rannes suggest that at that time the tribes on the northern frontier were determined to attack and destroy the settlers in those areas. It seems certain that the assembling of Aborigines at Rannes was part of a plan of resistance to the settler's invasion of their tribal lands.

Three months later, on 26 December 1855, William Young's station Mt. Larcom, situated some seventy miles easterly from Rannes and about fourteen miles direct from

Gladstone, was attacked and all the inhabitants except an Aboriginal boy killed. Young was absent on a neighbouring station at the time and one of his Aboriginal boys brought the news to him of the outrage. The Aborigine stated that in the morning three or four Aborigines had come to one of the huts. They were unarmed. They had pretended to be friendly towards the white men. They must have left their party in ambush close by. As the boy was driving his sheep from the yard he heard a noise. Looking around he saw one of the white men on the ground. Three Aborigines were beating him with nulla nullas. The boy ran away bringing the news to Young.<sup>14</sup>

Young immediately proceeded to Gladstone where he saw Lieutenant John Murray and told him that one of the white men on his station had been murdered by Aborigines. Murray, accompanied by Young and five troopers, started the same evening for Mt. Larcom station, arriving on the morning of 27 December. There he found the bodies of three white men, one white woman, and one Aboriginal boy, all of whom evidently had been attacked and murdered on the previous morning. Their names were George Smelt, John Murray, James Foran, Margaret Foran, and Peter Blackboy. A number of sheep had been driven off. The store was broken open and a quantity of cloth, flour and sugar, and other articles were missing. The bodies of the dead were mutilated, being covered with spear and nulla nulla wounds. The body of Margaret Foran appeared to have been violated even after life had left it. Two neighbours, Clarke and Bell, arrived in the afternoon and the bodies were "decently interred as circumstances would admit".<sup>15</sup>

Many weapons of all kinds were strewn around the place and tracks of Aborigines were seen in all directions. From the number of tracks and other circumstances Murray believed that about fifty Aborigines were concerned in the outrage.

The white men killed had been well provided with fire-arms. Three double-barrelled guns and two carbines were found close to where their bodies were found. Near the body of Foran were a double-barrelled gun and a carbine. Both were broken, evidently in a struggle, but not discharged. A rifle which was in one of the huts when Young had left the



station was not found.

On 28 December Murray, having despatched a messenger to Gladstone for such assistance as could be procured, went on the trail of the Aborigines and saw where they had driven a large number of sheep. He returned to the station the same evening. After a sufficient number of people had arrived to guard against any further attempt on the station by Aborigines, Murray started on 30 December to recover the sheep. He came up with a party of Aborigines in a dense scrub about fifteen miles from Young's and succeeded in retaking five hundred sheep together with a large quantity of blankets and clothing. He delivered the sheep to Young and took a few hours' rest.

He then started with five troopers and District Constable Horrigan in the direction the Aborigines had taken. His party came up with the Aborigines twice, the first time about thirty miles from the station and the second time beyond the FitzRoy River. Murray's party had crossed the FitzRoy River by the *Elida*<sup>16</sup> which Charles Archer had placed at their disposal. Accompanying Murray<sup>17</sup> across the river was the chief or principal fighting man called Harold of a tribe which Charles Archer had allowed to remain encamped close to his cottage at Gracemere. Harold had given truthful and valuable information to Murray concerning the murders at Young's Mt. Larcom station which was situated about forty miles from Gracemere. Harold with a few of his fighting men led the police to the camping ground of the murderers. In the fight which ensued Harold was active in assisting the police.<sup>18</sup>

During the two collisions as reported by Murray, eleven of the Aborigines who had participated in the murders at Young's were shot by the police and three others were severely if not mortally wounded. Part of the clothing, books, pipes, and other articles stolen from the store, also portions of women's dresses, handkerchiefs, and other property were found in the camps and on the trail of the Aborigines. The "marriage lines" of James and Margaret Foran were found in the bush. Murray believed they had children in Sydney or elsewhere. When reporting this, he wrote that he also had in his possession a gold watch with a

gold chain and two keys attached, picked up by one of his troopers and supposed to belong to one of the deceased. He stated his intention of forwarding this property to the government resident at Gladstone as soon as he could obtain the depositions of Young and Clarke.

Murray, after an absence of twenty-two days, returned to Gladstone on 18 January 1856. He wrote his report on the day of his return.<sup>19</sup> He stated that every precaution had been used by him for the safety of Young's station. Two troopers had been there on the morning of 24 December. No attack having been apprehended they had been relieved and had arrived in Gladstone the same evening. Young himself had requested these troopers to be withdrawn, "as he had no further fear of the Blacks".

It was Murray's opinion that the depredators at Young's had belonged to the Curtis Island and FitzRoy tribes and that the attack had been premeditated for some time. On 14 August 1856 Murray was requested by the inspector general of police to report on a statement made by Young that troopers not under the personal direction of an officer had fired on Aborigines at Mt. Larcom station before the attack on 26 December 1855. Murray also was warned against allowing troopers to be employed unless under the personal direction of an officer or a magistrate should circumstances render the presence of an officer impossible.<sup>20</sup> Murray, when making his report on 7 November 1856, did not deny that troopers had fired on Aborigines on one occasion. Aggressions at Young's station had commenced before then. Trooper Toby had stated he had seen an Aborigine with part of the property of one of the policemen murdered at Rannes. The Aborigine was one of a large number well armed and Toby had fired for his own safety. No Aborigine was killed. After that occasion Young had told Murray he was pleased as it would have a beneficial effect in aweing the Aborigines and deterring them from committing any outrage. Murray stated it was difficult to find out the reasons for the Aborigines attacking Young's station. There were other circumstances besides their being fired at by the police. There had been a quarrel between Aborigines and some of the white men from Sydney who probably did not understand their ways. Murray

had been told by Young himself that Young had quarrelled with an Aborigine, kicked him, and taken a double-barrelled gun to him simply because he did not leave the door of the hut immediately when spoken to. Murray had cautioned Young frequently with regard to the latter's treatment of Aborigines. During shearing, Young had "obtained as much work from them as possible and when he had done with them, drove them away". From his own experience Murray had found that where Aborigines had commenced aggression they had followed it up with murder when opportunity occurred. The weak and undefended state of Young's station unfortunately had given them that opportunity. Murray had been compelled to detach troopers from his own supervision but had not done so after receiving instructions against this. During Murray's absence on the upper Dawson, Captain O'Connell had detached two troopers, Charlie and Edwin, to escort the Reverend Mr. Dodds to Gladstone. The troopers were away eight days and trooper Charlie had absconded a few days after their return.<sup>2 1</sup>

Wiseman in his annual report on the Aborigines for 1855 thought that some of the Aborigines who had attacked Mt. Larcom station were at Rannes when the Native Police camp was attacked.<sup>2 2</sup>

On 18 January 1856 Murray reported that the country over which he had been in pursuit of the murderers was almost everywhere intersected by salt water creeks "which made it easy for the Blacks to baffle any horseman sent in pursuit of them". He thought that a strong five-ton decked boat of light draught would be of great service for police work and at the same time the means of saving a considerable number of horses. Having due regard to the safety of the place he could take no more than five troopers on the expedition. This party was altogether too small for the service required. It would have taken him too long to obtain a reinforcement from any other section of the corps. He could not sufficiently praise the conduct of the troopers throughout the difficult and arduous expedition. Their skill in tracking the murderers and their cool determined courage had been admirable. The wear and tear to the clothing and accoutrements of the Port Curtis division had been greater

than on any other expedition and he trusted that a "little discretion" would be allowed him in issuing any articles from the stores in his charge. He recommended that not fewer than eighteen troopers be stationed northwards — twelve at Rannes and six at the FitzRoy River. He also called attention to the fact that he had then only thirty horses in the division.<sup>23</sup>

As the distribution of the corps had absorbed its whole strength and the requirements of other districts made it impossible to withdraw any men from them, the Port Curtis division could not be immediately reinforced. However Mayne promptly authorized the purchase of ten more horses.<sup>24</sup>

The attack on Young's station preceded by about four weeks another attack by Aborigines on a station further north and occupied by William Thomas Elliott and his brother. The brothers Elliott had occupied it temporarily. It was on Archers' run only three miles from the Archers' head station Gracemere. Although Gracemere had not been attacked there had been collisions with Aborigines on the station of the Elliott brothers. The reasons for this, according to Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman in his annual report for 1856 on the Aboriginal population, were:

At Gracemere station about fifty miles from Rannes on the FitzRoy River, Mr. Charles Archer and his brothers have succeeded in passing a whole year and a half in perfect safety — no violence having been offered to their shepherds and no outrage having been perpetrated on their property. This is certainly due to Mr. Charles Archer's intelligence and vigilance as well as firmness in not allowing any of the Native Police or his own servants to interfere with or carry away by force the wives or daughters of the Savages who were encamped near him. Very much depends upon the firmness of character and on the rank and position of the Proprietor amongst his own countrymen on which point the natives have very acute perception.<sup>25</sup>

Wiseman later in his report referred to the Gracemere tribe which by means of an alliance with the whites had become more powerful than the "Trans-Fitzroy" tribe:

The Gracemere Tribe, which appears to have been crippled in its strength by the loss of some of its fighting men, perhaps from collisions with the whites, to whom they were contiguous, and while in that state to have been tyrannized over by their neighbors, formed an alliance with the whites soon after the

arrival of the latter. The Chief or principal fighting man, named Harold, a singularly courageous, intelligent and candid looking Savage, has with his three brothers — all fine young men — and with a few of his tribe, remained encamped close to Mr. Charles Archer's cottage ever since the latter has been there where they make themselves extremely useful in fetching wood and water and in collecting the working bullocks and horses every morning.

Referring to Elliott's station Wiseman wrote:

On the Messrs. Elliott's station, a temporary one on Mr. Archer's run, only three miles distant, there were frequent collisions which I must in some degree attribute to the circumstance that both the Messrs. Elliott were men of easy indolent disposition who could exercise no moral control over their servants, either black or white, and that consequently there were frequent quarrels with the Natives who came about the Station. At least one attack on the Station was made on one moonlight night by a very numerous Force accompanied by their gins carrying dillies in which to carry off the booty they made sure of securing.

However they were mistaken; as they were driven off by the very spirited behaviour of Mr. William Elliott and two or three of his German Shepherds, but not before they had killed one shearer, none of whose companions attempted to protect him, or defend themselves, and not till they had wounded in five or six places by spears and had broken the jaw of Mr. William Elliott who stood amongst them firing his revolver with a coolness and courage most remarkable.

This outrage however was not committed by the Tribe at Gracemere but by that inhabiting the Trans-Fitzroy country, a tribe which appears to have been oppressing the former one, which claimed as their Territory this side of the River.

O'Connell's report to the colonial secretary of 19 February 1856 supplies the date of this attack as 22 January 1856 between ten and eleven o'clock at night. He estimated the number of Aborigines present at the attack as one hundred. He stated that one of the brothers had not retired to bed when the attack was made. This was fortunate for those at the station as the Aborigines on this occasion attacked "with a boldness and systematic . . . plan which would have ensured a successful operation". As there were twenty well armed white men, the Aborigines were finally repulsed. Elliott, who had been speared in several places, was taken to Gladstone for medical treatment for his wounds.<sup>26</sup>

William Thomas Elliott gave evidence before the 1856 Select Committee. He had been in that outlying district about fourteen months. He stated two attacks had been made

by the Aborigines on him and an unsuccessful attempt had been made also to take stock away.<sup>27</sup>

Early in February 1856, Charles Archer came to Gladstone from the FitzRoy seeking assistance. Aborigines had assembled in great numbers on the northern side of the river, openly stating their determination to attack and destroy all the whites who might attempt the location of the country in that direction.<sup>28</sup> After sending a patrol to examine into an alleged assembly of Aborigines on the Boyne River about twenty miles south of Gladstone, O'Connell approved of Lieutenant Murray's proceeding with what available force he had to Gracemere station on the FitzRoy River.<sup>29</sup> Murray then had only four men available. Although his force consisted of nine men, three were stationed with different settlers on the Calliope River and two had been sent to Traylan for reinforcements which they later found to be unavailable. There appears to be no record available of the action taken by Murray on this occasion other than the following reference in Wiseman's annual report on the Aboriginal inhabitants for 1856: "Again, when for the second time the Police went over the River to punish the aggressors on Mr. Elliott's station... Harold was again assisting."<sup>30</sup>

O'Connell, when reporting from Gladstone on 19 February 1856 to the colonial secretary the departure of Murray and his four troopers for the FitzRoy River, added that it was quite evident that so small a number as nine men was utterly inadequate to protect a country one hundred miles square and in process of occupation. He proposed a force of one officer, three sergeants, and eighteen troopers as the smallest number required to perform the duty with any hope of success.<sup>31</sup> Elliott stated before the 1856 Select Committee that if there had been more men in the Native Police party at Gladstone, the officer would have been able to patrol more regularly, and very likely that would have prevented the attack at Young's.<sup>32</sup>

Inspector General of Police Mayne, to whom O'Connell's report was referred, reported to the colonial secretary that the corps as provided for by the estimates, its distribution, and the requirements of the other districts placed it out of

his power to reinforce the division under Lieutenant Murray as he would wish to do.<sup>33</sup> Mayne had hoped that the prompt punishment which had fallen on the guilty parties, as reported by Murray on 18 January, would have proved a warning and lesson sufficient to deter the Aborigines from further outrage and aggression. From the subsequent attack on Elliott's station this appeared not to have been the case. Mayne thought it would require still further punishment and example to convince the tribes that they must abstain from attacks on the lives and properties of the settlers in those districts. He was pleased to bring under the governor general's notice the proper precautions taken and the promptitude and energy displayed at Young's, and the skill of the troopers in following and their resolution in engaging the Aborigines who had committed the murders. He thought it afforded striking proof of how the exercising of those qualities by an officer properly directing the exertions of the smallest body of men could give an effective result against the Aborigines even on ground most favourable to them. The result appeared to him conclusive of the efficiency of the detachments of the corps "which its present Establishment and re-organisation admit of".

As the Port Curtis division was engaged in severe and trying duty, Mayne thought the expression of His Excellency's approbation of Murray's conduct as well as the authorizing of gratuities, say of one month's pay amounting to only 7s. 6d. each to the troopers, with an intimation of their courage and conduct on the occasion would have a good and encouraging effect. He also recommended that a gratuity of £5 be paid to District Constable Horrigan from the Police Reward Fund for his participation in the pursuit.

Although approving of Mayne's recommendations, Denison caused the question of the augmentation of the Native Police in the Port Curtis district to be brought before the Executive Council. The council advised and on 20 March 1856 Denison approved that, as it did not seem the Port Curtis force was adequate for the protection of life and property, the inspector general be invited to say what augmentation he would suggest and to report the funds available for the purpose.<sup>34</sup>

Mayne reported on 29 March he was not aware of there being any funds available and if augmentation were decided upon provision would have to be submitted to the legislature in the supplementary estimate. Holding the opinion that the then establishment was very nearly sufficient for the proper duties Mayne could only recommend an additional twelve troopers for the whole of the Native Police force to supply casualties from injuries or sickness so as to always have the then strength effective.<sup>35</sup> Following this report, no recommendation was made by the Executive Council for any augmentation of the force.

O'Connell's recommendation for an increased Native Police strength on the northern frontier had followed another letter to the colonial secretary. On 31 January 1856, forty-five freeholders, occupiers of crown lands, stockholders, and others "resident and deeply interested in the Northern Districts of the Colony" whose list of signatures commenced with Gordon Sandeman, wrote to Denison requesting an investigation by the government into the circumstances of the Native Police stationed in the northern districts. They declared that recent outrages and murders were the result of the "recent reduction and disbanding of a considerable portion of and other changes lately effected in the... Force". The signatories expressed their conviction "that further atrocities of a similar tragical nature to those lately committed must inevitably follow if immediate steps are not organised to meet the urgent requirements now existing". They believed no force which the colony could produce would ever have such a regulating and salutary effect upon the conduct of the Aborigines as that of the Native Police Force. They also believed that its efficiency must depend to a great extent upon the conduct of a local commandant and that any supervision of this force by an officer in Sydney was simply worse than useless. They also stated that a memorial praying for the reappointment of a local head and for the augmentation of the force — not only to its former strength, but for the increasing requirements of these districts — was then in course of signature in the northern districts. Pending the presentation of that document, his excellency was entreated to stay the further effects of the reduction and dis-



banding of that "most useful body" by causing the disbanded or reduced troopers, some of whom were then on their way to the Murray River, to be returned to the northern districts and the taking of steps for an immediate reinforcement of the corps.<sup>36</sup>

Mayne, to whom this letter was referred, reported on 19 February 1856 that, the charge of the Native Police Corps having in the middle of 1855 devolved on that department, he had framed the 1856 estimate for it, to be submitted to the legislature, having regard to the views distinctly expressed in the council that the services of the corps should be strictly confined to the protection of the white population in the extreme limits of occupation (a view in which Mayne concurred), that its expense should be reduced, and that the office of commandant was unnecessary.<sup>37</sup>

The estimate had been approved by the governor general and laid before the legislature. When discussed in committee, the estimate was not objected to on the ground of carrying reduction too far, but was strongly commented upon as not carrying it far enough. It had seemed even likely that the committee would reject the estimate. However finally it was passed.

Under these circumstances, and having regard to the council's viewpoint that the executive should not bring forward for any part of a year charges which in the previous session had been refused, it appeared to Mayne that nothing short of clear and overpowering necessity could justify proposing additional expense in 1856 for an augmentation of the Native Police Force; more particularly when it was to a new legislature under the new constitution and by perhaps a different executive that the proposition would have to be submitted or the exercise of the responsibility justified.<sup>38</sup>

As regards the office of commandant, Mayne reported that though its existence would greatly diminish his labour and responsibility he concurred in the view that it was unnecessary. He considered that the arrangement under which each officer in charge of a division was invested with a wide discretion under general instructions was most conducive to real efficiency and economy. Mayne stated this was the system of the old Mounted Police Corps "the most efficient

and valuable body this colony has ever possessed". Mayne saw no reason why, with competent officers and when there had been time to bring it fairly into operation, the system could not work well in the Native Police. It was quite clear to him that the outrages in the Wide Bay and Port Curtis districts had no bearing on the abolition of the office of commandant.

With reference to the request that the reduced troopers originally enlisted on the Murrumbidgee and Murray and then in charge of Lieutenant Ferguson on their route to the Darling and possibly then on the Bogan should be returned to the northern districts, Mayne pointed out it was in consequence of urgent application from the stockholders on the upper part of the Darling — where there had been no police protection whatever, either on the spot or within available distance — that these men who wished to return to the southern districts and for whose employment provision had been voted had been despatched to the Darling. The applicants in that quarter had been apprised of this and Mayne considered they would naturally consider their claims to protection disregarded and feel aggrieved were these troopers diverted from their destination.

Denison also received a deputation from the northern inhabitants following their petition. There were no funds to pay for the increased police required by them and Sandeman was informed accordingly on 6 March 1856.<sup>39</sup>

On 25 September 1855, Lieutenant Morisset of the Clarence River division of the Native Police had been instructed by Mayne to proceed with the disposable strength at his command to Maryborough "to check and put down the spirit which has shown itself among the Aborigines in that quarter".<sup>40</sup> However the Aborigines in the Clarence district were also showing an aggressive spirit. Two of his troopers had been wounded and Sergeant Dempster with five men had been diverted to the Richmond where Aborigines continued to spear cattle.<sup>41</sup> Only five troopers had been left at the Clarence headquarters fit for duty. Morisset was therefore instructed to remain on the Clarence until further ordered.<sup>42</sup> Previously, Lieutenant Bligh who had been in charge at Yabba had left for the Clarence. Morisset was of superior

rank and as the Wide Bay and Burnett district was one of the largest he had been ordered to take charge there.<sup>43</sup>

On 7 February 1856, Morisset arrived in the Wide Bay district and found his men encamped fourteen miles from Yabba at a sheep station of Mortimer and Anderson where four hundred Aborigines had assembled for the purpose of collecting the bunya which was then in season. Up to that time the Aborigines had been peaceable in that area but Morisset did not consider it safe to withdraw the police until after the Aborigines were dispersed.<sup>44</sup>

During the first few months of 1856 the country around Maryborough was reported as quiet owing to the absence of the Aborigines in the "Bunya Bunya", so Mayne thought that Morisset had exercised a proper discretion in remaining in the bunya country near Yabba.<sup>45</sup> However Commissioner of Crown Lands Halloran had received complaints dated 16 February 1856 and 18 March 1856 respectively from Frederick R. Hutchinson of Widgee Widgee station and William Powell of Walooga. The former had written of the loss of nearly eight hundred cattle from Glastonbury, one of the blocks connected with Widgee Widgee. Aborigines had killed some of the cattle but most had been frightened off leaving only eight on the block. A party of Native Police had come to the station without any officer and remained there two weeks but only going out once and then not finding any Aborigines. When leaving the station during Hutchinson's absence they had assisted his employee newly arrived from Sydney to abscond by showing him across the country and helping to carry his pack.<sup>46</sup>

William Powell wrote that on 25 April 1855 a number of Aborigines had attacked his station, robbed the store, bound his son, and left his hutkeeper for dead on the grounds. This man was too seriously wounded to travel sixty miles to a justice of the peace to give his deposition so it was not until October 1855 that Halloran himself had taken his deposition on the station and granted warrants for the five principal ringleaders. Since that time Aborigines had taken a number of Powell's sheep and had even sent Powell word by other Aborigines that they intended to come to Walooga after the bunya season and take the whole of the sheep and stores and

murder Powell and his men. As his circumstances would not permit his keeping more than two men, Powell wrote that this would be very easy to accomplish. He stated that the Native Police had called at Walooga eight times since the robbery on 25 April 1855 but only four times accompanied by an officer. He added that the Aborigines for whom the warrants had been granted could easily be apprehended as they were very often at Widgee station.<sup>47</sup>

When sending the letter of Powell on to his chief commissioner, Halloran added that nearly four months had elapsed since the murder of Furber and Furber's son-in-law, yet not a single member of the Native Police had yet made his appearance at Maryborough.<sup>48</sup>

However Morisset, at Yabba Native Police station, was also meeting with difficulties. On 20 March 1856 he reported to the inspector general of police that six men of the eighth section had deserted from that station on the night of 17 March, leaving their arms and accoutrements. These men were troopers Sandy, Tancred, Gilbert, Callaghan, Anthony, and Aaron. The strength of the Yabba station had been thereby reduced to one corporal and three troopers.<sup>49</sup> Morisset had sent to Marshall at Traylan for a reinforcement of four men.<sup>50</sup>

Morisset requested to be informed what steps he was to take to fill the vacancies and stated it would be useless recruiting men in the surrounding districts as the inducements to desert were greater for them.

Mayne left the matter to Morisset's unfettered discretion, stating it appeared to him expedient on the grounds of justice and efficiency to re-employ as far as possible the troopers who were included in the reduction of the force. At the same time Mayne remarked it would have been satisfactory to him to have received information as to the causes, ascertained or supposed, which led the troopers to desert.<sup>51</sup>

On 16 April 1856 Morisset was at Traylan following Marshall's termination of his association with the force. On that date Morisset wrote to the inspector general of police, referring to the letter received by Halloran from Hutchinson of Widgee. Morisset had visited the Widgee station and from enquiries had found that the cattle had been frightened from

an outstation by the sight of the Aborigines passing on their way to the bunya scrubs. Morisset could not learn that any cattle had been killed, "a circumstance much to be wondered at when cattle are left for a length of time on an outstation without a stockman or anyone to look after them". With reference to the charge preferred by Hutchinson against the men of the eighth section of having aided a runaway servant to make his escape, Morisset had found that the man when leaving requested trooper Sandy to show him a shortcut through a scrub about two miles distant. Sandy, being at the time quite ignorant that he was bolting from his hired service, complied with his wish. At the time the troopers had been left without an officer or anyone to direct them as Bligh had left to relieve on the Clarence.<sup>5 2</sup> Denison could not see there was any just ground of complaint against the Native Police.<sup>5 3</sup>

On 16 May 1856 Morisset reported to the inspector general of police on Powell's complaint. He stated that since he had taken command of the division stationed in the district of Wide Bay and Burnett, Powell's station at Walooga had been visited by the Native Police three times. He considered that Powell had no occasion to complain of the share of patrol duty allowed Walooga since then. As regards Halloran's statement of the non-appearance of any of the Native Police at Wide Bay, Morisset wrote that six troopers under the command of Acting Sub-Lieutenant Irving had for the previous four weeks been stationed at Wide Bay and doing duty in its vicinity. Morisset had appointed Irving, who was previously dismissed from the force, to a vacancy in the Native Police provisionally.<sup>5 4</sup> Mayne on 25 April 1856 had recommended Irving's appointment as sub-lieutenant as candidates for the office were scarce and in view of the lesson Irving may have received.<sup>5 5</sup> Denison approved of Irving's appointment and on 17 July 1856 the appointment was gazetted.<sup>5 6</sup>

Following the attacks by Aborigines at Rannes, Mt. Larcom, and Elliotts, other sub-lieutenant appointments made during 1856 were: Harry Walker, gazetted 13 February; Thomas Ross, 14 February; Francis Allman, 3 April; William Smith, in room of H. Walker resigned, 2 June; and Frederick Taylor Powell, 2 December.<sup>5 7</sup>

However the whole question of the distribution of the different forces of police, orderlies, and patrols, of which the Native Police Corps was only a part, had become one of considerable public interest and dissatisfaction. Towards the middle of 1856 the government of the colony moved to hold its own enquiry into police matters generally. A board<sup>58</sup> was appointed to enquire into and report upon "the present distribution of the different Forces of Police, Orderlies, and Patrols, and upon the present arrangements with reference to the duties of Police Magistrates, Commissioners of Gold Fields, Commissioners of Crown Lands, and Superintendents of Road Patrols, with a view of suggesting improvements in the present system, and, if possible, of reducing the expenditure".<sup>59</sup>

On 26 July 1856 the board made its report. It referred to the period of less than three weeks left to it to complete its enquiry and report and stated the period was manifestly too limited for the collection of a body of evidence sufficient to enable it to digest any comprehensive plan for the improvement of the police system of the colony — such as would meet its requirements at an expenditure consistent with its financial capabilities. The board added that, as it did not possess the powers and dignity of a committee of the legislature or those of a commission from the governor general, it did not think it would have the authority to enable it to make the necessary investigations.<sup>60</sup> However it made recommendations generally as to the objects for which it had been appointed, but these are here omitted save those relating to the Native Police.

It recommended that the Native Police in the northern districts be retained but the southern Native Police then operating in the south of New South Wales be discontinued. The only way in which the board could recommend the employment of Aborigines in connection with Europeans generally in the police was in the capacity of guides. The board's recommendation as regards the Native Police in the northern districts read:

With regard to the corps of Native Police in the Northern Districts, we are not prepared to recommend any immediate change. Its nature precludes amalgamation with the other police,

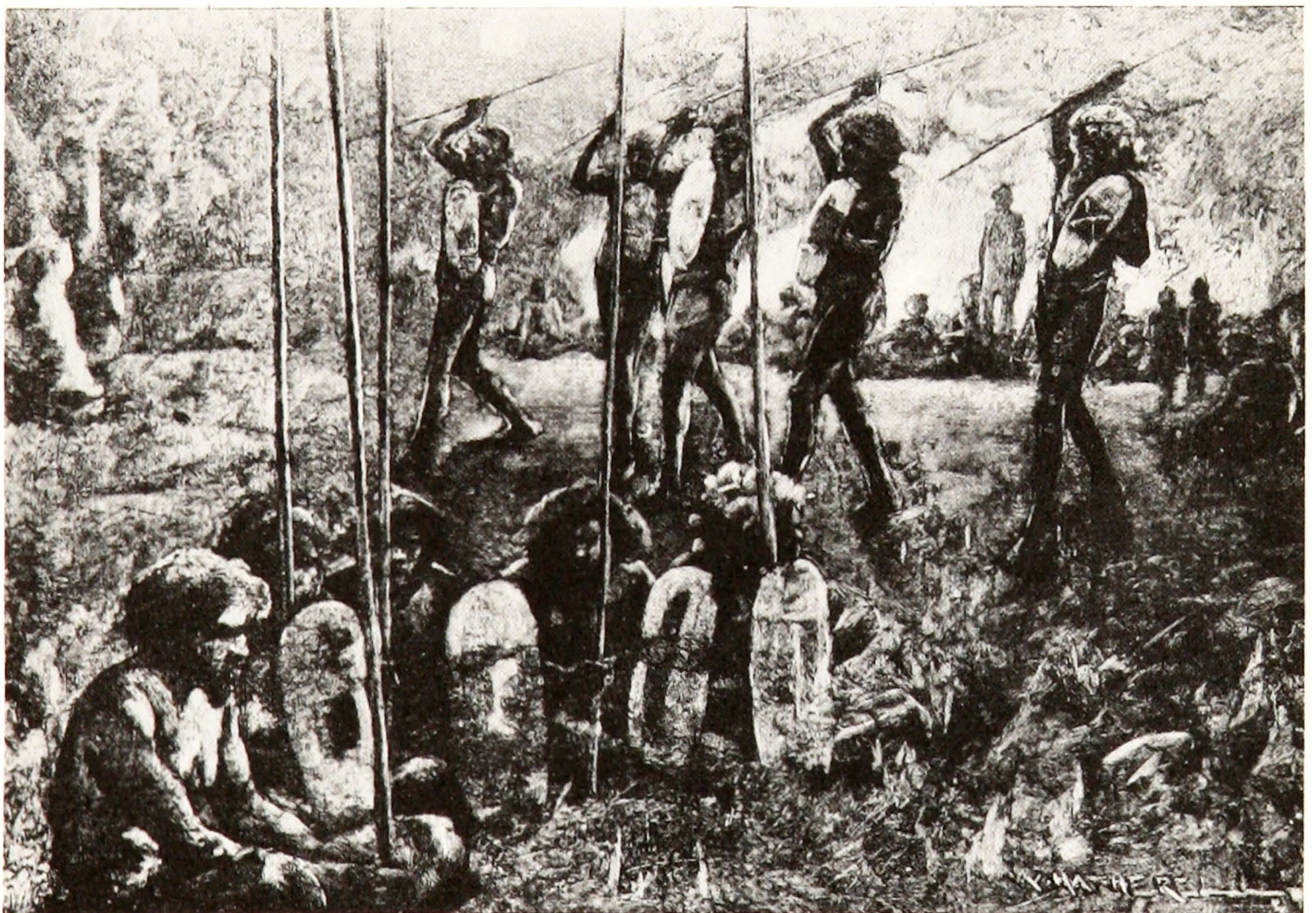
and so in fact do its uses. These are of a character which may be styled extraordinary, being suited to exigencies incident to the first settlement of the country. We think it desirable that the occupation of the country should proceed, and that legal protection should be abreast of it. Not that this can authorize the Government to sanction the wild enterprise which inclines some to push their stock far beyond others into the midst of hostile tribes. What we mean is, that the Government should be guided in the opening of a new district by the number and character of the applications of those interested, so as by no means to repress the energies of the younger settlers; and that once a new district is opened, the protection of law ought to be afforded to it. From the peculiarity of the nature of the new country to the northward, intersected as it is by dense scrubs, giving great advantage to the Aborigines when ill-disposed towards the settlers, there seems to be a necessity for keeping up this Corps. It would probably be impracticable to maintain a police force of a more regular kind, adequate to the maintenance of proper relations with the indigenous tribes; while at the same time we know that the native troopers will not answer in conjunction with Europeans, except under them as their officers.<sup>61</sup>

However, neither the action of the government in appointing this board of enquiry nor its report appeased the northern settlers who were alarmed by the attacks of the Aborigines some months previously. Protection by an increased Native Police Force was their objective.





1. An Aboriginal camp of brushwood shelters. Aboriginal huts were constructed after different patterns according to the materials available. From Edwin Carton Booth, *Illustrated Australia* (J. S. Virtue, London).



2. Typical Aboriginal tribal ceremony. In their ceremonial dances, the Aborigines emulate the legendary practices and sacred rituals of their forefathers, celebrate the valour of their warriors, and combat the evil magic of their enemies. From the John Oxley Library collection.



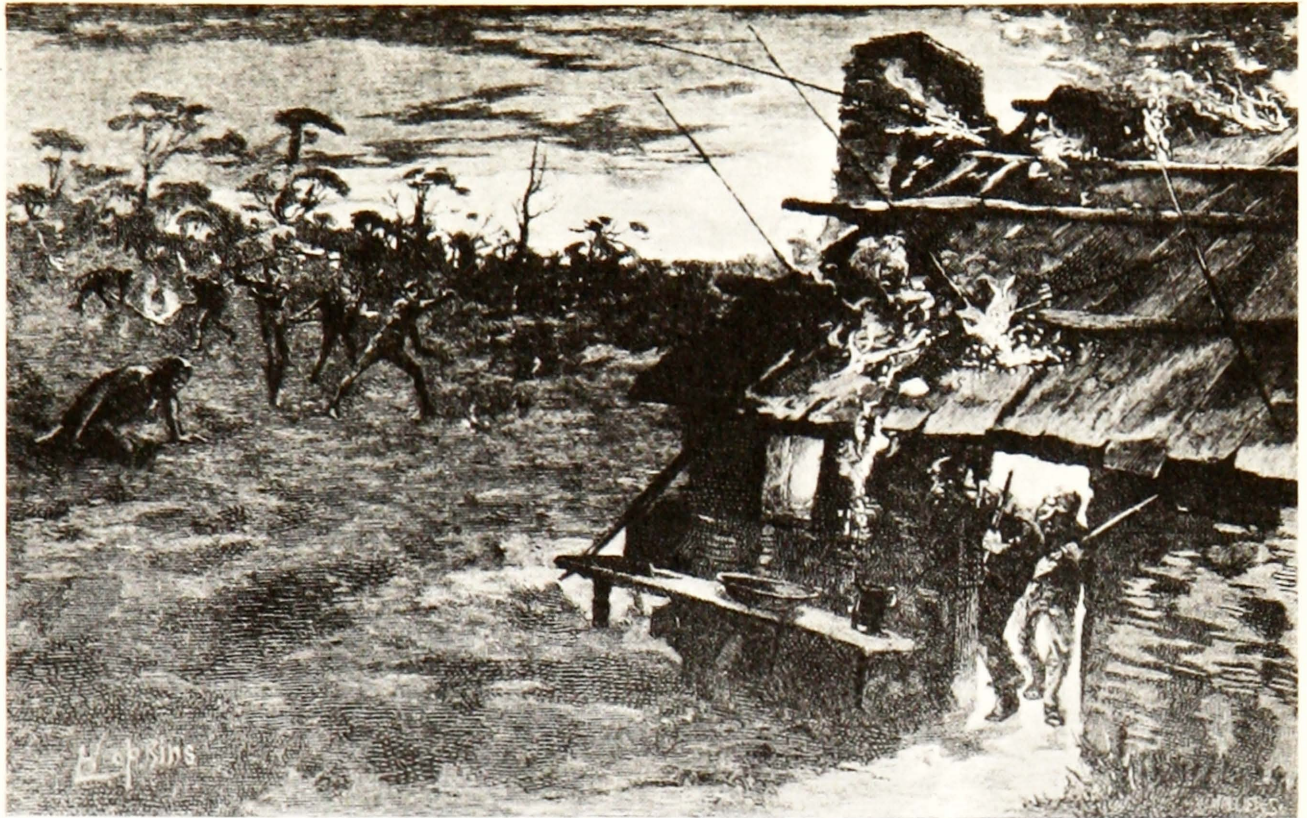


**3. A hut in the pioneering days. The first house of a settler often was a simple construction with bark roof and walls. From Jack's Album, John Oxley Library.**

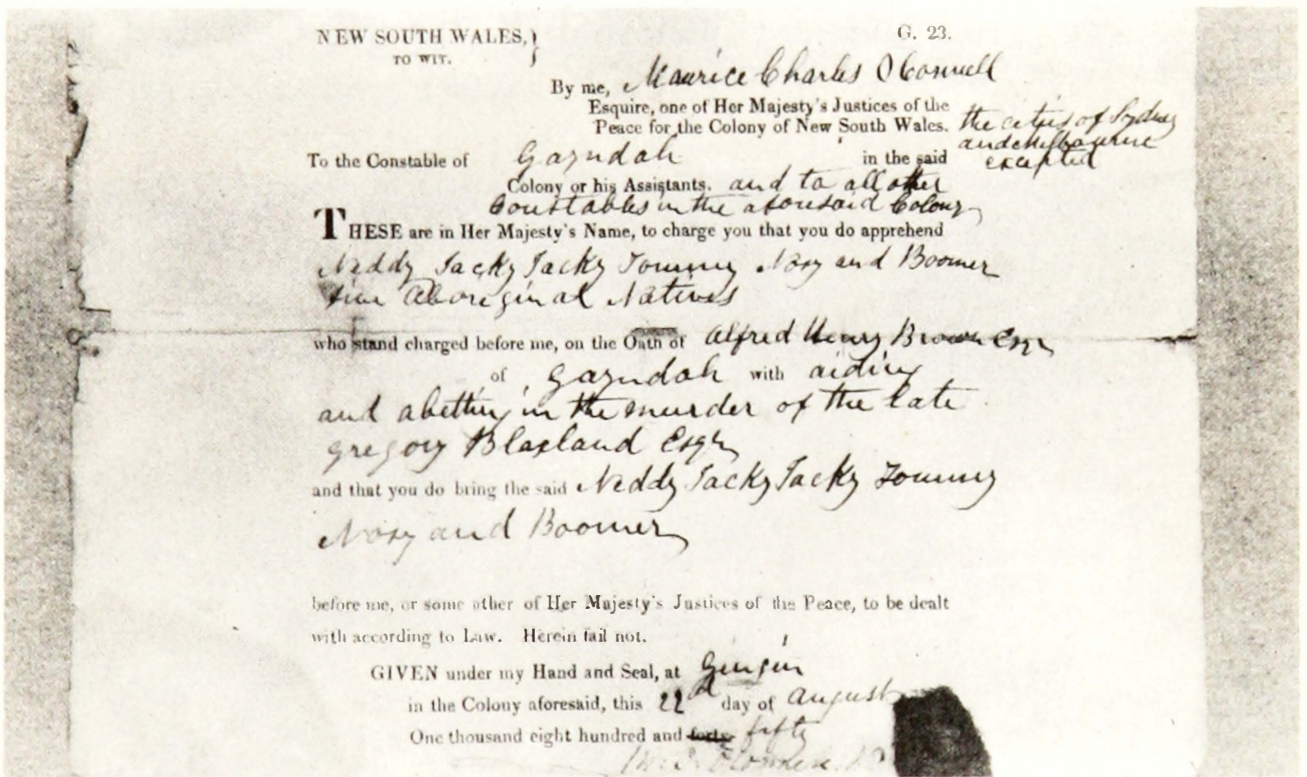


**4. A settler's hut at Laidley. Unfenced and without a hitching rail or other improvements, this was the settler's first bark dwelling. From Trackson's Album, John Oxley Library.**





5. "A night attack by blacks". From Andrew Garran, ed., *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, vol. 2 (Picturesque Atlas Publishing Co., Sydney, 1886).



6. A warrant dated 1850 for the apprehension of Aborigines charged with aiding and abetting in the murder of Gregory Blaxland, a nephew of the Gregory Blaxland who crossed the Blue Mountains in 1813. Blaxland was murdered at Tirroan, later Gin Gin station. The warrant names Aborigines Neddy, Jacky Jacky, Tommy, Nosy, and Boomer, and was issued at Gayndah by magistrate Maurice Charles O'Connell, then commissioner of crown lands for the Burnett district. Such warrants were relied on by Native Police officers as a legal basis for their actions. Photographed from an original warrant in the Queensland State Archives.





7. A squatter's station. The shingled roof, slab walls, and split rails were produced from local materials by the use of axe, saw, adze, and maul and wedges. From Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1886).



8. Eidsvold station in 1853, drawn by Charles Archer. From the *Souvenir of the Centenary of the Central and Upper Burnett River District of Queensland, 1848 to 1948* (William Brooks, Brisbane).





9. The Spring Creek Native Police barracks in the 1860s. These barracks were in the Comet and Nogoia district of central Queensland. The buildings, bark roofed and doubtless with ant bed floor, were constructed for coolness. From E. B. Kennedy, *The Black Police of Queensland* (John Murray, London, 1902).



10. The best shot in the Native Mounted Police. From W. R. O. Hill, *Forty-five Years' Experiences in North Queensland, 1861 to 1905* (H. Pole, Brisbane, 1907).





11. Lieutenant G. Murray, two junior officers, and seven of his "boys", in the 1860s. From the frontispiece of E. B. Kennedy, *The Black Police of Queensland* (John Murray, London, 1902).



12. Native troopers dispersing an Aboriginal camp. From Andrew Garran, ed., *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, vol. 2 (Picturesque Atlas Publishing Co., Sydney, 1886).





13. The best Native Mounted Police detachment in 1870. From W. R. O. Hill, *Forty-five Years' Experiences in North Queensland, 1861 to 1905* (H. Pole, Brisbane, 1907).



14. Bullock dray, believed to be at Jondaryan around 1870. These drays, which carried two tons, were used for the transport of stores and equipment. From the John Oxley Library Collection.





15. A village on the Darling Downs. The first townships on the Downs were Cambooya and Warwick, then Drayton which was initially called "The Springs". This village is possibly Drayton. From Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures* (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1886).



16. The Rock of Cashel Hotel, Sugarloaf, between Warwick and Stanthorpe around 1872. The Publicans Act required that a lighted lamp be placed at night in front of licensed premises. From Jack's Album, John Oxley Library.



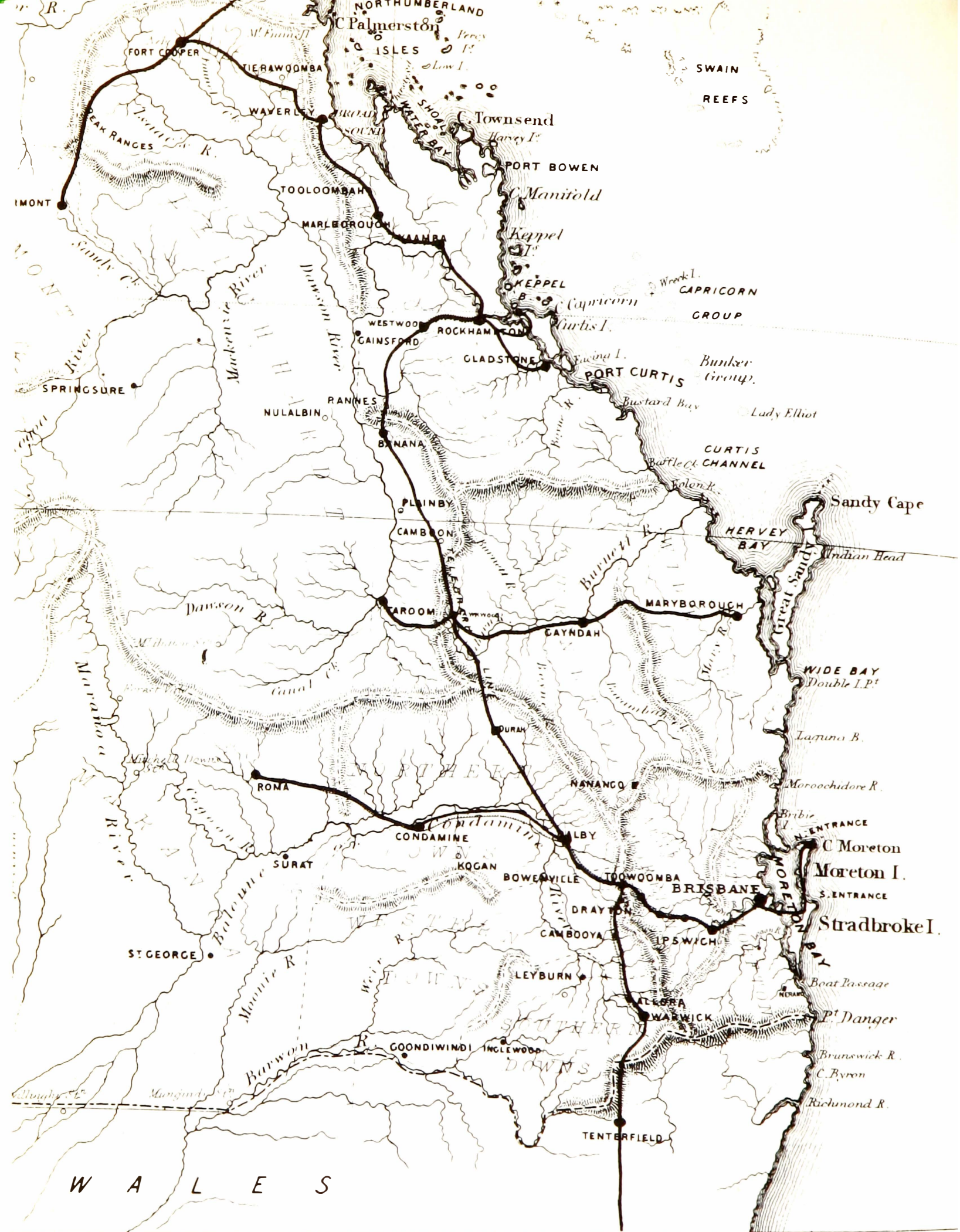


17. A settler and his family outside their bark roofed, slab walled house at Rosewood, 1880. From Trackson's Album, John Oxley Library.



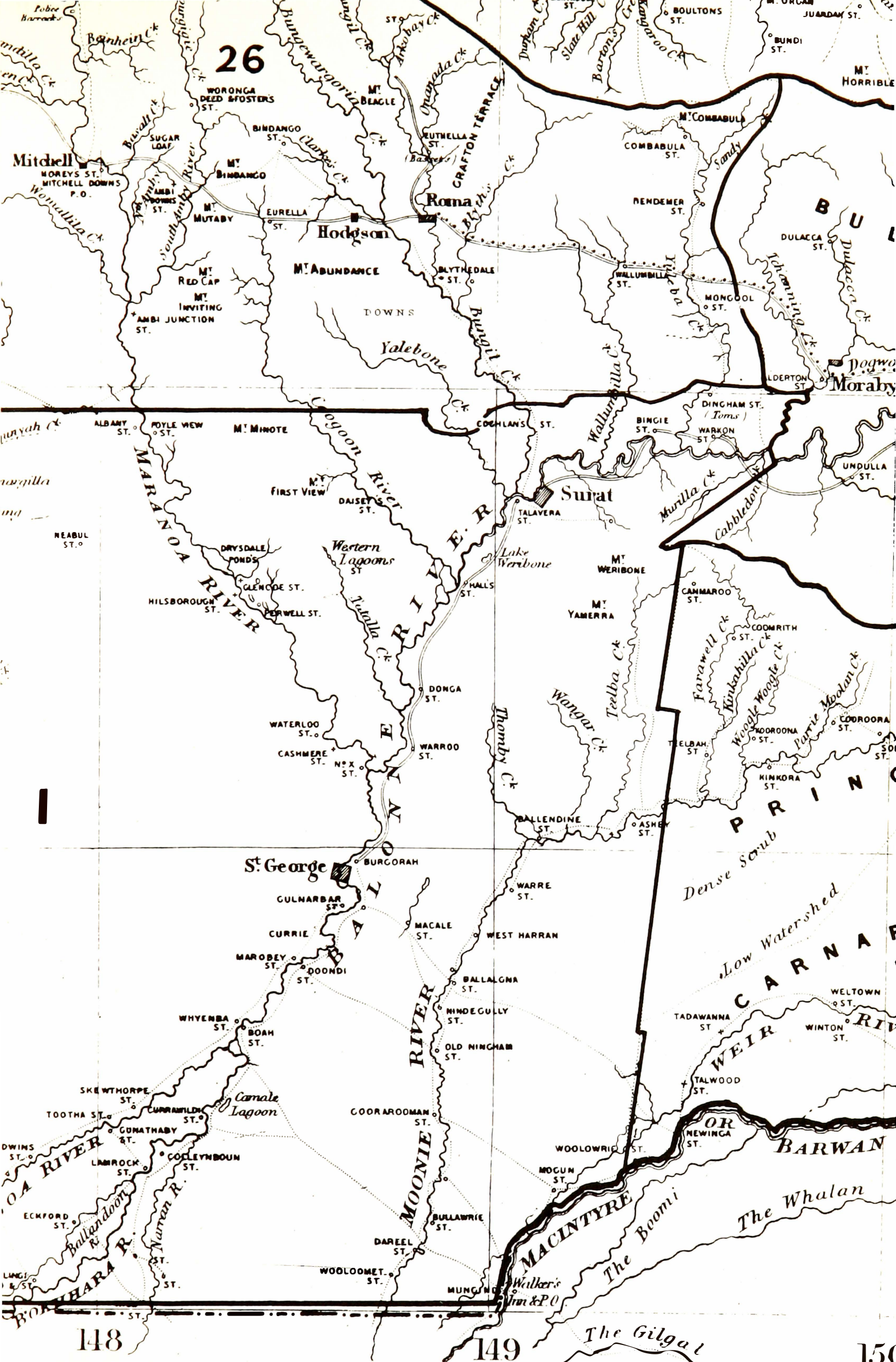
18. Colonel Sir Maurice O'Connell. Before being knighted he was the first commissioner of crown lands for the Burnett district and later the government representative and commissioner of crown lands at Gladstone. From Andrew Garran, ed., *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, vol. 2 (Picturesque Atlas Publishing Co., Sydney, 1886).





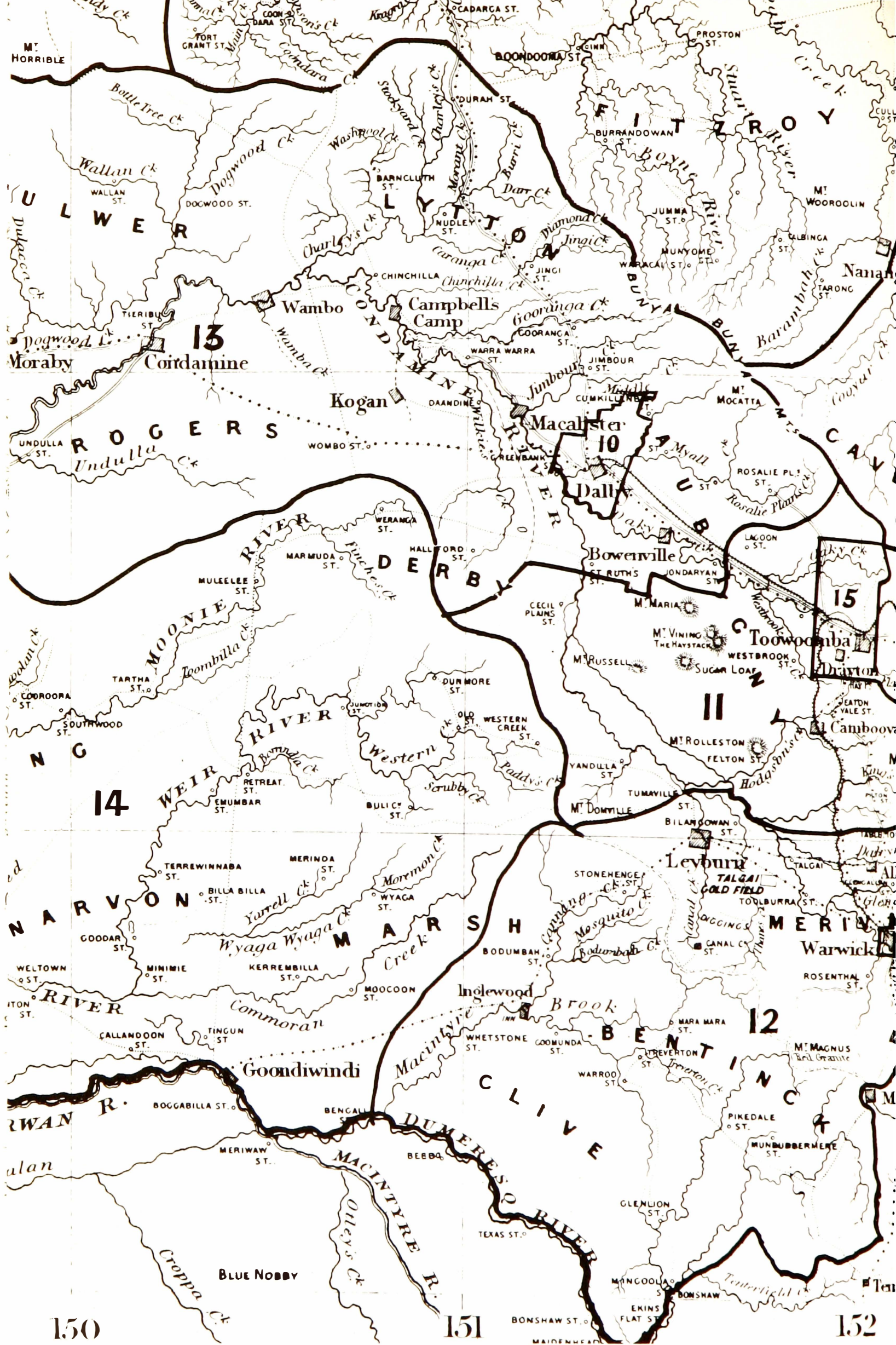
19. Map showing the area of pastoral settlement in Queensland by 1859. Although this map was produced in 1868, it covers the area of settlement in Queensland at Separation, which extended from Waverley station at Broad Sound to the Queensland-New South Wales border. At Separation in 1859, the electric telegraph system (indicated on the map by a dark line linking townships) had not been built, and the townships of Mackay, Fort Cooper, Clermont, Springsure, Roma, and St. George also did not exist.





20. Map of Queensland census districts (1871) showing the Balonne and Macintyre areas. In 1859 the townships of Mitchell, Hodgson, Roma, and St. George did not exist, while settlement down the Balonne River had extended a little south of present-day St. George.





21. Map of Queensland census districts (1871) showing the Macintyre and Condamine areas. In 1859 Drayton was the place appointed for holding courts of petty sessions and buildings had just begun to appear on the present site of Toowoomba.







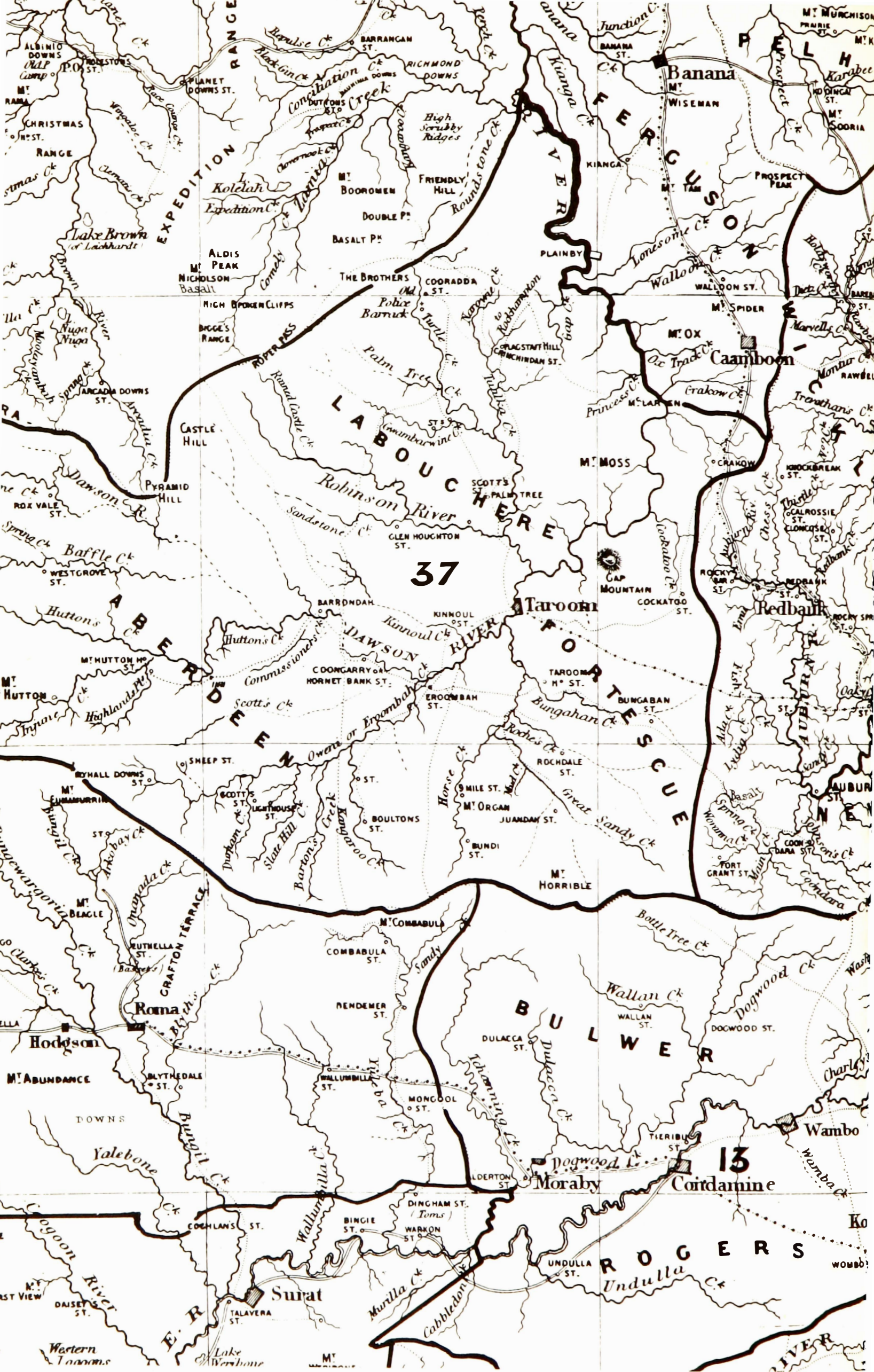






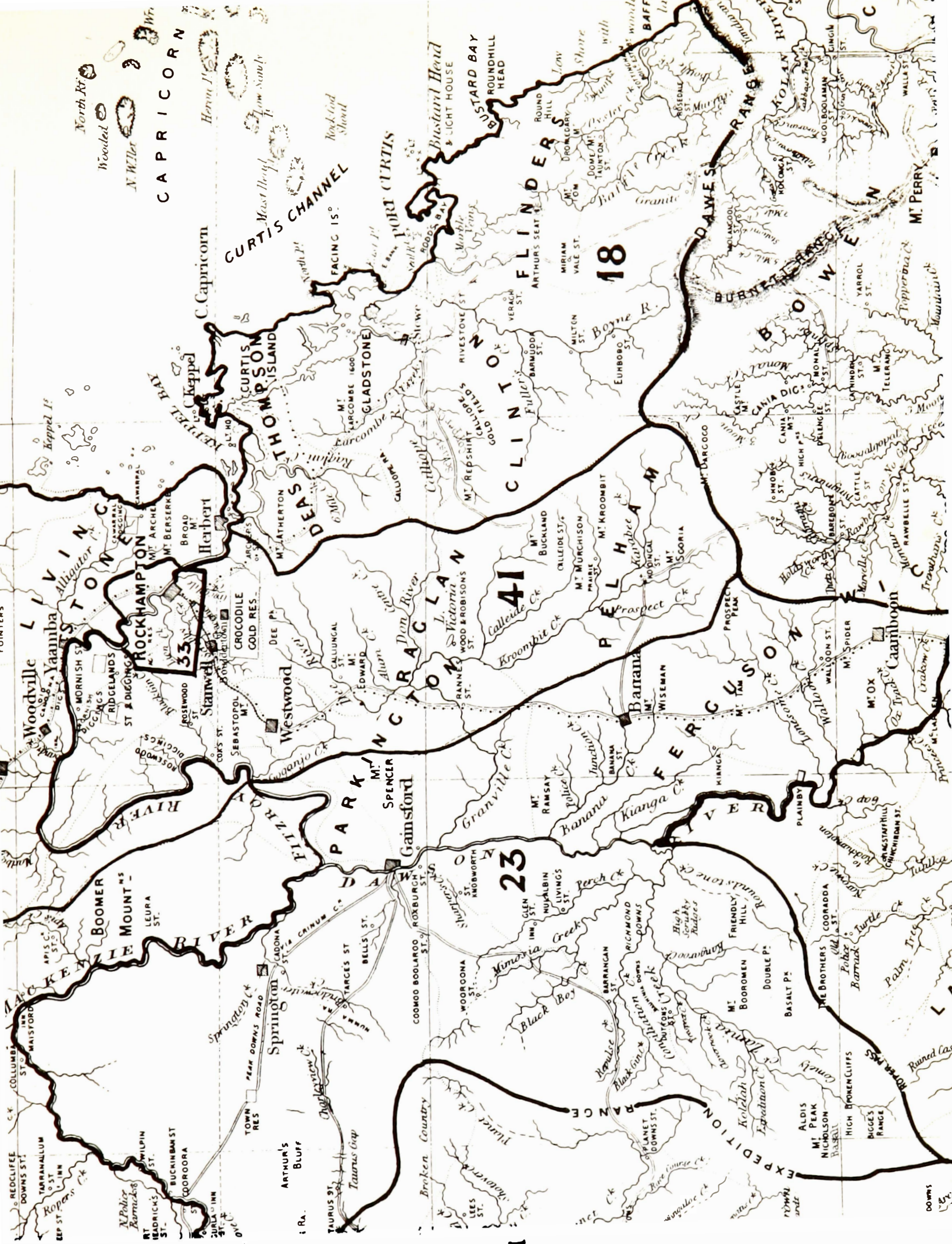
24. Map of Queensland census districts (1871) showing the early Moreton Bay district.





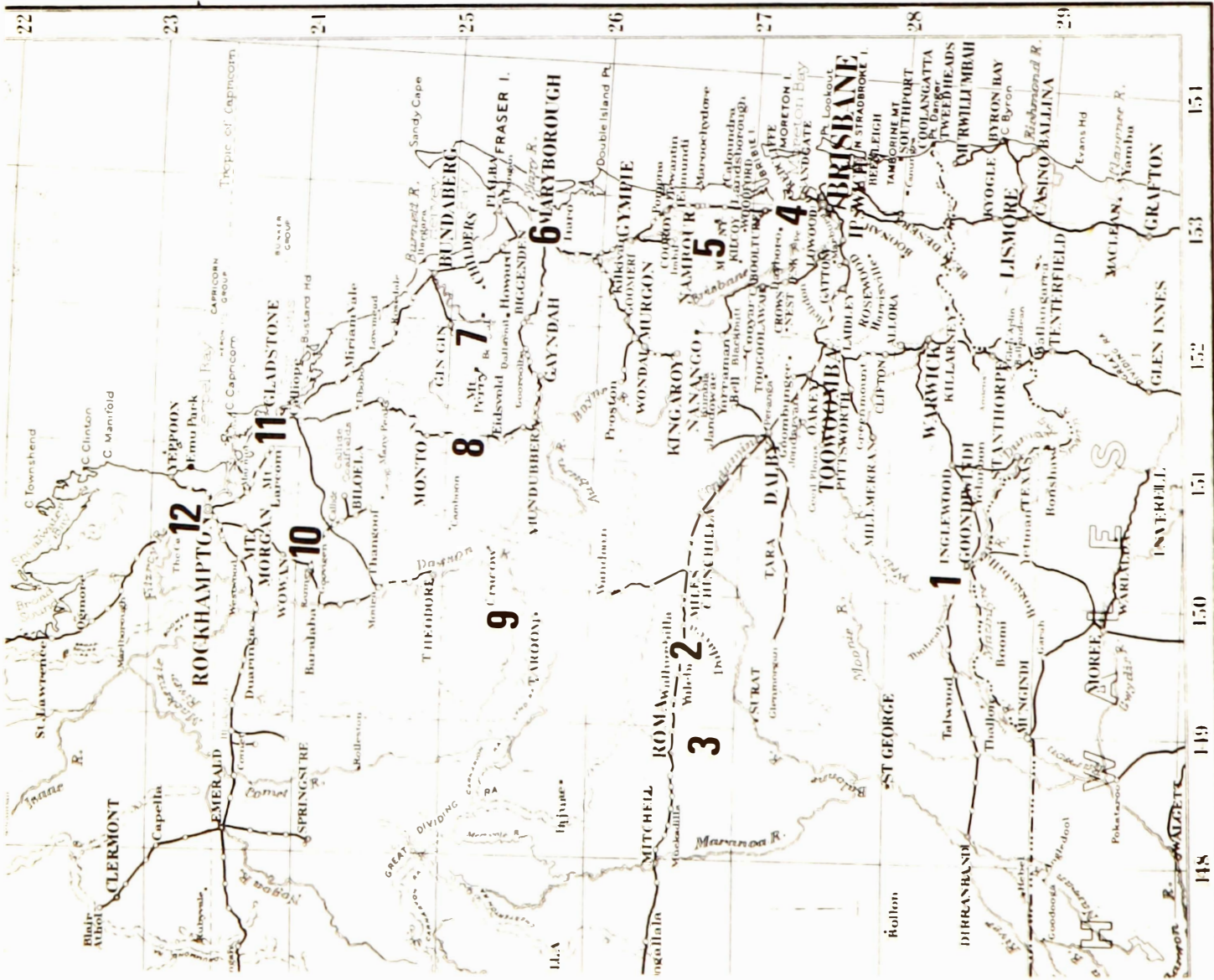
25. Map of Queensland census districts (1871) showing the early upper Dawson area (Leichhardt district).





26. Map of Queensland census districts (1871) showing the early Leichhardt (lower Dawson River area) and Port Curtis districts.





**Darling Downs**

- 1. Callandoon
- 2. Wondai Gumbal

On the Macintyre River close to the present Goondiwindi  
 On Tchanning Creek at the junction of Barrack Creek, Condamine River

**Maranoa**

- 3. Euleutha

On Bungil Creek twenty miles from the present Roma

**Moreton Bay**

- 4. Sandgate
- 5. Yabba

Near Brisbane  
 Yabba Creek, upper Mary River

**Wide Bay**

- 6. Coopers Plains
- 7. Walla

Mary River near Maryborough  
 Upper Burnett River, south of Gin Gin

**Burnett**

- 8. Traylan

Upper Burnett River, north of the present Eidsvold

**Leichhardt**

- 9. Upper Dawson
- 10. Lower Dawson

North of Taroomb  
 Near the present Rannes

**Port Curtis**

- 11. Gladstone
- 12. Rockhampton

Auckland Creek  
 Slopes of Mt. Athelstane overlooking Murray's Lagoon

27. The sites of Native Police stations (to 1859) located on a present-day map.

# 15

## The 1856 Select Committee

On 8 November 1856 Gordon Sandeman moved in the Legislative Assembly: "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the Native Police Force employed in the Colony, with a view to the improvement of its organization and management"; and "That such Committee consist of Mr. Hay, Mr. Holt, Mr. Jones, Mr. Forster, Mr. Buckley, Mr. Hely, Mr. Francis T. Rusden, Mr. Lang, Mr. Wm. Macleay, and the mover". The questions were put and passed.<sup>1</sup>

The proceedings of this select committee, chaired by Gordon Sandeman, extended over the period 14 November 1856 to 27 January 1857. Fifteen witnesses gave evidence before the committee. In addition a circular letter containing certain questions was addressed to forty-three residents of the northern districts interested in the Native Police to express their opinions in writing. With one or two exceptions, all answered the questions posed.

The committee's report was dated 28 January 1857. No reason had been adduced to the committee to account for the reduction of the force from its former strength of 136 Native Police to 72 men, while the evidence tended to show that the reduction, in conjunction with the impaired efficiency of the force consequent upon the abolition of the commandantship, had been productive of very serious results. It had increased the number of murders committed since the reduction had taken place, and had seriously checked occupation of the frontier country, reducing the development of its resources and the spread of population.<sup>2</sup>

The committee found that the abuses and want of protection then recently complained of had arisen firstly from the weakness of the force, and secondly from an ineffective or improper distribution of it — the inefficiency of the force having been increased by the absence of a local officer to supervise and control the conduct of the force generally. This duty was the more imperative because many of the officers were young men with but limited experience, and a few of them had habits not improved by the force and permitted to remain unchecked by the former commandant.<sup>3</sup>

The committee recommended in short:

1. The appointment of a local officer in charge as commandant and inspector of the Native Police in the northern districts who would be responsible to the government for the efficiency and proper conduct of the Force.
2. The appointment of an officer as secretary or clerk whose duty would be to undertake the correspondence and attend to the accounts and other clerical business of the force and whose place of residence was to be fixed at some central locality where also was to be fixed the headquarters of the commandant and inspector.
3. That the force for the northern districts consist of not less than one hundred and twenty troopers divided into bodies or detachments of about ten men each. This total number would supply an effective force of one hundred men and also supply a reserve of twenty men for relieving casualties by sickness or otherwise. The casualties were estimated on two men for each detachment.
4. That while the Native Police should be employed principally as a patrolling force, a main camp should be formed for each detachment in the most central locality in each outlying district or portion of district where the detachment was stationed. It was also recommended that a camp sergeant be attached to each main camp to issue and attend to the stores, keep the saddlery in order, and if practicable to shoe the horses and generally to assist the officer in charge of the detachment in drilling and exercising the troopers.
5. That the number and respective grades of officers should be fixed as three first lieutenants and eleven second

lieutenants. The committee approved of the abolition of the grade of sergeant but did not recommend the continuance of the grade of sub-lieutenant, "being of the opinion that the amount of responsibility devolving upon a Native Police Officer is far too serious and important to be extended to a grade hitherto generally composed of very young men, or filled by a class of persons not more efficient than could be expected the low rate of salary attached to the office would induce to enter — what is in reality a very arduous service".

6. The adoption of a distribution of the force recommended in accordance with a scale suggested, leaving any future alteration in its distribution to the discretion and control of the commandant and inspector.
7. The transfer from the Murrumbidgee to the northern districts of a number of members of the Native Police Force employed in the southern districts and the employing of Native Police only in the southern districts of Albert and lower Darling.<sup>4</sup>

However, before the committee's report was made the control of the Native Police Corps in the northern districts had been transferred from the inspector general of police to the government resident at Brisbane.

Captain John McLerie had succeeded Captain W. C. Mayne as inspector general of police on Mayne's appointment to the office of auditor general of the colony in 1856. McLerie, on taking office, suggested that the Native Police should be handed over to the government resident at Brisbane as the local officer in charge. This suggestion was carried out by the government although the force remained under McLerie's control as far as the accounts were concerned up to the end of 1856 to enable all officers to receive sufficient notice of the transfer of control.<sup>5</sup> On 24 November 1856 a circular letter was addressed by McLerie to the officer in charge of each division of the Native Police Corps. Each officer as soon as possible was to transmit to the government resident a return of the division showing its strength, distribution, number and state of horses, and particulars and condition of arms, appointments, clothing, and stores in possession. As it was absolutely necessary that the accounts of the Native

Police be closed and adjusted with the inspector general soon after the termination of 1856, each officer was to transmit to the inspector general at the earliest opportunity after 31 December 1856 vouchers for pay and supplies furnished to or obtained by the division under his command to that date.<sup>6</sup>

On 25 November 1856 Wickham wrote to Morisset stating he had been instructed to assume the control of the Native Police for the northern districts from 1 December 1856. Morisset was requested to communicate with Wickham as previously he had done with the inspector general of police. After asking certain questions relating to the accounts of the corps, Wickham stated he would be happy at all times to receive any suggestions calculated to increase the efficiency of the corps and render effective protection to the inhabitants of the northern districts.<sup>7</sup>

On 25 February 1857, the colonial secretary transmitted to Wickham at Brisbane a copy of the report of the select committee together with a copy of the revised estimate. The force was to be reorganized in accordance with the suggestions contained in the report as soon as circumstances would permit. First, Wickham was to select some gentleman to fill the office of commandant who would have to perform the duties pointed out in the report under Wickham's general control. However in this Wickham was told what to do. He was "to place himself in communication" with Sandeman who had been chairman of the select committee "and such other Gentlemen in the District as may be likely to assist . . . in this object".<sup>8</sup>

In March 1857 Lieutenant Edric Vaux Morisset, son of a former commandant of the Port Macquarie convict settlement, was recommended as commandant in letters received by Wickham from Gordon Sandeman, James Leith Hay, Patrick Leslie, W. O'Grady Haly, Alexr. R. Lawson, Andrew Bonar, Mort & Laidley, Edward Knox, and Wm. Fanning. These letters stated that Morisset was peculiarly fitted for the appointment "being in every way a Gentleman, thoroughly understanding the requirements of the Unsettled Districts as far as protection was required — conversant with the character of the Aboriginal Natives and combining firmness with moderation in the exercise of his duty — a particularly

good judge of the style of horse required for the Service and a thoroughly practical bushman, having been most actively employed in the various Northern Districts in which the Force had been stationed".<sup>9</sup>

Morisset's appointment, accordingly recommended by Wickham, was approved by the governor general on 2 May 1857<sup>10</sup> and gazetted two days later.<sup>11</sup> This action had commenced the implementation of the select committee's recommendations. Six months nearly had elapsed since Gordon Sandeman had moved in the Legislative Assembly for the appointment of the select committee.

The four sub-lieutenants of Native Police appointed during the first half of 1856 had been posted: Irving to Wide Bay; Thomas Ross to the upper Dawson replacing Nicoll who, on Fulford's death, had been promoted to lieutenant in charge at Wondai Gumbal; Francis Allman to Walla on Fortescue leaving the force; and William Smith to the lower Condamine. While Nicoll was absent, attending the select committee's inquiry, Second Lieutenant Ferguson had relieved at Wondai Gumbal.

For the year 1856 Commissioner of Crown Lands Boyle at Surat had transmitted his annual report on the condition of the Aborigines of the Maranoa district. He regretted his inability to give any account of their improvement since his last annual report. Aborigines had carried on the same system of killing cattle and sheep whenever opportunity offered and to a greater extent than in 1855 — especially on the lower Balonne. He was not aware of any loss of human life connected with these depredations. It seemed quite hopeless to expect, wrote Boyle, that the Aborigines would ever abandon their predatory habits, considering the thinly settled state of the district which was "likely to be permanent owing to its unfitness generally for agricultural purposes and considering also its remoteness", except by the maintenance of a police patrol. Although the Aborigines in a few instances had been brought to a partial state of civilization the great bulk of the Aboriginal population remained uninfluenced. Boyle added that there was however "a small intermediate class between the Station Blacks and the Wild Blacks (as they are termed) who live always in the vicinity of the stations and are



in general harmless and peaceable. To these the present of annual clothing which they receive is very encouraging and beneficial". Boyle concluded by stating that no effort would be wanting on his part to advance their condition and prospects and to secure for them that protection to which the law "entitles them".<sup>1 2</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman at Rannes in his 1856 annual report on the Aboriginal population of the Leichhardt district regretted he had nothing more satisfactory to write on the subject than was contained in his annual report for 1855 "which gave but a lamentable account of that Savage Race". He had reported two murders committed by Aborigines, one of a German woman at Royd's station Juandah and the other a hutkeeper at Cardew's station Eurombah. Aborigines in considerable numbers had attacked Banana, an outstation of Messrs. Hay and Holt, where they wounded four or five people, killed a horse, and carried off three thousand sheep "of which however, they were obliged to give up possession". At the head station of Messrs. Hay and Holt at Rannes no wild Aborigines had during the year made their appearance nor had Wiseman been able to see any of them and ascertain from them whether they would be peaceable if permitted to come to the station. Wiseman was inclined to think that the Aborigines "would now abstain from murder and carrying off whole flocks. They are very glad to be near a station. The gins and old men get a living by fetching wood and water and are left in safety whilst the younger men are on hunting excursions. There will of course be occasionally a sheep stolen by night out of the hurdles quietly, but this tax a squatter does not begrudge paying. They, however, should never be allowed to assemble in large numbers or be interfered with by the ignorant. The Police, I think, ought to see to this."<sup>1 3</sup>

A record remains available of the police action taken on the murder of the hutkeeper or shepherd at Cardew's Eurombah station. It is a record of something that Frederick Walker when commandant had endeavoured to avoid — a pursuit of Aborigines by settlers accompanied by Native Police under the charge of a non-commissioned Aboriginal policeman.

On 7 December 1856, Sub-Lieutenant Thomas Ross at Palm Tree Creek wrote to Second Lieutenant Ferguson at Wondai Gumbal after receiving information on 10 November that Aborigines had murdered one of Cardew's shepherds, Andrew Volk, about twenty-four years old, a native of Germany. A "terrible wound in his forehead had been apparently inflicted with a tomahawk".<sup>14</sup>

Thomas R. Boulton, superintendent of Eurombah station, had first given information of the murder to Corporal Robin Hood and had also informed him of the direction the Aborigines had taken after committing the deed. Robin Hood accompanied Boulton and several of the neighbouring settlers in quest of the Aborigines. On the second day the pursuers saw camp smoke and on the third day succeeded in coming up with the Aborigines just as they were drawing out of camp. The Aborigines perceived the party advancing when about one hundred yards distant and immediately ran away. The police party pursued them and, as they would not stop when called upon to do so, fired upon them. By the party's fire eight Aborigines were killed or wounded. The murdered man's clothes were found in the Aborigines' camp as well as sundry articles taken by Aborigines from the shepherd's tent. Robin Hood later informed Ross that it would have been useless following the Aborigines any further. By reason of the very rough nature of the country at the head of Palm Tree Creek they would be able to travel much faster than he could.

On 11 November 1856, Ross joined Robin Hood and they patrolled the country lying between Juandah and the heads of Horse Creek, Owens Creek, and the Dawson but saw no traces whatever of Aborigines with the exception of one track. Ross returned to Palm Tree Creek on 2 December 1856. There he established his headquarters on a site between Eurombah and Miller and Turnbull's station Kinnoul.

When sending Wickham the report from Ross, Lieutenant Ferguson at Wondai Gumbal drew attention to the fact that this was the second murder within a short space of time committed on the upper Dawson. He reported that the Aborigines were numerous and determined and that the number of police stationed there was quite inadequate to



provide for the safety of such an extensive district. He stated that at least twelve men should be allotted for the upper Dawson so that two patrol parties could be constantly on duty. Until increased protection was afforded in that district Ferguson feared that outbreaks would continue "as Blacks can so easily take refuge in the broken country at the head of the Dawson where it is very difficult to follow them with any chance of capturing offenders". When acknowledging receipt of the report, the colonial secretary directed that a magisterial enquiry should as customary be held touching the death of the eight Aborigines and the depositions forwarded to the attorney general.<sup>15</sup>

On 2 November 1856, Lieutenant John Murray reported that he had visited Sub-Lieutenant Ross's detachment which was in very good order "and does that officer credit". Although Murray was of the opinion that Palm Tree Creek was the best place for a police camp, it was almost impossible for Ross to form one there with only six troopers. Murray in consequence had advised Ross to move about the stations until further instructions.<sup>16</sup>

On 16 March 1857, Ross at the Dawson River wrote reporting to Nicoll that with the exception of Robin Hood all the troopers had left him. He outlined the events leading up to this. Ross for some time previously had been quartered at Gonganda station then lately taken up by Messrs. Kellman. It was situated about twenty-five miles beyond Scott and Thompson's station on Palm Tree Creek. On 23 February, Ross left Gonganda to disperse a large number of Aborigines assembled at Eurombah. Two days previously heavy rains had set in. The country was soft and the Native Police were compelled to leave their horses six miles from Scott's station. Saddles and clothes which could not be carried were placed in trees thought to be secure from any flood. However Palm Tree Creek rose to such a height as to sweep everything left in the trees away. Subsequently all the saddles but the pack saddle were recovered. On arriving at Scott's, Ross could get nothing for the troopers to eat but meat. Continual rain prevented the police from proceeding further and as no tents were available the troopers were in a "miserable state for want of shelter from the weather". They became dis-

contented. On 4 March, when the creek had subsided considerably, Ross sent the men to Miles's station directing them to remain there until he arrived with the horses. Ross with one man he had retained, as soon as the country was fit to travel over, brought in the horses "after some trouble . . . with the exception of Snowball. He got into a bog from which I found it impossible to extricate him". On arriving at Miles's station Ross found the troopers all had gone to witness a fight amongst the Aborigines on Eurombah. On proceeding to the latter station Ross was told the troopers had returned to Miles. With the assistance of Boulton and three other white men Ross then dispersed the Aborigines assembled at Eurombah. Returning to Miles Ross found the troopers who "appeared sorry for having absented themselves without leave but earnestly requested that they might be allowed to return to their own country, that they had suffered so much exposure lately they could not stand it any longer". Ross reported it was evident to him that if they were not allowed to go quietly they would run away and join the Aborigines. He therefore told them they might go on the condition that immediately they were to leave the district. Ross also reported that about two months previously a body of disbanded police from Port Curtis and Rannes, having been directed by their officer to meet him on their way to their own country on the Macintyre and the Balonne, had arrived on the Dawson. These disbanded police had been in a state of mutiny previous to their leaving and Ross believed they had avowed their intention of inducing his men to leave. He then had difficulty in preventing his men from leaving him and joining them and had reported this to Lieutenant Ferguson. Ross expressed his opinion that it had been "highly injudicious and improper of Second Lieutenant Walker allowing the disbanded men to proceed directly to the different police stations with the avowed intention of inducing all the men to leave". He asked Nicoll at Wondai Gumbal to send over two or three men should the latter think it inadvisable for Ross to commence recruiting in that district.<sup>17</sup>

Nicoll in sending this report to Wickham called attention to the fact of Lieutenant Murray<sup>18</sup> having allowed his dis-

banded troopers to wander over the country "spreading dissatisfaction and mutiny at every Native Police station on their way". Nicoll reported the disbanded men were all armed, most with double-barrelled guns, and seemed determined to induce his men to desert.<sup>19</sup>

The disbanded troopers referred to by Nicoll and Ross had left Lieutenant Murray's Port Curtis divisions at Rannes in December 1856. Commissioner of Crown Lands O'Connell of Port Curtis<sup>20</sup> wrote to the colonial secretary adverting to a promise made by the government to the troopers of the Port Curtis division of Native Police to allow them to revisit their friends and assist them in so doing. He stated he had been informed that on the men recently demanding a fulfilment of the promise they were "sent in disgrace from the FitzRoy River to Rannes by Lieutenant Murray".<sup>21</sup>

Murray reported on 22 April 1857, on Wickham's request for an explanation, that the men who left him in December 1856 with the exception of two, Callandoon Jemmy and Boralga, had no guarantee so far as he was aware from the government of assistance to enable them to return to their own country. He stated that the men to whom Captain O'Connell had guaranteed assistance, with the exception of the two previously named, had been actually returned on horseback to their own country under the charge of Second Lieutenant Ferguson. He was not aware of any compact as to the return of the men to their own country being ever entered into by the officer enlisting them. When, on his way to the upper Dawson, the men came in a body to him to speak on the subject of their return to their own country, they had not seemed aware of any compact but simply expressed a wish to go and see their friends. He then had promised them that if they remained until the end of the year, when he hoped to be able to procure recruits, he would furnish them with horses and other assistance for their journey. He had allowed the whole of them to proceed to Rannes to prepare for their departure. This was all he had promised to do but they broke faith with him and at a moment's notice insisted on leaving. They left in good spirits and apparently well satisfied with his arrangement. They were given assistance — two horses and sufficient firearms

and ammunition. Murray added that they had only to travel to the next Native Police station Wondai Gumbal and ten out of twelve would be amongst their friends. He had communicated with the officer in charge of the Wondai Gumbal station on the subject.<sup>22</sup>

Seven troopers had left Rannes: Callandoon Jemmy, with seven years service in the Native Police; Boralga, seven years; Wallaby, six years; Georgy, six years; Randolph, five years; Combo, seven years; and Thomas Hippi, five years. The only men left with Murray then were troopers Johnny Reid and Edwin at his headquarters at Gladstone, Charlie Orlando and Considine at Rannes, and Toby, Frank, and Jack Styles at the FitzRoy River.<sup>23</sup>

Callandoon Jemmy and Boralgo, who had been excepted by Murray from those to whom no guarantee of assistance to return to their own country had been given, were mentioned by the Colonial Secretary's Office when acknowledging Wickham's letter forwarding Murray's report. That office enclosed with its acknowledgment an extract from a memorandum received from the auditor general suggesting a reference to Lieutenant Nicoll to ascertain what had become of Callandoon Jemmy and Boralga, including whether they had retained or handed over the two horses, etc., and whether aid or protection had been afforded to enable them to return to their own country.<sup>24</sup> Nicoll reported to Wickham on 24 August 1857 that to the best of his recollection he had never seen Callandoon Jemmy though he had been given to understand by one of his troopers that he was then at Callandoon. Nicoll had found Boralga awaiting his return to Wondai Gumbal. At Boralga's request Nicoll had attached him to his division, "a favour which he requited by breaking into the store and stealing therefrom 30 lbs. of sugar". Nicoll had discharged him at once and he was then at Coxen's station on the Dogwood. Nicoll was not aware that these men were provided with horses and advised a reference to Second Lieutenant Ferguson for information on that point.<sup>25</sup>

Nicoll's reference to his return to Wondai Gumbal had followed his visit to Ipswich. Nehemiah Bartley in his book *Opals and Agates* remembered going to take tea one after-

noon in August 1857 at McDonald's Hotel, Ipswich, with Lieutenant Nicoll who "was good company, and he could play and improvise on the piano as well as Theodore Hook himself".<sup>26</sup>

Shortly before the party of Native Police left the corps at Rannes Lieutenant Morisset at Traylan, apparently acting on information received from trooper Boonya Jimmy, wrote to Lieutenant Murray at Gladstone requesting him to enquire into the murder at Rannes of trooper Binghi by Aboriginal Sergeant Callandoon and trooper Paddy during Sub-Lieutenant Walker's absence on patrol from Rannes to Gladstone.<sup>27</sup> Morisset also wrote a private letter to Sub-Lieutenant Walker at Rannes on the subject and that letter was promptly answered by Walker.<sup>28</sup>

Murray on 9 December 1856 wrote to Wickham who then instructed him to cause a strict investigation to be made in the matter and report the result.<sup>29</sup> Sub-Lieutenant Walker, on being asked by Murray for his report, wrote on 28 December 1856 stating that as regards the supposed murder by Sergeant Callandoon the report was false as the sergeant was for some time before and afterwards on duty with Walker at Gladstone. Walker also stated that no legal evidence could be obtained against trooper Paddy and the evidence of all the troopers including trooper Frank, a countryman of Binghi's, proved that on the night previous to Binghi's disappearance, Binghi had informed the troopers it was his intention to abscond and that when Binghi did go all the troopers, including Paddy, were at the Rannes barracks. Walker added that when he left for Gladstone he proposed taking Binghi with him. Binghi had asked to be allowed to remain and Walker had consented. Binghi's blanket with his private clothes had disappeared. Some time previously there had been a quarrel between Binghi and the accused and upon this foundation Walker believed that Boonya Jimmy had raised "the most unjust superstructure". Walker added that Paddy had been under his command for two years and always had borne an excellent character.<sup>30</sup>

Murray, when reporting to Wickham, deemed Walker's report satisfactory and no further investigation necessary. He thought that Morisset had exercised little discretion "in at

once jumping to conclusions not borne out by facts and which might have caused considerable harm to the Force". Murray considered it would be as well to advise Morisset "to display more caution in giving implicit credence to such reports and also to reserve his instructions for his subordinates".<sup>31</sup> (Murray then was senior to Morisset.) The matter was dropped.

For the Port Curtis district in the year 1856, Commissioner of Crown Lands O'Connell had reported to his chief commissioner that the intercourse between the settlers and the Aborigines had been generally of the most satisfactory description. No outrages had occurred nor had there been any disputes of any sorts between the two races since those which had taken place at the end of 1855 and in the first month of 1856. He also stated he had commenced during 1856 the issue of blankets, shirts, tomahawks etc., and he thought these presents on the part of the government were duly estimated and appreciated by the Aborigines.<sup>32</sup>

Before various select committees it was generally considered by witnesses that the distribution of blankets was of benefit. Former commandant Marshall, before the 1856 Select Committee, stated that the Aborigines in the vicinity of towns probably sold them next day for grog or tobacco. He thought the system, although good, might be improved.<sup>33</sup> Captain John Coley before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee stated that blankets were the destruction of the Brisbane tribe — by their living in blankets and then being exposed to the night air. This, he added, brought on chest complaints "which we never observed until they had received the blankets".<sup>34</sup> In Brisbane in 1854 the government resident had received three hundred blankets, one hundred shirts, and one hundred pairs of trousers from the Colonial Secretary's Office for distribution to the Aborigines of the district.<sup>35</sup> The issue was to take place on the Queen's Birthday, one blanket only to be issued to each Aborigine, and the blankets to be marked distinctly and issued on loan only so that persons improperly obtaining possession of them could be punished under the law. Blankets for issuing for the same purpose were sent to all benches of magistrates in the colony.

From Gladstone on 10 January 1857 Murray reported to Wickham that he only had eleven troopers and proposed instructing Sub-Lieutenant Ross to detach one or two men from the Dawson to temporarily reinforce the detachments in the Port Curtis neighbourhood.<sup>36</sup> Some two months later Ross reported that with one exception all his men had left.<sup>37</sup> Murray also wrote that Second Lieutenant Walker had arrived at Gladstone and he (Murray) was proceeding in the direction of Gayndah for the purpose of procuring as many eligible recruits in as short a time as possible. Sub-Lieutenant F. T. Powell, who had been appointed to the Native Police on 2 December 1856, was assigned to the Port Curtis district.

At the close of the year 1856 Commissioner of Crown Lands Halloran, when reporting on the condition of the Aborigines in the Wide Bay and Burnett districts for the past year, wrote that following the murders of George Furber and his son-in-law by the Aborigines of Tinana Creek, as was "customary with these savages after the perpetration of such an atrocity", the Aborigines had remained tolerably quiet for some time. The only serious offences committed by them in the early part of 1856 were the throwing of a spear at Captain Knight of the steamer *Waratah* whilst on the deck of his vessel lying at the wharf in Maryborough, and an assault on a married woman at East Maryborough who had "died from the effects of ill-usage she received". Robberies of drays and houses during the earlier part of the year had not been of such frequent occurrence as previously. However, during three of four months of the latter part of 1856 the Aborigines had been visiting and receiving visits from others in the adjoining districts. Since returning to Maryborough, where the Aborigines at the end of 1856 were in large numbers, they had constantly engaged in plundering houses, gardens, and drays. For the first time they had killed and carried off a large number of pigs from the boiling down establishment about two miles from Maryborough. On the night of 20 December 1856 Aborigines had attempted to break into the house of E. B. Uhr at Maryborough. The Aborigines, Halloran stated, were becoming very expert in house robberies and, shortly before he wrote his report, were detected obtaining an entrance into Dowzer's store by

removing a pane of glass to enable them to destroy the inside fastening of the window. For the first time for six or seven years the Aborigines on the Burnett had been troublesome, particularly at Mondure the station of Captain H. B. O'Connell where they destroyed a number of cattle and were not dispersed until the Native Police were called out. On the whole however, Halloran considered the Aborigines to have been "somewhat more quiet than usual, during the past year". He attributed this more to the circumstances of the Native Police having been for some time past in the vicinity of Maryborough than to any improvement to the moral condition of the Aborigines themselves. Aborigines had continued to be on the stations as shepherds and bullock drivers and in the town getting wood and water but, Halloran stated, their labour was never to be depended upon and was consequently of little value.<sup>38</sup>

Lieutenant Murray, on 6 March 1857, wrote reporting to Wickham that at Maryborough he had succeeded in obtaining fifteen recruits for his division. The recruits were Barinma, Dyebeary, Gundama, Deprowaa, Bungania, Guabagalie, Boorboola, Doondallie, Gulbangir, Yoorboola, Doondonie, Dundinya, Munjevenie, Gebonpelra, and Dooranga. Surgeon Edward Fielding Palmer of Maryborough on 5 March had found them all free from disease or any personal deformity or defect that might incapacitate them from the performance of their duty.<sup>39</sup> E. B. Uhr before the 1858 Select Committee did not consider that recruits from the Wide Bay district, who were all recruited in Maryborough, would make efficient troopers. They joined the force for "the novelty and for a time, but abandoned it at their earliest leisure". He considered the Aborigines had got a contempt for the troopers in the force.<sup>40</sup>

Murray, who had been detained in the locality of Maryborough for a month owing to the continued rains having rendered the country impassable, was compelled to expedite his movements on hearing of two murders having been committed by Aborigines at Tolson's station in the vicinity of Gladstone. In his letter to Wickham of 6 March 1857, he stated he was therefore leaving Maryborough that morning accompanied by three troopers of Morisset's division in



addition to his then available force, which would place him "in a position to follow up and punish the murderers with effect". In conclusion he respectfully submitted that his expenses had been very great and he trusted he may be granted some compensation.<sup>41</sup>

Murray reached Stanton Harcourt station, a distance of more than forty miles from Maryborough, on the night of 8 March. The roads were in a very bad state and nearly all the creeks flooded. He was then within twenty miles of the river Burnett which he had to cross to reach Tolson's station. He expected to be delayed a considerable time in consequence of the river being nearly bank high. Next day Murray wrote to Wickham reporting this and stating that three of the recruits had left him and three others he had sent back "fearing of a great scarcity of rations on the route". Only nine recruits remained and he anticipated a further reduction of two or three before he reached his destination. Murray requested he be sent at the earliest opportunity fifteen saddles, fifteen bridles, and fifteen saddle cloths previously applied for on 1 January. In consequence of the continued rains since he had left Gladstone, the saddles then in use were almost unfit for service and impeded any progress on account of the injury they did to the horses. He had intended having the saddles repaired at Maryborough but this would have detained him too long. Murray added it appeared that Aborigines had murdered two of Carlo O'Connell's men at a sheep station two miles from Tolson's head station, killed one of Tolson's men and severely wounded Tolson in the shoulder.<sup>42</sup>

Some twelve months had elapsed since Aborigines had attacked stations in the Port Curtis district. Meanwhile the Native Police strength in that area had wasted away. It is easy to imagine Murray's fears while held up by the flooded Burnett River as to the safety of settlers in the district he had been appointed to protect.

# 16

## An Inefficient Force

When in the middle of January 1857 Lieutenant Murray was leaving Gladstone to recruit troopers in the Burnett and Wide Bay districts, he had placed Second Lieutenant R. G. Walker in charge of the Native Police camp there. The only trooper left with Walker absconded the day after Murray's departure.<sup>1</sup>

Sub-Lieutenant Powell, who had been appointed to the Native Police Force in December 1856, arrived at Gladstone towards the end of February 1857. Meanwhile the Gladstone Native Police camp had been surrounded by Aborigines nearly every night, causing Walker to privately employ a man named William White to stay at the camp to assist in watching and thus enabling Walker to get rations and look after the horses. On Powell's arrival White, who had been employed for six weeks, was discharged.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the absence of Native Police from the Port Curtis district had encouraged the Aborigines to renew their attacks on the settlers. From the FitzRoy, Rannes, and Mt. Larcom reports arrived at Gladstone of sheep stolen and lives of white men threatened. Even in Gladstone the store of Joseph Willmott was broken open and a quantity of flour and tobacco taken.<sup>3</sup>

During the afternoon of 12 February 1857 Aborigines attacked an outstation of Miriam Vale about forty miles south of Gladstone. The result of this attack was observed by David Kinley, a shepherd in the employment of Carlo O'Connell. On coming home with his sheep to the outstation about half an hour before sundown, Kinley turned the corner

of the hut and there saw the body of John Ramshay, the German hutkeeper, lying close to the door. There was a spear right through the body and a number of head wounds. Kinley put his sheep in the yard. On seeing another flock of sheep on the next ridge but without the shepherd, Kinley yarded that flock also. Kinley searched for the shepherd who was not found. He did not observe any tracks of Aborigines but found a heavy nulla nulla and a broken spear other than the spear that was in the body of Ramshay.<sup>4</sup>

News of the attack on the outstation was first brought to Lancelot Westwood Tolson at Miriam Vale by David Gray. Tolson next day went to the outstation, a distance of two miles, and found the body of the hutkeeper still lying close to the hut. He had the body buried and unsuccessfully searched for the missing man.<sup>5</sup>

About 8 p.m. that night some twenty or thirty Aborigines attacked the head station of Miriam Vale. At the time shepherd David Kinley was sitting in a tent with John Hillery. Bernard Witt, superintendent for Mrs. Tolson, was sitting under the verandah of Tolson's hut. Witt saw Tolson speared through the shoulder. On the alarm being given, John Hillery lifted his gun and was in the act of cocking it when a spear thrown by an Aborigine within a few yards of him entered his breast and pierced his heart. Hillery died immediately afterwards. The Aborigines then turned their attention to carrying off the sheep at the station.<sup>6</sup>

While David Kinley later deposed before Second Lieutenant Walker that he could not identify his attackers as it was too dark, Tolson deposed he could identify them. He named Billy Barlow, Dan, Tommy, Peter, Charlie, Jemmy, Tea, Mr. Palmer, Beppo Billy, and Little Tommy besides those he could identify but could not name. Tolson believed that Billy speared him and Dan was the man who killed Hillery.

The Aborigines lingered about the station for several nights after their attack evidently for the purpose of again attacking it but this was prevented by the arrival of several of Tolson's neighbours.

On the morning of 16 February it was found that the Aborigines had burned down a sheep station four miles from

Miriam Vale. James Landsborough of Monduran, who had received a request from Tolson for assistance, left Monduran on 19 February for Chauvel and Tolson's Miriam Vale station.<sup>7</sup> From there he started in pursuit of the Aboriginal attackers. Following the tracks of one party Landsborough overtook the Aborigines at or near Rodd's Bay. The Aborigines escaped by swimming across the Saltwater Creek. Next morning they were seen in "canoes . . . crossing the Bay and proceeding in the direction of Curtis Island".<sup>8</sup>

On 21 March, Lieutenant Murray with ten recruits arrived at Gladstone after a "severe and dangerous journey" from Maryborough. His horses were suffering from sore backs in consequence of the unserviceable state of the saddles which had been exposed to the wet during the recent rains. He secured three serviceable troop saddles and one pack saddle belonging to the Survey Department lying in Wilmott's store. On 25 March he proceeded to Miriam Vale station. On his arrival there a patrol of the country was made. Upon its termination, he reported that difficulties encountered by the impassable state of the country from the continued fall of heavy rains, the mountainous and almost impenetrable scrubs, and the extensive line of sea coast intersected by saltwater creeks and swamps were sufficient to enable the Aborigines to baffle a much larger number of police than he could bring against them. He stated it was difficult to ascribe any reasons for the attacks but thought probably the chief reasons were the absence of police, carelessness of the whites with regard to the carrying or taking care of their firearms, and too much confidence in the peaceful professions of the Aborigines.<sup>9</sup>

On taking Landsborough's deposition of his pursuit of Aborigines at Rodd's Bay, Second Lieutenant Walker, "knowing the Blacks would cross from Facing Island to Curtis Island, there being no shelter on the former", immediately organized "the best party [he] could under the circumstances obtain". Obtaining the use of the government whaleboat at Gladstone, Walker started in pursuit with Sub-Lieutenant Powell, three troopers, Landsborough and Ranken, and two "black boys" of Landsborough and Ranken.

At midnight the party left Gladstone. Walker had instructed the coxswain of the government boat to land the party on a particular scrubby point on Curtis Island. Instead of being landed at that point, the coxswain left the party "on a desolate rock about half a mile in circumference and divided by a channel of about the same distance from Curtis Island". The coxswain and boat then returned to Gladstone. Walker later reported that in giving these instructions he was compelled to trust entirely on the knowledge of a man who, from having been nearly three years in charge of the government boat, might reasonably have been supposed to be well acquainted with an island about three miles from the settlement.

From the Friday night until the following Monday the police party remained where landed. There was no drinking water, except a small quantity collected in quart pots from rain falling on the night the party landed. The suffering of the party was considerable and not lessened by seeing the neighbouring island covered by smoke from the Aborigines' fires. One party of Aborigines in a canoe, seeing the inhabitants of the desolate rock, paddled within one hundred yards. Sub-Lieutenant Powell and Aboriginal Sergeant Toby identified one of the Aborigines in the canoe as Dan, alias Tancred, for whose apprehension a warrant had been issued. On Walker's orders, the troopers fired on the Aborigines in the canoe. It was believed two were shot but the ebb tide carried the canoe beyond range. The police party was rescued on the return as arranged of the government whaleboat. Walker did not make a further attempt to land on Curtis Island. Knowing that large numbers of Aborigines were in the vicinity of Mt. Larcom and having only three troopers for his patrols, he considered it preferable to secure the safety of the stations in that neighbourhood.<sup>10</sup>

At Gladstone Captain O'Connell, while government resident, had been in control of the employment and movements of the Native Police in the Port Curtis district.<sup>11</sup> Upon the abolition of the office of government resident O'Connell, who still continued at Gladstone in the office of commissioner of crown lands, was uncertain of whether his authority as commissioner and magistrate enabled him to in-

terfere in the employment of the Native Police in patrolling the country for the protection of the stations in the Port Curtis district. On 18 and 20 March 1857 he wrote to his department on the subject. The secretary for lands and public works submitted these letters to the colonial secretary, expressing his desire to be informed thereon.<sup>1 2</sup>

The 1856 Select Committee had recommended that reports from any local officers in charge of Native Police be submitted through the bench of magistrates nearest to the locality where the officer was at the time.<sup>1 3</sup> The benches of magistrates were to assist in administering the Native Police. As O'Connell's query had bearing on the select committee's recommendation, his correspondence was forwarded to Wickham at Moreton Bay, under whose general control the commandant was to act. O'Connell's query was to be taken into consideration in the reorganization of the corps, in the arrangements to be made for keeping up a proper intercourse between the several detachments of Native Police, and in the position of officers in charge in relation to commissioners of crown lands and the benches of magistrates.<sup>1 4</sup> Wickham's suggestions on the reorganization were generally approved by the colonial secretary.<sup>1 5</sup> When he submitted a further opinion on 24 June 1857 which did not entirely agree with all those suggestions previously approved, the matter of carrying out the 1856 Select Committee's recommendation in relation to benches of magistrates was not proceeded with.<sup>1 6</sup>

O'Connell at Gladstone was informed on 12 August 1857 that, whilst the command of the detachment and its motions rested with the officer in charge, that officer was bound to give every consideration to O'Connell's suggestions or application for its employment for the general service of the district or on any special occasion. The alteration of O'Connell's appointment from government resident to commissioner of crown lands was not to relieve him from making any communication he deemed necessary to the officer of the Native Police responsible for zealously co-operating with O'Connell in whatever may be necessary for the peace and protection of the district. However, the officer of Native Police was to exercise his own discretion as to the



extent and manner in which the peace and protection of the district could best be achieved by the Native Police. Lieutenant Murray, in the event of disagreement with O'Connell, was to report the matter and obtain instructions. There was nothing irregular in settlers, instead of applying direct to Murray for assistance, preferring their requests to O'Connell as police magistrate on the spot.<sup>17</sup>

Government Resident Wickham, immediately upon entering his additional new duties of generally controlling the Native Police Force, received a complaint concerning the Native Police under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Allman at Walla.

John Landsborough of Monduran, Gayndah, had written to Wickham on 31 December 1856 informing him that the Native Police under the command of Allman had enticed an Aborigine Kitty away from her husband Yappo and had refused to give her up. Yappo, who had been employed for three years on Monduran and other stations in the neighbourhood, and a number of other Aborigines, had complained bitterly to him. Landsborough also mentioned that such conduct would be likely to lead to outrages on defenceless shepherds.<sup>18</sup>

Landsborough had forwarded a copy of his letter to Allman who replied on 2 January 1857. Allman denied that the police had enticed away Kitty or any other gin or that he had received orders from Lieutenant Murray to give her up. Kitty firmly had refused to go back to Yappo who had been brutal to her, stating he would kill her when she was out of sight of the police. Statements of a similar nature had been made also by Yappo's own friends and countrymen. Allman considered it would be inhuman to force Kitty away. He intended to hand her over to Lieutenant Murray on his arrival at Walla so that she could be forwarded to Little's station in the Port Curtis district where she came from. Allman regretted that Landsborough had acted on gross mis-statements. Allman's orders to his Native Police had been never to interfere with the women of the Aborigines on the stations and in no instance had he found his orders disobeyed.<sup>19</sup>

Landsborough then wrote to the inspector general of

police who forwarded his letter to Wickham.<sup>20</sup> On 18 February 1857 Landsborough again wrote to Wickham stating that a number of murders had been committed at the neighbouring stations. After the taking of Kitty from Little's station, the Aborigines had killed a man and wounded another at or near Charlton's station about twenty miles distant from Little's station. At Miriam Vale station, about thirty miles distant from Little's, three men had been killed and Tolson speared.<sup>21</sup> On 17 April 1857 he again wrote to Wickham who had not acknowledged receipt of previous letters. He enquired whether Wickham had received his letters before he took other steps. He believed Kitty "had been made over to a Corporal".<sup>22</sup> On being asked for his report, Allman wrote to the commandant on 18 July 1857. He forwarded with his report a copy of the letter he had sent to Landsborough. Allman stated that under those circumstances, in December 1856, he had allowed Kitty to remain with the police as the wife of Corporal Geegwaw who had lost his own wife a few months previously. Kitty was a quiet well-behaved woman who seemed perfectly happy and contented. Allman said he could "appeal most unhesitatingly to the settlers generally in the district, and to Mr. Landsborough himself individually" whether or not he had insisted on the Aboriginal police under him keeping themselves strictly apart from both men and women on the different stations the police were called upon to visit.<sup>23</sup>

Morisset, who at the time of Allman's report had assumed office as commandant, reported to Wickham on 22 July that the Aborigine Yappo had no rights to Kitty who had belonged previously to one of the troopers and that Allman's explanation was satisfactory. Wickham concurred with the opinion of the commandant and directed that the commandant and Landsborough be informed accordingly.<sup>24</sup> It was not until 18 September 1857 that Wickham wrote to Landsborough stating that Allman had furnished a satisfactory explanation which exculpated Allman from blame.<sup>25</sup>

Landsborough replied protesting and appealing against Wickham's decision on the grounds firstly that neither Allman nor the commandant denied that the Native Police had Yappo's gin Kitty, and Wickham by his decision virtually

admitted that the Native Police may be permitted under certain circumstances to take away the gins of the Aborigines; and secondly that Allman's statement as to the circumstances — a statement by a "man notoriously unworthy of credit" — was taken by Wickham in preference to his.<sup>26</sup> Landsborough subsequently wrote to the colonial secretary on the matter. On 16 September 1857 Elyard of the Colonial Secretary's Office mentioned this complaint when referring to the representations made as to the inefficiency of the Native Police Force.<sup>27</sup>

Wickham reported to the colonial secretary on 7 February 1857 that he had granted leave of absence to two officers of the Native Police: Second Lieutenant Ferguson of the second division because of ill-health, six weeks; and Second Lieutenant Walker of the first division, three months.<sup>28</sup> The colonial secretary informed the governor general that except in cases of urgent and pressing necessity leave of absence should only be granted under a recommendation approved by him, but under the circumstances stated by Captain Wickham perhaps the leave granted to these officers might be confirmed. Ferguson's leave of six weeks was confirmed by Denison but Walker's three months' leave was submitted to the Executive Council which recommended it before approval was given by the governor general.<sup>29</sup>

On 21 February 1857, Wickham wrote informing the colonial secretary that on 2 February 1857 a murder had been committed by two Aborigines upon a man named Peter Grant who was searching for cedar with another man named Glynn in the Caboolture scrub. Upon the deposition of Glynn, "who was in hospital wounded", Wickham had issued warrants for the apprehension of the murderers. Wickham stated that the inclement state of the weather since the first finding of the body of the murdered man had prevented the coroner reaching the spot where the body was, but so soon as practicable the coroner would take the necessary steps for holding an inquest upon it.<sup>30</sup>

Morisset, when appointed commandant on 2 May 1857, established his headquarters at the main camp of the second division at Coopers Plains near Maryborough. The headquarters or main camp of the second division previously had

been removed from Traylan to Tiaro Lagoon, about fourteen miles up the Mary River from Maryborough. Thereabouts was the first ford of the river.

Inspector General Mayne who then controlled the Native Police had informed the colonial secretary on 21 August 1856 that the removal of the Native Police from Traylan to Wide Bay was a step which the requirements of the service and the unhealthiness of Traylan had rendered necessary. Under the circumstances he recommended "as a course best calculated to obtain a maximum amount for these buildings, that they be put up to public competition for sale by tender in the usual way".<sup>31</sup> Upon Denison approving of this McLerie, who had succeeded Mayne, commenced to take the necessary procedure to invite tenders for the purchase of the buildings at Traylan consisting of an unfinished slab barrack, forty feet by eighteen, covered with bark, and a small slab hut with two rooms.<sup>32</sup>

However the Department of Land and Public Works requested that, instead of inviting tenders in Sydney for the purchase of some £30 worth of slabs at Traylan, the colonial secretary instruct the government resident at Moreton Bay to sell the timber of the buildings as he best could.<sup>33</sup> J. C. MacKay, who resided within seven miles of the Traylan barracks, offered to purchase the buildings for £25. On Morisset's recommendation this was accepted by Wickham.<sup>34</sup>

Land about one square mile in area had been reserved on Morisset's recommendation for the Native Police on the south bank of the Mary River. Leading from the barracks on that reserve was a road marked in an east-northeasterly direction to the residence of the commissioner of crown lands at Tinana.<sup>35</sup> On 17 October 1856 Morisset, then a lieutenant, had recommended that the Native Police camp near Tiaro, by reason of its low situation subject to inundation and thereby rendered unhealthy for the men, be removed some five miles down the river to Coopers Plains. There the country was drier and had the advantage of a river frontage for obtaining supplies from Maryborough.<sup>36</sup> Commissioner of Crown Lands Halloran had reported favourably on this removal as Coopers Plains still was on the land reserved for the Native Police.<sup>37</sup>

Sub-Lieutenant Irving on his reappointment to the Native Police was stationed at Tiaro before the removal of the headquarters from Traylan. Writing from Tiaro on 7 October 1856 to the colonial secretary, he drew attention to his letter dated Maryborough, 14 June 1856, respecting a claim of £48 10s. 0d. being temporary increase of pay as junior sub-lieutenant of the Native Police for the period 6 April to 30 September 1853 which was still unpaid to him. During 1856 Irving had written to both the auditor general and colonial secretary without any satisfactory results. He trusted he might be informed whether there was any probability of his ever receiving this sum voted by the Legislative Assembly in 1853 and for which he had already signed the necessary abstract according to the usual form then adopted by the officers of the force.<sup>38</sup>

With reference to Irving's claim W. C. Mayne, auditor general, informed the colonial secretary that the claim was enumerated in the list of claims against Mr. F. Walker, late commandant of the Native Police. Although Irving's receipt for the amount had been received at the Auditor General's Office, to Mayne there appeared little reason to doubt Irving's assertion that he had not received the money. He stated that until the decision of parliament was obtained on the whole case of Walker, no further steps could be taken towards the liquidation of Irving's claim.<sup>39</sup>

Irving personally never received the sum claimed. Wickham on 4 April 1857 wrote to the colonial secretary advising that he had received a letter from Lieutenant Morisset reporting the death of Irving.<sup>40</sup> Morisset, writing to Wickham some three weeks before, had mentioned that Irving was under medical treatment but was thought to be not seriously ill. Dr. Palmer was present at the time of death and in his opinion Irving had died of apoplexy. The Hon. M. C. O'Connell before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee stated that after seeing Irving he had remarked that Irving "was suffering under a great debility of constitution".<sup>41</sup> Clerk of Petty Sessions Chapman at Maryborough on 8 April wrote to Wickham asking that the salary due to Irving, who had died intestate, be paid to him as agent for the curator of intestate estates.<sup>42</sup>

Morisset, upon assuming the duties of commandant, had taken over the immediate charge of a force decreasing in numbers despite the 1856 Select Committee's recommendation that the number of troopers be increased. Not only was the recruiting of suitable troopers difficult but it was almost impossible to keep the newly raised recruits. The desertions in the Port Curtis and Leichhardt districts included desertions of troopers from the Clarence River when twelve recruits left the Native Police station in one night.<sup>43</sup> Many deserted under intimidation of the majority who coerced the remainder to go with them. As the year 1857 passed the greater number of troopers were new men who could never be kept long enough to become efficient troopers. The troopers could leave with impunity as there was no legal power of punishing them for doing so.<sup>44</sup> In the early years of the force in the northern districts, troopers from the south were enlisted under an agreement but when the force had to get recruits wherever it could the recruits were not subjected to any agreement.<sup>45</sup> Morisset, being faced with the duty of reorganizing the force, had to get troopers quickly. Necessity saw recruiting in neighbouring districts to those in which the recruits were to be employed. This was opposed to the general opinion that troopers should be raised not less than five or six hundred miles away from the districts of their employment. Even men within a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles were apt to desert, particularly if there was any mismanagement on the part of the officer. It was considered a good rule to never enlist any Aborigines within reach of their own tribes or those with whom they were in alliance. ]

John Miller before the 1858 Select Committee considered that troopers for service in the Leichhardt ought not to be taken from any place nearer than the Barwon or Severn Rivers.<sup>46</sup> William Forster, before the same committee, stated that along the eastern coast it was not enough to go over a range or river to recruit from a different tribe because it seemed that alliances between the tribes extended in some cases along extensive tracts of the country; whereas a single range would sometimes disconnect them altogether. He also stated that it appeared that certain words were common to a great number of tribes extending along the coast from the



Clarence River to Wide Bay, whereas inland there was a totally different dialect. Wherever common words occurred common intercourse and alliances usually took place. Although certain Clarence River words appeared to have been known to the Aborigines of Wide Bay, no great connection between the tribes could be inferred. The distance from the Clarence River to Native Police stations more remote than Wide Bay had not been found to act as a preventive to desertion.<sup>47</sup>

The Native Police Force generally had deteriorated in discipline, organization, and training since the commandantship of Frederick Walker. William Archer before the 1858 Select Committee stated that Walker at first brought his force into a state of discipline by means of his personal influence. Under Walker, members of his force were punished by flogging by their mates "with great efficacy". Archer said that Walker used to call them all up and tell them: "this fellow has been doing so and so — isn't he a great rascal — hadn't we better flog him". The man would then be tied up and flogged by a native corporal or trooper. Archer's brother had seen it happen. Archer had never heard of men absconding in Walker's time. He could flog them and the next moment be friendly with them. Archer added that Walker had a "peculiar tact" in dealing with them and certainly had maintained discipline.<sup>48</sup>

After Walker's dismissal it was generally conceded by the squatters that there was not the *esprit de corps* in the force which had existed in Walker's time. There appeared to be no organization in that men were taken from the bush and the officers selected from other walks of life. The two were put together and told to perform certain duties for which they had no previous training. Upon their appointment, officers travelled direct to their place of duty. Recruited troopers were given only a minimum of training which was necessary more for the sake of discipline than for anything else.<sup>49</sup>

Lieutenant Nicoll before the 1856 Select Committee stated that the number of officers then in command of the different detachments of Native Police was so small that a newly appointed sub-lieutenant had to proceed at once to his own individual command. As a necessary consequence he was

at the mercy of his troopers who, taking advantage of his ignorance, did whatever they chose. He thought the appointment of another officer would enable the sub-lieutenant last appointed to learn his duties under an experienced lieutenant before he undertook a separate command.<sup>50</sup>

Before the 1858 Select Committee, Captain M. O'Connell stated that tact was necessary in the management of the Aborigines who were capable of forming great attachment to white men — to those they liked and whom they felt confidence in.<sup>51</sup> Before the same committee, O'Connell and Gaden both stated that the management of the troopers depended on the officer's personal character and if the officer did not have a proper method of managing them at first, the troopers did not respect him. It was with difficulty, if at all, that he could afterwards regain his authority.<sup>52</sup>

The necessity of having officers in command of divisions appointed justices of the peace was the subject of a letter to the colonial secretary by Wickham on 4 May 1857. Morisset had brought it under the latter's notice when recommending the appointment of Lieutenant Bligh as a magistrate. Wickham stated that this appointment would enable officers to carry out the duties for which the corps had been organized "as the want of the power conferred on a Magistrate places them in the difficult position of rather permitting the escape of Aborigines charged with offences, or of giving orders which in the strict letter of the law must necessarily be illegal".<sup>53</sup>

Officers in command of divisions of the Native Police were appointed justices of the peace under Walker's commandship and under that of Marshall. Marshall before the 1856 Select Committee stated that he most decidedly considered that the senior lieutenants should be magistrates. As to the second or sub-lieutenants, he thought that would depend entirely on their age and capabilities. He thought there were many men who would make efficient officers in the field who were not fitted to be magistrates.<sup>54</sup> It was revealed before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee that officers were anxious to obtain warrants for their self-protection should Aborigines be shot.<sup>55</sup>

On 11 June 1857, Morisset wrote to Wickham reporting

the desertion of trooper Steby from Tiaro. The trooper belonged to the Burnett district and Morisset believed he had returned there. Morisset also wrote: "A feeling of discontent pervades amongst the Troopers of my Division who came from the Murray, in consequence of intelligence having reached them of their country men who were employed in the Native Police at Port Curtis having been allowed to return to their country." Morisset had the greatest difficulty in preventing their leaving in a body to return to their own country and, although they had promised to remain, he did not think they could be depended on. In the event of their leaving Morisset requested to be informed as to what steps he was to take to replace them.<sup>56</sup>

In the middle of 1857 Morisset travelled from Wide Bay to Sydney in the steamer *Waratah* in connection with the re-organization of the force. He wrote to Wickham from the office of the inspector general of police at Sydney on 18 June 1857. He reported that he had transmitted instructions to Lieutenant Bligh to communicate with Wickham on the subject of the engagement of recruits and the purchase of horses in the Clarence district and for the placing of a sufficient sum of money at his disposal to carry out this object. Bligh was also to forward for Wickham's approval a requisition for such clothing, saddles, and accountrements as he might require.<sup>57</sup>

Following Morisset's appointment as commandant, Second Lieutenant Bligh on 1 June 1857 had been appointed first lieutenant.<sup>58</sup> On 18 May 1857 several second lieutenants had been appointed. Their names, as notified by the Colonial Secretary's Office to Wickham, were: James Turner Harris, Frederick William Carr, Evan G. Williams, and Charles H. Phibbs.<sup>59</sup> Their salary was to be £200 per annum plus 2s. 6d. a day in lieu of rations. On 1 June 1857 the appointment of William Moorhead to be second lieutenant in place of Sub-Lieutenant William Smith was gazetted.<sup>60</sup> Frederic Blagg Hampton was also appointed to be secretary and clerk, Native Police with salary at £200 per annum.<sup>61</sup> During 1857 several camp sergeants were also appointed to the force in pursuance of the 1856 Select Committee's recommendations.

The Australian Steam Navigation Company submitted

claims for passages to Wide Bay in June and July 1857 of the following officers of the Native Police and conveyance of their horses and luggage: Lieutenant Harris £10, Lieutenant Williams £10 and his horse £6, Lieutenant Moorhead £10, Mr. Hampton, secretary, and his luggage £2 10s. 0d.<sup>62</sup> Auditor General Mayne wrote to the commandant Wide Bay requesting him “to ascertain on what grounds these Gentlemen expect that the cost of their passages should be defrayed by the Public”.<sup>63</sup> Secretary Hampton replied to the auditor general stating that the commandant on 27 May had written to the colonial secretary requesting that payment of the passages of these officers appointed in Sydney and then under orders to join their separate detachments might be charged to the public account. The government had approved of the payment of these passages from the sum appropriated for incidental expenses.<sup>64</sup>

Second Lieutenant Moorhead, who was assigned to Wondai Gumbal, was an old soldier who, after serving in India for some time, was adjutant to the volunteer artillery in Sydney. He was a married man with a large family and had been recommended for the appointment by Morisset.<sup>65</sup>

William Smith, whom Moorhead succeeded, had been appointed in June 1856 as sub-lieutenant of the Native Police on the lower Condamine. Lieutenant Nicoll was in command at Wondai Gumbal police station and assisting him from the commencement of 1857 had been Second Lieutenants Ferguson and Smith. Before Nicoll's return to the station, following his attendance at the sittings of the 1856 Select Committee and later absence on sick leave applied for on 24 November 1856, Leonard Edward Lester, a squatter on the Condamine, while in Brisbane on 5 February 1857 had written a letter of complaint to Wickham. Lester protested against the conduct, both in public and in private, “of the officers at present in charge of the Maranoa Division of the Native Police”. The officers alluded to were Second Lieutenants Ferguson and Smith. Lester wrote that on the part of one officer, Ferguson, “utter incompetency is combined with confirmed intemperance . . . at all times he is certainly not responsible for his actions”. Lester went on: “The other officer Smith openly cohabits with an Aboriginal

female and the discontent and unrest that prevails amongst the troopers threatens every day to break out into open mutiny.” Lester added that on more than one occasion troopers had announced their intention of coming in a body to his station and nothing but the assurance that Lieutenant Nicoll would speedily return had induced them to remain. Few squatters in the neighbourhood would admit Ferguson and Smith into their dwellings and only Lester’s assurance that the matters should be properly represented to the government resident had prevented the squatters from complaining direct to the government.<sup>66</sup> Lester in 1856 also had complained of fellow squatter and magistrate Ferrett’s living with a female Aboriginal.<sup>67</sup>

On the day after Lester’s letter relating to the native police officers was written, Wickham wrote to Lieutenant Nicoll for a report on Lester’s complaints which related to a period when Nicoll was on sick leave.<sup>68</sup> Before Nicoll made his report, a report by Commissioner of Crown Lands Boyle for the Maranoa district had been sent to the chief secretary. Boyle, relying on statements made by station superintendents James Norman of Talavera and Richard Walker of Yambougal, implied “an utter want of discipline in the Native Police Force stationed at Wondai Gumbal, if not in the Corps generally”. He reported that statements made frequently to him by residents generally of the district were that the Native Police Force — as organized, disciplined, and equipped — was not only useless for the protection of the district but also injurious by affording encouragement to Aborigines to commit outrages.<sup>69</sup>

Before Boyle’s report was received by the chief secretary from the chief commissioner of lands, Second Lieutenant Smith had resigned. His resignation was forwarded by Nicoll to Wickham on 31 March 1857.<sup>70</sup> However Nicoll, who was suffering from a severe attack of ophthalmia, did not make his report to Wickham on Lester’s complaints until 10 April 1857.<sup>71</sup> Nicoll acknowledged there were certainly grounds for some of the charges against the officers stationed at Wondai Gumbal. He did not consider that Lester’s charge of “utter incompetency” and “confirmed intemperance” was proved against Ferguson, whose books and accounts were in

perfect order and with whom the troopers were “contented and satisfied”. The charge of intemperance against Ferguson appeared to Nicoll “to have originated in an ill-timed and unlucky visit of Mr. Ashby to Wondai Gumbal”. The latter Nicoll referred to as “a seasoned toper somewhat about fifty years of age” who had led away the young officer. The reaction, coupled with solitude, had caused Ferguson to make an attempt on his own life. Nicoll thought that Ferguson’s services would be really valuable in a district such as that commanded by Lieutenant Morisset. He added that Ferguson was perfectly qualified for the office of clerk to the commandant and his health appeared much deranged, in Nicoll’s opinion from want of vegetable diet. (Nicoll’s reference to Ferguson’s attempt on his own life was to an incident that occurred at Wondai Gumbal on 28 September 1856. On that day Ferguson had inflicted an extensive cut on his throat. He received medical attention from Surgeon S. W. Aldred but was in danger of losing his life for some fourteen days afterwards.)<sup>72</sup>

Of Second Lieutenant Smith, the junior officer, Nicoll could only say Smith’s timely resignation had saved him many disagreeable details. Nicoll stated that he was totally unfitted for any post in the Native Police and had not the slightest control over the troopers who had deserted him in the bush. The Aboriginal female alluded to had been sent away from Wondai Gumbal some time before Nicoll’s return. Smith, who received notice on 27 July 1857 of the acceptance of his resignation, had consented to remain on duty until the arrival of a substitute. Second Lieutenant Moorhead arrived at Wondai Gumbal on 19 August 1857 but Smith continued to remain on duty “to inform Moorhead of various matters” until 19 September 1857 when commandant Morisset arrived at the station. Smith, on leaving the force, travelled to Ipswich. From there he addressed a letter to the government resident as well as a memorial to the governor general and a declaration, made before Police Magistrate Gray of Ipswich, setting forth “the facts of his service in the Force”. He claimed he had seen a great deal of active duty consisting of patrolling, supplying the station of Wondai Gumbal, drilling the recruits for the Dawson, and in fact



performing the greater part of the duties of that station. His duties had been accompanied by much hardship at times, even amounting to starvation (in consequence of floods). He had been constantly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather in a very severe season. He had supplied the men with clothing at his own considerable expense. The government supplies not having arrived they were almost naked. He had been entitled to clothing himself as a sub-lieutenant from the first day he joined the force but, this not having been supplied, he had been obliged to find himself a uniform. He had continued on duty under Nicoll after receiving notice of the acceptance of his resignation at Nicoll's request. When Nicoll was absent he had charge of the stores and detachment. He had suffered ill-health but his good health had been restored. He had resigned because of reports made against him and on the advice of Lieutenant Nicoll. He sought a post in the public service "requiring activity and strict integrity". He also claimed payment for his services after the acceptance of his resignation.<sup>73</sup>

By 1 June 1858 this latter claim had not been paid. On that date Wickham wrote that he believed Smith did continue to perform his duty as stated by him. Wickham also had been informed to the same effect by the commandant but he had declined to pay without authority although he thought Smith's claim was a just one.<sup>74</sup> No record is available to show whether Smith eventually was paid or not.

# 17

## Attempts to Reorganize

One of the second lieutenants appointed to the force in May 1857 was James Turner Harris who had been a captain in the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Military Establishment. Harris and another second lieutenant on 10 June 1857 sailed from Sydney in the *Waratah* for Wide Bay. Both had received written orders from Morisset – then in Sydney – to proceed on their arrival at Wide Bay to the Port Curtis police station. Each had received three months' pay in advance for the purpose of furnishing himself with a horse and equipment to enable him to join his division without delay. Harris did not obtain his horse and equipment in Sydney and arrived at Wide Bay on 15 June without them. Next day the second lieutenant who had accompanied Harris from Sydney and second lieutenant Carr started off overland for Port Curtis. Harris had declined to go with them.<sup>1</sup>

Morisset, on returning to Wide Bay from Sydney in July, found much to his surprise that Harris was still there. A letter from Harris attributed his delay in proceeding to his station to his having no horse or equipment.<sup>2</sup> Morisset promptly replied by a letter informing Harris that if the terms upon which he had received his advance of pay were not complied with and Harris in route to join his division within one week a recommendation would be made to the government that he be dismissed from the service.<sup>3</sup> Harris immediately furnished a medical certificate from Dr. Palmer of Maryborough supplying a reason for his dallying there.<sup>4</sup> Morisset then instructed Harris to leave Wide Bay for Port Curtis by the brig *Burnett* on 31 July.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile Harris, having heard that a police magistrate was likely to be appointed to Gayndah, addressed a letter dated 13 July to Wickham at Brisbane enclosing an application for the position and asking Wickham's favour of forwarding it to the government with the latter's recommendation. He referred to testimonials of his military career and one by Chief Justice Sir Alfred Stephen and stated he could safely say he was quite conversant with the routine of the bench as he had been assistant commissioner in the Punjab territories for six months.<sup>6</sup> Wickham, always a discreet correspondent where authority was mentioned, when forwarding Harris's request to the colonial secretary had nothing to urge against Harris obtaining the appointment but he had no knowledge of Harris to warrant his recommending the latter for it. The colonial secretary noted Wickham's letter that he was not aware of the appointment at Gayndah being contemplated.<sup>7</sup>

Lieutenant Murray at Port Curtis took action on the non-arrival of Harris. He wrote to Harris on 1 August asking for an explanation as to his conduct in not reporting himself according to the commandant's instructions, pointing out that six weeks had elapsed since he had arrived at Wide Bay which was a period far exceeding the time usually occupied in travelling a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. He informed Harris that Second Lieutenant Carr had instructions from him as to Harris's further movements.<sup>8</sup> Carr, upon arriving at the barracks at Wide Bay, handed Harris the written instructions to proceed without delay to Sub-Lieutenant Powell's station on route for the upper Dawson.<sup>9</sup> Murray again wrote asking for an explanation of Harris's inattention to the instructions given through Second Lieutenant Carr.<sup>10</sup> Harris replied objecting to his receiving orders from a junior officer.<sup>11</sup> Murray wrote again informing Harris that he was expected immediately to obey any orders issued by Murray through whatever source they reached him.<sup>12</sup> Harris countered this by writing to Resident Surgeon A. C. Robertson of Gladstone who replied stating his opinion that any one who had been subject for some length of time, especially after fifteen years' residence in India, to attacks of either jungle fever or ague "would thereby run great danger"

in proceeding to such a district as the Dawson.<sup>13</sup>

On 12 August 1857 Morisset acknowledged receipt of Harris's resignation stating he would forward it to the governor general accompanied by a statement of Harris's conduct since appointment and recommending that Harris be dismissed from the force and be called upon to account for the money advanced in Sydney.<sup>14</sup> Morisset appears to have heard that Mr. Gordon Sandeman, his nominator for his commandantship, was involved in Harris's case and did not carry out this threat. When reporting Harris's action to Wickham on 12 August 1857 he wrote that although Harris had not satisfactorily explained his conduct he had overlooked Harris's breach of orders.<sup>15</sup>

Harris also wrote to Wickham stating that "should Mr. Gordon Sandeman M.P. have forwarded you his statement I trust my case will appear to you in a better light". Harris claimed that, while in Sydney before his appointment, he had been offered the position of adjutant to the force. He considered his position a false one. He was a married man with a family and previously had held an appointment under Chief Justice Stephen in the Supreme Court with an emolument nearly the same as the office of second lieutenant to which he was appointed. If he had thought Morisset would have treated him in the harsh manner he had, posting him to Port Curtis, he would not have left his family and Supreme Court appointment in Sydney. Both the commandant and Sandeman, according to Harris, were aware that a man of his years, particularly after service in India, was not capable of a continual bush life.<sup>16</sup>

Apparently Harris no longer relied on Sandeman's assistance when, in a later letter written by him to Wickham and noting that provision had been made in the estimates for a second lieutenant at Brisbane, he applied to be stationed in Brisbane where he could have his family with him.<sup>17</sup> Morisset, who by then had decided that Sandeman by his silence either was not involved or did not intend to carry out any promise made to Harris, wrote to Wickham denying that promises had been held out to Harris in Sydney before his accepting the appointment of second lieutenant. He thought if Sandeman promised Harris the appointment of adjutant —

when no such appointment existed in the force as Harris admitted in one of his letters — then Morisset should have been informed of it by Sandeman.<sup>18</sup>

Wickham recommended that Harris's resignation be accepted. Inspector General of Police McLerie concurred subject to the condition that the three months' pay advanced to Harris to join the corps, less travelling expenses, be refunded on or before the following 31 December otherwise the dismissal of Harris should result. This recommendation was adopted. As the refund of the portion of Harris's advance was not made Harris was dismissed from the force.<sup>19</sup>

On 15 February 1858 the Executive Council recommended that Richard B. Poulden be appointed second lieutenant in the Native Police to replace James Turner Harris.<sup>20</sup>

Morisset, when in Sydney on 19 June 1857, submitted to the colonial secretary for approval a supplementary estimate not only for additional stores omitted in the estimate for 1857 but also for the erection of a building of sufficient size to be used as offices for the commandant and secretary, storerooms for clothing, saddlery, and other stores, and as private apartments for the residence of the secretary as officer in charge. From personal experience Morisset was convinced that great losses had been occasioned by the government by the waste and damage of stores and provisions through want of a proper building for the purpose. He recommended its immediate erection or otherwise he requested permission to hire some appropriate building and charge the same to the incidental expenses of that year.<sup>21</sup> Inspector General of Police McLerie did not consider the sums required for these purposes needed to be supplied in supplementary estimates as surpluses from other items voted would meet them. No provision had been made in the estimates for the buildings asked for as it was supposed the headquarters of the corps would be in Brisbane where there were public buildings that could be appropriated for the purpose.<sup>22</sup> The commandant was authorized to apply to the colonial storekeeper for the articles required and the colonial treasurer and government resident were required to report respecting the application for the buildings.<sup>23</sup> Upon

Wickham's report, which favoured their construction, approval was given on 18 August 1857.<sup>24</sup> Their cost was not to exceed £250. However suitable buildings had not been erected by 23 May 1859 when Morisset was renting a house at Maryborough for his office.<sup>25</sup> It is doubtful whether they were ever erected. Not long afterwards the headquarters of the force were shifted to Rockhampton.

Morisset, upon his return in July 1857 from Sydney to his Wide Bay headquarters, reported to Wickham that for the efficiency of the force paddocks should be formed in the immediate vicinity of each principal police station. When horses were turned into the open bush it was impossible to prevent their straying away, and to endeavour to do so would occupy a major part of the time of the troopers. It frequently occurred that, when any information was received of offences committed by Aborigines, valuable time was lost in the collection of horses and this had allowed culprits to escape. Morisset also claimed that the absence of a paddock was an obstacle to any systematic routine for the performance of duty. The formation of a paddock at each principal station would enable a detachment of troopers to be kept constantly on duty ready to mount at a moment's notice. Paddocks would also enable officers in charge to see that proper care was paid to those horses suffering from sore backs.<sup>26</sup> Wickham approved of the suggestion and requested Morisset to state the size of the paddocks required and the probable expense of fencing in each locality. He thought the cost might be defrayed from the savings on the vote for 1857 if permission could be obtained for its appropriation.<sup>27</sup>

Second Lieutenant Ferguson forwarded an estimate for the erection of a paddock at Coopers Plains near Maryborough. His estimate for fencing 160 acres was £96 though secretary Hampton of the Native Police thought it was the extreme charge and might be accomplished for much less.<sup>28</sup>

Morisset wrote to Wickham on 30 July 1857 reporting he had been engaged in the reorganization of the Wide Bay division. Sub-Lieutenant Allman of that division had been sick and the horses of the division had been allowed to stray "over the country". Morisset stated that the delay, trouble, and anxiety caused by recovering nearly all the horses was a



further proof of the necessity of forming a paddock. Morisset had received several complaints with respect to the Leichhardt division and stated it was out of his powers to do more until the arrival of Lieutenant Bligh with recruits. The detachment which was to be raised for Moreton Bay was to be recruited immediately on the Balonne. Second Lieutenant Allman was proceeding to Yass on leave and would if possible obtain twelve recruits from there. Morisset stated that the need for recruits was further revealed by the strong desire of the remainder of the troopers brought by former commandant Walker from the Murray and Darling Rivers to return to their own country. These troopers, who were at different Native Police stations, had served in the force for periods of from seven to eight years and with one or two exceptions had conducted themselves in a most exemplary manner. Morisset added that he was leaving Wide Bay on 31 July 1857 on a tour of inspection, in the first instance to Port Curtis, Leichhardt, and Condamine, returning to Wide Bay. Afterwards he would go to the Clarence River and then to Brisbane "when I will do myself the honour to wait upon you personally".<sup>29</sup>

Morisset's reference to the raising of a detachment for Moreton Bay had followed further successful representations for a force for that area following the stationing temporarily of a detachment there during the latter half of 1855.

Henry Buckley, M.P., wrote from Victoria Mills, Sydney, to Premier Henry Watson Parker on 17 October 1856 calling his earnest attention to the necessity of providing some efficient force "to resist the fearful attacks and prevent the frightful ravages made lately by the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Brisbane Moreton Bay". He stated that several stations had been sacked, the proprietors narrowly escaping with their lives. In one instance "one unfortunate man known to myself, who for years has been toiling to obtain a competence, has lost his all, being attacked by upwards of four hundred Natives at one time, his whole herd of cattle dispersed and speared and he had some difficulty in preventing his own life from being sacrificed". He also wrote that the residents in the neighbourhood of the Pine Rivers would take the law in their own hands if some effort was not made on the part of the authorities. These residents were determined

not to allow their property to be sacrificed with impunity. Buckley was confident, should this be the case, that a great deal of blood would be shed. He considered that any one armed with the power of the crown would be much more likely to chasten with impartiality than an enraged and injured body of men in pursuit "who would be sure to slaughter these merciless savages indiscriminately".<sup>30</sup>

Inspector General of Police McLerie, to whom Buckley's letter was forwarded by the colonial secretary for his report, stated that the then strength of the Native Police and the urgent requirements of the localities to which its services were strictly applicable did not admit of detaching any portion of it to the Moreton Bay district.<sup>31</sup> Captain W. C. Mayne, former inspector general of police, had stated before the 1856 Select Committee that constant representations had been made of the danger to life and property from the attacks of the Aborigines in the immediate neighbourhood of Brisbane, "at a place called Sandgate, for instance".<sup>32</sup>

Wickham wrote to the colonial secretary on 15 and 30 September 1856 respecting the measures necessary for the protection of certain portions of the Moreton Bay district against the attacks of the Aborigines. He was informed that it was in contemplation to place the Native Police in the northern districts under his control and he would then have it in his power to order their movement as the exercise of his discretion "may deem meet for the public advantage".<sup>33</sup>

During December 1856 the Clarence River detachment of the Clarence and Macleay division of the Native Police under Second Lieutenant Bligh had travelled through part of the Brisbane district. The detachment had visited Brisbane and Ipswich.<sup>34</sup>

On 7 October 1857, Thomas Gray of George Street, Brisbane, and Benjamin Brookes, farmer of Moggill, addressed a letter to Wickham on the desirableness of some steps being immediately taken by the patrol of mounted police to keep the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Cabbage Tree Creek and the Pine River in check. Their relatives and friends were about to settle on land at the Bald Hills near the Pine River which they had recently purchased from the government. Gray and Brookes referred to a cold-

blooded murder recently committed upon a white man in the neighbourhood and expressed their hope "that should there be any intrusion on the part of the Blacks, they should be held blameless if any loss of life be sustained by them from the use of firearms".<sup>35</sup>

On 19 October, 1857 Henry Jordan and J. L. Zillman, writing to Wickham on their own behalf and also on behalf of the remainder of the residents and owners of property between the Pine and Caboolture Rivers, requested a patrol of mounted police to be at once sent into their neighbourhood "such as would be efficient to hold the Blacks in check and protect their lives and property". They stated that during the previous few weeks Aborigines had been spearing the cattle, driving off the stockmen, and threatening them with further injury. They also referred to the murder of a white man at Caboolture Creek.<sup>36</sup>

At the end of July 1857 Morisset left Wide Bay on his tour of inspection of police stations in the Port Curtis, Leichhardt, and Condamine areas.

Lieutenant Bligh, in command of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts, had departed to recruit on the Clarence River so that Second Lieutenant Ferguson was left in command of those areas assisted by Second Lieutenants Williams and Phibbs. Phibbs had been appointed to the Native Police in May 1857. Previous to this he had been first employed in Sandeman's store and afterwards in charge of Sandeman's station in the Wide Bay district. Morisset had known Phibbs for some time and had recommended him for the appointment. He stated before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee that Phibbs was occasionally of intemperate habits but was a good officer under an officer such as Mr. Bligh.<sup>37</sup>

An incident which occurred shortly after Morisset left his Wide Bay headquarters compares unfavourably, so far as leadership of the Native Police was concerned, with action taken by former commandant Frederick Walker following similar incidents.

Squatter Corfield, writing from Stanton Harcourt station, Wide Bay to Wickham on 15 August 1857, complained that about the middle of the previous July a party of Aborigines

had attacked one of his stations, driven away the men but without doing them any violence, and plundered the hut of everything they could carry away. A report was made by Corfield's manager to the officer commanding a section in the district but no notice was taken of it. Corfield added that on 1 August 1857 the same station was again attacked. One man was speared, supposedly fatally, another narrowly escaped with his life, and the third escaped unhurt. The Aborigines after stripping the hut of all rations, clothing, and other contents had driven away four hundred sheep and killed fifteen at the yard. Morisset at the time was at a station four miles distant with four troopers and was told of it. The man speared was supposed to be dying. Morisset had taken no steps to punish the "perpetrators of this murderous attack". Corfield asked whether it was within the province of this officer to prevent crime or cause retributive justice to follow speedily upon the commission of it, "or, fearful alternative, whether the Blacks shall become impressed with the idea that the most secure place to commit their most dreadful deeds of atrocity is under the very noses of the Commandant and his troopers – for most assuredly they will not be slow in detecting where they may commit crime with impunity". Corfield added that the commandant might possibly shield himself from all imputation of blame from the circumstance that some time previously he (Corfield) had refused to supply the police with rations in consequence of the neglect of one of the officers while on his station to disperse Aborigines who had robbed it although the officer had been requested to do so by him.<sup>38</sup>

Morisset, who was called upon to reply to Corfield's complaint, reported to Wickham that three days after the occurrence had taken place he certainly had passed that station. He was then on a tour of inspection and was of that opinion that he should not act judiciously on those occasions. He did not think he should turn from his path to enquire into matters when the time for action was passed. In this particular case Lieutenant Phibbs was immediately following him with a detachment. He added that the tour of inspection was likely to occupy at least two months and entailed a distance of some eight hundred miles. Having only

one detachment of horses with him he had left the investigation to Phibbs.<sup>39</sup>

In fact Phibbs did not pass Stanton Harcourt until 14 or 15 September and then did not call there. On 19 September, seven weeks after the attack, Phibbs had returned and called at the instigation of a neighbour of Corfield, who told him that Aborigines were again threatening Corfield's men.<sup>40</sup>

On 12 August 1857 Morisset, after inspecting Lieutenant Murray's Port Curtis detachment, forwarded to Wickham a requisition from Murray for tents for the purpose of forming the main camp of the latter's division on the FitzRoy River. It was requested that the tents be forwarded either to the FitzRoy or Port Curtis.<sup>41</sup>

Morisset was at Gracemere station on the FitzRoy River when he heard that on Eurombah station on the upper Dawson River six men had been murdered by Aborigines. Eurombah was then held by Pollet Cardew and superintended by Thomas R. Boulton. On the upper Dawson previously in 1857 two men had been killed by Aborigines on Yaldwyn's station Taroom and one woman on Juandah station. Instructing Second Lieutenant Powell and five troopers of the Leichhardt division to follow with all expedition to reinforce the detachment on the upper Dawson, Morisset hurried to Eurombah "as fast as the jaded state of his horses would permit". He arrived at Eurombah on 8 September 1857. On 12 September Morisset wrote reporting to Wickham that the police had not been able to overtake the murderers of the first four whites but had found the camp of those who murdered the last two. In endeavouring to take some prisoners four Aborigines were shot. The clothes and pistols of the two murdered men were found in this camp.<sup>42</sup>

Morisset also reported that charges of neglect of duty, want of energy, and inefficiency as a Native Police officer had been brought against Second Lieutenant Ross commanding the upper Dawson detachment. He added that these charges "on strict inquiry" he had found corroborated by everyone whose information he had sought. He believed "had Mr. Ross been at all active and zealous in dispersing and preventing large gatherings of Blacks and following them up and punishing them as they so richly deserved for previous

murders and outrages, this district would have been spared the late lawless and brutal atrocities". He therefore recommended that Ross be dismissed from the force.

As Ross was then out after the Aborigines responsible for the murders, Morisset had written to inform him that he was suspended awaiting the decision of the governor general. It also appeared to Morisset that Lieutenant Nicoll had not afforded the assistance and support he should have done under the circumstances because, although the murders had not happened immediately in the district over which Nicoll controlled, they were committed within eighty or ninety miles of his headquarters and Nicoll must have heard of them immediately afterwards. Morisset had been compelled to rest his horses at Eurombah for a few days. He intended then to proceed to Wondai Gumbal and there call upon Nicoll for a report of duty performed by his division since the date of Morisset's appointment to the office of commandant.

On 29 September 1857, Wickham forwarded Morisset's report to the colonial secretary suggesting that the extreme step recommended by the commandant should not be resorted to until Mr. Ross had had an opportunity of explaining any circumstances "that may be alleged against him in support of the charges of neglect of duty".<sup>43</sup> Only three weeks previously, following the 1856 Select Committee's recommendation that the grade of second lieutenant be substituted in lieu of sub-lieutenants, Wickham had nominated Sub-Lieutenants Powell and Ross for appointment as second lieutenants. This was approved on 15 October 1857 after Ross had been suspended by Morisset.<sup>44</sup>

Morisset arrived at Wondai Gumbal police station on 19 September 1857. Upon his arrival there Second Lieutenant Smith, who had continued on at Wondai Gumbal after resigning from the force to assist his successor Second Lieutenant Moorhead, left.

On 15 October 1857 Morisset, then back at his headquarters at Wide Bay, wrote to Wickham reporting on his visit to Wondai Gumbal. He regretted the state of confusion in which he had found the station. Nicoll was absent in search of rations and six of the old troopers, Sergeant Boney, Corporal Larry, and troopers Jingle, Billy, and Coreen



Jemmy had joined the Aborigines "at a large Corroboree on the Balonne, a distance of some thirty miles from the barracks". The troopers who had remained at the barracks with Second Lieutenant Moorhead "were not under the slightest control or discipline". Morisset had discharged the six absent troopers and also Coreen Neddy, another of the old troopers who was anxious to join them.<sup>45</sup> Some of these discharged troopers were later employed by Frederick Walker in command of Victoria's relief expedition from Rockhampton in search of Burke and Wills.

Wickham made the following note on Morisset's report opposite the paragraph relating to Moorhead: "Is Lt. Moorhead competent to take charge of a body of Native Police? Had he been a sufficient time in charge to get the troopers under control or had there been a want of discipline at the station previous to Moorhead joining up?"<sup>46</sup>

Morisset also had reported there were then only ten troopers in the Maranoa district and these were to be removed as soon as recruits could be obtained to reorganize the division "at present under the command of Lieutenant Nicoll".

On 15 October 1857 Morisset also wrote to Wickham regarding the desire of those troopers brought by former commandant Walker from the Murray and Darling Rivers and remaining in the northern districts to return to their own country. They had served in the force for periods of from seven to eight years and had stated that, when enlisted, a promise was held out to them that they would be returned to their own country after serving three years. At the end of that time, having applied to Walker to redeem his promise, they were told that if they served two years more their expenses home would be paid, horses lent to them, and an officer sent with them. Morisset recommended that as soon as recruits could be procured to fill their places they be allowed to return to their own country in accordance with the promises made to them. Morisset had informed them he would write on their behalf and they had decided to go on as usual until they heard the result. Morisset added that many of these men had become perfectly worn out in the service and were unfit to carry out the duties required of them in an

efficient manner. He thought it inadvisable to discharge them locally as there was every probability of their joining the Aborigines and becoming mischievous.<sup>47</sup> Morisset on 6 November 1857 again wrote to Wickham stating that a number of troopers had left the force while awaiting a reply to his letter. These men were Corporals Simon, Tahiti, Robin Hood, and troopers Jim Crow, W. Breccan, Dick, Jerry, Canabie, Capita Simon, Mickey, and Coreen Billy. Some later returned to camp as they had been intimidated by others. Morisset re-engaged seven of them.<sup>48</sup>

Wickham recommended on 3 November that the promises be fulfilled. He also sent to the colonial secretary a copy of Morisset's communication regarding those who had left the force. Wickham considered their period of service had expired "which appears to preclude the intervention of the Government in the matter".<sup>49</sup>

On 14 October 1857 Morisset informed Wickham that he had provisionally appointed George Murray to the rank of second lieutenant. He requested that appointment be dated 1 October and it be favourably recommended to the governor.<sup>50</sup> Wickham recommended accordingly. The appointment was made on 7 December 1857.<sup>51</sup> On 15 October Morisset recommended the appointment of Frederick Wheeler to the rank of second lieutenant in the "Native Mounted Police Force" for the northern districts. Wheeler's appointment was also gazetted on 7 December 1857.<sup>52</sup>

On his arrival at headquarters from Wondai Gumbal Morisset had found Lieutenant Murray also there in accordance with his instructions to await Lieutenant Bligh with recruits and horses from the Clarence. When writing his report to Wickham on 15 October 1857, shortly before leaving for Brisbane and the Clarence, Bligh had not arrived. Morisset feared Bligh had experienced more difficulty in procuring recruits than had been anticipated. Morisset stated that Murray was leaving in a few days, taking as many troopers as could be spared from Wide Bay, and on the arrival of Bligh another officer with recruits would be despatched to the Leichhardt. Nicoll was then raising a detachment on the Condamine for the purpose of duty in the Moreton Bay

district. It was to be sent there with an officer as soon as possible.<sup>53</sup>

Frederick Keen, a former sub-lieutenant of the Native Police Force, having heard there was to be a section stationed on the Pine River, on 2 July 1857 applied to Wickham for the command of this section. He did not obtain the appointment.<sup>54</sup>

Morisset had received a report from Second Lieutenant Williams, second division Wide Bay, that in an encounter with some Aborigines, for whose apprehension he held warrants for cattle stealing, three Aborigines were shot and one wounded. He found quantities of beef in their camp. Second Lieutenant Carr, first division Leichhardt and Port Curtis, had reported that a notorious Aborigine named Jemmy had been apprehended on a charge of murder at Port Curtis by the police under his command. At the same time one Aborigine was shot whilst endeavouring to escape after he and several others had broken into a store at Gladstone and carried off a quantity of flour and other goods.

Morisset also reported that the Leichhardt and upper Dawson division then consisted of one lieutenant, three second lieutenants, and fifteen troopers. Four troopers in charge of Second Lieutenant Walker patrolled between the FitzRoy River and Rannes, five under the charge of Second Lieutenant Carr were at Port Curtis, and five under the charge of Second Lieutenant Powell were on the upper Dawson. Powell also had in addition two or three men formerly under the command of Ross. The others had deserted.<sup>55</sup>

Powell with his seven or eight troopers had taken over the task of keeping the peace on the upper Dawson following the suspension from duty of Second Lieutenant Ross. The area was difficult to police. Scrubs cut up the country in every direction making the land difficult to travel over. All the hills, whether high or low, were covered with dense brigalow scrub which was difficult to get through even on foot. The stations were fairly open with the exception of the tops of the hills. The inside stations were protected to a large extent by the frontier stations which were surrounded by scrubby and broken country which had encouraged murders and

depredations by the Aborigines. After committing outrages Aborigines could go into the scrub and be off some hundreds of miles, scarcely coming into the open country at all.<sup>56</sup>

Although no depredations had been committed for eighteen months after the establishment of the Native Police in the Leichhardt district, twelve people were killed by Aborigines with subsequent losses of sheep during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856.<sup>57</sup> The want of a sufficient Native Police Force and misplaced confidence of the squatters in the Aborigines had been given as causes of these outrages.<sup>58</sup> The Aborigines on the Dawson were very numerous and became emboldened by success.<sup>59</sup> The want of police protection made the settlers take the law into their own hands. On several stations it appeared to become open war between settlers and Aborigines.<sup>60</sup>

During 1857, up to Morisset's visit to the upper Dawson, eight whites had been killed in the district by Aborigines.<sup>61</sup>

In the early hours of 27 October 1857, only six weeks after Morisset wrote from Eurombah station reporting to Wickham that he had suspended Second Lieutenant Ross, on the adjoining station of Hornet Bank out of six men, three women, and three children<sup>62</sup> who had retired to bed, eleven were murdered by Aborigines. Bloodshed and sorrow had followed the occupation by settlers of the Dawson country.

# 18

## Massacre at Hornet Bank—a Scapegoat

The homestead buildings at Hornet Bank station were, and still are, erected at the end of a low ridge which slopes to flat and relatively open lands extending to the bank of the Dawson River. At the bottom of the slope and close to the homestead, a gum tree shaded billabong still contains an abundant supply of good water for the homestead's needs. Backwards along the ridge, cypress pine and other timbers provide a readily available supply of building materials.

Originally known as Goongarry and situated on the hunting grounds of the Jiman tribe, the run comprising 209 square miles had been taken up in 1853 by Andrew Scott.<sup>1</sup> It appears that an encounter with infuriated hornets had caused its pioneer occupier to change the name of the run.

In October 1857, Andrew Scott was on a farming property thirty miles away from Hornet Bank which was being occupied by the Fraser family on a short-term lease. On 24 October 1857 Scott left the district on a visit to the Hunter River where his future wife, Miss Brodie, resided.<sup>2</sup>

At Hornet Bank homestead on the night of 26–27 October, a night of nearly full moon, were Mrs. Martha Fraser, forty-three, widow of squatter John Fraser, and eight of her children: John, sheep farmer, twenty-three; Elizabeth, nineteen, who was engaged to be married; David, sixteen; Sylvester (West), fourteen; Mary, eleven; A. Jane, nine; James, six; and Charlotte, three. Three men were also at Hornet Bank that night: Henry Neagle, twenty-seven, the children's tutor; R. P. Newman, thirty, a shepherd; and Beumavo, forty-five, a hutkeeper.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs. Fraser's eldest son William was absent, having left for Ipswich some time previously to obtain supplies in preparation for the wet season.

Mrs. Fraser and her four daughters slept in the room at the centre of the house. John and David slept in a room on the verandah. Sylvester (West) and James slept in the scullion room at the back of the house. About fifty yards from the house was a hut occupied for the night by Newman and Beumavo.<sup>4</sup>

Not long before daybreak on Tuesday, 27 October, while those at the homestead buildings slept and it was quite dark, about a hundred Aborigines armed with spears and nulla nullas swarmed into and around the homestead buildings.

West Fraser in the scullion room at the back of the house was awakened by Aborigines talking in the room. The door of the room had been shut but not fastened. He reached up and took a loaded gun which was above his head. Before he had time to fire the gun it was knocked out of his hand. He was then struck on the head by one of the Aborigines. The blow rendered him insensible for some minutes. On recovering, he got out of his bed and crept under it. While lying there he heard his mother and sisters induced to go out of the house by Aborigines promising not to kill them. After the Aborigines had gone, West Fraser found the body of his younger brother James, who had been sleeping with him, lying between the kitchen and the house. Beside it were the bodies of his mother and four sisters. West then went through the house to the verandah. There he saw the body of his brother John lying naked on the verandah and the body of his brother David also naked lying outside the verandah. He did not examine the bodies to see what marks of violence were on them. He immediately started walking over to Eurombah station, some ten miles from Hornet Bank, where he arrived about eleven o'clock that evening. From Eurombah, West went to Mr. Miles's station. On 28 October he returned to Hornet Bank where he found Mr. Boulton of Eurombah with Mr. Miles and a number of shearers from the latter's station.

It was then that West Fraser saw the body of Mr. Neagle, the tutor to the family, lying dead in the kitchen which was



about ten yards from the house. He also saw the dead bodies of Newman and Beumavo, partly dressed, lying outside their hut.

The bodies of Mrs. Fraser and her two eldest daughters had been “violated in their persons and frightfully mangled”. All the bodies of the dead were buried by Mr. Boulton and Mr. Miles and the shearers who had gone to Hornet Bank. A memorial to the memory of the Fraser family, erected by the descendants of Andrew Scott and unveiled on 27 October 1857, stands on the flat on the bank of the Hornet Bank billabong.

The massacre was reported in the *Moreton Bay Courier* of 11 November: “Last week intelligence was received of a fearful outrage committed by blacks under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Of twelve persons residing on the station at Hornet Bank on the upper Dawson, eleven were barbarously murdered. One only escaped to tell the dreadful tale.”

Rosa Campbell-Praed, who was a child on Hawkwood station a few days before the Hornet Bank attack, had witnessed a corroboree depicting an attack on a homestead. Forty years later in her book *My Australian Girlhood* she wrote: “I have often thought that had I described . . . the ghastly performance I had witnessed, the Hornet Bank tragedy might have been averted.”<sup>5</sup>

An interview some fifty years later with William Fraser, who was absent from Hornet Bank at the time of the massacre, was published in the *Queensland Times*. William Fraser then stated that he had vowed, with an uplifted tomahawk in his hand at the graveside of his mother and sisters, that he would never rest until he had sunk it in the head of the blackfellow who was the cause of the murders, and he had done it.<sup>6</sup>

Second Lieutenant Powell and his detachment of six troopers were on Eurombah station at the time of West Fraser’s arrival there. He heard of the Hornet Bank murders on the morning of the next day. Accompanied by his troopers he immediately started in pursuit of the murderers. He came up with some of these tribesmen on the following day when five Aborigines were shot and three wounded. Powell recovered the whole of the sheep and other property

which the Aborigines had taken from the station. This left no doubt as to their identification with the murders. The Aborigines were also in possession of firearms, some of which had been taken from Hornet Bank station and which they used when attacked by the Native Police. After completely dispersing these Aborigines, Powell followed up some tracks for ten days. Then he was compelled to return without again encountering any Aborigines. His horses had knocked up and were unable to proceed further. On his return he praised the conduct of the troopers during the whole of the pursuit.<sup>7</sup>

Second Lieutenant Carr, who had been stationed on the lower Dawson, arrived on the upper Dawson four or five days after the Hornet Bank murders. He followed the tracks of Aborigines from "a station other than Hornet Bank" as, according to his statement made before the 1861 Select Committee, he knew them to be those concerned in the murders. He came up with some of these Aborigines and three or four of them were shot. There were clothes in their camp which were part of the plunder of Hornet Bank.<sup>8</sup>

Second Lieutenant Moorhead of the third division, traveling northwards from Wondai Gumbal, met some more of those concerned in the murders on the Dawson River. Several Aborigines were killed and others wounded.<sup>9</sup> Lieutenant Murray and Second Lieutenant Walker from the Port Curtis district and Lieutenant Nicoll from Wondai Gumbal also converged on Hornet Bank.<sup>10</sup>

The full story of the retaliatory measures taken by settlers as well as Native Police following the Hornet Bank massacre is not available now. Doubtless it was never completely recorded. Those records which still exist do not give a full account of the action taken by the Native Police.

It is known however that Wickham at Brisbane, on 5 March 1858, forwarded to the colonial secretary a copy of a report made by Morisset on the then state of the Native Police Corps and copies of reports from Lieutenant Murray and Second Lieutenants Walker, Carr, and Powell of their proceedings against the Aborigines concerned in the Hornet Bank attack.<sup>11</sup> Those reports are not available but the following correspondence reveals that certain action by the Native Police was not approved by higher official authority.

On 15 March 1858, Elyard of the Colonial Secretary's Office wrote informing Wickham that, while the colonial secretary was quite prepared to hear after the numerous murders and other acts of atrocity committed by the Aborigines in the northern districts that summary and severe punishment had ensued, he regretted to notice in the reports of Lieutenants Murray and Powell expressions which he could not permit to pass by without special notice. Murray in his letter to Morisset of 19 January 1858 had stated: "... a considerable number of Blacks concerned in the late outrage have been killed by the Police, finding that they were allowed up to the Station, *and evidently thinking that their evil deeds had been forgotten*".<sup>12</sup> The expression which the colonial secretary objected to was that portion underlined which justified "the inference that unawares, and possibly when entrapped within reach of gunshot, they were in cold blood destroyed". Elyard added that a still more objectionable expression occurred in Lieutenant Powell's letter of 16 December 1857 reporting that in dispersing a large party of Aborigines, some were shot including "*three gins as they were running away*". Elyard wrote:

The Colonial Secretary is not insensible to the great difficulty which must be experienced by the officers of the Native Police in performing the duty which devolves upon them of protecting the life and property of the residents of the Northern Districts, and he is quite aware that without the occasional infliction of exemplary punishment, that duty cannot be performed. But the object should be in all such cases to avoid as much as possible the destruction of human life and not to give reasonable grounds for the savages with whom they have to deal to believe that anything is aimed at beyond a just retribution for their own barbarity.

The murder of the Fraser Family with the attendant circumstances required that the perpetrators of such monstrous enormities should be punished in the severest manner wherever they could be found, but I am desired to state that there is something abhorrent to the feelings of humanity to read, even in that case, of three gins being shot dead as they were running away, and the Colonial Secretary trusts that on any future occasion should similar occurrences be reported, you will make inquiry at once into the matter, in order to check the feeling that the lives even of the most ignorant savages may be unnecessarily taken from them.<sup>13</sup>

Wickham gave this letter to secretary Hampton with a request that a copy be sent to each officer in command of a

division and to be by them communicated to the other officers of the force.<sup>14</sup>

The colonial secretary had expressed the government's policy and outlook of that time. The outlook of the settlers on the frontier may be gauged by Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman's report on the state of the Aborigines in the Leichhardt district during the year 1855. He wrote:

The savage cannot understand the benevolence and humanity inculcated by the Christian religion. Intimidation is the only principle of dealing with them. Submission to authority is surely the first step in civilized life, then kindness and conciliation . . . They respect the man who rifle in hand demands "an eye for an eye", "a tooth for a tooth". They despise the man whose humanity offers them presents and gives them blankets. Such conduct they attribute to fear not to Justice or benevolence. Strict retaliation in killing any number of the tribe when the actual murderer cannot be secured is the principle in force amongst the savages themselves.

Nor can they understand the scruples of the white man in not acting it, but readily turn such scruples to their advantage, for after committing any atrocity, all the aiders and abettors, all perhaps except those who actually struck the blow, proceed to some friendly station where they know the Police will not touch them. Truly these savages are wiser than the white man. At first they seek peace only with the intention of gaining time to concoct some scheme for the destruction of the white man. They wave the branch or the wisp of grass in token of amity, but to deceive they encamp near the white man, engage his confidence by the most accommodating behaviour, receive foods and clothes from him and are apparently on the most friendly terms, when on some fatal night they rise and murder as many as they can.<sup>15</sup>

The tragedy had shocked the residents of the northern districts and letters flowed to the colonial secretary. William Miles of Kinnoul station on 4 November 1857 wrote that on being informed of the occurrence by the lad who escaped he immediately rode over to Hornet Bank and was himself a witness to the state of the victims. He stated that within the previous eleven months there had been eighteen murders committed by the Aborigines on the station of Hornet Bank and the adjoining station Eurombah. He mentioned these particulars so as to bring under the colonial secretary's notice the very inefficient state of the Native Police Force in that district, adding that, although a select committee of the Legislative Assembly had recommended an increase in the Native Police Force some eight months previously, up to then

no steps had been taken towards carrying the recommendation into effect, nor had any improvement been made in the force's organization. Under the circumstances, he asked that the colonial secretary cause the commandant of the Native Police to take such steps as the colonial secretary considered necessary for the better protection of the district. He added that if some stringent measures were not quickly taken, the district would have to be abandoned or otherwise the residents in it may all expect to be slaughtered.<sup>16</sup>

Magistrates on the upper Dawson and on stations adjoining on the Auburn River — L. Murray Prior of Hawkwood, G. Pearce Sericold of Cockatoo, John McArthur, and P. J. Pigott — collectively wrote a letter from Bungaban to the colonial secretary on 3 December 1857. They were of the opinion that a conspiracy existed amongst the Aborigines in those districts to attack outside stations in the same manner as the Hornet Bank station and that energetic measures must be adopted to save the lives of the women and children then remaining. They desired to impress on the government their conviction that “the late fearful murders so quickly following each other, were the result of the very small punishment which the Blacks had received on the occasion of previous murders”. They wrote: “The fact that they consider us cowards and unable to protect ourselves is clearly shown by the attacks being made at the Head Station at Hornet Bank — whilst they have threatened to attack the other head station adjoining, and have threatened at several stations widely separated that the white fellows would directly all be dead.” The magistrates referred to the remarkable increase of crimes by the Aborigines in those parts during the previous two years: the attack on Hornet Bank where eleven people were killed, on Banana which at several times was attacked at night, on Elliott on the FitzRoy River at night when one man was killed, on Young near Port Curtis when four men and a woman were killed, on the Rannes police at night when three men were killed, and also during the previous year the murder of a woman at Juandah and the murders of seven men at Eurombah. The magistrates stated it had been clearly established to them that the Aborigines travelled over a very great extent of country. Several well-known Aborigines from

stations near Gayndah had been seen far out beyond the stations amongst the wild tribes. In the manner in which the stations had been attacked, the magistrates stated, the Aborigines must have been led by men well acquainted with the localities and in all cases the women and even children had been “horribly abused even when dead”. On all occasions after an outrage, the magistrates continued, the very murderers had flown for refuge to stations where they were supposed to be perfectly quiet. They trusted that the government would see the urgent necessity of supplying those districts with more protection. They added that they had formed a party and for the previous fortnight had been patrolling the district to establish confidence amongst the men who were daily running away from their employers. Without further assistance it was very likely that the outside stations would have to be abandoned.<sup>17</sup>

Walter Lamb, who was leaving for the Hunter, wrote from Macquarie Street, Sydney to Charles Cowper, colonial secretary, on 14 December 1857. He referred to the great fear that might be apprehended of an immediate attack on some of the Burnett settlers due to their unprotected state. His brother Philip Lamb had written from his station at Rocky Springs, eighty-four miles from Gayndah on 3 December. Philip Lamb had stated that, owing to the Aborigines there harbouring the Dawson tribe, they had been compelled to turn all the Aborigines off the stations as it was the opinion of all Lamb’s neighbours that while the Burnett tribe allowed “the Dawson fellows” to come among them, the settlers were not safe from being murdered in the same way as the Frasers. There were no Native Police within one hundred miles of Rocky Springs. He also wrote: “I shall be glad when the shearing is over, as the shearers are in such an awful fright about the Blacks they will not go down to the Wash Pool unless I take all the guns. Luckily all my shepherds are Chinamen, else they would get alarmed at the way the other men behave.” Walter Lamb stated in his letter to the colonial secretary that, considering the small number of Europeans in charge of these stations and the enormous number of Aborigines who congregated at times, for instance from two to five hundred on his brother’s station, it was clear



that the lives and property of settlers in the Burnett district were placed in a most critical position and he was sure the government would do all within their power to avert the threatened danger. He added that Mr. Patrick Leslie and Mr. Herbert would most likely call on the colonial secretary the next day respecting the matter and perhaps also Mr. Elliott who was just down from the Burnett.<sup>18</sup>

It is clear that immediately following the Hornet Bank attack, public attention had become focused on the Native Police Force. The corps had failed to protect the settlers on the Dawson.

Second Lieutenant Thomas Ross when in command of the upper Dawson detachment had been suspended from duty by Morisset *seven weeks before the attack on Hornet Bank*. The matter of his suspension was not dealt with until after the attack. However his suspension and the subsequent determination on the matter cannot be divorced from the Hornet Bank murders. In the notice to Ross of his suspension, Morisset had specially referred to a statement of a case that had been brought before him, when the police, following Aborigines “after an attempted outrage on Mrs. Fraser and her family”, had had to retire before a body of Aborigines because the ammunition of the party consisted of only one cartridge. This incident was alleged to have occurred on 15 June 1857. Subsequently six men were murdered on Eurombah station. A man on Eurombah and a woman on Juandah station had been killed previously in that year.

Ross’s notice of suspension was written on 7 September 1857 while Morisset was at Eurombah. Ross at the time was absent on his third expedition in pursuit of Aborigines who had killed six men on Eurombah station. Morisset left Eurombah for Wondai Gumbal on 15 September and Ross did not receive the notice of his suspension until he returned from his expedition on 20 September. Morisset had charged Ross with neglect of duty, want of energy, and inefficiency as a Native Police officer and “perfect inability” to keep his troopers under his proper control and discipline. Morisset in his notice to Ross stated that these charges had been clearly proved to him and it was apparent that, if Ross’s detachment had been properly directed and the Aborigines followed up

and punished as they merited for former outrages, “this portion of the country which has so long been under your charge would have been spared the recent lawless and brutal outrages”. Ross was informed he would be relieved by Second Lieutenant Powell whom he would furnish with a return of the men, horses, clothing, arms, and ammunition then in his charge.

Ross on 28 September 1857 from the upper Dawson had written to Alfred Denison, private secretary to the governor general, enclosing with his letter the notice of his suspension. He referred to Morisset’s statement of finding the charges corroborated by every one from whom he had sought information. Ross called particular notice to the fact that Morisset had been careful enough to date his letter 7 September – anterior to his asking any information from those who were in the best position to put him in possession of the facts, namely the frontier settlers on the Dawson in the immediate neighbourhood of Eurombah station where the outrages were committed. Ross considered this an important point, as Morisset had had an opportunity, if he had chosen, of conversing with those settlers before leaving Eurombah on 15 September. Ross stated he had ascertained Morisset had spoken to those settlers on only two occasions in that interval and in those instances the evidence was in his favour. With regard to the specific charge brought against him that the detachment under his command had had to retire before a body of Aborigines, Ross stated those settlers distinctly denied it. He called attention to the fact that Morisset had not received evidence from any one who was present on the occasion. He stated there were three persons with him when the Aborigines had been tracked to their camp from whom Morisset could obtain evidence: W. Fraser, A. Scott, and one trooper who was with Ross until 20 September. Only A. Scott could easily have been consulted by Morisset during his stay. Scott was then residing at Hornet Bank about ten miles from Eurombah. W. Fraser was absent from that part of the country during Morisset’s stay. Ross wrote that he had not been informed by Morisset nor had he been able to distinctly ascertain by whom the charges against him had been made. He could only infer they had been made

by Mr. Gordon Sandeman and other gentlemen signing a letter which appeared in the *North Australian* containing the story of the single cartridge. Not one of these men was ever a resident of the Leichhardt district. He added that he had been suspended without being given an opportunity to defend himself or explain the circumstances. He requested that his case be laid before the governor general and trusted that assent to his dismissal would be withheld until his case had been enquired into.<sup>19</sup>

Wickham on 12 October 1857 had recommended that an enquiry be instituted with a view to substantiating or invalidating the charges alleged against Ross. Meanwhile Morisset had been asked for his comments on Ross's explanation. Morisset on 14 October 1857 wrote to Wickham stating that, from his own enquiries in that district relative to Ross's conduct, he did not find one person to speak in his favour.<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Yaldwyn of Taroom had stated in answer to Morisset's enquiries that on one occasion four or five hundred Aborigines collected on his station. Yaldwyn sent for Ross to disperse them as he considered their being collected in such numbers was dangerous. Ross had made his appearance and had remained there for two or three days without dispersing them. Ross had left the station upon the Aborigines telling him they would go bye and bye. Morisset added that such indecision would of course tend to engender selfconfidence in the Aborigines and contempt for the Native Police. Yaldwyn had also stated as another example of inefficiency that on one occasion, when the detachment halted at his station, Ross had wished to remain there and had told his corporal, Robin Hood, that he should not go on that day. The corporal had then ordered his men to saddle up the horses and go on to Bungaban, "Mr. Ross accompanying them by corporal Robin Hood ordering him to come on".

Morisset had also heard from William Thomson, Palm Tree Creek, of Ross's general inefficiency and want of energy. At Eurombah Morisset had learned from Mr. Cardew and Mr. Boulton that had Ross been an efficient officer and operated against the Aborigines in many instances of former aggression, in their decided opinion the murders at Eurombah referred to in their complaints would not have occurred.

Cardew and Boulton had also stated that after the first four men were murdered Ross went out after the Aborigines but returned in a few days from the pursuit without effecting anything against them. Ross then had remained idle until the murder of two other men almost a month afterwards.

Morisset also wrote that Mr. Sericold of Cockatoo station had stated to him that Ross was in the habit of going from station to station where he would remain for a considerable length of time amusing himself but never attending to any duty. This was the position of Ross's suspension on the night of the Hornet Bank attack.

On 4 November 1857 Wickham wrote informing the colonial secretary that his duties at Brisbane rendered it impossible to absent himself for a sufficient period and stated that he had instructed the commandant to call upon Lieutenant Murray to take evidence in the matter.<sup>21</sup> Apparently Wickham did not wish to become involved in the aftermath of the Hornet Bank massacre.

Lieutenant John Murray, on being appointed to enquire into the conduct of Ross during the time he had done duty on the Dawson up to his suspension, on 23 December 1857 wrote to various stockholders asking to be furnished with their answers to the following questions:

1. Have you any charges to make against Mr. Ross of neglect of duty, want of energy and inefficiency as a Native Police Officer?
2. What do you know of the circumstances of Mr. Ross having had to retire with his party before a body of Blacks in consequence of the ammunition of the party consisting of one cartridge?
3. Did you consider Mr. Ross capable of keeping the troopers of his detachment under proper control and discipline?<sup>22</sup>

Although these questions were in respect of incidents before the Hornet Bank massacre all replies were made after that tragedy. Of the replies now available that of Thomas R. Boulton, superintendent of Eurombah from where Morisset had written his notice of suspension to Ross, was distinctly unfavourable to Ross. Boulton's reply was dated 28 December 1857.<sup>23</sup>

In answer to the first question Boulton's charge was that on or about 5 July 1857 the tracks of Aborigines were seen

close to one of his sheep stations. Ross had been immediately informed thereof “by the late Mr. John Fraser of Hornet Bank” and by Mr. Andrew Scott and urged to go in that direction and endeavour to discover the Aborigines. Boulton stated he had also mentioned the matter to Ross and although great danger was apprehended by them all Ross had paid no attention to the matter, but had removed with his party to Messrs. Scott and Thomsons on Palm Tree Creek. Boulton stated he was convinced of Ross’s neglect of duty as mentioned, as on 13 July four of Boulton’s men were killed at stations situated in the same direction in that in which the tracks were leading.

In reply to the second question about the retirement before a mob of Aborigines because of lack of ammunition, Boulton stated that he had reason to know that on the occasion when tracking the Aborigines four of the troopers left the party and returned to Hornet Bank from where they had started in the morning. When Ross and the rest of his party had discovered the Aborigines, Boulton claimed that Ross had considered it imprudent to disperse them and had returned at once to Hornet Bank where he had found his four troopers on his arrival. Boulton added that after this no further steps had been taken by Ross to follow up the Aborigines in question.

In reply to the third question, Boulton considered Ross a very unfit person, in every way, to have the charge of a detachment of Native Police, as his men were constantly in the habit of hunting and camping with the Aborigines and robbing the huts of Boulton’s shepherds. Boulton added that Ross’s men were also in the habit of chasing emus with their troop horses instead of allowing them to rest at every opportunity.

It appears that Boulton’s letter was shown by Murray to Ross to enable him to answer these charges and unfavourable opinions.

Ross on 3 January 1858 addressed his reply to Murray.<sup>24</sup> Concerning Murray’s first question, Ross stated he was not at Hornet Bank at the time the tracks were seen nor did he arrive there until five days later. He claimed that the circumstances were casually mentioned to him by the late Miss E.

Fraser and he denied that he was ever urged or requested by the late J. Fraser or by Andrew Scott to go out in the direction the tracks were seen. "To show how much danger was apprehended by Mr. Boulton", Ross stated that, when J. Fraser told Boulton of seeing the tracks at Hornet Bank the very day the tracks were seen, Boulton had replied that he was not afraid as, to use his own expression, "the Dickens knew him". He denied that Boulton at any time previous to the murders on Eurombah had mentioned the matter to him.

With regard to Boulton's reply to Murray's second question, Ross who had previously denied this in his letter to private secretary Denison, referred to his report on the subject to Morisset dated 22 September 1857 and also to W. Fraser's letter to Murray dated 25 December 1857. Ross stated he had patrolled the run without seeing any traces whatever of Aborigines. He had been specially requested by John Scott to go to Palm Tree Creek as one of Scott's shepherds was missing and fears were entertained that he had been killed by Aborigines.

In refuting the charges Boulton had brought against him on the third question, Ross accused Boulton of direct falsehoods. Ross maintained there was not a single individual in the district who would corroborate them.

Lastly, Ross thought he was justified in protesting against any evidence being received from Boulton as far as Eurombah station was concerned because Boulton had on different occasions given Ross to understand that he (Boulton) was sufficient protection for Eurombah himself and that Ross's services were not required. Ross cited one of those occurrences when Messrs. T. Cardew, H. C. Gregory, and another were present.

William Miles of Kinnoul replied to Murray's queries on 9 January 1858. Miles had no charge of neglect of duty or of want of energy or efficiency against Ross as a Native Police officer. On the contrary Miles had always found him ready and willing to do his duty. With regard to the specific charge of Ross having retired before a body of Aborigines at Hornet Bank because only one cartridge remained, Miles stated from what he knew of Ross "*and of the circumstances of Mr. Andrew Scott, an eye-witness on the occasion having*



*distinctly denied it*” (my emphasis) to him, he did not hesitate to say that he believed it to be untrue. Miles believed Ross to be quite capable of managing and controlling a detachment of Native Police were he placed in circumstances where discipline could reasonably be expected. During all the time of Ross’s command, Miles stated, not only was Ross without clothing and the necessary equipment for his men but disaffection arose “from contact with the mutinous troopers from Port Curtis and elsewhere”. In Miles’s opinion Ross had acted well and with more success in the management of his men than Miles could see any reason to expect. Miles stated he had been himself an eye-witness to the mutinous conduct of the troopers stationed at Rannes in December 1856. They had earnestly requested Miles to allow them to accompany his dray to the upper Dawson. Miles had declined to allow this but the deserting troopers had come up themselves and it was shortly after their appearance in the upper Dawson that Ross had been forced to take the same steps as his brother officers had done — namely to disband his men.<sup>2 5</sup>

John Scott and William Thomson jointly replied to Murray’s queries on 22 December 1857. Both signatures were appended to their letter. (Morisset on 14 October had reported he had heard from William Thomson of Ross’s general inefficiency and want of energy.) They also had no charge to bring against Ross of neglect of duty or of want of energy or efficiency as a Native Police officer, but on the contrary they had found him both ready and anxious to respond to every call. They knew nothing personally of Ross having had to retire with his party before a body of Aborigines in consequence of the ammunition of the party consisting of one cartridge, but from information they had received “from a Gentleman who personally supplied Mr. Ross with a number of cartridges on the evening previous to the alleged retreat” they had reason to doubt the truth of the charge. They considered Ross perfectly capable of keeping a detachment of troopers under proper control and discipline provided he had the means of supplying the men with clothing, accoutrements, and necessaries. As Ross had never possessed the means of doing so while in the district, his

success in keeping the men together for the length of time he had done entitled him in their opinion, “to great consideration and credit”.<sup>26</sup>

W. Fraser, who was absent from Hornet Bank at the time of the tragedy in October 1857, replied to Murray’s queries on 25 December 1857. He had no charges to make against Ross in reply to Murray’s first query. He could confidently state, as he was one of the party on the occasion alluded to, that Mr. Ross *did not retire* before a party of Aborigines owing to his having but one cartridge. Fraser stated he could still further assert that Ross left the Aborigines undisturbed on the following evening of 15 June 1857 for the following reasons: That he lost *three* of his men in the scrub, that Fraser himself and Scott were unarmed, and that as they could hear the Aborigines preparing to camp it was Ross’s opinion they could be more thoroughly dispersed the following morning after the three troopers had joined them. Fraser considered Ross capable of keeping the troopers of his detachment under proper control and discipline and he remarked that Ross had had great difficulty in controlling his men, owing to the very miserable manner in which his detachment was supplied with clothing, ammunition, saddlery, and serviceable horses.<sup>27</sup>

James Dolan replied to Murray’s queries from Ruined Castle Creek on 27 December 1857. Dolan had served in the Mounted Police and had had six years in the Native Police Corps, rising from sergeant to acting adjutant under Commandant Walker. Dolan had no charge to make against Ross, had no proof that he had retired before a body of Aborigines in consequence of the ammunition of the party consisting of one cartridge, and considered he was capable of keeping the troopers of his detachment under proper control and discipline “otherwise how could he have kept his men together so long as he did, badly mounted, badly clothed, and men who were never drilled or underwent a discipline at the headquarters of the Native Police”. From Dolan’s long service in the old Mounted Police and in the Native Police, he stated he may be justified in saying that Ross had done well as a young and inexperienced officer.<sup>28</sup>

Joseph King of Dawson River, on 30 December 1857, had

no complaint to make against Ross on any score, not having known anything of his movements, official or otherwise. He knew nothing of his capabilities in the Native Police.<sup>29</sup>

E. M. Royds of Juandah, on 31 December 1857, wrote that he had not had an opportunity to form an opinion on any question as Ross had chiefly confined himself to the outside stations.<sup>30</sup>

G. Pearce Sericold of Cockatoo Creek replied to Murray's queries on 1 January 1858. (Morisset had reported on 14 October 1857 that Sericold had stated to him that Ross was in the habit of going from station to station where he would remain for a considerable length of time amusing himself but never attending to any duty.) Sericold now had no complaint to make against Ross, nor was he aware that Ross had to retire before a party of Aborigines through want of ammunition. Sericold stated, however, that he did not consider Ross a sufficiently experienced officer to have the sole charge of the upper Dawson district, more especially with the very trifling force under his command. The consequence was that the Aborigines, knowing the weakness of the police force, were tempted to commit many murders and ultimately had attacked and murdered the residents at Hornet Bank station. Sericold believed that if the Native Police Corps had been in a better state of organization this tragedy would never have occurred. Personally, Sericold had no feeling but that of friendliness towards Ross whom he believed had done all in his power, considering the small number of troopers under his command and the short time he had been in the Corps.<sup>31</sup>

Andrew Scott from Hornet Bank answered Murray's queries on 11 January 1858. He had no charge against Ross whom he had always found willing to do his duty. As regards Ross having to retire before a body of Aborigines for want of ammunition, Andrew Scott distinctly denied being one of the party himself. It is interesting to note that Ross had stated Scott was one of the party on the alleged occasion; William Miles had stated that Andrew Scott, an eye-witness on the occasion, had distinctly denied to him the allegation of there being only one cartridge in the party; and W. Fraser had stated Scott and himself were unarmed. Andrew Scott, how-

ever, considered Ross capable of taking charge of a detachment of Native Police.<sup>32</sup>

Wickham forwarded the replies received by Murray, excepting those from Messrs. Yaldwyn, A. Scott, and Miles which were then awaited, to the colonial secretary on 24 February 1858. He reported that the replies to Murray's letters were in general favourable to Ross "although qualified – and no doubt the want of supplies of all kinds to which the Native Police Force were subjected last year owing to the flooded state of the country for many months, caused a relaxation of discipline amongst the Native Troopers". Wickham added: "*Nevertheless Mr. Ross does not appear to have performed his duty satisfactorily.*" Wickham relied on Boulton's charge of great neglect and want of energy. From Boulton's statement it appeared to Wickham more than probable that, had Ross attended to his requests and to those of John Fraser and Andrew Scott, *the murders at Hornet Bank would not have been committed.* Wickham, in conclusion, wrote: "*Although Lieut. Murray holds opinion favourable to Mr. Ross, it is shown by Mr. Boulton that he had great cause of complaint against him.*"<sup>33</sup> (The emphasis is mine.)

The correspondence, relating to the charges of neglect of duty and general want of energy and efficiency as a Native Police officer preferred by Morisset against Ross, was laid before the Executive Council on 1 March 1858.

Clerk of the Council Edward C. Merewether on 19 March 1858 signed a minute that the council regretted they were forced to concur with Captain Wickham's report and accordingly advised that Ross, who was then under suspension, be dismissed from the public service. The council's recommendation was approved by Denison on 20 March 1858.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the replies to Murray's circular letter were in Ross's favour while some of the charges made by Morisset were contradicted. Ross's command consisted of five Native Police in a difficult district where Aboriginal attacks from time to time had occurred and where different officers previously had reported that eighteen Native Police were required. The 1856 Select Committee had recommended for the Leichhardt district, including the upper Dawson, a

distribution of four main camps consisting of one lieutenant, five second lieutenants, forty-eight troopers, and four camp sergeants.<sup>35</sup> The detachment after deserting at Rannes in December 1856 had travelled through the upper Dawson after which Ross had been compelled to disband his detachment. His replacements, who apparently were untrained, he had retained despite the detachment's shortage of supplies, clothing, ammunition, and accoutrements and at a time when desertions were occurring from other detachments. References had been made to his troopers constantly hunting and chasing emus. Lieutenant Carr, giving evidence before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, stated that the native troopers were very frequently out of rations when on duty. He could remember their being without rations for as many as nine days on one occasion. He subsisted generally by the troopers providing him with food. He and his men fared alike, living on roots and a few odd opossums. When after Aborigines who had committed a serious outrage, they could not act as on other occasions and shoot game.<sup>36</sup>

Ross, youthful and inexperienced, was in charge of an area remote from the headquarters of his superior officer. He may have been careless. Murray reported his favourable opinion of Ross<sup>37</sup> while former adjutant Dolan, who had become a settler on the upper Dawson, considered Ross was capable of keeping the troopers under proper control and discipline "otherwise how could he have kept his men together so long as he did, badly mounted, badly clothed, and men who were never drilled or underwent a discipline at the headquarters of the Native Police".

Ross was suspended before the Hornet Bank attack and the matter of his suspension should have been dealt with solely on the matters contained in the charges made before those murders. On the contrary, to Wickham when forwarding to the colonial secretary the replies to Murray's letters, it appeared more than probable from Boulton's statement that, had Ross attended to the latter's requests and to those of John Fraser and Andrew Scott, *the murders at Hornet Bank would not have been committed*. John Fraser, who had died in the Hornet Bank attack, could not substantiate this reference by Wickham, and Andrew Scott in

his replies to Murray had made no mention of any request to Ross by him.

Even before the Hornet Bank massacre, on 16 September 1857 when writing to Wickham on the subject of complaints received as to the inefficiency of the Force, Elyard of the Colonial Secretary's Office by direction had threatened that a reduction of the vote for the force would be asked for unless the colonial secretary could be satisfied that Mr. Morisset and his officers were of more value than they appeared to be.<sup>38</sup>

Ross, by his suspension from the force, was indubitably made a scapegoat for the murders on Eurombah station and, by his dismissal from the corps, a scapegoat for the murders on Hornet Bank. He wrote to the colonial secretary from York Street, Sydney on 8 April 1858 requesting that he be furnished with a copy of Murray's report regarding his conduct as a Native Police officer on the upper Dawson, also with copies of the different letters addressed to Murray by the settlers on the Dawson in answer to Murray's queries.<sup>39</sup> He was unsuccessful in his request.<sup>40</sup> He was also unable to obtain six months salary whilst under suspension from 21 September 1857 to March 1858 although at the time he had been made aware that he could not leave the Leichhardt district.<sup>41</sup>

In later years in the Queensland colony Ross was a sergeant in the Maranoa Mounted Patrol. Commandant Charters of that corps reported he was a good man.<sup>42</sup>

It appears that Morisset himself did not emerge from the matter of Ross's dismissal free of blame. Mr. Hugh Robinson wrote to Colonial Secretary Charles Cowper from Maryborough, Wide Bay on 8 January 1858 with the desire of supporting Morisset who had just returned from his recruiting trip in the Clarence district. During his conversation with Morisset, Robinson had learned that he had "considerable trouble in consequence of his dismissal of 2nd Lieut. Ross – and also felt that he has not had that sympathy and co-operation from headquarters which his really energetic endeavour at reform in his Corps should have entitled him to". Robinson then referred to a petition which had been made in Ross's favour praying that Ross's dismissal be set aside and that he be reinstated. Robinson wrote: "Notwith-



standing the late Petition in his favour I must observe so notorious were the opinions as to Ross's carelessness, indolence and incapacity that in my journey to Rannes last July, I heard rumours and anecdotes illustrative of this impression . . . many sign because they cannot take the bread out of a man's mouth".<sup>43</sup>

However, blame was being attached to the Native Police Force for the want of protection to the settlers of the Dawson valley. Immediately following the Hornet Bank tragedy, complaints began to arrive at the Colonial Secretary's Office regarding the absence of activity and want of zeal by Lieutenant Francis Nicoll of Wondai Gumbal Native Police station.

# 19

## Inefficiency at Wondai Gumbal

Complaints had been made in relation to the force at Wondai Gumbal police station earlier in 1857. Lieutenant Nicoll, in command there, upon his return from sick leave had reported on 10 April on squatter Lester's complaint against the conduct of Second Lieutenants Ferguson, who had relieved Nicoll, and Smith. On 7 August he reported to Wickham on a statement made early in 1857 by Commissioner of Crown Lands Boyle of the Maranoa district to the chief commissioner of lands.<sup>1</sup> Relying on statements made by station superintendents James Norman of Talavera and Richard Walker of Yambougal, Boyle had implied "an utter want of discipline in the force stationed at Wondai Gumbal, if not in the Corps generally".

Nicoll in reply had confessed that the Maranoa division was not efficient. He had stated that the men were not mounted or armed and that the confusion in which he had found the division on his return from sick leave might have been soon rectified had it not been for the want of second lieutenants, camp sergeants, horses, flour, sugar, tobacco, saddles, bridles, ball cartridge, percussion caps, and clothing — in search of which necessaries he was then on his way to Ipswich. Clothing and ammunition had been sent from Sydney in May but an extraordinary wet season had prevented the transport of these supplies to Wondai Gumbal. For the same reason food supplies on stations throughout the district were short.

Nicoll however protested against the testimony of Walker and Norman "being taken as immaculate". He wrote that

Walker had been one of Mr. Hovenden Hely's party on its search for Dr. Leichhardt and he understood that Walker's mutinous conduct was one of the chief causes of the failure of that expedition. Nicoll stated that "in a drunken freak" Walker had lately attempted to vault over the cross beam of a room in a public house at Dalby, fracturing his thigh from which he had died. Norman was equally unworthy of credit, being a most confirmed drunkard who, some two years ago, had stabbed one of his men in the back with a knife. Both men had on several occasions demanded the assistance of the Native Police, assigning the only cause on the arrival of the police that their "Black boys had bolted and they wanted them back again". Nicoll added that the feelings of the officer and his troopers could be judged when "riding fifty miles on wretchedly overworked animals accorded them by government, they find they are expected to run in two or three Aboriginal boys for the use of a cattle station".

As to the connivance of the native troopers at the outrages committed by Aborigines which had been mentioned by Boyle, Nicoll wrote that no one with any knowledge or experience of these men "would ever entertain such a monstrous idea". He added: "When these drilled troopers or savages once pull a trigger, the difficulty is to get them to stop. Mercy, except to women and youths of either sex, is to them unknown. At the same time, I must say that, never in my experience, has the order to cease fire been disobeyed". On 5 November 1857, Nicoll again wrote to Wickham on Boyle's charges, having had personal communication with Boyle on the subject. Boyle had informed Nicoll that his report applied to the state of the division during Nicoll's absence on sick leave. Nicoll pointed out that only one of Boyle's charges reflected on the native troopers or their officers and that the other charges reflected merely on those whose duty it was to see that the division was mounted, armed, and accoutred. Nicoll suggested that any further communication on the subject be addressed to Second Lieutenant Ferguson who was in command at Wondai Gumbal during his absence on sick leave.<sup>2</sup>

On 16 September 1857 Elyard of the Colonial Secretary's Office by direction wrote informing Wickham that the

colonial secretary would have been glad if the government resident had reported his own opinion when forwarding Nicoll's report on Boyle's complaint "as it was quite impossible for the Central Government to decide upon such matters without any means of forming a judgment". Elyard also had to remark that whilst Nicoll's letter was not expressed in such language as was becoming in official correspondence, it was no reply to Boyle's charges if, as it was understood, Nicoll meant to endorse the allegations of Walker and Norman. Elyard also referred to the complaints by H. W. Corfield of Stanton Harcourt, Wide Bay, and James Landsborough of Monduran, stating that the colonial secretary regretted to find such representations of the inefficiency of the Native Police Force so soon after the efforts made by the Legislative Assembly and the large sum voted the previous year to make the corps of service to the districts. Wickham was requested to furnish a report without delay so that the colonial secretary might be prepared when parliament met to deal with the subject. Elyard added that unless the colonial secretary could be satisfied that Mr. Morisset and his officers were of more value than they appeared to be, he would decline to ask for a vote so large as that passed for that year, under expectations which he saw no hope of being realized.<sup>3</sup>

On 12 September Morisset had reported from Eurombah station in relation to the murders there, stating it had not appeared to him that Nicoll had afforded the assistance and support he should have done. Morisset was then proceeding to Wondai Gumbal to call upon Nicoll for a report. Following that visit Morisset had reported the state of confusion in which he had found the Wondai Gumbal station.

Immediately after the Hornet Bank tragedy complaints as to the absence of activity and want of zeal on the part of Nicoll were made.

Andrew Scott of Hornet Bank in December 1857 wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on the subject of the massacre and a copy of that paper containing the letter was sent by T. G. Rusden to the governor general on 8 January 1858. On the same date this correspondence was forwarded by the Colonial Secretary's Office to Wickham.<sup>4</sup>

On 22 January 1858 Morisset wrote to Nicoll enclosing a written copy of a charge, preferred against him by Pollett Cardew of the Dawson, and informing him that he was suspended from duty in the force from that date.<sup>5</sup> Charges against Nicoll also had been made by letter dated 20 December 1857 written by John Ferrett of Wallann, Darling Downs, who referred to statements that had been made by others whose names he furnished.<sup>6</sup> On 22 January 1858 Morisset wrote to a number of settlers whose names had been supplied by Ferrett.<sup>7</sup>

Andrew Scott of Hornet Bank on 11 March 1858 wrote to Morisset in support of the charges. In consequence of the tragedy at Hornet Bank Scott had proceeded to Wondai Gumbal about 22 November 1857, "in order to try to prevail on Lieut. Nicoll to give some attention in apprehending the murderers". He stated that even then he had great cause of complaint against Nicoll for his dilatory conduct as Royds of Juandah, almost immediately after the murderous attack at Hornet Bank, "had forwarded an express" for Nicoll's assistance.<sup>8</sup>

On or about 24 November 1857 at 11 a.m., Scott had arrived at the barracks at Wondai Gumbal. Nicoll then was not up. Scott was surprised at the appearance of the police station and could only compare it for dirt and disorder to a "Blacks' Camp". When Nicoll "was pleased to get up", Scott drew his attention to the necessity for immediate action. Excuses were made by Nicoll of being short of firearms and horses among other things and at last Nicoll had promised to send Second Lieutenant Moorhead as soon as he returned to Wondai Gumbal. Scott had then gone to Tieryboo and on his return met Nicoll at Coxens. Nicoll there informed Scott he had altered his mind and intended going himself but he was first to go and take leave of Lester who was supposed to be about to go to England. Scott waited for Nicoll who returned on 29 November to Wondai Gumbal, promising to be at Bogandilla the next day. Nicoll did not arrive and Scott, who had been accompanied by the suspended Thomas Ross during the journey, returned home.

On 4 December 1857, the Native Police from Wondai Gumbal had arrived at Hornet Bank without an officer.

Believing it useless to wait for Nicoll, the Native Police started after the murderers on 7 December. Two days later Nicoll arrived, stating he had been lost in the bush. Scott since had not heard that Nicoll did anything to assist the settlers on the Dawson but he had seen Nicoll a few days subsequently at Juandah. There Nicoll had expressed his readiness to expel from that station the Aborigines who were there camped, if someone else would deal with them in the bush "for which duty he expressed himself unwilling". Scott observed he had seen at Wondai Gumbal twenty-one horses in the yard at one time. Moorhead with five more was on duty in quest of blankets for the troopers and Scott was aware there were many more horses in the bush at hand.

William Gillies, in reply to Morisset's queries, wrote from Dulacca on 17 March 1858. He stated that Nicoll was incapable of finding his way through the bush. Shortly after the murder of a shepherd and his wife at Bogandilla, Nicoll had been unable to find his way from there to the barracks, his men having left him to go emu hunting. Nicoll had come to Gillies who had put him on the track. Gillies added that Nicoll had been frequently sent for when the station was in imminent risk on account of Aborigines from the Dawson and elsewhere and had been generally very dilatory in coming and, when he had come, remiss in the discharge of his duty.<sup>9</sup> A similar letter was also written by William Miles from Dulacca on 17 March 1858.<sup>10</sup>

James Bennett of Wallann, Darling Downs wrote on 13 March 1858 in reply to Morisset's query.<sup>11</sup> He considered Nicoll totally unfit for his office for his want of knowledge of the bush, "neither being able to find his way except on a road nor to follow a track however plain". In consequence his men had been in the habit of taking him any course they thought proper across the country. Bennett himself had witnessed this. As a result murderers had "been allowed to escape and the ends of justice frustrated". Bennett stated that the principal portion of Nicoll's time had been taken up in riding along the road from the barracks to the post office and stations along the Condamine River where no depredations had been committed for years, taking most and sometimes all the able men and horses with him, so that no assist-



ance was available at the barracks. There had been no regular patrol of the frontier country as in the former days of the force. To Bennett it appeared that Nicoll made his attendance on the bench as a magistrate and the visiting of his friends the first, and his police duties the secondary consideration. When the force was out of rations and it was necessary to borrow from a neighbouring station, Nicoll had always required from eight to ten troopers and their horses to bring home about two hundred pounds of supplies when a private individual would have required only one.

Bennett supplied some examples of Nicoll's carelessness and indifference. Soon after Nicoll's appointment to the force, he had apprehended two Aborigines on a warrant and was in command of an escort to take them to the lockup at Wambo. At Tieryboo, where they had camped for the night, Nicoll sent his men on with the prisoners while he remained behind with his friends, to follow at his leisure. In consequence the prisoners were allowed to escape and were never apprehended. Nicoll however had enlisted one of them in the force although the warrant had been granted by himself and the Aborigine was well known to him.

Bennett also alleged that about the middle of April 1857, soon after Nicoll's return from a long leave of absence, he wrote to Nicoll informing him that Aborigines were then spearing cattle near their sheep stations on the Tchanning. He had feared that if not dispersed they would attack some of the shepherds. Bennett had appointed a place to meet Nicoll with rations, if he required them, to show him where the Aborigines were. As Bennett's messenger did not return, Bennett went first to the place of meeting and, not finding Nicoll there, went to the barracks where he found Lieutenant Smith with a few sick men and disabled horses. Smith informed Bennett that Nicoll had gone to Blyth's which was a day's ride, in search of rations, taking all the available force with him. Smith added that he was hourly expecting Nicoll back. As Nicoll did not arrive, Bennett returned home. A week afterwards Bennett had received a note from Nicoll, written from Tieryboo, advising that he had received Bennett's letter which had been forwarded him at Blyth's, the day after the meeting proposed. Nicoll stated he had five

cartridges in the division and sixteen caps, but had obtained some caps from Chief Constable Skelton and would set to work to make cartridges if he could muster lead. A week later Bennett was informed by W. H. Yaldwyn of Taroom station, who had come from Tieryboo, that Nicoll was still at Tieryboo with all his men. Bennett added that his patience being exhausted, *he took other means to disperse the blacks.*

Although Bennett's station was on the same creek as Wondai Gumbal barracks and Nicoll had stated in his evidence before Sandeman's committee in Sydney that in his opinion Bennett's station was not safe nor ever would be, Bennett claimed that Nicoll had never patrolled that country from that day onward, except his men passing along the public road from the barrack to the Dawson. Bennett stated he had been ten years there, since the country was first taken up, and had had great opportunities of witnessing the conduct of the Native Police from their first arrival in the district. A more efficient force could not be desired when it was under the command of the late Lieutenant Fulford, but since the appointment of Lieutenants Irving and Nicoll at Wondai Gumbal the troopers had lost all the respect for and confidence in their officers and had become careless in their persons and negligent in their duty and worse than useless.

John Ferrett replied to Morisset's query from Wallann on 21 March 1858. Ferrett confirmed Bennett's statement regarding the escape of two Aboriginal prisoners because Nicoll stayed behind at Tieryboo. He stated he had assisted Nicoll to apprehend the two notorious Aborigines, Sandy and Jackey, for killing cattle and who, from their own statements, were present at the murder of Kettle at Bogandilla. The two Aborigines afterwards had returned to Tieryboo. Ferrett also referred to the frivolous excuses of Nicoll when requested by his overseers to disperse Aborigines who were spearing cattle. He alleged that within the previous year Nicoll had spent a great portion of his time absent from police duty. He stated that Nicoll was such an inferior bushman as to prove himself incapable of finding the way from Bogandilla station to Wondai Gumbal, although the places were on the same water and only about twenty-five miles distant. He also referred to Nicoll's delay in going to the

Dawson after his troopers had arrived there.<sup>1 2</sup>

W. Coxen replied to Morisset from Alderton, Darling Downs on 15 May 1858. He alleged that the whole of Nicoll's time was taken up visiting the stations where he could get a supply of spirits and claimed that latterly Nicoll had been living almost entirely between the Condamine public house and Tieryboo head station, only four miles apart. He stated he had given Nicoll notice of the Hornet Bank murders three days after their being committed but Nicoll had not made the slightest attempt to render assistance. Nicoll had merely shrugged his shoulders and said "it is a sad affair".<sup>1 3</sup>

A letter addressed to the principal secretary, signed by William Fraser, Sylvester Fraser, and Andrew Scott of Hornet Bank and dated 11 January 1858, was referred to Wickham as an enquiry was then proceeding into Nicoll's conduct. This letter was in the handwriting of Frederick Walker, former commandant of the Native Police, who was then employed by Pollett Cardew on the Dawson. It called for the secretary's intervention in a matter involving a deep wound to the feelings of those signing and threatening the safety of the settlers and their servants in that part of the Leichhardt district. It stated that not only had Nicoll "hastened home without making the slightest endeavour to check the hostilities of their enemies" but he had also held out an inducement for the committal of further crimes by recruiting for the Native Police from among the murderers.

It was alleged in the letter that among the ruffians thus enlisted was one Boney or Bobby whose name and description exactly corresponded with those of the scoundrel to whom the late Mrs. Fraser was heard by the only survivor of the terrible tragedy appealing for mercy for her children. Another recruit named Toby was well known to have been present at the murders at Eurombah and the remainder were, with little doubt, the accomplices in all the outrages in the district. The letter was a protest against the employment of any of the Aborigines of Cockatoo, Bungaban, Taroom, Juandah, Palm Tree Creek, Kinnoul, or Eurombah in the Native Police and it was stated that the retaining of Nicoll as an officer would endanger the safety of Europeans in the district and "probably cause a war of extermination between the settlers and the Blacks".<sup>1 4</sup>

On 7 February 1858 Nicoll, who had that day received from Morisset his notice of suspension, wrote to the colonial secretary requesting that a strict and impartial enquiry be held as regards the matter as he had serious charges to prefer against Cardew and others. He stated the Dawson formed part of the Leichhardt district which was assigned to Lieutenant Murray's care and that Cardew's charge was untrue. He wished to bring under notice the neglect with which the Maranoa district was treated. Morisset had promised him recruits and horses by 1 November 1857 which had not arrived and he was left to protect the lower Condamine and Maranoa with one second lieutenant, one camp sergeant, and eight troopers, being one-third of the proper complement. On the other hand he stated he had raised twenty-one recruits for other districts. He stated his troopers had received no clothing for 1857. He requested a full and searching enquiry be instituted, as the atrocities then recently practised upon the Aborigines, men, women and children, demanded investigation.<sup>15</sup>

On 27 February 1858 Nicoll tendered to the colonial secretary his resignation as a lieutenant of the Native Police. He stated he could not "conscientiously serve under the present management". He further stated the Native Police Force "had degenerated into a mere farce carried on at the public expense". His public and private cheques were returned dishonoured and he was ashamed to belong to the force "as at present commanded". He had heard nothing of Second Lieutenant Walker, who was to take over the charge at Wondai Gumbal, so that the lower Condamine and Maranoa district was unprotected.<sup>16</sup>

On 3 March 1858 Nicoll advised that his reasons for not submitting his resignation through the commandant were that the latter was constantly travelling about and his resignation might not have reached the commandant for some months "which would have entailed serious pecuniary loss upon him".<sup>17</sup>

Wickham was asked to report on Nicoll's letter. On 13 April 1858 he wrote to the colonial secretary advising that he considered Nicoll's resignation was not to be regretted. The numerous complaints which had been made showed that the

force would never be efficient so long as Nicoll held the command of a detachment. Wickham also explained the reasons for Nicoll's dishonoured cheques and stated that the expenses of the Maranoa district for the quarter had greatly exceeded its allowance. On receipt of Wickham's report the colonial secretary directed that Wickham be called upon to say whether, in view of the investigation then pending, Nicoll's resignation should be accepted or not.<sup>18</sup> On 12 May 1858 Wickham forwarded to the colonial secretary the report of Morisset who had proceeded to Wondai Gumbal to investigate the charges. This duty of enquiry Morisset had "not been able to perform satisfactorily in consequence of the marked contempt displayed by Lieut. Nicoll in avoiding an interview with him".<sup>19</sup>

Morisset had reported on 30 April 1858 that upon enquiry he was satisfied that the complaints of the alleged misconduct and inefficiency on the part of Nicoll were substantially correct in that the conduct of that officer had been most injurious to the character of the Native Police Corps and directly antagonistic to its internal discipline and to the efficiency of the division placed under his command.<sup>20</sup>

With respect to his first inspection of Wondai Gumbal, Morisset stated he had found Nicoll absent from his division. Morisset had been informed that Nicoll was in search of provisions. Morisset reported that Nicoll's absence then had been occasioned through his lending flour belonging to the corps to a neighbouring squatter, Mr. Lester of Tieryboo, who at the time had not returned it. Morisset had found the camp in a complete state of disorganization, the troopers absent and living with the local Aborigines, going with them in all their corroborees and marauding expeditions. Morisset was convinced that the presence of Second Lieutenant Moorhead only had prevented serious disturbances and offences, particularly at the time when "the perpetrators of the atrocities committed on the Dawson came down on the Condamine waters". They had been dispersed entirely through the exertions of Moorhead.

As regards Nicoll's expenditure of his own salary on the troopers, Morisset found that it was the only way in which Nicoll could even maintain a slight show of discipline as the

troopers refused to obey his orders unless they received a gratuity on each particular occasion for so doing. They treated him generally with the greatest contempt.

As to the want of supplies in clothing and provisions for the use of Nicoll's division, Morisset reported that such deficiencies were to be traced solely to Nicoll's own account. These should have been obtained several months previous to Morisset's appointment as commandant, as instructions had been sent to all officers that the inspector general had held each officer in command of a division responsible for its internal economy and management. Morisset also called attention to the confused state of the accounts of the third division.

To Wickham it was manifest that the charges preferred against Nicoll were correct. He suggested that Nicoll's resignation should not be accepted but that he be dismissed from the public service.<sup>21</sup> This recommendation was endorsed by the Executive Council. As it appeared that Nicoll's accounts were in a very unsatisfactory state, the council further advised that the pay due to him be withheld until he had adjusted them to the satisfaction of the proper authorities. Denison approved the Executive Council's recommendation on 3 June 1858.<sup>22</sup>

Notice of the decision was sent to Nicoll by Wickham on 21 June 1858. However, he did not receive it until 16 July. The envelope had finished up in the dead letter office at Sydney and was returned to the government resident. Meanwhile Nicoll arrived in Brisbane on 9 July to wait on Wickham and was shown a copy of the decision.<sup>23</sup>

Nicoll subsequently claimed that he was ignorant of every charge against him excepting one preferred by Cardew, that he had been denied enquiry, that he had a grave charge against the commandant of "gratuitous savagery" which he threatened to make public, and that he had resigned because he would not become a butcher of women and children and a party to the abstraction of 2d. per day from the pay of the troopers.<sup>24</sup> Wickham on 20 October reported on the subject of accounts and troopers' pay referred to in Nicoll's complaints.

With regard to the accounts of the third division Wickham



wrote that Nicoll had only himself to blame for the delay in settlement as he had left them "in a state of almost inextricable confusion and had not afforded Lieutenant Walker any assistance in their elucidation". The exertions of Walker had enabled the secretary to reduce the accounts to order. Several items in the accounts furnished by Nicoll for the quarter ended 30 September 1857 had been objected to by the auditor general but Nicoll, who had been requested to give an explanation, had not replied until 9 March 1858 after being again written to. As regards the troopers only receiving 3d. per day instead of 5d. as provided by the legislature, Wickham reported this was an arrangement made previous to the reorganization of the force under Morisset. The estimated sum for the purchase of rations for a trooper was 1s. 6d. per diem which was found insufficient, the full rations costing on an average 1s. 8d., and in many instances, particularly in the third division, considerably above that sum. It was then arranged, and Wickham understood with the consent of the government, that 2d. per diem should be deducted from the trooper's pay to cover this expense, rather than diminution should take place in the ration. Wickham thought this arrangement was made when Frederick Walker was commandant. The reasons for this must have been well known to Nicoll. Wickham added that lately the commandant had been enabled to arrange for the supply of rations at 1s. 6d. and in consequence he had issued an order to officers in charge of divisions to fill in the pay lists for the full amount of 5d. per day.<sup>25</sup>

The Colonial Secretary's Office could find no trace of the arrangement and the matter was sent to the Auditor General who could see no objection to this practice. The colonial secretary on 7 December 1858 directed that 5d. per day should be issued to the troopers and should the cost of rations exceed 1s. 6d. per day it be met from the saving on the whole amount for rations "which will no doubt bear it as the Corps is not at its full strength". The secretary considered that 1s. 6d. per day was a high ration price and the parties who benefited so much by their police force should arrange for rations to be supplied upon moderate terms.<sup>26</sup>

Nicoll was still writing from Ipswich for his arrears of pay

until the middle of 1859. On 17 June 1859 he asked whether there was any likelihood of the arrears of salary due to him being paid before the separation of the northern districts from New South Wales.<sup>27</sup> On 10 August 1859 Wickham was able to write informing the colonial secretary that the proper vouchers duly signed by Nicoll having that day reached his office, the sum of £151 14s. 10d. pay and allowance from 1 January to 8 June 1858 had been placed to Nicoll's credit in the Joint Stock Bank in Ipswich as requested by the latter.<sup>28</sup>

A former lieutenant of the Native Police sat on the Drayton bench in 1859 much to the annoyance of "An Elector" who addressed three questions to William Handcock, M.L.A., per favour of the *Moreton Bay Free Press*:

1. When a Lieutenant of the Native Police is appointed a Magistrate, and is shortly afterwards called upon, for improper conduct, to resign his situation, whether he is not also in duty bound to resign his office of magistrate?
2. Is it consistent with Magisterial dignity, or at all calculated to further the ends of justice, for a person to be a magistrate who was called upon to resign a government situation for disorderly conduct, and is now dependent upon the County and charity of a few individuals?
3. Whether he (the Premier) will cause the Honourable the Attorney General to send the ex-lieutenant a missive to desire him to erase the letters J.P. from the tail of his name, and not again take his seat in the Temple of Nemesis, Drayton?<sup>29</sup>

There were good grounds for the dismissal of Nicoll from Police Force. However it is a pity that the 1858 Select Committee which immediately followed his dismissal did not sift certain allegations made against and by him.

The charges by settlers of Nicoll's incompetence commenced to flow immediately after the Hornet Bank massacre which had occurred in the early hours of 27 October 1857. Nicoll did not arrive at Hornet Bank from Wondai Gumbal until some six weeks later and three days after his troopers had arrived without their officer.

Andrew Scott of Hornet Bank alleged that he had seen Nicoll at Juandah where Nicoll had expressed his readiness to expel from that station the Aborigines who were there camped if some one else would deal with them in the bush "for which duty he expressed himself unwilling". James

Bennett of Wallann had stated that his patience being exhausted by the inaction of Nicoll, he took other means to disperse the Aborigines. Nicoll had requested a full and searching enquiry be instituted, as the atrocities then recently practised upon the Aborigines, men, women, and children, demanded investigation. He also alleged that the Native Police Force had degenerated into a mere farce carried on at the public expense and he could not serve under "the present management".

A sifting of these allegations even by the 1858 Select Committee may have prevented later atrocities which were in fact committed occasionally by the Native Police under a few officers and which disgraced the pages of Queensland's history of colonization.

However, the Hornet Bank massacre had hardened public opinion against the Aborigines and the inefficiency of the Native Police Force was generally regarded as the cause of the Dawson River murders by the tribesmen.

# 20

## The 1858 Select Committee

The complaints by H. W. Corfield of Stanton Harcourt, Wide Bay and James Landsborough of Monduran of the inefficiency of the Native Police Force had produced a letter written by direction of the colonial secretary to Wickham threatening that the vote for the force for the following year would be reduced. On 21 November 1857 Corfield wrote to the colonial secretary again. He referred to his previous complaint and to the statement of Morisset that his reason for not turning aside was "that he had ordered the Officer of the Detachment to visit my Station and inquire into the matter forthwith".<sup>1</sup>

Corfield stated that the officer of the district, Lieutenant Phibbs, had passed there on 14 or 15 September without calling. Seven weeks after the attacks, Phibbs had returned and called at Stanton Harcourt at the instigation of a neighbour who told him that Aborigines were again threatening Corfield's men. Phibbs had then distinctly told him that he had no orders from the commandant to take any steps to punish the perpetrators of the late outrage and had acted accordingly by not visiting the locality where the murderers and despoilers were said to be.

Corfield also stated that an attack was made by Aborigines on 14 November 1857 upon James Walker at McPhail's station near Maryborough. Walker had received a number of wounds one of which, from a spear in the breast, nearly proved fatal. Corfield added that there was one officer of Native Police in Maryborough and another at the barracks a few miles out with one or two sergeants, the troopers having

absconded, yet when he left Maryborough on 19 November McPhail's station had not been visited by the police nor was such a necessary step then in contemplation.

Second Lieutenant Ferguson, who during the absence of Morisset and Bligh was in charge at Coopers Plains barracks, received from Wickham a copy of Corfield's letter of 21 November 1857 and was called upon for his report. Ferguson subsequently handed to Morisset his report. He stated that at the time of the attack on James Walker he was left at the barracks with Sergeant Allan only, the troopers of the division having previously absconded. It had not been possible for him to render any assistance as it was necessary to leave some person in charge of government property at the barracks. He added that Corfield had not confined himself to facts in stating there were two officers and two sergeants at Coopers Plains. Ferguson could not conceive what steps Corfield expected to be taken as from his letter he was well aware that there were no police at his disposal at Coopers Plains.<sup>2</sup>

Ferguson also handed to Morisset his resignation from the Native Police Force.<sup>3</sup> This was tendered during the suspension of Second Lieutenant Ross of the upper Dawson. The reason for Ferguson's resignation is unknown. While relieving Nicoll at Wondai Gumbal early in 1857 he had been the subject of a complaint by Lester, a squatter, who had charged him with inebriety. Subsequently he had been granted six weeks' leave of absence because of ill-health. Whether Ferguson wished to avoid being made a scapegoat for the inefficiency of the force or whether a deterioration of health had caused his resignation are matters for conjecture.

Morisset, reporting to Wickham on 11 January 1858 on Corfield's later complaint, stated he had given orders to Phibbs to patrol the district. This the lieutenant had done. Morisset had not ordered the officer of the district to visit Corfield's station and enquire into the matter forthwith. He could only presume by Phibbs's not making the visit until his return from his patrol that Phibbs had seen the impossibility of effecting any good. Morisset stated it was not his custom to order officers particularly to punish Aborigines but to hold them responsible for the general fulfilment of their

duties. He therefore suggested for the future that greater control be observed in the reception of reports from Corfield.<sup>4</sup>

The murders at Hornet Bank were reported to Morisset on his arrival in Brisbane after purchasing several horses but failing to procure recruits in the Moreton Bay district. He reported this information to Wickham on 13 November 1857, stating that if he could have raised a detachment in the district he would have at once despatched them to the upper Dawson. He had, however, ordered Lieutenants Murray and Nicoll to proceed there without delay "to thoroughly investigate this lamentable occurrence and to take such steps as they may consider necessary to render life and property secure".<sup>5</sup>

Morisset then proceeded to the Clarence River where Lieutenant Bligh had succeeded in obtaining recruits about sixty miles from Grafton and horses. Bligh had difficulty in keeping the men. Many deserted after being with him a week. Morisset instructed Dempster, who had been promoted to second lieutenant, to continue recruiting in the Clarence and Richmond districts and to buy more horses within the sum allowed. Reporting this to Wickham, Morisset added that he had found the state of the Clarence detachment "most efficient and creditable to the officers in command and the Blacks in the several districts they control, peaceable".<sup>6</sup>

Morisset accompanied by Bligh arrived in Brisbane from the Clarence with nineteen recruits and thirty-seven horses. Eleven recruits from the Clarence had deserted on the way north. However Morisset obtained fourteen recruits from the Condamine, eight of whom he placed under the command of Second Lieutenant E. G. Williams to form the Moreton Bay detachment. Williams was instructed to keep up a general patrol of the Moreton Bay district until Morisset had personally consulted with Wickham as to the most advisable locality for the site of their camp.<sup>7</sup>

On 5 January 1858 Morisset arrived back at his headquarters near Maryborough. From there he wrote on 11 January reporting to the government that unfortunately the detachments Murray and Nicoll were enabled to take to the upper Dawson numerically were very weak. He himself was



preparing to proceed to the upper Dawson accompanied by Lieutenant Bligh with whom he was engaged in organizing and drilling the detachment of recruits from the Clarence and Condamine districts. He stated that these recruits who were totally unacquainted with the use of arms or horses, were useless to be taken into active service until they had obtained some knowledge of those requisites. They were progressing much more rapidly than he could have anticipated and he trusted to be able to leave the Maryborough headquarters in about ten days. Morisset also mentioned that he had accepted Ferguson's resignation.<sup>8</sup>

In January 1858 Morisset issued his instructions to officers and camp sergeants of the Native Police. Discipline was tightened. The officers in charge of divisions or detachments were to be careful that under no circumstances were Aborigines other than troopers to be allowed into a police camp. They were to use every exertion to prevent the troopers from having any communication whatever with the Aborigines of the district in which they may be stationed or through which they may be passing. Every officer was to keep a journal of all incidents in the course of public duty, whether on patrol or in camp, so that he could at any time furnish to the commandant a report of the daily duty performed by himself or his division or detachment or of any circumstance which may have occurred. Officers in charge were instructed to furnish at the conclusion of each month accounts on proper vouchers and were to be held responsible for the general duty of their division or detachment and the proper fulfilment of the separate duties by their subordinate officers. They were carefully to instruct their camp sergeants as to their duties with regard to stores and rations, the drilling of troopers every day while in camp, and the discipline of the camp during the absence of the officer. There were instructions as to wearing the correct uniform, cleanliness in person, clothing and accoutrements, the mustering of all the horses regularly every morning by the troopers in turn, the care of horses' backs, and the cleanliness of saddle cloths and girths. The taking by troopers of spirits from any one except from their officer or medical man in case of sickness and the expending by troopers of cartridges

without the orders of their officer were prohibited. The tenth and final instruction read:

It is the duty of the officers at all times and opportunities to disperse any large assemblage of Blacks; such meetings, if not prevented, invariably lead to depredations or murder; and nothing but the mistaken kindness of the officers in command inspired the Blacks with sufficient confidence to commit the late fearful outrages on the Dawson River. The Officers will therefore see the necessity of teaching the Aborigines that no outrage or depredation shall be committed with impunity — but on the contrary, retributive justice shall speedily follow the commission of crime; nevertheless the Officers will be careful in receiving reports against the Blacks, as it frequently happens that mistakes are made as to the identity of the aggressors. In case of any collision with the Aborigines a report is to be forwarded to the Commandant without delay.<sup>9</sup>

These instructions related to several matters which were referred to by witnesses before select committees.

A number of witnesses before the 1856 Select Committee had considered that patrolling stopped depredations and that a portion of each division should be continually patrolling.<sup>10</sup> Former Commandant Marshall said the men could not be too much employed and the more they had to do the better they were disciplined.<sup>11</sup> C. L. Hay did not think they should be allowed to ride along the road from station to station.<sup>12</sup> John McLerie, then inspector general of police, stated that it was perfectly well known that the efficiency of a police force depended as much on the uncertainty of their whereabouts as on their strength. Therefore he considered that the Native Police Force should be a continually moving body. In fact they should be so distributed that the part of a district vacated today by one party might be reoccupied by another party tomorrow, and so on in succession. Their movements should be matter of perfect uncertainty to the Aborigines.<sup>13</sup>

James Blain Reid before the 1858 Select Committee said there was a tremendous wear and tear of saddles and accoutrements. For instance, if the troopers stopped for a short time they would take the bridles off their horses, leave the carbine in the saddle, and probably the brute would roll and break one or both. He added he would make them throw away their heavy swords. They did not know how to use them and the carbine was all they wanted.<sup>14</sup>

William Archer, a witness before the 1858 Select Committee, did not think that troopers had been in the habit of getting drunk at stations. He had often seen them drunk about Brisbane and about Gayndah and he dared say they got drunk at other places.<sup>15</sup> James Blain Reid stated he had never seen them at a place where they could get drink except at Gayndah and they had no money there. He added that nearly all of the troopers took drink if they could get it but he had never heard that any of them had been guilty of drunkenness.<sup>16</sup> Three years later J. Fraser before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee stated that he believed intoxicating liquor was demoralizing the Native Police troopers, as well as the Aborigines generally, more than any other thing. He had heard of instances, when Commandant Walker had first brought the police to the northern districts, in which the troopers had refused to drink spirits. He also knew from his own experience many of them would not touch spirits till long association with the people in the towns led them into it.<sup>17</sup> J. Mortimer, before the same committee, had no doubt that the Native Police "drink and get into loose habits about the towns".<sup>18</sup>

The mode of dispersing was left to the discretion of the officers. Alfred Brown before the 1858 Select Committee said: "These corrobories I have frequently wished the officer of Native Police to disperse, but he would merely ride among them and send them away a few miles without seeing that every tribe went to its own neighbourhood."<sup>19</sup> Cardew Collins, before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, did not think it likely that large mobs of Aborigines would be dispersed by a small body of police if they knew the police were not going to fire upon them. In that case they would do all they could to kill the police.<sup>20</sup>

The appointments of Frederick Wheeler and Richard Bedford Poulten to be second lieutenants in the Native Police were gazetted on 7 December 1857 and 22nd February 1858 respectively.<sup>21</sup>

On 19 April 1858 Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman wrote to his chief commissioner from Cockatoo station, upper Dawson. He reported that a rumour, which he feared was founded on truth, had just reached him that four men —

two Coolies and two Englishmen — had been murdered by Aborigines on the run of the late Joseph Thompson at Camboon about 5 or 6 April. Wiseman stated that this was the first outrage on that run as James Reid, who had an interest in the run and owned all the sheep, had never provoked any of the Aborigines or even driven them off the run. At the time the murders were committed, Aborigines were encamped at the head station. It was said that five thousand sheep had been also carried off. Wiseman further reported that Commandant Morisset accompanied by Lieutenant John Murray, with six or seven troopers of the Native Police, had left Cockatoo on Monday 5 April for Camboon where they would arrive in a day or so. Wiseman hoped that they had enquired into the circumstances of the case as otherwise he would consider it his duty to proceed to Camboon. However, as he was on the eve of starting on a long journey to the Comet River with applicants for runs, he did not wish to give his horses any extra work.<sup>2 2</sup> Wiseman finally decided to go himself to Camboon. On 29 April 1858 he wrote to the attorney general from Camboon, transmitting depositions taken by him as a magistrate concerning the murder of the four men named Churchman, Marland, O'Brien, and Blair. Wiseman from Rannes on 29 April 1858 further reported:

At the same time I take the liberty, which I hope your courtesy will consider pardonable, of trespassing on your valuable time, by claiming your sympathy and assistance, as a member of His Excellency's Government, for the stockholders and their men in this exposed district. The unfortunate shepherds, I think, more particularly require consideration, for their lives can always be taken, the more so as the Aborigines seem to have some settled plan to murder as many as they can.

On this occasion, the Natives who committed this murder did not take any sheep, but only a carbine, powder and balls, and some axes. On the second day after the murder Lieutenant Murray was on their trail, and he has not since been seen. Sub-Lieutenant Powell and two troopers also went after Mr. Murray.

The murderers proceeded to the Banana, about forty-five miles north from here, a station of Messrs. Hay and Holt, where they attacked a sheep station, at which there were three men. These white men, being alarmed, offered the Aborigines everything they possessed, but the latter said that they would have only their lives; and "that they would take the lives of all the b . . . y white men in the country"; thus shewing their malice and that amongst them were Blacks who had long been living with the

whites. The Blacks then showered their spears and waddies. The whites were all wounded, but fortunately they defended themselves, and killed one Black and wounded others, when the rest fled.

In the first week of this month a white man was found lying near the road, about thirteen miles from here. He was shot through the ear. He was lying on his back, with a pistol lying on his breast, but close to, yet not grasped in his hand. There were bruises on his neck and back. He was not robbed, but his dog was missing. He was a travelling shepherd on foot, and his dog had not been seen at the Banana.

Shepherds with £30 in cheques do not commit suicide, even though they may have been tired and half dead with thirst; indeed, hard working laboring men seldom take their own lives. I believe that he was murdered by two Blacks who had lately absconded from the Banana.

On the 16th instant, or thereabouts, two shepherds were murdered at the now ill-fated Eurombah, Mr. Cardew's station, upper Dawson, now so fully protected by Mr. Frederick Walker, ex-commandant, Native Police, and ten ex-troopers, as also by the proximity of the Police Camp, not twenty miles distant. But there are bold men with the Blacks, and experienced. On this occasion, as the door was found fastened, the Blacks entered by the chimney during a dark night.

The sheep station huts on Cracow Creek, by which I came here yesterday, had been robbed, and the shepherds threatened.

The Native Police do not, and cannot, afford the protection contemplated by the Government. The officers are active, and are now constantly on the patrol, as I know; but the recruits are not sufficient as yet to supply the number of troopers allotted for the Leichhardt, and many of these desert. Sub-Lieutenant Wheeler lost ten troopers who all absconded at once. But even fifty men is but little to look after the now numerous inimical Blacks which line the Dawson and FitzRoy, on a frontier of more than three hundred miles. The scrubs and broken impracticable country occupy, perhaps, one-third of this district so continuously that the Aborigines can travel, perhaps, from one end to the other under shelter. Nor do the new officers and recruits as yet know the bush, so as to be able to surprise the natives at their scrub-surrounded lagoons.

The remedy of high wages securing the services of men for shepherds whose courage will intimidate the Blacks will be ruinous to the capitalist, and would ultimately cause the desertion of the district; and this will, I feel, never be permitted by His Excellency's Government. The substitution of Hottentots as troopers might succeed.<sup>23</sup>

Wiseman's reference to Hottentots is of interest. Some years earlier he had resided with Commissioner of Crown Lands Simpson of the Moreton Bay district at Woogaroo. Simpson then had two Hottentot troopers in his Border Police Force. These troopers were ex-soldiers who, after

conviction in South Africa for military offences, were transported to the colony of New South Wales. As convicts they were assigned to the Border Police which had been established to serve in the districts beyond the boundaries of settlement in the colony.<sup>24</sup>

On 4 February 1858 Wiseman wrote to the chief commissioner of crown lands reporting that some licensees of crown lands on the upper Dawson portion of his district had raised a force of disbanded Native Police troopers to the number of nine or ten and had placed them under the command of Frederick Walker, late commandant of the Native Police. He stated he might have passed over the circumstance without notice as the late massacre of the Fraser family and the paucity of the Native Police Force most probably had been an inducement for the collection of this temporary force and the expense of maintaining it would undoubtedly soon put a period to its existence. However, he presumed a combination for the support of a body of armed men was illegal unless with the sanction of the government, and the proximity of this force to that of the real police gave some umbrage to the officers — “it causes desertion of the Troopers who were whimsical and fond of change and momentarily desirous to return to their old Commandant”. He considered it his duty, without adding any more remarks, to report the circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

Wickham was asked to report upon the subject. On 21 April 1858 Wickham suggested that Wiseman should be directed to take steps, as the crown law officers deemed advisable, to disperse the illegal body in question.<sup>26</sup> The crown law officers were asked on 13 August 1858 to give their opinion on the subject. The attorney general thought it was in the power of any justice of the peace to disperse any body of armed persons who may be assembled and acting in such a way as to endanger the public peace and to commit any persons who, on being ordered to disperse, did not do so.<sup>27</sup>

It would seem that the common law offence of “unlawful assembly” was in the mind of the attorney general. Originating much earlier in England, the offence was particularly associated with disturbances in that country of the seven-



teenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. This common law offence had been introduced into the New South Wales colony with the first settlers. The Criminal Code Act of Queensland abolished the common law offences and replaced them by statutory provisions. The common law offence of unlawful assembly consisted broadly by a gathering of three or more persons on public or private property, with a common intent either to commit some crime of violence or to achieve some other object, whether lawful or unlawful, in a manner which was calculated to give firm and courageous persons in the neighbourhood reason to fear a breach of the peace. Henry Matthews, the home secretary, told the House of Commons in June 1890: "It is the duty not only of magistrates but of every subject of the Queen, to prevent an unlawful assembly from taking place, if he can; but it is not always very easy to determine at what point an assembly previously lawful becomes an unlawful assembly . . ." <sup>28</sup>

When forwarding on 2 September 1858 the attorney general's opinion to Wickham at Moreton Bay the secretary added: "How far it is expedient in the present disturbed state of the Northern Districts to prevent the inhabitants from availing themselves of protection of a voluntary Force, the Attorney General cannot say. There is a wide distinction between an armed assemblage met to endanger the peace, and a voluntary armed assemblage met to preserve it. If the Police Force is inadequate to afford protection to the Public, the toleration of a voluntary Force is a necessity, but its proceedings should, the Attorney General thinks, be watched and steps should be taken as early as possible to render its continuance unnecessary." <sup>29</sup>

Following the Hornet Bank massacre, ex-commandant Frederick Walker, who had been attacked by Aborigines when encamped on Conciliation Creek a tributary of the Dawson River on the night of those murders, <sup>30</sup> had written several letters to the attorney general of the colony. In one of these Walker appealed for redress for an alleged outrage on two Aboriginal servants of Cardew by certain officers of the Native Police and accused Aboriginal troopers of having murdered an Aborigine named Tommy Hippi by direction of one of their officers. On 12 May 1858 Walker wrote alleging

ill-treatment of a discharged native trooper named Tahiti by Mr. Case, J.P. Shortly afterwards Walker again wrote respecting the murder of Tahiti by Native Police under orders of Second Lieutenant Carr.<sup>31</sup>

No magisterial enquiry appears to have been held into the deaths at Hornet Bank. A check of the colonial secretary's indexes and registers for the years 1857, 1858, and 1859 held by the Archives Authority of New South Wales disclosed a reference to a letter from the government resident at Brisbane supplying the name of the magistrate who declined to hold an inquest. The correspondence referred to cannot now be located. These references reveal that Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman made a report on the massacre.<sup>32</sup> Evidently this was not in the nature of an inquest or enquiry. Wiseman referred to the necessity of the government affording protection to stockholders and their men in the Leichhardt district against the Aborigines.

It is evident that appeals for protection flowed from the district to Sydney. The Legislative Assembly of the colony on 15 June 1858, following a motion moved by Arthur Hodgson and which was subsequently amended, appointed a select committee of the assembly "to inquire into and report upon the murders which have recently taken place on the Dawson River, and generally on the state of outrage between the white population and the Aborigines in the Northern Districts, with a view to providing for the better protection of life and property".<sup>33</sup>

The following members of the select committee were appointed by ballot: Messrs. Arthur Hodgson, Cribb, Donaldson, Jones, Cowper, Buckley, Forster, Richardson, Smith, and Taylor. Fifteen witnesses were examined before the select committee from 17 June 1858 to 29 July 1858. On 13 July 1858 a letter from Wickham, dated 8 July 1858 and enclosing returns of the expense, strength, and distribution of the Native Police, was laid upon the table of the Legislative Assembly, ordered to be printed, and referred to the select committee.<sup>34</sup> For the quarter ended 31 March 1858 the total expenditure of the Native Mounted Police Corps had been £3,711 9s. 8d. comprising pay and allowances £1,449 11s. 8d., provisions £563 11s. 5d., clothing

£723 19s. 8d., accoutrements £718 18s. 2d., farriery £5 8s. 0d., medical expenses nil, repairs to saddlery £1218s. 9d., incidental expenses £189 15s. 4d., and ammunition £47 6s. 8d. The total expenditure for the quarter ending 30 June 1858 was estimated to be £2,539 13s. 0d.<sup>35</sup> For the distribution of the Native Police Force on 17 June 1858 see table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of the Native Police

District	Names of Officers	Division	No. of Troopers
Upper Dawson	Lt. J. Murray, commanding	—	—
	2nd Lt. G. Murray	1st	8
	2nd Lt. Phibbs	2nd	6
	2nd Lt. Moorhead	3rd	8
Leichhardt	2nd Lt. Carr at Banana	1st	6
	2nd Lt. Wheeler at the FitzRoy	1st	6
Port Curtis	2nd Lt. Powell	1st	5
Maranoa and Condamine	2nd Lt. Walker at Wondai		
	Gumbal	3rd	7
Balonne	2nd Lt. Allman	3rd	4
Clarence and McLeay	2nd Lt. Dempster	4th	10
Burnett and Wide Bay	Lt. Bligh	2nd	—
	2nd Lt. Swete	1st	10
Moreton Bay	2nd Lt. Williams	5th	7
			<u>77</u>

On 15 July 1858 the select committee received a “Return to Order” in reference to the dismissal of Second Lieutenant Ross and on 27 July 1858 a further communication from Wickham, dated 21 July 1858, in reference to the Native Police.<sup>37</sup> On 3 August 1858 the committee made its report<sup>38</sup> which commenced:

Your Committee are convinced, by the evidence of the various witnesses examined, that the murders which have been committed on the Northern Frontier of this Colony may be attributed to those inevitable collisions which take place more or less between the blacks and whites in opening out a new tract of country, aggravated in a great measure by the inefficiency of the Native Police Force, and the mountainous and scrubby nature of

the district.

It will further appear that the sudden disbandment of a large portion of the Native Police was a most untoward event, as there is too much reason to believe that the disbanded troopers have been leaders in most of the murderous attacks upon the whites, and to this cause the inefficiency of the Native Police Force, as at present constituted, may be undoubtedly traced. It appears also that the troopers who did such good service from 1848 to 1852, under their late Commandant, Mr. Walker, on the McIntyre, and other places, were brought from the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Edward Rivers; and it is conclusive that the conduct of these men was the cause of the force enjoying that high character which it is deeply to be regretted it no longer possesses.

The committee then proceeded to make recommendations for the favourable consideration of the House. In effect, these were:

1. The recognition of the Native Police Force, properly organized and well officered, as the best means capable of protecting life and property in the outlying districts. [Killings such as occurred at Hornet Bank of women, children and shepherds, brought a hardened public opinion against the Aborigines and a sympathetic view to the settlers causing the Native Police system to be continued. Attention became focused on the frontier and the case of those Aborigines remaining in the settled districts was overlooked. What the average settler wanted was a cheap and effective means of suppressing Aboriginal interference with his servants, flocks, and herds and it had been already shown that the Native Police provided these means. Reprisals were to follow Aboriginal outrages and depredations.] The committee stated that in almost every instance the Aborigines, after perpetrating an outrage, took refuge in the scrubs which were inaccessible to horses and where, except in certain instances, none but Native troopers could follow and overtake them.

2. While dismissing as "probably futile" the amalgamation of white troopers with such a force as the Native Police, the committee recommended that ten mounted white troopers, "as a salutary check" be forwarded to Brisbane or Maryborough to be placed under the commandant's orders. These troopers were not to be amalgamated with the Native Police but were to patrol in two or more parties separately, especially in the open country. The committee recognized

that the disciplining of a mixed force would be difficult. Jealousy would arise and generally result in the white troopers compelling the Aboriginal troopers to act as their servants and do all the more menial work.

E. M. Royds had stated that he thought four well-armed men might travel across the whole continent without the slightest fear but they would not easily find the Aborigines if they were looking for them.<sup>39</sup> Alfred Brown of Gin Gin stated that white men were not quick enough to pursue Aborigines into the scrubs although they would acquire a degree of celerity by practice. Officers generally stayed outside the scrubs. Eight troopers could rise out one hundred Aborigines.<sup>40</sup> Aboriginal troopers were in their native country in the scrub. A number of witnesses said that Aboriginal troopers in their encounters with the tribes did not needlessly destroy life. On the other hand William Forster was of the impression that it was impossible to restrain troopers when once an affray took place and particularly when a single young officer was placed at the head of a large number of troopers.<sup>41</sup> Captain O'Connell thought that Aboriginal troopers would take life more recklessly than white troopers would do and believed they were quite beyond the control of their officers when once let loose. He did not think they would have any hesitation in sacrificing the lives of females and thought they would not voluntarily shoot the women but in an indiscriminate attack females might get accidentally shot.<sup>42</sup>

3. The committee, while forbearing to recommend the supplementing of the Native Police by a militia of border settlers, suggested that two sections of the Native Police under two experienced officers be stationed in the neighbourhood of Taroom "fully authorized to enter into such offensive or defensive operations as they may consider necessary".<sup>43</sup> [The reference to a militia of border settlers doubtless was prompted by the raising by squatters on the upper Dawson of an illegal force under Frederick Walker. Both the select committees of 1856 and 1858 upheld the Native Police system though deprecating the inefficiency of the force. Both committees were composed of those with pastoral interests. Individual opinions expressed to the

committees from 1856 to 1861 in favour of the Native Police Force are best indicated by the following witnesses: Edmund Molyneux Royds of Juandah in the upper Dawson stated before the 1858 Select Committee that he did not think the squatters would be beaten out of the country for want of the Native Police as “the squatters, having their interests at stake, would do what paid men never would do”.<sup>44</sup> William Forster before the 1856 Select Committee, when referring to the Native Police, had said: “I do not mean to say the country would not be taken up without their assistance, because I do not think anything would stop the squatters; but the taking up of new country would be accomplished less expeditiously, and would be attended with greater loss of life, if there were no Native Police”.<sup>45</sup> Queensland Surveyor General A. C. Gregory in 1861 thought the disbanding of the Native Police would result in frequent attacks upon the settlers who would then take the law into their own hands. He stated: “as the settlers were no better than any other class of men and would be under no control, they would frequently take life unnecessarily and the Government could not object to their protecting themselves”. He considered the best protection to the Aborigines was an efficient police force.<sup>46</sup>

By its suggestion for the stationing of two officers in the neighbourhood of Taroom with full discretion as to offensive or defensive operations, the committee had impliedly sanctioned warlike operations on the upper Dawson.]

4. As regards the system of recruiting in the northern districts, the committee was of the opinion it was most pernicious and would continue to lead to the most mischievous results. Wholesale desertions in consequence had taken place. The committee pointed out that all witnesses agreed that troopers should be raised from distant parts of the colony, not less than five or six hundred miles away from the district in which they were to act. It recommended that the commandant be instructed to immediately send a party to the lower Darling, Edward, and Murray Rivers, with horses and clothing to recruit for the completion of the force. It concurred with “one highly intelligent witness” who had recommended that the troopers be placed under military law so that in future “it might be possible . . . to keep them



under better subordination".<sup>47</sup>

5. The committee pointed out that no evidence had been adduced to lead to the conclusion that the Native Police Force could not be restored to the state of efficiency it had at one time attained. It stated that the force had been increased to the number of ninety-two and consequently some efforts appeared to have been made to revive the corps.

6. The committee recommended that the commandant should be allowed the opportunity of carrying out the work "which under many disadvantages, he appears to have so well commenced". It recognized that the process of re-organization must require time and that a considerable period must elapse "before the Force assumes its proper and most useful element — that of a preventive character — sufficiently numerous and active to check and overawe the Blacks in their aggressions upon the settlers".<sup>48</sup>

7. As regards the officers of the force, the committee referred to their number including the commandant as sixteen, "some of whom are apparently useless". It recommended the services of the latter be immediately dispensed with and the number of officers thus reduced to thirteen. Evidence before the committee had tended to affirm the fact that many persons had been injudiciously appointed as lieutenants by the government and the committee urged that the 1856 Select Committee's recommendation be carried out, enabling the commandant to appoint and dismiss his subordinate officers and that the government should interfere as little as possible in such appointments.

8. As regards the headquarters of the Native Police, the committee recommended that "as the country becomes occupied and the settlers push out, the headquarters should be moved to the most central place and ought, therefore, to be only temporary". For the time being, it thought that the headquarters should be fixed about one hundred miles northwest of Gayndah "on account of its central position as regards the distribution of the Force". The presence of the commandant at Brisbane it considered was unnecessary but thought the secretary ought to be stationed at Brisbane

where the government resident should continue to fill the important offices of treasurer and paymaster. The greater facilities of communication with Sydney and the Dawson and the absence of any banking establishments at Wide Bay or Port Curtis, induced the committee to recommend Brisbane as the residence of the secretary and accountant.

9. The committee stated it had been clearly shown by the evidence that the Native Police Force was no longer required in the Clarence River district and recommended the immediate withdrawal therefrom of Lieutenant Dempster and his troopers.

10. The committee recommended that the pay of the troopers be increased from 5d. to 8d. per day, the additional expense to be met by the contemplated reduction of three officers.

11. After carefully perusing the papers connected with the dismissal of Lieutenant Ross from the Native Police, referred for their consideration, the committee could see no reason to disturb the opinion which had been arrived at by the executive government in the matter. [This was understandable. The committee had referred to certain officers as useless and had recommended the reduction in number of officers by the dismissal of the useless ones. It was not interfering with past action by the executive government.]

In bringing their labours to a close the committee stated they felt satisfied that the efforts then being made were calculated to allay "those feelings of alarm and apprehension which have been so long prevalent in the unhappy district of the Leichhardt". Whilst they repudiated in the strongest terms any attempt to wage a war of extermination against the Aborigines, they were satisfied that there was "no alternative but to carry matters through with a strong hand, and punish with necessary severity all future outrages upon life and property, in order that the sanguinary conflicts between the Native Blacks and the settlers may for the future be avoided".<sup>49</sup>

The public had been shocked by the massacre of the Fraser family at Hornet Bank and, by the last portion of its report,

the 1858 Select Committee gave the green light to the Native Police Force to punish outrages by the Aborigines by severe methods. Its recommendations mostly were concerned with the improvement of the Native Police Force and its system. It had been appointed "to inquire into and report upon the murders which have recently taken place on the Dawson River, and generally on the state of outrage between the white population and the Aborigines in the Northern Districts, with a view to providing for the better protection of life and property". It is a pity it neglected to fully examine one of those objects, namely the state of outrage between the white population and the Aborigines in the northern districts. Attacks on the settlers are recorded but any violations of the Aborigines' rights were never reported. It is known that on the upper Dawson conflict between settlers and the Aborigines had commenced eighteen months after the first settlement of the area. In the district during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856 twelve people were killed by Aborigines with subsequent losses of sheep. In 1857, prior to the Hornet Bank massacre, eight people were killed, six of whom were killed on Eurombah station adjoining Hornet Bank. From time to time afterwards police detachments had pursued Aborigines reported as involved in the killings and Aborigines had been shot by the police. On those occasions the Native Police had been accompanied by some of the settlers. After the Hornet Bank massacre two men were killed on Eurombah by Aborigines and further killings occurred down the Dawson. Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman on 29 April 1858 reported that the "Aborigines seem to have some settled plan to murder as many as they can".<sup>50</sup>

There can be no doubt that over this period the Aborigines, by using the only tactics known to them, were resisting the settlers' invasion of their domain. It is of interest to here record the opinions of various settlers of those times.

William Forster, a witness before the 1856 Select Committee, when referring to the various stages of action taken by the Aborigines on the occupation of the country, said: "At first they are thoroughly wild, and at war with the whites, though in appearance disposed to be rather civil than otherwise; they do not commence their depredations until

they understand our habits; then they reach another stage, when they understand our superior power, and at the same time their predatory habits are still in existence. They will carry on small depredations, and no doubt take life at times, but their object is not to take life — it is not war.”<sup>5 1</sup>

William Archer of Gracemere when giving evidence before the 1858 Select Committee stated that the only reason he could give for the numerous murders that had been committed on the Dawson River by the Aborigines was their fondness of getting sheep and cattle. When gathered together in exceedingly large numbers in the same neighbourhood for a great length of time, as they sometimes were, their food frequently became scarce. Seeing quantities of sheep and cattle roaming about, the Aborigines preferred killing them to the difficulty of getting food for themselves according to their usual methods. They therefore attacked and killed the shepherds for the sake of getting the sheep. “Then there is retaliation and thus the thing goes on.” He also stated that if the Aborigines commit a murder and are not severely punished for it, they become emboldened. He said: “After the Blacks have committed aggressions, they retire back for a time into the most inaccessible parts of the country; nothing but a Blackfellow has any chance of getting near them.”<sup>5 2</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman of the Leichhardt district, in which the Dawson valley killings occurred, had reported on 28 August 1855, two years before the Hornet Bank massacre, that some solitary murder may occasionally occur owing to the wicked and foolish conduct of the white labouring man in his relation to the Aborigines, but the greater number of murders which Wiseman knew of in those districts, he attributed to the determination of the Aborigines to pillage and murder till they could drive out the white men.

The 1858 Select Committee also had reported that the collisions on the Dawson were aggravated in a great measure by the inefficiency of the Native Police Force and the mountainous and scrubby nature of the district. This is logical. The Aborigines certainly would know the condition of the force. These pages have recorded the mixing of tribesmen with troopers on occasions, their watching the movements of the police detachments on the Dawson, and also the

desertion of troopers from the force.

Before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, R. B. Sheridan, then collector of customs and harbour master at Maryborough, Wide Bay, stated that he thought the Hornet Bank murders were led on by a man who had been in the Native Police Force.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand before the same select committee M. C. O'Connell, then president of the Queensland Legislative Council, did not believe that disbanded police were the cause of the murders on the Dawson.<sup>54</sup>

However, the fact that firearms taken from Hornet Bank by Aborigines were used against the Native Police on one occasion supports Sheridan's view and the committee's statement that there was much reason to believe that disbanded troopers had been leaders in most of the murderous attacks upon the whites.

Prior to the Hornet Bank massacre, some Aborigines pursued by Native Police and settler parties were shot but undoubtedly many of those responsible for the outrages escaped the reprisals that ensued, while some innocent people were killed.

A. C. Gregory stated before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee: "In Queensland, the country inhabited by the Blacks was inaccessible, and did not offer the same facilities [as Western Australia] to the Police Force who rarely got the chance of attacking the Blacks . . . the Natives had plenty of water and plenty of food, and could conceal themselves with perfect security in their inaccessible fastnesses."<sup>55</sup>

Before the 1858 Select Committee Captain M. O'Connell was inclined to believe the Aborigines were less afraid of the whites and less in awe of punishment than previously. The wisest and most humane system was at once to cause prompt punishment to follow all outrages.<sup>56</sup> James Blain Reid, then a squatter on the Burnett for nearly ten years, referred to superstition assisting on occasions to embolden the Aborigines. He knew of an instance in which the fact of an Aborigine's being shot had made him bolder. He was shot through the nose, another ball passed through his throat, and a third along the front of his body without killing him. He then believed that no ball could kill him.<sup>57</sup>

In the years immediately following the Dawson River killings, many people stated that the bad conduct of the Aborigines was in a great measure the fault of the white people themselves.

Before the 1858 Select Committee O'Connell stated that he had never seen the Aborigines do mischief without some previous injury being inflicted on them by the whites.<sup>58</sup> William Archer stated the Aborigines liked to have revenge in some shape and were not particular on whom they got it. They might revenge the offence of a servant upon the family of the employer.<sup>59</sup> John Miller of Dulacca stated that the first thing a squatter had to do was to be at peace with the Aborigines and not commit the first aggression. For instance, it had been known that squatters had gone out with the police and certainly they had punished the Aborigines when they could get at them; but if a relative of an Aborigine who happened to be killed was left, he took revenge. He added that the great thing was not to be the first aggressor: "Punish them but do not shoot them for the first offence." Miller had been in the habit of allowing the natives in upon his station and they never did any harm.<sup>60</sup> Before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee Thomas Petrie said that promises were made to the Aborigines which were not kept.<sup>61</sup>

John O'Connell Bligh, then acting commandant of the Native Police Force and who squatter William Henry Gaden of the FitzRoy River described as "as good an officer as I have seen",<sup>62</sup> before the same committee stated he thought some of the outrages committed by the Aborigines were caused by injuries done them by the white people — "perhaps not so much for what is usually termed bad treatment, as the violation of promises made to them by the whites for work done by them". He added: "They take a great deal of offence at that; I think they feel it more sensitively than anything else."<sup>63</sup> John Ker Wilson, a squatter then of about twenty years' standing and who had lived at Kilcoy and on the Macintyre before the formation of the Native Police Force, stated that the settlers required as much control as the police. He added: "In every district there are always certain individuals who are more or less devoid of brains and common sense, who are at one time over-indulgent to the Blacks and



at another time will shoot them. A great deal of mischief arises from their treatment of the Blacks, and much damage results from it. If the magistrates are obliged to overlook the doings of the Police, they must also overlook any imprudent acts committed by the settlers.”<sup>64</sup> L. E. Lester stated there was no feeling of revenge when Aborigines were shot by the police but there was when they were shot by squatters or their men.<sup>65</sup>

John Leopold Zillman, who had come to Brisbane to assist in establishing a mission among the Aborigines twenty-three years previously, gave the following instances of depredations by Aborigines out of revenge. Some Aborigines were driven from their camps near the German station in the night by constables with guns. The Aborigines had been very bold with the white men during the day. A few days later they were killing cattle in that neighbourhood to a great extent. Some months later Zillman was riding on the Pine River and he met some of the Aborigines. Gerike who was with Zillman rode up to them and said: “Why did you kill so many cattle?” “Why,” said they, “did you drive us from our camp?” In another case Zillman recalled some Aborigines being employed to strip bark and, when they brought the bark in, they were found fault with and the payment was not given to them. The consequence was that they became aggravated and killed a white man on the spot. Zillman stated that the Aborigines feared the Native Police more on account of the cunning which they possessed in common with themselves.<sup>66</sup>

The 1858 Select Committee had attributed the Dawson valley murders to those inevitable collisions between settlers and Aborigines in opening out a new tract of country. However, one question remains to be answered. What had prompted the attack on Hornet Bank in the early hours of Tuesday, 27 October 1857?

A number of reasons have been advanced over the years for the massacre. One reason advanced was the cutting off of access by Aborigines to the Hornet Bank billabong, a source of their food supply. However, all homesteads in the district had a handy water supply and it is logical that this alone would not have been the prime reason for the particular

attack on Hornet Bank.

C. J. Royds, who had resided for eight or nine years on the Dawson River, although he was never at Hornet Bank nor did he know the then late Mrs. Fraser, was a witness before the Queensland 1860 Select Committee appointed to enquire into the efficiency and management of the Police Force. In answer to a question whether he thought that the murders at Hornet Bank were attributable to the ill-usage of the Aborigines, Royds stated that he had heard that to a small extent they had not been treated well, but the murders were not owing merely to that. He also stated that he never heard anything against the kindness of Mrs. Fraser to the Aborigines.<sup>67</sup>

John Miller, a witness before the 1858 Select Committee, stated that he was told that at Hornet Bank station they had destroyed some of the Aborigines' dogs. He had heard that the Aborigines were very much offended at the killing of a lot of their dogs, but it was questionable whether that was the cause.<sup>68</sup>

Captain O'Connell before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee stated that Lieutenant Swete, an officer of the Native Police, had told him that according to a trooper of the corps, the murder of the unfortunate women at Hornet Bank was in consequence of the young men who owned the station having been in the habit of allowing their Aboriginal boys to rush the gins on the camps of the Aborigines in the neighbourhood.<sup>69</sup>

I. D. Wood, writing to the colonial secretary of Queensland on 12 March 1862 after the massacre of H. S. Wills and his party at Cullin-la-Ringo on the Nogoia River in 1862, believed that the acts committed by the Aborigines at Hornet Bank were for retribution. He asked if not, why did they not ravish the women on the Nogoia, in the same manner as was done on the Dawson? Wood wrote that former Lieutenant Nicoll "said that Mrs. Fraser repeatedly asked him to reprove her sons for forcibly taking the young maidens, and that in consequence she expected harm would come of it, that they were in the habit of doing so, notwithstanding her entreaties to the contrary". Wood was "led to believe that at the time of the Hornet Bank massacre, the desire to become one of

the committers of rape was very intense among the blacks". He also had heard that shortly before the massacre "a party of squatters went out to chastise the blacks"<sup>70</sup>

J. W. Bleakley in his book *The Aborigines of Australia* wrote the story of the tragedy as told by Carrabah George, then the sole surviving member of the Dawson River tribe, to a local resident in 1908, just as he had heard it from the men of the tribe. He was a young lad at the time, about nine or ten years of age. An overseer of the station was doing the usual round of the shepherds' huts and discovered, in the camp of one of the Aborigines, some rations which he knew was part of the shepherd's issue. He accused the Aborigine of stealing them but, when the boy tried to explain that the shepherd had given him the tucker in payment for lending his gin for prostitution, the overseer drew his revolver and shot him dead. The overseer is said to have later found at the camp that the boy's explanation was true. The tribe in their fury at this wanton act held a council of war and decided in revenge to kill all the white occupants of the station.<sup>71</sup>

It would appear that the attack was prompted by a spirit of revenge on Hornet Bank engendered by some action taken by one or more of those resident at Hornet Bank. The reasons advanced by Captain O'Connell, Mr. I. Wood, and Mr. J. W. Bleakley respectively are probable explanations. Doubtless the female residents of Hornet Bank were innocent victims.

One fact is certain. Residents of Hornet Bank had accompanied the Native Police in pursuit of the Aborigines. On 15 June 1857 Lieutenant Ross of the Native Police Force, accompanied by W. Fraser of Hornet Bank and one trooper (it was alleged that A. Scott of Hornet Bank was also with them), found the camp of Aborigines *who had unsuccessfully attempted to attack Hornet Bank*. This attack had been some four months prior to the massacre.

Moreover, on the adjoining station of Eurombah, six people had been killed earlier that year. Hornet Bank and Eurombah, ten miles apart, were at the time frontier stations giving protection to other stations from Aboriginal attacks.

As James Blain Reid stated before the 1858 Select Committee: "Hornet Bank was a very unprotected place to have

so many females at. It was rash to have them there.”<sup>72</sup>

It may well be asked why were the residents at Hornet Bank unprepared for the attack in the early hours of Tuesday, 27 October 1857, particularly after the happenings there and in the vicinity only recently? There had been surprise attacks at night on stations northwards over the previous two years, and even the Native Police camp at Rannes had been attacked at night. It is certain there was a misplaced confidence by the occupiers of the run as regards the true position.

# 21

## Difficulties in Administration

The 1858 Select Committee had reported that the secretary of the force should be stationed at Brisbane. Frederic Blagg Hampton, who had been appointed secretary and clerk Native Police on 1 June 1857, was then carrying out his duties at Wide Bay.

On 12 August 1857 Hampton, in the absence of the commandant, had reported from west Maryborough to Wickham that by the previous overland post from Brisbane two packets of letters marked H.M.S. were received by the postmaster at Maryborough and delivered to Hampton's son. Between the township and his residence his son was waylaid by Aborigines, robbed of all he carried, and kicked and beaten.<sup>1</sup> It was ascertained after the making of this report by Hampton that the packets fortunately had contained nothing more than blank forms sent to Hampton by the government printer.<sup>2</sup>

Hampton, shortly after taking up duties at Maryborough, was called to Brisbane by Wickham to assist in the "back accounts" of the force. On his return to Maryborough he applied to Morisset for an additional allowance to meet his extra expenses due to his absence from Maryborough where his wife and family resided. He pointed out that the duties of his appointment were stationary.<sup>3</sup> Wickham supported the application stating that he had paid Hampton an extra sum while in Brisbane at the rate of £1 a day "having ascertained that Hampton could not keep himself and horse in Brisbane for a less sum". The extra payment of £30 to Hampton was approved by Denison.<sup>4</sup>

Early in 1858 Hampton was again called to Brisbane to settle the accounts. Prior to his arrival there on 27 March 1858 Wickham suggested to the colonial secretary that the headquarters of the Native Police in the northern districts should be altered with a view to facilitate communication with reference to the accounts and other matters connected with the corps.<sup>5</sup> On 24 February 1858 Wickham was informed that the arrangements relating to the Native Police were under the consideration of the government and that pending the decision he was to retain Hampton in Brisbane.<sup>6</sup>

Inspector General of Police McLerie, whose opinion was sought by the colonial secretary, thought that under the existing arrangements for the control and management of the Native Police the headquarters of the force should be in Brisbane. The government resident in his management of the Native Police had the payment of all accounts connected with the corps. This duty gave him a right to the services of the clerk and constant and ready reference to the returns so as to exercise a check over expenditure. He should also be placed in a position to be able to communicate promptly with the chief secretary on any matters connected with the corps referred to him by the government without reference to the commandant. The commandant should be as little as possible at headquarters and it was therefore of no great importance to him whether these returns were at Brisbane or Wide Bay.<sup>7</sup>

On 9 April 1858 Wickham was informed that the Executive Council had considered the headquarters should be removed to Brisbane and that the secretary who was then in Brisbane should be placed under his immediate instructions.<sup>8</sup>

Hampton was in Brisbane for three months before his family arrived from Maryborough. On 20 May Wickham requested that Hampton be paid £1 per day allowance for that period but the colonial secretary, though he considered a reasonable sum should be allowed, thought that £1 per day for so long a period was unreasonable. He imagined that private lodging would be obtained in which case charges for living would be considerably less than that sum.<sup>9</sup>

On 1 June 1858 the Colonial Secretary's Office informed Wickham that the Australian Steam Navigation Company had



been requested to convey in one of their vessels from Maryborough to Brisbane Hampton's family and some government stores.<sup>10</sup>

Hampton laid before Wickham an account of his actual expenses during the period and occasioned by the removal of the headquarters from Maryborough, all of which he considered were included in the estimated allowance of £1 per day. He had been paid that rate for travelling expenses when in England recruiting for the Metropolitan Police Force. He had incurred expenses of £100, less £10 for probable value of a maimed horse, from 12 March to 12 June 1858. His expenses had included the purchase of a packhorse to convey books and papers from Maryborough to Brisbane. His furniture and stores could not be landed at Moreton Island and had to be taken to Sydney and transshipped to Brisbane. Wickham forwarded this account to Colonial Secretary Charles Cowper to whom it appeared that £50 was ample and directed that sum to be paid.<sup>11</sup>

On 15 April 1858 Second Lieutenant Williams of the fifth division, Moreton Bay district, had reported to Morisset that whilst on patrol in the neighbourhood of the Pine Rivers, after receiving information that Aborigines had committed depredations at the station of Mr. Griffin senior, he came upon their camp. There he found hanging a quantity of newly killed beef, evidently the carcasses of several bullocks. As soon as the Aborigines discovered his approach, a general attack was made upon the detachment. One of Williams's troopers, John, received a spear in his throat from which he fell. Before the detachment could render assistance, John received eight more spears in him and immediately died. The Aborigines continued their attack "in a most furious manner", and caused Williams to order the detachment to fire. Six of the Aborigines were killed and two wounded. The skirmish continued for about ten minutes before the Aborigines were dispersed. Two other troopers, Charlie and Mark, received slight head wounds. At the time of Williams's report they were recovering.<sup>12</sup>

Wickham, when forwarding the report to the colonial secretary, stated that the Aborigines occupying the sea coast between the Brisbane River and Wide Bay "had been for a

length of time very troublesome and an absolute terror to the settlers in the more immediate vicinity of Sandgate and the Pine Rivers". Until the arrival of the force under Lieutenant Williams, a weekly patrol of the Brisbane police had been established to visit those localities "as the inhabitants considered their lives to be in danger". Complaints had been continually made of cattle driven off and killed by the Aborigines. Many persons had been compelled by their threats to comply with their demands, however exorbitant. Wickham added that the quantity of fresh beef displayed in the scrub proved that the complaints of the inhabitants were well founded. As much as it was to be regretted that loss of life should be occasioned, it was at the same time satisfactory to know that with the exception of the unfortunate trooper the guilty only had suffered.<sup>13</sup>

Towards the middle of 1858 three Chinamen were murdered in the Brisbane Valley. On 8 June 1858 Wickham wrote to the colonial secretary reporting the murder of a Chinaman at Mount Esk about forty miles from Ipswich. This had been brought under his notice by the police magistrate of Ipswich. Although magistrate Hay who had held the enquiry had concluded that the murder was committed by Aborigines, Wickham did not think this was clearly shown. There was no testimony beyond that of a Chinaman who appeared to have been at the hut when the assault was made. Wickham stated that he had been since informed by Second Lieutenant Williams, who had reached the spot a few hours after the inquest was held and immediately went in pursuit of the supposed murderers, that the troopers who accompanied him pronounced the tracks seen to be those of a Chinaman without shoes, and not of Aborigines. Wickham added that he would be extremely sorry to cast suspicion on a person who in truth may be innocent but, from the character of many of the Chinese who had come to the district, he did not feel disposed to place implicit belief in the statement made before Mr. Hay at the inquest.<sup>14</sup>

Robert Ramsay wrote to Wickham from Kilcoy on 23 June 1858 reporting that on Monday 21 June a message from Colinton had requested Mr. Hope and himself as the nearest magistrates to go there. Two Chinamen had been murdered at

a sheep station named Spring Creek. Mr. J. Balfour, the proprietor of the station, was away from home. On arrival at Spring Creek, Hope and Ramsay found that the two men had been apparently killed by Aborigines. They took such depositions as appeared to them necessary and forwarded them to the coroner at Ipswich. At the same time Hope left to communicate with Wickham direct as it appeared that the police might be sent up instantly.<sup>15</sup>

Ramsay wrote that there were circumstances which created a very strong suspicion that two well-known Aborigines, Toby and Sprightly, were the murderers. A Chinaman named Yu, married to a white woman and residing at Ipswich, who was in the habit of visiting the district to sell opium to the Chinese and to buy cabbage tree hats and other things from them, had spent Saturday night at the hut and had left about half past ten o'clock on Sunday morning. About half an hour before he went, two Aborigines, one of whom he knew to be Toby, came to the hut. They were employed by the hutkeeper to bring water and cut hurdle stakes. Yu left them there along with the hutkeeper and another Chinaman, a visitor. The shepherds were out with their flocks. Ramsay stated that between that time and the return of the shepherds at sunset the murders were committed.

Ramsay called attention to the circumstances that there apparently had been no struggle and that both men must have been killed at the same moment by a single blow of a tomahawk, showing that two were concerned in it. Ramsay thought that the murders had been committed by two men in whom the Chinamen had confidence, and this was proved by the attitudes of the bodies. One had been killed, while sitting over a plate of opium which he had been in the act of mixing, by a stroke on the back of the neck which severed the spine. The other had been struck from behind below the ear and the jugular vein severed. The two Aborigines Toby and Sprightly had left the head station on the morning of the murder and, on the tracks towards Spring Creek being shown to another Aborigine, he at once had pronounced them to be theirs.

Ramsay stated that lately there had been great gatherings of Aborigines all round and it appeared probable that the

men who had lately committed a murder at Mr. Bigge's station Mount Esk, having escaped with impunity, may have encouraged the perpetrators of this second outrage.

Ramsay added that the officer of the Native Police who enquired into the murder at Bigge's had expressed his opinion that it was committed by a Chinaman, but Ramsay had never heard anyone in that neighbourhood agree with the officer. Ramsay had not the least doubt that the murders were in both instances committed by Aborigines and most probably were arranged at the great gatherings which had taken place. This opinion was strengthened by the fact that in the latter case at least the hut was not robbed, not even of the tobacco. He feared that if prompt measures were not taken by the police in that case, the government resident would hear before long of other lives being sacrificed. In particular he recommended that whenever Aborigines were assembled in numbers they should be dispersed.

Before the several select committees witnesses stated that the nature of the Aborigines led them to assemble together before a depredation was committed. The Aborigines collectively never committed a depredation without a considerable degree of consultation and preparation among themselves. They had meetings and long talks over it. The dispersing of assemblies by the Native Police consequently prevented the carrying out of their intentions. The Aborigines did not take their women to such assemblies as those.<sup>16</sup>

The 1858 Select Committee had strongly urged that the recommendations of the 1856 Select Committee should be carried out with regard to the appointment and dismissal by the commandant of his subordinate officers and that the government should interfere as little as possible in those appointments.<sup>17</sup>

The case of Richard Bedford Poulten, late 56th Regiment, discloses how some appointments were made. On 5 February 1858 Governor General Denison addressed a letter introducing Poulten to Colonial Secretary Cowper.<sup>18</sup> Poulten had been in the army for three years and, leaving it on account of his health, had brought letters of introduction to the governor from England. The governor had pointed out the small prospect he would have in this country, but

Poulden was anxious to try his luck and had asked to be appointed to the Native Police. Denison believed there were several vacancies then in the force and stated it might be as well to get a man into it with some previous army training. On 22 February 1858 Wickham was informed that the governor with the advice of the Executive Council had appointed Poulden a second lieutenant, Native Police, with salary of £200 per annum plus 2s. 6d. a day in lieu of rations.<sup>19</sup>

Morisset, in acknowledging receipt of this information on 1 May 1858, took the opportunity of respectfully recalling to the government resident's recollection that at the time he accepted the appointment of commandant it was the intention of the government to hold him responsible for the discipline and efficiency of the corps and that the appointment of the officers should rest solely at his disposal. Upon that understanding he had from time to time filled up the vacancies as they had occurred. Morisset stated that consequently the appointment of Poulden was in excess of the estimated strength. He further observed that the necessary qualification for an officer in a service of that nature required a peculiar character, one which Poulden, from what Morisset had heard respecting him since his arrival in the northern districts, appeared to be singularly deficient. Morisset added that the selection of officers on his part had been solely directed to the efficiency of the corps. Any departure from the rule established in the first instance would in a great measure compromise his word which he had passed to several gentlemen to recommend their appointment to the governor general as vacancies occurred.<sup>20</sup>

Wickham forwarded a copy of Morisset's letter to the colonial secretary on 12 May 1858. He referred to his letter of 5 March bringing under notice the provisional appointment by the commandant of William R. L. Swete as a second lieutenant in consequence of the absence from duty of three officers — two under suspension and one on sick leave. He had suggested that in the event of the removal from the service of one of those gentlemen, Swete should be permanently appointed if found duly qualified. As Swete had been so found by the commandant, his services had been

continued in charge of a detachment in the Wide Bay district. Wickham had been informed that Poulden's behaviour since his arrival in the district had not been such as to command the respect of those with whom he had become acquainted. Wickham respectfully suggested that in all appointments to the Native Police Force, the recommendation of the select committee should be carried out — that they should be made by the commandant subject to the approval of the government.<sup>21</sup>

Colonial Secretary Cowper and Governor General Denison agreed that there were many objections to having the nomination of officers in the hands of the commandant. Denison stated the result would naturally be that he would put in his own friends and be very sure not to find fault with them or to report them for misconduct. An officer in charge of a regiment was held responsible for the conduct of his officers and men yet he had nothing to do with the appointment of them and the discipline of the regiment would be injured were such a discretion vested in him.<sup>22</sup>

The Executive Council on 25 May 1858 upheld the governor general's opinion. With regard to the suggested unfitness of Poulden for employment as a Native Police officer, the council desired that it be intimated to Captain Wickham that they were not prepared to advise the removal of any officer upon a suggestion only of unfitness, and that until some specific charge had been proved against Poulden they would not feel themselves justified in recommending his removal.<sup>23</sup> The council's recommendation was approved by the governor general on 3 June 1858.<sup>24</sup> Wickham was notified by letter dated 9 June. On the same date Wickham was also notified that R. W. L. Swete had been appointed second lieutenant in the place of Ross.<sup>25</sup>

On 3 August 1858 Wickham was informed that Mr. C. Wieneke had offered his services in the Native Police Corps with a ration only until a vacancy as second lieutenant occurred and that the colonial secretary approved of Wieneke's services being accepted.<sup>26</sup> Wieneke did not receive the appointment.

Wickham on 1 June 1858 reported that camp Sergeant Hitches of the Native Police, for the purpose of obtaining a



cabin passage to Moreton Bay which was not intended by the inspector general of police, had altered the declaration signed by Mr. McLerie which amounted to forgery.<sup>27</sup> The inspector general also agreed that it amounted to forgery but having in view the expense and the official embarrassment attending the prosecution of the offence involving the necessity of both himself and his chief clerk proceeding to Brisbane to give evidence against Hitches, he was of opinion that the case might be met by compelling Hitches to pay the difference between the rate of a saloon and steerage passage and by dismissing him with disgrace from the force.<sup>28</sup>

Further desertions from the force occurred during 1858. On 14 May 1858 Morisset wrote from Coopers Plains, Wide Bay to Wickham reporting the desertion of twelve troopers from the FitzRoy detachment, under the command of Second Lieutenant Wheeler. Wheeler, having been directed to join Lieutenant Murray, was unable to do so in consequence of the desertion of all of his troopers. They had been recruited about three months previously in the Clarence district. Morisset thought it more than probable that when the comrades of these men, who were enlisted at the same time, heard of their desertion they would follow their example. Morisset therefore urgently recommended that he be allowed to proceed without delay to the south country to obtain really good men notwithstanding Commissioner of Crown Lands Cole's unfavourable report as to the chance of obtaining men there. Should this step be deemed advisable by the government, Morisset proposed taking with him Lieutenant Bligh, a sergeant, and one of the Murray River men who had been with him for nearly six years and who could speak the language of the Aborigines there.<sup>29</sup>

Elyard of the Colonial Secretary's Office, upon receiving the reports of these desertions, wrote to Wickham advising that a witness before the select committee appointed on the subject of the Native Police had stated that no difficulty would be experienced in obtaining a sufficient number of recruits in the Namoi district and that they would not be so likely to desert. The colonial secretary wished that Wickham direct the attention of the commandant to this suggestion and was surprised that Morisset long before had not taken

this course in recruiting his force.<sup>30</sup>

Wickham, when replying on 7 July 1858, trusted the colonial secretary would exonerate Morisset from any blame in not having endeavoured to procure recruits from that part of the colony. The delay in doing so was solely in consequence of his disapproving of the arrangements proposed by the commandant in the formation of a recruiting party. Wickham had disapproved in view of "the evident disposition shewn by the Blacks to drive the white men from the northern parts of the country, aided as they were, by the broken and almost impenetrable nature of a portion of the Leichhardt District, circumstances calling for the greatest exertions on the part of the Native Police Officers, and involving duties which could only be carried out by men of energy and experience". Wickham added that he had addressed a communication to Morisset requesting that as soon as possible he take such steps as appeared to be the most desirable for the formation of a recruiting party to the Namoi district and in the event of his being unable to procure the requisite number there, he use his own discretion in endeavouring to procure them elsewhere.<sup>31</sup>

Morisset had written to Wickham from Cooper's Plains on 17 June 1858 pointing out that only officers of experience should be sent south to obtain recruits. The country from whence the recruits were to be procured was wholly unknown to any of the officers. This would add to the difficulty of travelling and would necessitate the exercise of considerable judgment and experience. He felt sure it would be but a waste of time to send any of the newly appointed officers on this duty. He fully agreed with Wickham that the force on the upper Dawson should be rendered as efficient as possible and he had endeavoured to accomplish this object by concentrating in that locality every available officer and trooper in the force, consistent with the safety of other districts. He believed that Lieutenant Murray was fully competent to direct the movements of the division during his absence. He added that Lieutenant Bligh had just returned from the Dawson and, were he to send him there again, there was no other officer who could be placed at Wide Bay in his stead. If this occurred he would be obliged to leave Second

Lieutenant Swete in charge at Wide Bay. Swete then would be under Lieutenant Murray's orders as there was an objection to Commissioner of Crown Lands Halloran's interference.<sup>32</sup>

Morisset was then starting for the upper Dawson leaving Bligh in charge at Cooper's Plains and he would probably be absent four or five weeks. Morisset returned to Wide Bay on 5 August 1858. From there on 8 August he wrote his report on his visit to all the detachments of Native Police stationed in the Leichhardt district on the Dawson River. At the Banana he had determined on a site for the main camp of the detachment allowed for the protection of that district and the lower Dawson. He had made arrangements with Mr. Robinson, the proprietor of a neighbouring station, for the erection of huts for the accommodation of the officer and his men. From the Banana Morisset crossed over to Palm Tree Creek on the Dawson taking with him Second Lieutenant Carr and his men. He had expected to meet in the large scrubs some of the Aborigines connected with the outrages in the Dawson district. He had previously heard that a large party of them had been driven that way. However his party was unsuccessful in their search and did not even see any tracks or traces of them. On his arrival at Palm Tree Creek Morisset learnt that Mr. Gregory's station had been attacked in the night, about a fortnight previously, by a party of about fifty or sixty Aborigines. On one of their number being shot, the Aborigines had retreated immediately without doing any mischief. They were pursued by Second Lieutenant Phibbs and five troopers accompanied by Mr. Gregory. This party followed on the tracks of the Aborigines for six days, through scrubs and over the most broken country. The Aborigines were travelling about thirty miles a day. Two days and nights of heavy rain had then quite obliterated the tracks. Being unprovided with rations and on several of the horses knocking up the pursuers were obliged to make their way back to the station.<sup>33</sup>

Morisset's reference to the tracking of Aborigines for six days records the amazing ability of Aborigines in earlier times to follow tracks. Lieutenant F. Wheeler on 16 May 1861 referred to the Aboriginal troopers: "They will each take a

track and follow the one track by instinct. They follow different tracks in a strange country and go a mile away from each other and meet again."<sup>34</sup> Edward B. Kennedy in his book *The Black Police of Queensland* recounted this experience while on patrol with Native Police: "It was hard dry ground at the spot where he discovered the marks. I got off my horse, and yet could see nothing, excepting perhaps where a little soil had been displaced which to my eye might have been caused by a bird or a mouse, and yet the tracker read out that a mob of blacks had passed that way, and the whole troop followed those signs at a gallop."<sup>35</sup>

Morisset had also reported that before leaving the upper Dawson he had organized a party to follow the Aborigines to their strongholds. This party consisted of Second Lieutenants Phibbs, Carr, and G. Murray with seventeen troopers. They took with them a month's rations and were accompanied by Mr. H. C. Gregory whose knowledge of the country would be of great assistance to them. Morisset instructed these officers to start from Gregory's station together and to travel together or separately as they may afterwards deem advisable. Morisset hardly feared they would again return unsuccessful. He also had directed Second Lieutenant Moorhead to continue patrolling with eight troopers round the outstations until the return of the party.<sup>36</sup>

On 25 July on the upper Dawson Morisset had received Wickham's communication directing him to make arrangements without delay for procuring a number of recruits on the Namoi, so he had proceeded direct to the Native Police camp at Wide Bay without visiting the third division at Wondai Gumbal.

Morisset also forwarded a report from Lieutenant Bligh which revealed that several of the ringleaders in the past outrages on the upper Dawson were shot by his men in an encounter with them on the Auburn River. Morisset wrote that, as their names were afterwards given by one of their own countrymen staying at Mr. Pigott's station, there could be no doubt as to their identity. Some old gowns and other articles of wearing apparel were found in their camp, which also proved "their participation in the late scenes of bloodshed and plunder".<sup>37</sup>

Before leaving the Dawson Morisset had removed the Native Police camp from the Dawson River to the Robinson where there was an abundance of grass and water for the horses. It was a much more eligible site than the former, being about equidistant from all the frontier stations and in that part of the country "which the Blacks generally travelled to and from the broken country when engaged in their murderous expeditions against the whites". Mr. Gregory had agreed to put up buildings for the use of the officers and men for which he was to be remunerated when money was granted by the government for the purpose. Gregory had also undertaken to supply the Native Police with rations.

On his return to Wide Bay, Morisset found that Second Lieutenant Williams had arrived with fifteen recruits raised by Second Lieutenant Dempster in the Clarence and New England districts. Morisset was pleased with the men and believed they would make good and efficient troopers. They were to be drilled at Wide Bay until Lieutenant Murray arrived from the FitzRoy. The latter would conduct them to their different stations in his division.<sup>38</sup> These recruits passed through Brisbane on their way to Wide Bay on 20 July. Wickham when reporting this next day wrote that they were strong young men who appeared most anxious for employment in the force. These recruits had raised the number of troopers to ninety-two.<sup>39</sup>

Morisset also had referred to the numerous letters which had lately appeared in the public journals. He stated that all of these publications would have been contradicted long before had he not waited in expectation of his being called on to do so by the government. He claimed that some of the letters reflecting on the discipline of the force were utterly false as the troopers were under complete discipline and were most orderly and well behaved. They were never allowed to have any communication with the Aborigines. Consequently the statement of their letting murderers escape for the sake of their gins could not be true. He also claimed that desertions were not frequent as stated in more than one of these letters. The only men who had left since he found it necessary to dismiss those mixing with the irregular force on the Dawson under Mr. F. Walker, were twelve recruits from

the Clarence. These had comprised Second Lieutenant Wheeler's detachment on the FitzRoy. Morisset stated that he had since found out that the undue severity of their officer made them leave and they would willingly have returned to himself or the officer that recruited them. Another falsehood published, Morisset added, was that blood money had been offered and received by the troopers. Morisset trusted the government would never suppose that he could allow such a practice to be carried on. The falsehoods in these letters were so numerous that not having the letters themselves by him, he would not pursue the subject any further but contented himself with a general and distinct denial and challenged examination into any of them the government wished to have explained more fully.<sup>40</sup>

The proposed quest for recruits from the southern districts was not proceeded with. On 1 September 1858 Wickham requested that the sum of £500 be authorized for those recruiting purposes.<sup>41</sup> The Colonial Secretary's Office when replying on 21 September informed Wickham that, before sanctioning so large an expenditure, the colonial secretary considered a reference should be made to the commissioners of crown lands of the lower Darling and Albert districts to ascertain whether recruits could be procured from the Aboriginal tribes on the Murray and Darling Rivers.<sup>42</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Cole from Euston, lower Darling reported to his chief commissioner on 20 October 1858. He did not think it was possible to obtain recruits "as the Native peoples appeared to entertain a distaste for the Service". On the Murray River members of the Aboriginal tribes suitable for recruits had been absorbed into the employment of residents. He stated that no stranger would induce them to quit their native country "on a service which they render in part for remuneration and as an act of friendship to the European occupants of the soil". Cole also stated that the same observation applied still more forcibly to the tribes of that portion of the Darling between its confluence with the Murray and Menindie or the Laidleys Ponds of Sir Thomas Mitchell. The Aborigines of that tract of country were so reduced in numbers that the elders of the tribes even would not sanction the departure of their young men for a



foreign country. Between the Menindie and Fort Bourke the tribes were so uncivilized that Cole doubted whether they could be readily turned into Native Police, but he thought a number of recruits might be raised in and about the locality of Fort Bourke who, under the skilful management of a Native Police officer who possessed energy and intelligence and who understood their nature and character, might become policemen.<sup>43</sup>

Commissioner of Crown Lands Perry from Morrna, Albert district reported to his chief commissioner on 20 October 1858. He was of the opinion that suitable men could not be procured for the purpose from the tribes inhabiting the lower Murray or Darling. The few who might prove serviceable men were principally employed by the squatters as stockkeepers, shepherds etc., and they would be unwilling to leave that employment to serve in a district so far from their native land. As an illustration in support of his opinion, Perry mentioned that the Native Police officers in charge of those northern districts had a difficulty in keeping suitable men together although working in a country familiar to them, particularly during summer months. Perry wrote that it was however possible that by judicious management a few men could be induced to join from the upper Darling where the country was not then fully occupied. Such recruits would not have had the benefit of instruction in riding.<sup>44</sup>

Lieutenant Robert G. Walker, who had succeeded Nicoll in command of the third division, wrote to Morisset from Wondai Gumbal on 19 July 1858 on the subject of the better protection of the large district under his command. He had refrained from giving an opinion until he had obtained an intimate knowledge of the extent of the district, not only as then occupied but having regard to the future requirements of the various stations. During the previous five months he had travelled over nearly the whole district and had made full enquiries. He considered, with the force allowed, that the greatest amount of protection could be given by abandoning Wondai Gumbal and forming one main camp on a site which he had visited on Bungil Creek. From this centre two patrols could constantly radiate, each under the command of an officer. One patrol could travel towards the eastern boundary

and the other to the various cattle stations on the Balonne, while a third remained in the immediate neighbourhood of the country then being settled ready to visit any of the newly formed stations. He felt confident that greater protection would be given by this plan and the revenue would benefit by the increased settlement of the district. Many had assigned the want of protection as the only reason they had not occupied country long since tendered for. He referred to the objections which might be raised against his proposal. The settlers in the neighbourhood of Wondai Gumbal did not wish to have the barracks removed but he hoped to meet their requirements by a constant patrol. The expenses of removal would be slight as the government might propose to Messrs. Lang and Hunter that they be allowed to resume the block of country of which they were originally deprived by the Wondai Gumbal station in consideration of their erecting similar well-built buildings upon the proposed site in a reasonable time. Walker had heard that Lang some time previously had proposed such a plan. Should this plan not meet with Lang's approval, Walker was confident that sufficient money could be obtained by the sale of the Wondai Gumbal block with the improvements. He thought £350 would be ample to meet the cost of removal. Increased difficulty of communication was not serious and, as to supplies, W. P. Gordon a settler had offered to contract without an increase of price for the supply of the troopers for the following year on the Bungil. By using beef in winter Walker thought the expense of rationing would not be increased. He did not propose the removal before the commencement of 1859.<sup>45</sup>

On 20 July 1858, a number of settlers wrote to Morisset also suggesting the removal of the Native Police camp from Wondai Gumbal to a more central and commanding site on Bungil Creek about thirty miles from Surat. Besides being in the centre of the district, from that site the Native Police could easily command the river stations where Aborigines had been very troublesome to the cattle for some time, and also the scrubs on the Grafton Range which was a noted haunt of hostile Aborigines.<sup>46</sup>

Both Morisset and Wickham favoured Walker's proposal.

Wickham asked for authority to sanction the erection of such buildings as could be shown to be absolutely necessary and the enclosure of paddocks for the protection of horses. He also asked for authority to provide a few small tents for patrol parties, "as the constant exposure the officers are subjected to when camping out in the open air is most trying to the constitution and must naturally lead the officers to spend as much of their time as possible at the stations of the squatters".<sup>47</sup> The removal of the headquarters of the third division was approved as suggested, including the erection of buildings and paddocks, the cost to be defrayed from the savings of the votes for the force for 1857 and 1858. The provision of similar works for other divisions and the procuring of a few small calico tents for the patrol parties were also approved.<sup>48</sup>

On 9 September 1858, Lieutenant R. G. Walker reported to Morisset the continual neglect of duty of Second Lieutenant Allman. Walker felt it was impossible for him, while Allman formed part of the division, to be responsible either for the proper fulfilment of the duties of the division or for the conduct and discipline of the troopers. He stated that after Allman's arrival at Wondai Gumbal on 22 June, Allman was to proceed on duty on 30 June, by a route specified by Walker, on a patrol to apprehend a notorious Aborigine called Wilkin. This could easily have been performed in nine or ten days. Allman did not leave Wondai Gumbal until 2 July and by remaining idle for nearly a week at Blyth's station not only frustrated the object of his patrol but delayed his return to Wondai Gumbal until 29 July. Allman had reported that he instituted a vigorous search for the Aborigine. Walker stated that the search had been so far from vigorous that it was well known that the Aborigine had appeared at Murilla station an hour or so after the police had gone "and was there seen by two gentlemen". This had brought the force into ridicule.<sup>49</sup>

Walker also charged Allman with being remiss on a second patrol. On 3 August 1858 in writing he had requested Allman to proceed with camp Sergeant Kennelly and troopers Colin, Grafton, Anthony, Henry, Jimmy, Jack, and Nelson, on patrol via Yaldwyn and Gordon's station to Mount Abund-

ance. There Allman was to patrol for at least a week in the neighbourhood of a station newly formed by Mr. Stephen Spencer. Allman was then to return to Wondai Gumbal about 20 August and report to Walker on his arrival. Walker stated he himself left Wondai Gumbal on 6 August, two days after Allman. Having been four days on duty under the Dawson Range and one night at Yaldwyn's, he had arrived at Gordon's station on the afternoon of the 10th and was informed that Allman had only left that station an hour previously. Gordon's superintendent had complained to Walker of the misconduct of the troopers under Allman's command at Nurremdur. The troopers had caused "great disturbance amongst the quiet Blacks by interfering with their gins, taking them to their camp". Allman had disobeyed Walker's instructions by only remaining three days in the neighbourhood of Spencer's station — which was the chief object of his patrol. He did not even furnish Walker with a report of the patrol. On requesting an explanation from Allman regarding the misconduct of his troopers at Gordon's, Allman had given Walker the excuse that the troopers were not to blame as the gins would themselves insist upon going to the police camp. Walker also reported that, having found it necessary to proceed to Juandah, he left Wondai Gumbal on 24 August. On his return on the 31st he had found that Allman, whom he had left at Wondai Gumbal, had without instructions and on a plea of sore eyes proceeded with one trooper to the township of Condamine — "to a place Walker had always avoided".

Walker had found an urgent request for assistance from Ferrett awaiting his return to Wondai Gumbal. Consequently he was compelled to proceed again on duty that day, returning to Wondai Gumbal on 6 September. Then he found that Allman was still at the township and had not even sent back the trooper. Walker immediately despatched Sergeant Geoghegan with instructions to take charge of the trooper and return with him to Wondai Gumbal. The sergeant returned on 9 September.

Walker pointed out the inconsistent effect of Allman's complaint. On Allman's journey to Wondai Gumbal he had reported that his sore eyes had compelled him to remain at

Graham's station seven weeks. In this late attack he had found it impossible to remain a week at the barracks but had ridden forty miles to a public house.

Walker forwarded a copy of his report to Allman and informed him that, until the decision of the commandant reached him, he would not request Allman to perform any duty with the division.<sup>50</sup> Morisset on 26 November wrote informing Allman that in consequence of Walker's complaints he was suspended during an investigation.<sup>51</sup>

Allman replied on 2 December 1858 stating he had not merited the wholesale declamation Walker had thought proper to heap on him, evidently with a view to depriving him of his appointment. This would entail utter ruin to him as he was entirely dependent upon it for subsistence. With reference to the first charge Allman stated that on 2 July, in accordance with instructions from Walker, he had proceeded on patrol and reached the station of Blyth where he was attacked with a most severe fit of illness and confined to his bed for six or seven days. He claimed this could be proved by a reference to Mr. Schofield, the superintendent, who had attended him during his illness and would certify that he had proceeded on his tour as soon as he was able to mount his horse. From Blyth's he went to the station of Beck and Brown where he heard of Wilkin for whom he was searching. He then tried all the country around without capturing him. He claimed this was no fault of his nor could he see how the police were brought into ridicule by the fact of Wilkin's having been seen at the station after he had left.

As regards the second charge, Allman brought under notice the fact that Gordon's superintendent had not thought the disturbance alluded to by Walker of sufficient consequence to mention the matter to him. He claimed the gins had followed the police of their own accord and he had himself marched them back more than a mile to the station. (The troopers under Allman when he was at Wide Bay were the subject of a complaint by Landsborough that they had enticed away Kitty from her husband Jappo and had refused to give her up.) Allman stated that on arriving at Spencer's station at Mount Abundance he had found everything perfectly quiet and no Aborigines about. He had remained there

three days and as Spencer was removing his stations thirty miles nearer to the barracks he had returned with his party.

To the last charge, Allman stated he must plead guilty but the circumstances were very different from those Walker had represented. He stated he had never recovered perfectly from the attack of sore eyes he suffered from before leaving Wide Bay. On the occasion alluded to inflammation had set in on the ball of his left eye. He could not bear the excruciating torment any longer and had proceeded thirty-five miles to the township to consult a medical man. On arrival there he had found the medical man was away from home but was expected back any day. Allman had waited four days for him. As he then had not made his appearance Allman had returned to the barracks.<sup>5 2</sup>

Allman on 16 December 1858 at Wondai Gumbal tendered his resignation. He stated his health for the past eight months had been so very bad that he could not conscientiously perform the duties of second lieutenant of the Native Police.<sup>5 3</sup> Morisset, then at Wondai Gumbal, on the same day forwarded to Wickham copies of Walker's complaints, Allman's reply, and a copy of Allman's resignation. He recommended that Allman's resignation be accepted as he believed that the neglect of duty with which he was charged was actually in consequence of ill-health.<sup>5 4</sup>



# 22

## Inheritance by a New Colony

On the night of 9 October 1858 three white men were killed by Aborigines on Young's station Mount Larcom. Three years previously one woman and four men had been killed by Aborigines on the same run. Those killed on 9 October 1858 were at a lambing hut about three to five miles from the head station. On that night three troopers with their gins and spare horses, travelling overland under orders of Lieutenant Murray, by chance had not camped at Young's but had gone on to Landsborough's station at Raglan.<sup>1</sup>

The names of those killed were: John Dwyer, aged about twenty-two, born in Ireland; Michael Bourke, forty, also born in Ireland; and Joseph Poncini, born in Italy, aged about thirty-five.

On 17 October 1858, Second Lieutenant Frederick Wheeler reported from the police barracks Port Curtis to Lieutenant J. Murray, commanding the Port Curtis and Leichhardt division, that the police had received information on the evening of 11 October of these murders. He had gone to Young's that night and saw the bodies of two men floating in the creek four miles from the head station. The third man had been previously buried. Heavy rain falling between the time of the murders and the report to the police had defeated tracking of the actual murderers. However his detachment, accompanied by Mr. Frank Clarke and Mr. Young, had tracked Aborigines to where six men and two gins had taken ten or twelve sheep to the scrubs, but they could not ascertain whether the sheep had been eaten or not. Wheeler had then gone round the scrubs to try and find where the

Aborigines, who it was thought would come into Port Curtis, had come out. He then went up Casuarina Creek or Raglan but found no tracks. He then went round Mount Larcom to the Calliope River and came upon a mob of about forty Aborigines travelling. His report continued:

It was too late in the evening to do any good but next morning overtook them but were not able to shoot any as they had already crossed the river. The horses could not gallop in the Mangrove Flats. Only took six or seven gins prisoners. Cannot say whether any of the murderers are amongst the mob, but they must all suffer, for the innocent must be held responsible for the guilt of others as a check on the brutal murders that have just taken place. Going to Gladstone tomorrow but do not suppose to be able to shoot any . . . I beg leave to mention there seems to be great apathy shown in this District as far as any general turn out. I would have imagined that several white parties would have been formed with Black boys attached.<sup>2</sup>

Second Lieutenant Wheeler in later years was revealed as a merciless killer of Aborigines and this report, written early in his Native Police career, foreshadowed his future conduct. Wheeler while previously on the FitzRoy had lost his detachment of twelve troopers when they deserted. Morisset had reported on 8 August 1858 that he had since found out that the undue severity of their officer made them leave. Indicted for the murder of an Aborigine before the circuit court at Rockhampton in 1876, Wheeler vanished while on recognizance to appear and was never seen again.<sup>3</sup>

Wheeler's horses, on his return to the barracks near Gladstone and after their five days heavy work, required a few days spell. The day after his return he went into Gladstone and "hailed over" all the camps with a view to finding missing articles from the scene of the murders at Young's station. He reported to Lieutenant Murray on 21 October that there were a great number of strange Aborigines in these camps. Aborigines had run from a camp near Dr. Brown's and went into the mangroves. "Some firing took place but unluckily no Blacks were shot". Wheeler added in this later report that he was going on from the Boyne River across the head of the Calliope and round the big scrubs at the head of Raglan Creek where he believed the murderers had taken refuge. The horses had had four days spell. This was absolutely necessary as the ground was in a boggy state.<sup>4</sup>

On 16 October Lieutenant Murray, then at the police barracks at Rockhampton and having heard of the murders, had started with seven troopers for Mount Larcom. Joining his detachment with that of Wheeler's, Murray and Wheeler proceeded to the head of the Calliope River. After several days search the party divided. Two days later Murray came upon a large camp of Aborigines at the edge of the scrubs. Murray later reported: "Five of the murderers were shot by the Police. No doubt more of them would have fallen had not the information of our approach been given by their gins who saw us in the open country." Next day Murray followed their trail for five or six miles till it came to impenetrable country and pine scrubs. The rain was falling in torrents. Several horses were knocked up and the provisions all wet. Murray consequently returned to Clarke's station on the Calliope and from there to Rockhampton where he arrived on 2 November 1858. Murray had been absent from his headquarters eighteen days and it had rained on fifteen of those days.<sup>5</sup>

Murray had left instructions with Wheeler to refresh his men and horses for a few days and then to renew his pursuit to punish the murderers. Murray had reason to believe that the most desperate characters had escaped to their stronghold of Curtis Island. He reported it was impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the cause of the murders of the three white men, but he expressed the opinion that Young pursued a very impolitic plan of treating the Aborigines. Young had allowed Aborigines to be on his run and on some of his sheep stations although not at the head station. Consequently strange Aborigines and those inimical to the white men were on his property and Young was ignorant of their being there. He added that Wheeler's troopers as well as his own recruits without exception had behaved exceedingly well "throughout the whole of a very arduous piece of duty". Murray himself had been "suffering greatly from Rheumatic Inflammation consequent on exposure to the weather".<sup>6</sup> Second Lieutenant Powell, who had been in Mexico and California and for many years a sailor, had applied from Rockhampton on 18 October 1858 for leave of absence as he was suffering from chronic rheumatism from exposure in course of duty. He was granted eight weeks leave.<sup>7</sup>

Wickham, when forwarding the officers' reports to the colonial secretary on 28 December 1858, made special reference to Wheeler's reports. He had called Wheeler's attention to the extraordinary and unofficial style of his correspondence. It was his intention to bring the subject under the notice of the commandant in order that Wheeler might be made clearly to understand that it was his duty to apprehend murderers if possible and that firearms were only to be resorted to in cases of emergency. The depositions taken on view of the bodies of the murdered men and forwarded to him by Lieutenant Murray were by Wickham transmitted by post to the attorney general.<sup>8</sup>

The colonial secretary directed that his strong disapproval be expressed of the mode in which Wheeler announced his intention of killing innocent Aborigines as punishment for the murders committed by others. He wished to understand clearly whether Wheeler's communication was to be interpreted as reporting that he had killed the gins who were captured. He added that the government could not permit an impression to go abroad that the wholesale slaughter of Aborigines, whether guilty or not, was to be committed under authority, and he would await the receipt of Mr. Wheeler's explanation as to what really took place with some anxiety, to decide what course to adopt with respect to his proceedings.<sup>9</sup>

Wheeler on 5 March 1859 wrote explaining to Wickham at Brisbane that the three gins were taken prisoners in order to obtain information of the whereabouts of the real murderers and who they were. Wheeler had the honour to state distinctly that no gins had ever been shot or maltreated by the troopers under his command. He begged leave to withdraw the opinion he had expressed of "the innocent suffering for the guilty" as he had never acted or ever intended to act up to that expression.<sup>10</sup>

At the end of 1858, the Aborigines on the Dawson were still inimically disposed towards the settlers. Second Lieutenant Carr, then on his way to join Lieutenant Murray at the upper Dawson, on the night of 5 December 1858 camped with troopers Styles, Waverley, Allman, and Billy at A. McNab's Kianga station. Fearing a wet night, Carr, who

slept in McNab's unfinished hut which was without doors, procured a tent for the police who were camped within two hundred yards of the huts on the station. About midnight the attention of trooper Styles was drawn to a noise as of someone stealthily approaching and he got up. On looking out, the night being then fine, he perceived that the tent was surrounded on all sides by an armed party of Aborigines numbering upwards of fifty at least. He immediately gave the alarm by firing his carbine. Carr and his troopers then drove the Aborigines to a scrub about half a mile distant where they took shelter. Four of their number were shot in retreating. At daylight, Carr started in company with McNab in pursuit of the Aborigines who crossed the Dawson River. On reaching the river Carr's party found it flooded and impossible to cross. He returned to Kianga. Carr had no doubt that the Aborigines, supposing the tent to have been occupied by whites instead of the police, had surrounded it with the intention of murdering the occupants. He thought that but for the fortunate presence of his detachment a similar tragedy to that of the Hornet Bank massacre would in all probability have been enacted. McNab never considered it necessary to keep a carbine or loaded pistol on the establishment.<sup>1 1</sup>.

On 19 November 1858 Pollett Cardew of Eurombah, upper Dawson wrote to the colonial secretary, complaining of the inactivity of the Native Police and asking for a section of the force to be stationed on the outskirts of that run or at Hornet Bank to prevent any further outrages on the river. Cardew supposed that the government — being aware that Eurombah, the scene of nine murders within twelve months, and "Hornet Bank which had attained melancholy notoriety on account of the fearful massacre at that place" were the outmost stations on the upper Dawson — would have given stringent orders to the officers of the Native Police to punish the murderers and repel all future attacks. He had been informed the officers had received those orders. Nevertheless no attempt whatever had been made to effect either order. He claimed that his neighbours and himself after twelve months were as completely defenceless, regarding any assistance from the government by whom they were so heavily

taxed, as they were previously. In consequence he had been put to the expense of £280 and Mr. Scott to nearly £200 in paying and rationing extra armed watchmen to protect the lives of their servants and their property. He considered it monstrous that they should be put to this ruinous expenditure and at the same time be subjected to such an enormous taxation, particularly when £18,000 had been voted annually for a police force which, for the Dawson River settlers, had been a mere imposition. He alleged that during the previous twelve months the police had visited Eurombah once only which was in the previous April, though he had heard that a party of police had passed Eurombah two days before he wrote.

Cardew then referred to an Aborigine well known by the name of Bulba. He alleged that Bulba was the ringleader in 1848 when the station Mount Abundance of Mr. Macpherson was attacked and nine men murdered. He claimed Bulba was also the leader of the Aborigines in 1849 when Mr. Blyth was speared and one of his men murdered, and when two men were killed at Dulacca, three men were murdered at Tieryboo, and Jones was murdered at Wallann and the store and its contents burned to the ground. He further claimed that in an engagement with the Native Police in September 1849, Bulba had escaped. After then Bulba had been quiet until the year 1854 when he was the leader in the murders of Mr. Kettle and, on the Dawson, of Maclaren and two men. Since then Bulba had been the ringleader of every murder on Eurombah, including the Hornet Bank massacre, but not of the murder at Taroom. He stated that no attempt whatever had been made by the police "to apprehend or destroy this monster".<sup>1 2</sup>

Morisset was asked to report on Cardew's letter. He reported on 20 January that he had stationed an officer with a detachment of Native Police at Eurombah until he had found it absolutely necessary to remove them in consequence of Cardew and Andrew Scott having organized an armed party consisting of a number of men whom Morisset had dismissed from the corps for conduct which could not be overlooked. These men were under the command of Mr. F. Walker, late commandant of the Native Police who, Morisset



alleged, had made a boast that he had long sought an opportunity of injuring the Native Police Force and that now he had a very good one. Morisset further claimed Walker had so well carried out his determination of annoying the regular force that in two or three days he had persuaded the very best men in it to desert and had created the greatest disaffection amongst the rest. If Morisset had not removed his force on the upper Dawson he would not have had a man left. The officers had to be most careful afterwards in keeping their men and those of Cardew and Scott from coming into collision.<sup>1 3</sup>

Morisset stated that the officers had never ceased in their exertions to capture or punish the murderers of the people on the upper Dawson and had continually patrolled the outskirts of the stations to prevent the hostile Aborigines from coming in. He also stated he had never heard of Bulba and was at a loss to know how Cardew had ascertained Bulba had been a ringleader in so many murders. The murders on the Dawson had been all committed by the same tribe of Aborigines and in the many collisions that had taken place between the police and the tribe in endeavouring to make prisoners of the murderers, many of the ringleaders had been shot. (It was proved in 1860 that Bulba was a leader when, in an attack on one of W. H. Coxen's stations which Lieutenant Carr's detachment assisted in defending, Bulba led the attackers. During the fierce fighting that ensued Bulba was killed and Carr was wounded.)<sup>1 4</sup>

Morisset also pointed out in his reply to Cardew that since he had been enabled to restore the Native Police Force to something like order, the outrages of the Aborigines on the frontier had been comparatively few.

Wickham, when forwarding Morisset's report to the colonial secretary, remarked that the comparatively tranquil state of the Leichhardt district afforded ample proof that the officers of the Native Police had been on the alert.<sup>1 5</sup>

On 15 December 1858 Morisset wrote to Wickham from Wondai Gumbal where he had arrived three days previously. Morisset had visited en route the Native Police stations in the upper and lower Dawson and reported that no further aggressions by the Aborigines had taken place in that district

since his last visit there. He attributed the peace of the district to the zeal and activity of the Native Police officers who had kept the men comprising the different detachments in good order.

Morisset reported a great improvement at Wondai Gumbal police station since Lieutenant R. G. Walker had taken command of the third division. He did not fear any further complaint regarding that station. He had instructed Walker to call contracts for the erection of buildings on the Bungil and to commence the work at once. He had accepted the tender of Mr. W. H. Coxen for the supply of rations for that division. Coxen's was the lowest offered — 11½d. per ration not including meat which Morisset thought could be obtained more economically by buying fifty or a hundred sheep at a time as they could be procured under the price allowed.

As Morisset had found it absolutely necessary to obtain men without delay to augment the detachments stationed at the FitzRoy and Port Curtis, he had directed Walker, as soon as he had arranged for the buildings on Bungil Creek, to proceed to the Moonie and Gil Gil Rivers where Morisset knew a few men could be obtained who would be sufficiently distant from their own country to be efficient in the districts they were destined for. Morisset proposed starting for Wide Bay on 18 December.<sup>16</sup>

Wickham forwarded a copy of Morisset's report to the colonial secretary on 28 December remarking inter alia that there was no doubt that Lieutenant Walker merited the consideration which had been shown him by the government in promoting him to the rank of lieutenant.<sup>17</sup>

Sergeant Justin McCarthy of the first division, who had preferred a complaint against Second Lieutenant Swete, was dismissed from the force by Morisset late in 1858. His dismissal was approved on 10 January 1859. It was the opinion of Wickham that McCarthy had no cause of complaint against Swete in relation to an incident at Gwambygne, upper Dawson, but on the contrary his conduct was insolent in the extreme and wholly subversive of discipline which was apparent in his letter to the commandant and particularly noticed by Mr. H. C. Gregory.<sup>18</sup>

On 28 December 1858, when forwarding Second

Lieutenant Allman's resignation to the colonial secretary, Wickham recommended Mr. Rudolph Morisset for the vacancy resulting. He was aware that Rudolph Morisset had been an applicant for an appointment in the force since November 1857 "but from motives of delicacy the commandant had withheld his application simply on the score of being his brother". He added that his recommendation was made without the knowledge of the commandant. Wickham was aware that the commandant considered Rudolph Morisset well suited for the service.<sup>19</sup> The Executive Council saw no reason why Allman's resignation should not be accepted but was of opinion that it would not conduce to the discipline of the corps if the vacancy were filled by the appointment of so near a relative of the commandant.<sup>20</sup>

On receiving notice of this decision Wickham requested on 2 February 1859 that Mr. John Tanner Baker be appointed to the vacancy. Although Baker was unknown to him, Wickham had reason to believe that Baker was in every way qualified to perform the duties of second lieutenant. Baker was about forty-one and had served in the Mounted Patrol in Western Australia. Baker's appointment was recommended by the Executive Council and on 2 March 1859 approved by governor general Denison.<sup>21</sup>

Towards the end of 1858 William Spooner, who was then serving in the Newcastle Police Force, was appointed by Morisset to be camp sergeant in the Native Mounted Police Corps. Spooner, having been a non-commissioned officer in a cavalry regiment as well as a horsebreaker and roughrider, was considered by the commandant as peculiarly adapted for the appointment.<sup>22</sup> However, in consequence of his inability to pay his passage from Newcastle to Moreton Bay, Spooner was unable to join.<sup>23</sup> Morisset on 24 January 1859 recommended that Spooner receive a passage order which thitherto had been allowed in every case when the person so appointed required it. Wickham asked that the expense be sanctioned and this was approved by the colonial secretary.<sup>24</sup> When approval of Baker's appointment as second lieutenant was sent to Wickham, he was also informed that the government would not object to Rudolph Morisset being appointed to the

Native Police provided he could be stationed in a southern district and not be immediately under the control of his brother. It was thought that one of the southern officers might be willing to exchange for the north. The colonial secretary hoped that R. Morisset might be considered eligible when a future vacancy occurred.<sup>2 5</sup>

On 19 January 1859 Michael Fitzpatrick of the Department of Lands and Public Works forwarded to the chief commissioner of crown lands a copy of a letter from the crown law officers conveying the opinion of the attorney general that, under the circumstances disclosed in the communications from the government resident at Moreton Bay and the commandant of the Native Police, steps should be immediately taken to disband Mr. Frederick Walker's force employed by the upper Dawson settlers. At the same time Fitzpatrick requested that the commissioner of crown lands for the Leichhardt district be instructed to proceed according to the recommendation of the attorney general.<sup>2 6</sup>

Commissioner W. H. Wiseman, on being so instructed, left his headquarters on 28 January 1859. After travelling two hundred and fifty miles he arrived on 12 March at Eurombah. This was Cardew's station where Mr. Frederick Walker also resided. Wiseman lost no time in summoning Frederick Walker who, on being questioned on the subject, stated that of late he had not been out on patrol with these ex-troopers and that all were no longer under his orders. Those who were in the service of Pollett Cardew were regularly engaged as shepherds. Walker showed Wiseman their agreements written and duly signed and witnessed wherein these ex-troopers were engaged to shepherd the sheep at £35 per annum wages. Walker himself was engaged as overseer and had ten thousand sheep under his charge at a station twenty miles distant from the head station. He had these ex-troopers under him. They carried arms as the district was still unsafe without weapons. Walker wrote and signed a declaration of this for Wiseman. W. Cardew, the superintendent at Eurombah, confirmed the statements.

Wiseman then proceeded to Andrew Scott's station Hornet Bank where five other ex-troopers were engaged as shepherds. Ross, the superintendent and former Native Police officer,

was absent, but Wiseman saw one of the ex-troopers and read his engagement. Wiseman warned him against going out with his comrades under the orders of Frederick Walker and told him he would be put in handcuffs and sent to Sydney if he did. The ex-trooper promised to attend to what Wiseman had said and to warn his comrades. Wiseman saw Ross next day at Eurombah and he also wrote a declaration.

Wiseman also informed Frederick Walker of the opinion of the attorney general. Walker claimed a right to pursue depredators. Wiseman informed Walker that he or any other magistrate would execute the orders of the government and arrest Walker if the latter were caught in the act of patrolling the district with an armed force. Walker immediately disclaimed all intention of doing what was prohibited by the government. Wiseman also forwarded an account of his visit with a copy of the attorney general's letter and of the Riot Act to the bench of magistrates of the upper Dawson, to enable them to take the necessary steps in case at any future time Walker and his troopers might go out patrolling.

Wiseman reported to his chief commissioner on 15 March that he did not wish nor supposed he had the power to discharge these ex-troopers from their employment. It had been alleged by Walker and maintained by the government resident at Gladstone that these ex-troopers were to have been taken back to their homes free of expense when their period of service had terminated. Wiseman was inclined to think that some partial assistance was afforded but not sufficient probably. These men were then in a position to earn the means of returning if they desired. Some at the expiration of their agreements were to have as payment a horse and saddle. Wiseman thought perhaps they would then go home and thus put an end to all reclamation under that head.<sup>27</sup>

The colonial secretary on 7 July 1859 following the receipt of Wiseman's report thought it was unnecessary to do any more with reference to the disbanded troopers stated to have been under the orders of Frederick Walker.<sup>28</sup>

In taking his action to disband the illegal force Wiseman had relied on the Riot Act and had sent a copy to the bench of magistrates of what had occurred. It is of interest to refer to the role of magistrates in relation to riots and riotous

assemblages over the years.<sup>29</sup> In England down the years a prominent part in preserving the peace outside as well as inside the court room was played by justices of the peace. With the formation and rapid extension of a professional police force since 1829, their activities outside the court room became more and more restricted, though they still had a major role in the first half of the nineteenth century. For instance, it was the justices who took the initiative in the events which led to the Peterloo massacre of 1819.

In Queensland even at the present time when severe disorder threatens the magistrates can be approached to read the Riot Act. Perhaps the most active step which magistrates have taken against severe disorders over the years was that of reading the Riot Act. This statute was enacted in England in 1714 upon the elevation of the family of Hanover to the throne, to prevent the disorders that might be occasioned by those who were enemies to that accession. Section one provided that if "any persons, to the number of twelve or more, being unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the publick peace" should remain together for over an hour after the reading of a proclamation requiring them to disperse then they would automatically become felons. Deadly force could then be used to disperse them. By the law of England everyone was bound to aid in the suppression of riotous assemblages. Under statutes of 1393-94 and 1411 there was provision for the calling out of the "posse comitatus" to help the sheriff and the justices in the suppression of disorder. This method which was used in the famed Wild West of America ceased to be used in England, save in a few instances, by the late seventeenth century. But it was an indictable offence to refuse to help a police officer in the execution of his duty.

Soldiers have been employed from time to time in the preservation of order down the years in both England and Australia. Generally the military has been always anxious to obtain the approval of the civil authorities to act, for the position of soldiers called in to help is an unenviable one. Soldiers have no special status in the eyes of the law and in helping to suppress riots they come as ordinary citizens. Being armed with deadly weapons they raise delicate prob-



lems. The force which is used to establish civil order must be justified in the eyes of the law.

Early in 1859 the secretary of the Native Police Corps, Mr. F. B. Hampton, died suddenly.<sup>30</sup> James Canning Pearce of Brisbane, a pioneer squatter for eighteen years in the Darling Downs district and who had become bankrupt, offered himself as a candidate for the vacant position and referred to the government resident at Moreton Bay, to Sheriff S. A. Brown, to solicitor R. Little, and to members of parliament J. Richardson and Arthur Hodgson who would "doubtless be enabled to bear testimony" of his qualifications. He was informed that a gentleman had been already nominated to the vacant office.<sup>31</sup>

Mr. Arthur Dodwell received the appointment of secretary. In course of time he found that all the articles supplied by the Storekeeper's Department in Sydney for the force were "of the most worthless character". This was not the case to so great an extent regarding firearms as with clothing, boots, etc. He also found owing to some negligence in the Storekeeper's Department that the articles frequently did not reach the places for which they were required till July, the requisitions having been sent in in the previous October. He received frequent representations to the effect that the men had no blankets and were obliged to patrol without any trousers on. He left the Native Police in February 1860. During his term as secretary, he saw the fourth division stationed at Moreton Bay and some of the second division belonging to Wide Bay and regarded them as all "pretty smart men". The quality of the junior officers had improved in the Native Police Force since 1856 and experienced senior officers such as Lieutenant Murray were most efficient.<sup>32</sup>

By 24 January 1859 Morisset had selected the sites he considered most eligible for buildings for the use of the several divisions and detachments of the corps and from which he thought it would not be advisable to remove the police for some years to come. He recommended that the headquarters of the first division be situated on the FitzRoy near Rockhampton on land then reserved for the purpose. He suggested four out-stations: one on the upper FitzRoy, one on the upper Dawson, one at Banana, and one at Port Curtis. The

building then at Port Curtis he thought should be moved to Calliope. The headquarters of the second division he thought should remain on the land reserved in Wide Bay for the Native Police purposes. This was about twelve miles from Maryborough and he did not think a more eligible site could be found in the Wide Bay and Burnett district. The third division was in the process of moving from Wondai Gumbal to the Bungil Creek near the Grafton Range and where several new stations were then shortly to be formed. The fourth division stationed at the Clarence had been already provided for. Morisset had not selected a site for the fifth division stationed at Moreton Bay.<sup>33</sup>

Wickham agreed with Morisset's suggestions. As regards the station of the second division, Wickham conceived it would be dangerous to withdraw that force too far from Maryborough where the Aborigines were at all times very troublesome and numerous, coming from Frazers Island and other parts of the sea coast where they were proverbially the most treacherous and daring.<sup>34</sup>

The colonial secretary approved of the suggestions and of the necessary buildings to be erected and the enclosure of the paddocks at the different police stations at an expense not exceeding £1,276 12s. 0d. The savings on the votes for 1857 and 1858 were considered quite sufficient to meet the expenses. The sale of the buildings of the Native Police stations at Port Curtis and Wondai Gumbal and of the reserve at the latter place was also approved.<sup>35</sup>

By September 1859, the various buildings and paddocks were nearing completion while the Native Police Force had been recruited to within nineteen men of its complement, seventeen being required to complete the first division and two for the second division. Second Lieutenant Baker had been ordered to proceed down the Balonne to recruit to fill the vacancies and to obtain a few supernumeraries to provide for future contingencies.<sup>36</sup> In February 1859 Lieutenant Walker of the third division, who had been despatched to the Mooni for recruits, had been only partially successful in his endeavours. He only obtained eight troopers and with considerable trouble.<sup>37</sup>

In the first half of 1859 reports from the officers under

Lieutenant Murray commanding the first division disclosed that the Aborigines on the Dawson, on the FitzRoy, and in the Port Curtis district, although still most inimically disposed towards the whites, had not been allowed opportunities for the committal of further depredations. Aborigines had made their appearance again at Hornet Bank evidently with hostile intentions. On one of their number being shot by a shepherd whom they were endeavouring to surround, the rest retired. Though second lieutenant G. Murray followed on their tracks for many days, he was unsuccessful in overtaking them. The boggy and flooded rivers and creeks rendered his horses almost unserviceable while the sickness of two of his troopers prevented following on foot.<sup>38</sup>

On 6 June 1859, after some years of petitions and counter-petitions, Letters Patent of Queen Victoria were issued establishing as an independent colony, to be known as the colony of Queensland, so much of the colony of New South Wales as lay to the north of the present boundary between Queensland and New South Wales and to the east of the 141st meridian of east longitude. On 11 October 1859, the governor general laid before the Legislative Assembly of the New South Wales colony a copy of a despatch dated 18 August 1859 from Secretary of State Newcastle, enclosing copies of the instruments for carrying into effect the separation. The originals of these documents had been entrusted to Sir George Ferguson Bowen who had been appointed governor of Queensland. Included in these instruments was an order in council casting upon Governor Sir W. Denison the duty of inaugurating the new colony by appointing the Legislative Council and summoning the first Legislative Assembly. When these functions had been for the first time performed by Denison they were afterwards to devolve on the governor of the new colony, Sir George Ferguson Bowen. The latter on his arrival at Brisbane on 10 December 1859 at once formed an Executive Council to assist him to govern the new colony for nearly six months until the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council were assembled.<sup>39</sup>

Under these arrangements all members of the Native Police Force serving within the boundaries of Queensland were

taken into the service of the new colony.

Certain events during 1858 and 1859 had militated against public interest in favour of the Aborigines in the pastoral districts. The massacre at Hornet Bank followed by the enquiry and report of the 1858 Select Committee upon the murders by the Aborigines on the Dawson River, had assisted to exclude from public opinion thoughts of those Aborigines in the older districts awaiting assistance to successfully adapt themselves to new conditions. A greater stimulation of public interest in the northern frontier of settlement was provided in 1858 by the discovery of gold and the disappointing rush that followed to the Canoona diggings northward of the FitzRoy River. The intervals which elapsed between the issuing of the Letters Patent establishing the colony of Queensland and the new colony's taking over of the administration of the northern frontier also lessened authoritative attention to the settler Aboriginal conflict there.

Individuals did address letters to the newspapers on the latter subject. Some of those letters may have been based on hearsay. As early as August 1858, Morisset when writing to Wickham referred to the "numerous letters which had lately appeared in the public journals". He wrote of "falsehoods in the letters so numerous" and finally had contented himself with a general and distinct denial of all such statements and had challenged examination into any of them.

Frederick Sinnett, who as a special correspondent of a Melbourne newspaper went to the FitzRoy River in 1858 with crowds from Victoria joining the northern gold rush, wrote in 1859 *An Account of the Rush to Port Curtis*. Concerning the border warfare which he claimed had developed he wrote:

I am unfortunately safe in saying that the ordinary relation between the black and white races is that of war to the knife. The atrocities on both sides are perfectly horrible, and I do not believe the Government makes any effort to stop the slaughter of the Aborigines. A native police force is indeed actively engaged, but exclusively against the blacks who are shot down by their bloodthirsty brethren at every opportunity. I believe the blacks retaliate whenever they can, and never lose a chance of murdering white man, woman, or child . . . The number of blacks killed it is impossible to estimate. They are being killed officially by police and unofficially by settlers and diggers every day, nor are women

and children spared when murders are being revenged by the whites . . . I believe the border warfare about the FitzRoy, the Dawson, and the adjacent districts to be as savage to this day as any war with the Aborigines that in any part of Australia ever darkened with disgraceful incidents the history of our progress.<sup>40</sup>

Sinnett's sweeping reference to the conflict in the areas he mentioned was based on some known facts. It had been officially reported that several Aboriginal women were killed by the Native Police following the Hornet Bank massacre.

Surveyor General A. C. Gregory before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee stated he was not on the Dawson when the Hornet Bank murders were committed but in answer to the question: "Are you aware that those outrages were generally attributed to the disbanding of the Force, and the turning out among the blacks of a number of black troopers" answered "Yes; in fact it was the want of protection that made the settlers take the law into their own hands, and it became open war between them and the blacks."<sup>41</sup>

Second Lieutenant Wheeler, following the killing of three white men on Mount Larcom station in October 1858, had been called on to explain what had taken place. He had reported making prisoners of six or seven gins but was not able to shoot any of a mob of about forty Aborigines who had crossed the river. He could not say whether any of the murderers were amongst the mob but had stated all must suffer — for the innocent must be held responsible for the guilt of others to stop the brutal murders that had taken place. Moreover these pages disclose that Native Police detachments did pursue for some time those Aborigines responsible for the killings on the Dawson. Frederick Walker, former commandant of the Native Police Force, when writing to the colonial secretary of Queensland from the Nullabin post office on 10 July 1861, referred to action taken by the force following the Hornet Bank murders. He wrote: "At the Juandah massacre, the Blacks who had been proven to the satisfaction of five magistrates to be innocent of any participation in crime, were subsequently murdered, some in the verandah, some in the kitchen of a magistrate who in vain remonstrated. Two blacks who had by some whim been spared were then made to bury the victims, and one ruffian said to the other, 'What shall we do with the sextons?' The

answer was 'shoot them'. One was accordingly shot. Why the other was spared, I know not. Possibly the supply of cartridges was running short."<sup>42</sup>

There appears to have been officers who exercised the restraint referred to by W. R. O. Hill, a former police magistrate and gold warden of Queensland, in his book *Forty-five years' Experiences in North Queensland 1861 to 1905*. He wrote: "The old talk about dispersing the blacks, and wiping out tribes indiscriminately, is a fallacy, for I am in a position to assert that I never knew an officer to allow a shot to be fired except in extreme necessity, and then only when the blacks were caught red-handed."<sup>43</sup>

However, invariably when a collision did occur between police and Aborigines some of the latter were shot. The difficulty was to bring to justice those sought. There was resistance which incurred the use of firearms, and the result was that innocent parties suffered. Plans for mischief were usually made on those occasions when Aborigines assembled in large numbers and the dispersal of assemblages, whether before or after mischief was done, was expected of the Native Police.

Observations on the control of the police by their officers were made by Queensland's Surveyor General A. C. Gregory before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee. He said he had been out with the Native Police and had observed that the troopers were always under the control of their officers, as far as they could be expected to be. "Of course, in the heat of an engagement there was always some difficulty with them, but any person who had been out with white men would admit they were equally difficult to control, while they were far more cruel than the others."<sup>44</sup>

By 1859 the Gracemere station of the Archer brothers was situated centrally in the disturbed districts, although stations were extending northward and westward of Rockhampton. North of the FitzRoy Daniel Connor, formerly on the Dawson, had formed Princhester station about October 1857, while in January 1858 William Henry Gaden had taken over a station called Canoona twenty-five miles distant from Rockhampton which he purchased from William Thomas Elliott.

William Archer, a witness before the 1858 Select Commit-



tee, had described the nature of the country to the northward. A very large portion of it was covered with brigalow and vine scrub, particularly the valley of the Mackenzie, and the open country consisted of undulating ridges, timbered with box and silver-leaved ironbark. Close to the coast, he said, it was pastoral country, there being an absence of scrub. Much of the country northwards provided great facilities to the Aborigines of escaping from pursuit owing to the mountainous nature of some parts of the country and the exceeding density of the scrubs.<sup>45</sup> Of the scrubs, J. K. Wilson stated before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee: "You go into the scrub, the blacks are all around you, and you can see nothing of them."<sup>46</sup>

The Aborigines near the FitzRoy and Mackenzie Rivers already had had contact with and had fought the white settlers. Further north it seems that Commissioner of Crown Lands Wiseman had been the first white man to contact some of the tribes. He had included in his annual report for 1856 the following:

On my journey during June and July 1856 to the country around Broad Sound, I met with parties of Aborigines every day. On seeing us they fled. Whenever we came on them so suddenly that all could not escape, the old men and children threw themselves on their faces in the long grass whence few could be induced to rise whilst we remained.

In their camps we found quantities of very strong and neatly made Currijong cord and fishing nets of good size together with opossum skins and the usual arms, but nothing to show that they had any communication with the whites. They eat the nuts of the arborescent *Zamia* which are of considerable size, the tree growing in considerable quantity. We touched nothing nor did we molest them. On two nights only did they menace us with an attack — when on their approaching our camp and finding us alert they kept away.<sup>47</sup>

By the end of 1859, after a pause in the extension of pastoral occupation, squatters were ready to move northwards across the FitzRoy and westwards across the lower Dawson. The forming of the new colony had drawn attention to the unknown lands beyond those rivers and its government was looking for settlers. Within Queensland's territory the 1860s were to witness a rapid extension of pastoral settlement. Queensland had inherited a Native Police Force whose assistance was to be sought for the protection of the lives and

property of those engaged in the occupation of those virgin lands. The outlook of that force had altered. After the tragedy of Hornet Bank the force had continued to seek out and punish those Aborigines who were present at the massacre. This punishing attitude is revealed in the merciless actions of several officers shortly after the forming of the new colony. It resulted in an enquiry by the Queensland Select Committee of 1861.<sup>48</sup>

This volume has attempted to record, as far as it is now possible to do so, the factual history of that force which was inherited by Queensland. In raking up the conflict between settler and Aborigine and the misdeeds of the past let the mistakes of those times be avoided in properly solving present and future problems relating to the promotion of true Aboriginal welfare in Australia.

As fellow Australians, let us also remember there were worthy men of European and of Aboriginal descent who shared comradeship and mutual respect in honestly carrying out the duties imposed on them as members of the Police of the Pastoral Frontier.

# Appendix A

## Numerical Strength of the Native Police Force in the Northern Districts of New South Wales, 1849-59

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total No. of Divisions</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>European N. C. O.'s</i>	<i>Native Police*</i>	<i>Total</i>
1849	Original Force	cmdt. 1	sgt. 1	14	16
1850	4	cmdt. 1 lts. 2	sgt. major 1	48	52
1852	8	cmdt. 1 lts. 4	sgt. major 1 sgts. 8	96	110
1854	10	cmdt. 1 lts. 6 sub-lts. 4	sgt. major 1 sgts. 5	119	136
1856	6	lts. 3 2nd lts. 4 sub-lts. 6		72	85
1857	6	cmdt. 1 secretary and clerk 1 lts. 4 2nd lts. 7	camp sgts. 4	58	75
[The number then serving in the Clarence and Macleay district is unknown]					
1858	5	cmdt. 1 lts. 2 2nd lts. 12		77	92
[Includes those serving in the Clarence and Macleay district]					
1859	5	cmdt. 1 secretary and clerk 1 lts. 4 2nd lts. 10	camp sgts. 9	74	99
[Does not include the number of Native Police then in the Clarence and Macleay district]					

\*The numbers of Native Police comprise those holding the ranks of sergeant, corporal, and trooper.

*Sources*

- 1849: Walker/col.sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850)1: 588; re sgt., see chapter 2, note 32.
- 1850: Force increased by 32 recruits, Walker/col.sec., see chapter 2, note 45.
- 1852: See chapter 7, note 20. Walker stated the only intimation he received for raising 48 additional men in 1852 was the estimate for that year.
- 1854: Walker/col.sec., 27 July 1854, reel A2/30, COL,OL.
- 1856: Evidence of J. McLerie, before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57)1:1214.
- 1857: List, 30 November 1857, reel A2/52, COL,OL.
- 1858: *NSWVP* (1858)2: 407,OL.
- 1859: Morisset/govt.resident, 15 September 1859, reel A2/42, COL,OL.

# Appendix B

## Distribution of the Native Police Force at Various Times

1854

[Walker/col.sec., 27 July 1854, reel A2/30, COL,OL.]

- Port Curtis      *No. 1 Section*  
Lt. Murray, (European) Sgt. Humphrey,  
(native) Sgt. John Bungaree, 2 (native) cpls.,  
7 (native) troopers.
- No. 10 Section*  
2 troopers (ordered to join their section at  
Callandoon).
- Traylan          *No. 4 Section* (to join the commandant in the  
Leichhardt district)  
Lt. Marshall, 1 cpl., 4 troopers. Invalids —  
3 troopers.
- No. 10 Section*  
1 trooper in charge of drays etc.
- Rannes          *No. 3 Section* (ordered to Traylan)  
Sub-Lt. Keen, 1 (native) sgt., 2 cpls., 7 troopers.
- Lower Burnett    *No. 7 Section* (to relieve No. 3 at Rannes)  
Sub-Lt. R.G. Walker, 1 (native) sgt., 2 cpls.,  
7 troopers.
- Maryborough    *No. 4 Section*  
4 troopers (to join their section at Traylan).
- Yabba (in the    *No. 8 Section*  
Bunya country  
and controlling  
both the Moreton  
and Wide Bay  
districts)  
Lt. J.O. Bligh, 2 cpls., 10 troopers.
- Clarence        *No. 5 Section* (one corporal's subdivision sent to  
the Macleay under Sgt. Dempster)  
Lt. Morisset, Sgt. R. Dempster (European),  
1 native sgt., 1 cpl., 8 troopers.

*Distribution of the Native Police Force*

---

Wondai Gumbal	<i>No. 2 Section</i> Lt. Fulford, 1 native sgt., 2 cpls., 8 troopers.
	<i>No. 6 Section</i> Lt. Irving, Sub-Lt. Nicoll, 1 native sgt., 1 cpl., 10 troopers.
	<i>No. 10 Section</i> 5 troopers awaiting the arrival of the commandant.
Callandoon	<i>No. 6 Section</i> Cmdt., 1 native cpl., assisting in drilling new recruits and to return to his section.
	<i>No. 4 Section</i> 1 trooper – orderly to the cmdt.
	<i>No. 10 Section</i> 4 troopers to start on 31 July for Wondai Gumbal.
En Route	<i>No. 9 Section</i> Sub-Lt. Fortescue, 12 troopers.
	<i>No. 1 Section</i> 1 native trooper (actg. sgt.).
	<i>No. 5 Section</i> Sgt. Graham (European) and 2 troopers to join Lt. Morisset at Grafton. The sgt. then returns to Wondai Gumbal.
	<i>No. 2 Section</i> 1 trooper (actg. cpl.) to return with sgt. Graham.
	<i>No. 4 Section</i> Sgt. A. Walker (European), 1 cpl., 1 trooper (to join Force at Traylan).
Supernumeraries:	2 orderlies (Cmdt's. and Lt. Marshall's). 2 postmen carrying Gayndah and Port Curtis mail.
Aborigines in the Force totalled 119 men. The death of one man caused a deficiency of one.	

1856

[Evidence of J. McLerie before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP (1856-57)*: 1214, para. 18, OL.]

At the end of 1856 the force consisting of 3 lts., 4 2nd lts., 6 sub-lts., and 72 troopers was distributed:

Port Curtis	1 lt., 1 2nd lt., 2 sub-lts., 24 troopers.
Wide Bay and Burnett	1 lt., 1 2nd lt., 2 sub-lts., 24 troopers.
Lower Condamine	1 lt., 1 2nd lt., 1 sub-lt., 12 troopers.
Clarence and Macleay	1 2nd lt., 1 sub-lt., 12 troopers.



1857

[List, 30 November 1857, reel A2/52, COL,OL.]

Headquarters	Commandant and Inspector E.V. Morisset, Secretary and clerk F.B. Hampton, Lt. J.O. Bligh, 2nd Lt. J.D. Ferguson.
Leichhardt district (including the whole of the upper Dawson)	Lt. John Murray, Lt. R.G. Walker, 2nd Lt. F.J. Powell, 2nd Lt. F.W. Carr, 1 camp sgt., 15 troopers.
Wide Bay and Burnett	2nd Lt. F. Allman, 2nd Lt. C.H. Phibbs, 2nd Lt. E.G. Williams, 2 camp sgts., 19 troopers.
Maranoa and lower Condamine	Lt. F. Nicoll, 2nd Lt. W. Moorhead, Camp Sgt. F. Geoghegan, 24 troopers.

1858

[The disposition as notified by Commandant Morisset to  
Government Resident Wickham on 17 June 1858. Ordered by  
the Legislative Assembly to be printed 13 July 1858, *NSWVP* (1858)  
2: 407. Morisset omitted to include 2nd Lt. Poulden's name  
in this return.]

<i>District</i>	<i>Names of Officers</i>	<i>Division</i>	<i>Number of Troopers</i>
Upper Dawson	Lt. J. Murray, Commanding		—
	2nd Lt. G. Murray	1st	8
	2nd Lt. Phibbs	2nd	6
	2nd Lt. Morehead	3rd	8
Leichhardt	2nd Lt. Carr, at Banana	1st	6
	2nd Lt. Wheeler, at the FitzRoy	1st	6
Port Curtis	2nd Lt. Powell	1st	5
Maranoa and Condamine	2nd Lt. Walker, at Wondai Gumbal	3rd	7
Balonne	2nd Lt. Allman	3rd	4
Clarence and Macleay	2nd Lt. Dempster	4th	10
Burnett and Wide Bay	Lt. Bligh	2nd	—
	2nd Lt. Swete	1st	10
Moreton Bay	2nd Lt. Williams	5th	7
			77

1859

[Morisset/govt. resident, 15 September 1859, reel A2/42, COL,OL.]

*1st Division*

Commanding:	Lt. J. Murray
Port Curtis:	2nd Lt. Powell, 1 sgt., 8 troopers.

Upper FitzRoy: 2nd Lt. Williams, 8 troopers.

Lower Dawson: 2nd Lt. Carr, 1 sgt., 8 troopers.

Upper Dawson: 2nd Lt. G. Murray, 2nd Lt. Swete, 1 sgt.,  
12 troopers.

Total strength: 1 lt., 5 2nd lts., 4 sgts., 43 troopers.

[One 2nd Lt., 1 sgt., and 2 troopers had been withdrawn to the division's disadvantage, appearing on the strength of the 4th division.]

*2nd Division*

Headquarters: Coopers Plains, Wide Bay

Commanding: Lt. J. Bligh

2nd Lt. Phibbs, 1 sgt., 6 troopers stationed lower Mary River.

*3rd Division*

Headquarters: Bungil Creek, Maranoa

Commanding: Lt. R.G. Walker with 1 sgt., 10 troopers at  
Bungil Creek.

2nd Lt. Moorhead and 7 troopers at lower Condamine.

2nd Lt. Baker, 1 sgt. and 7 troopers at lower Balonne.

Total strength: 1 lt., 2 2nd lts., 2 sgts., 24 troopers.

*4th Division*

Headquarters: Clarence River. [On 7 May 1859 Insp. General of Police McLerie was asking how much longer any portion of this force would be required in the Macleay district as the increasing white population and the amount of ordinary police protection in that part of the New South Wales colony appeared to render it then almost unnecessary.]

Lt. Dempster, 2nd Lt. Poulden. Number of native policemen unknown.

*5th Division*

Headquarters: Sandgate.

2nd Lt. Wheeler, 1 sgt., 8 troopers.

# Appendix C

## Remarks on the Habits and Tempers of the Recruits, 1852

[Contained in a report signed by Sergeant Major Dolan. Although the report does not disclose when and where it was written, by reason of the number and names of recruits and other police referred to, undoubtedly it was written at Callandoon to Commandant Frederick Walker in 1852. Although not so placed in the original report, the names of the recruits here are set forth in alphabetical order. NMP, B/J1.]

<i>Name</i>	<i>General Remarks</i>
Aaron	Is a very manly lad and very obedient.
Alfred	The quietest of all the recruits. Very clean.
Alick	Respectful. Good tempered and orderly.
Andrew	Will be a first rate policeman.
Anthony	Is a good boy and will be a good trooper.
Barnaby	A bit of a wag. Rather flash. No harm.
Barney	Little good at present. He is very quiet.
Bendigo	Will want looking after. Very slovenly.
Billy Coxin	Will make a good trooper. At present dull.
Billy Easy	Rather slack — otherwise good.
Callaghan	After a while will do very well.
Charly	A good lad. Rather dull at drill.
Charly O'Malley	Much improved. A good temper.
Colin	Very quiet. Orderly. Good tempered.
Conway	One of the best lads white or black I've ever seen.
Dan	Much improved. Cross tempered.
Delaney	Will want a kind word and all's right.
Edwin	A pugilist. Very sharp.
Forrester	Rather slovenly. Will want a sharp eye over him.
Frank	Quite dull at drill, otherwise improved.
Gilbert	Much improved. Very quiet.
Hamlet	A good lad. Very quiet and orderly.
Herbert	The most orderly of all the recruits.
Jacob	Very respectful and orderly. Rather dull.
Jimmy McCann	Much improved. Good tempered.
Johnny Reid	Orderly. Will not stand driving. Wants a kind word.
Luke	A little flash. No harm.
Martin	Clean, orderly. Will make a good trooper.

Mickey Free	The father of the recruits.
Natty	Clean. Wants a kind word.
Oliver	Very quiet. Never goes to the blacks camp.
Orlando	The master of all the little fellows.
Owen	Clean and orderly in barracks. Goes to the camp.
Paul	Will want a sharp eye on him.
Peter	Quite clean but very dull.
Randolf	Very much improved. Good tempered.
Richard	One of the best recruits of all. Very quick.
Robert	Good tempered but very dull at drill.
Roderick	Fit to keep Darlington gaol.
Rolf	A good man, always in barracks.
Rowland	Much improved. Very harmless.
Sambo	I cannot say anything of him at present.
Sandy	A good lad. Will make a good policeman.
Tancred	A good lad. Nothing to say on parade.

Sir,

In submitting to you the above remarks, I beg leave to say in some of them, I may not be correct, but after my closest observations I can come to no other conclusions. I am fully aware that the men will be much improved before they leave for their respective Stations. I have no hesitation in saying if they are kindly and well-treated, they will make good policemen. So far they have been attentive to drill, orderly in Barracks and respectful to those placed over them with one exception which I punished on the spot. During the period of your absence, I have carried out your instructions and above all refrained from harshness, severity and bad temper to the recruits. At the same time I will admit that I had to be very strict with some. Were you at home I would have been much rougher with them. However, quietness is the best course as you remarked in your instructions to me, and I am now glad I so acted. I am determined, with your permission, never to allow any below my own rank in any matter whatever, to use harshness, severity or bad temper to the men.

The Men are well drilled on foot — better than I expected as you will see. I had 22 men who never crossed a Horse's back. They can now sit their horses in a good trot and are doing very well. I mustered 10 Saddles and Bridles, 12 Carbines and Swords, so that all have a knowledge of what is to be expected from them. There is a great alteration in all. They are very much cleaner and smarter and some cast off their drowsy habits.

I further beg leave to say that Sergeant Lawless has been very attentive to his duty and is doing better than I ever expected he would. He is an early riser and looks after the men well through the day. Logan has been the most useful of the Native Force. Harold and Conway have been attentive to the riding of the young horses. Harry and Billy Reid have not been idle. Callandoon Jemmy is doing well but would be the better if removed. Andrew has been useful in keeping the Gins away in the night.

I had to punish Barry and Dan with two hours saddle pack drill for fighting. They have been the only defaulters in your absence. I have no complaint to make of any of the men. They have given me much satisfaction, and any little faults they may have committed in your

absence I will not bring under your notice on account of the general good conduct of all.

**JAMES DOLAN** Sgt. Major.

# Appendix D

## Officers of the Native Police Force, 1848-59

Walker, Frederick	Commandant	1848-54
Marshall, Richard Purvis	Lt.	1850-54
	Commandant	1855
Fulford, George	Lt.	1850-55
Murray, John*	Lt.	1852-
Blandford	Sub-Lt.	1852-53
Morisset, Edric Norfolk Vaux*	Lt.	1853-56
	Commandant	1857-
Irving, Samuel James Crummer	Senior Sub-Lt., Lieut.	1853-55
	2nd Lt.	1856-57
Bligh, John O'Connell*	Sub-Lt., 2nd Lt., Lt.	1853-
Walker, Robert G.*	Sub-Lt., Senior Sub-Lt., Lt.	1853-
Nicoll, Francis	Sub-Lt., Senior Sub-Lt., Lt.	1853-58
Keen, Frederick	Sub-Lt.	1853-55
Fortescue, William Hamilton	Sub-Lt.	1854-55
Ferguson, John D.L.	Sub-Lt., 2nd Lt.	1854-58
Dempster, Richard*	Sub-Lt., 2nd Lt., Lt.	1856-
(previously a sgt. from 1852)		
Walker, Harry	Sub-Lt.	1856
Smith, William	Sub-Lt.	1856-57
Ross, Thomas	Sub-Lt., 2nd Lt.	1856-58
Allman, Francis	2nd Lt.	1856-58
Powell, Frederick Taylor*	2nd Lt.	1856-
Harris, James Turner	2nd Lt.	1857
Carr, Frederick William*	2nd Lt.	1857-
Williams, Evan G.*	2nd Lt.	1857-
Phibbs, Charles H.*	2nd Lt.	1857-
Moorhead, William*	2nd Lt.	1857-
Murray, George P.M.*	2nd Lt.	1857-
Wheeler, Frederick*	2nd Lt.	1857-
Poulden, Richard Bedford*	2nd Lt.	1858-



*Appendix D*

---

Swete, William R.L.*	2nd Lt.	1858-
Baker, John Tanner*	2nd Lt.	1858-
Hampton, Frederic Blagg	Secretary	1857-59
Dodwell, Arthur*	Secretary	1859-

\*Officers still serving on the establishment of the colony of Queensland.

# Appendix E

## European Non-commissioned Officers, 1848-59

Whitmill, Thomas	Sgt. Major	1850-51
Dolan, James	Sgt., Sgt. Major, Acting Adjutant	1851-55
Skelton, James	Sgt.	1851-53
Lawless, Patrick	Sgt.	1852
Dempster, Richard	Sgt. (promoted to 2nd Lt. 1856)	1852-56
Kerr, Richard S.J.	Sgt.	1852
McGrath, Matthew	Sgt.	1852-53
Pincott, Benjamin	Sgt.	1852
Small, Francis	Sgt.	1852-53
Woods, Bernard	Sgt.	1852
Graham, Alexander	Sgt.	1852-55
Humphrey	Sgt.	1852-55
Walker, A.	Sgt.	1854-55
Fitzgerald, David	Sgt.	1854
Geoghegan, F.*	Camp Sgt.	1857-
Allan*	Camp Sgt.	1857-
McCarthy, Justin	Camp Sgt.	1858
Hitches*	Camp Sgt.	1858-
Spooner, Wm.*	Camp Sgt.	1858-
Kennelly*	Camp Sgt.	1858-
4 Sgts. unidentified*		1858-

\*Still serving on the establishment of the colony of Queensland.

# Appendix F

## Aborigines Identified in This Volume Who Served in the Native Police Force

Those serving before 1852 were recruited in the southern districts of New South Wales. Those recruited in 1852 were from the Balonne, Condamine, and Macintyre areas. Later recruits came from any of those northern districts where they could be obtained.

### SERGEANTS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Boney	1852-57	Callandoon, Wondai Gumbal. Discharged after absence with tribesmen.
Bungaree	1852-54	Wondai Gumbal, Port Curtis. Educated at Sydney College. Attacked when marking tree line to Gladstone. Died at Traylan 21 July 1854.
Callandoon	1851-57	Callandoon, Frasers Is., Rannes. Accused, apparently wrongly, of murdering trooper Binghi.
Edgar	1849-52	A member of Walker's original force.
Logan	1849-55	A member of Walker's original force. In 1850 was known to Walker for six years. Assisted in shooting Nobody. In 1852 Dolan reported Logan was the most useful of the Native Police.
Sam	1851-54	Wondai Gumbal, Wide Bay.
Toby	1854-60	Dawson Valley, Port Curtis, FitzRoy River. An unfavourable report against him in 1854. Reported firing at Aborigines at Mt. Larcom in 1856. It appears he was one of the murderers of Fanny Briggs at Rockhampton in 1860. He may also have witnessed the murders at Hornet Bank.

*Aborigines Who Served in the Native Police Force*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Willy	1849-55	Callandoon, Wide Bay, FitzRoy River. A member of Walker's original force. W.H. Walsh of Degilbo wrote of stories heard of Willy, his gins and his rum. Accompanied Charles Archer's party in 1855 to occupy Gracemere station at the FitzRoy River.

**CORPORALS**

Billy or Billy Easy	1851-57	Callandoon, Burnett, Dawson, Wondai Gumbal. Discharged after absence with tribesmen.
Callandoon Jemmy	1852-57	Callandoon, Rannes, Port Curtis. In 1852 Dolan thought he would be better if removed from Callandoon. Discharged at Rannes on wishing to return to his own country.
Cobby	1849-51	Apparently a member of Walker's original force.
Coreen Jimmy	1851-57	In 1855 accompanied Charles Archer's party to occupy Gracemere station at the FitzRoy River. Discharged at Wondai Gumbal after absence with tribesmen. When an ex-policeman, accompanied Frederick Walker's expedition from Rockhampton to the Albert River in search of missing explorers Burke and Wills.
Donald	1851-55	Wondai Gumbal, Wide Bay. Shot Oromondi in 1852. Squatter McLaren regarded him as efficient, cautious, and with nerve if required. Bligh reported his mutinous conduct in 1855. Died at Yabba 23 March 1855.
Edward	1852-55	Wondai Gumbal, Traylan. Obeyed Walker's instructions to the letter.
Geewar or Geegan	1849-57	A member of Walker's original force. Wondai Gumbal, Walla. In 1857 Kitty was allowed to remain as his wife.
Hammond	1854	Traylan.

*Appendix F*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Harry	1849-52	A member of Walker's original force.
Jack	1849-50	A member of Walker's original force. Died at Crowder's station Macintyre River early in 1850.
Jingle	1853-57	Dawson Valley, Wondai Gumbal. Discharged after absence with tribesmen in 1857. When an ex-policeman, was a member of Walker's expedition from Rockhampton to the Albert River in search of missing explorers Burke and Wills.
Larry	1851-57	Wide Bay, Burnett, Wondai Gumbal. Described by W.H. Walsh of Degilbo as an excellent trooper. Speared an Aborigine in 1852. Halloran reported his misconduct. Discharged in 1857 after his absence with tribesmen.
Robin Hood	1854-57	Dawson Valley, Wondai Gumbal. Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Simon	1849-57	Wondai Gumbal, Rannes. A member of Walker's original force. In 1854 disagreed with troopers at Rannes. Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Tahiti	1850-57	Callandoon, Wide Bay, Wondai Gumbal. Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired. Killed by Lt. Carr's detachment in 1858.
Tommy Hindmarsh	1849-55	Callandoon, Wondai Gumbal, Burnett, FitzRoy River. A member of Walker's original force and previously with 3rd regiment, Mounted Police. In 1850 assisted in the shooting of Mickie. In 1855 accompanied Charles Archer's party to occupy Gracemere station at the FitzRoy River.
Walter	1854-56	Dawson Valley, Wondai Gumbal.

**TROOPERS**

Aamonda	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
---------	------	---

*Aborigines Who Served in the Native Police Force*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Aaron	1852-56	In 1852 Dolan reported him as a very manly lad and very obedient. Deserted at Yabba in 1856.
Aladdin	1849-50	A member of Walker's original force.
Alfred	1852	Callandoon.
Alerigo	1854-57	One of Walker's rough riders. Posted to Clarence River detachment.
Alick	1852-55	Dawson.
Allman	1858-59	Dawson.
Andrew	1852	Callandoon.
Anthony	1852-56	In 1852 Dolan reported him a good boy who would be a good trooper. Deserted at Yabba 17 March 1856.
Barinma	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Barnaby	1852	Callandoon.
Barney	1852-57	Posted to Clarence River detachment.
Barrabie	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Barry	1852-54	In 1852 at Callandoon punished by Dolan for fighting. In 1854 at Rannes older troopers made him do most of the fatigues.
Bendigo	1852	Callandoon.
Billy	1858	Dawson.
Billy Coxin	1852	Callandoon.
Billy Le Bot	1855	Deserted at Wide Bay.
Billy Reid	1852	Assisted in the training of recruits.
Bindago	1855	Died from fever.
Binghi	1855-56	Presumed murdered by Aborigines after deserting at Rannes.
Blucher	1854-56	Dawson.
Boonya Jimmy	1856	Port Curtis.
Booraby	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Boorboola	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Boralga	1850-57	Discharged by Murray at Rannes and again by Nicoll for breaking into the Native Police Force store at Wondai Gumbal.
Brennan	1854	Dawson.
Brummy	1854	Dawson. Deserted 1855.
Bungania	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.



*Appendix F*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Bunya Jimmy	1852-57	Wondai Gumbal, Yabba.
Bunya Sammy	1854-55	Orderly to Walker at Brisbane enquiry in 1854.
Calbungera	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Callaghan	1852-56	In 1852 Dolan reported that after a while he would do very well. Deserted at Yabba 17 March 1856.
Canabie Billy	1852-57	Left force at Rannes in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Capita Simon	1852-57	Left force at Rannes in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Captain Cook	1855	Died at Hornet Bank 22 March 1855.
Cato	1856	Dawson.
Charlie	1852-58	Wondai Gumbal.
Charley O'Malley	1852	Callandoon.
Colin	1852-58	Dawson.
Combo	1850-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Combo James	1855	Died after being speared in the lungs at Rannes 1855.
Considine	1854-57	Rannes.
Conway	1852-55	In 1852 Dolan reported that Conway was one of the best lads, white or black, he'd ever seen.
Cooliman	1853	Deserted.
Coondally	1854	Traylan. There given twelve lashes for absence from barrack 8 — 14 July [Traylan duty list, NMP, B/13, QSA].
Coreen Billy	1852-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Coreen Neddy	1852-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Cum Bilbilla	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Cundaroo	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Dan	1852	Callandoon.

*Aborigines Who Served in the Native Police Force*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
David	1855	Died.
Delaney	1852-55	Wondai Gumbal, Rannes.
Deprowaa	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Dick	1851-57	Wondai Gumbal. Orderly to Walker at Brisbane enquiry in 1854. In 1855 Bligh complained of his mutinous conduct. Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Doondallie	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Doondonie	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Dooranga	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Duncan	1855	Deserted.
Dundalli	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Dundinya	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Dyebeary	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Edgar	1849-50	A member of Walker's original force. Shot Talbot, an Aborigine against whom a warrant had been issued.
Edwin	1852-57	In 1852 Dolan reported Edwin as a pugilist and very sharp. In 1857 reported killed by Aborigines after deserting.
Forrester	1852-53	Yabba.
Frank	1852-57	Rannes, Gladstone. Deserted at Gladstone in 1857.
Gebonpelra	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Georgy	1851-57	Left force at Rannes and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Gilbert	1852-56	In 1852 Dolan reported Gilbert as much improved and very quiet. Deserted at Yabba 17 March 1856.
Goondally	1856	Dawson.
Goorandirie	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Grafton	1858	
Guabagalie	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Gulbangir	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Gundama	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Hairy	1851	Wondai Gumbal.
Hamlet	1852	Callandoon.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Hannibal	1854-55	Dawson.
Harold	1851-55	Discharged.
Harry	1850-55	Dawson.
Henry	1855-58	Dawson.
Herbert	1852-54	Dawson.
Hugh	1854	Traylan.
Hurly	1854	Port Curtis.
Jack	1858	Dawson. When an ex-policeman, he accompanied Frederick Walker's expedition from Rockhampton to the Albert River in search of missing explorers Burke and Wills.
Jacky Styles	1854-57	Dawson, FitzRoy River.
Jacob	1852-53	Wondai Gumbal.
Jerome	1854	Dawson.
Jerry	1852-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Jim Crow	1852-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Jimmy or Cargara Jimmy	1854-58	Traylan. It would appear that when an ex-policeman he accompanied Frederick Walker's expedition from Rockhampton in search of missing explorers Burke and Wills.
Jimmy Eaton	1855	Wondai Gumbal. Deserted April 1855.
Jimmy McCann	1852-54	Dawson, Rannes. In 1852 Dolan reported him as much improved and good tempered. In 1853 a newspaper letter claimed he had wished to take indecent liberties with a German woman. Deserted at Rannes 28 January 1854.
John	1854-58	Rannes, Moreton Bay. Killed on patrol 1858.
John Reid	1852-57	Port Curtis. Attacked while marking tree line to Gladstone.
Johnny Brisbane	1855	Deserted.
Luke	1852-54	Wondai Gumbal.
Mark	1858	Dawson.
Martin	1852	Callandoon.
Mickey or Mickey Free	1852-57	Left Force in 1857 and Wickham considered his contract of service had expired.

*Aborigines Who Served in the Native Police Force*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Mister Jones	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Monkey	1855	
Mulberry	1854	Wondai Gumbal.
Munjevenie	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Naanyie	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Natty	1852	Callandoon.
Neddy	1851-57	Wondai Gumbal. Discharged in 1857 after absence with tribesmen.
Nelson	1858	Dawson.
Norman	1854	Wondai Gumbal.
Numa	1854	Wondai Gumbal.
Oliver	1852-54	Traylan.
Oonally	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Orlando, Charlie	1852-57	Wondai Gumbal, Dawson, Rannes.
Owen	1852-55	Wondai Gumbal.
Paaparie	1855	Discharges shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Paddy	1851-57	Wide Bay, Burnett, Port Curtis. Described by W.H. Walsh of Degilbo as an excellent tooper. In 1854 described by Dolan as a pointer. In 1855 accompanied Charles Archer's party to occupy Gracemere station at the FitzRoy River.
Patipa or Palapa	1854-55	Died 27 February 1855.
Paul	1852-55	Traylan, Wondai Gumbal. Dolan in 1852 thought Paul would want a sharp eye on him. Deserted April 1855.
Pelham	1854-55	Wondai Gumbal.
Percy	1855	Wondai Gumbal.
Peter	1852-54	Wondai Gumbal.
Philip	1855	Wondai Gumbal.
Piper	1854	Traylan.
Priam	1852	Shot by trooper Rinaldo, after deserting.
Randolf	1852-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Richard	1852-54	Port Curtis. Attacked while marking tree line to Gladstone.

*Appendix F*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Rinaldo or Rint	1851-55	Wondai Gumbal, Traylan. Shot Priam.
Robert	1852-56	Wondai Gumbal.
Roderick	1852	Callandoon.
Rodney	1851-55	Wondai Gumbal. When an ex-policeman appears to have accompanied Frederick Walker's expedition from Rockhampton to the Albert River in search of Burke and Wills.
Rolf	1852-57	Posted to Clarence River detachment.
Romulus	1854-55	Wondai Gumbal.
Rowland	1852	Callandoon.
Sambo	1852-55	Traylan, Wondai Gumbal. Dolan in 1852 could not say anything of him. Deserted.
Sandy	1852-56	Yabba, where he deserted on 18 March 1856.
Scotchy	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Steby	1857	Deserted at Tiaro.
Steeny	1854	Wondai Gumbal.
Tancred	1852-56	Deserted at Yabba 17 March 1856.
Teryma	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Thomas Hippi	1852-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Timothy	1854	Died 27 June 1854.
Tom Thumb	1852	Wondai Gumbal.
Tommy	1855	Wondai Gumbal.
Waaroopin	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Wallaby	1851-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Warbracan	1851-57	Left force in 1857 and Wickham considered his period of service had expired.
Waverley	1858-59	Dawson.
Wilfred Owen	1854	Wondai Gumbal.
William Brisbane	1854	Dawson.
Wondominie	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.

*Aborigines Who Served in the Native Police Force*

---

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Place of Service and Other Remarks</i>
Woolina	1855	Discharged shortly after recruitment at Wide Bay.
Wytyatu	1849-50	A member of Walker's original force.
Yoorboola	1857	Recruited at Maryborough.
Yorky	1849-50	A member of Walker's original force. Assisted in shooting Nobody in 1850 and Mickey.



# Notes to Text

## Introduction

1. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 28 August 1855, Wiseman's Letter Book, pp. 35–55, OL.
2. His evidence before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:871, OL.
3. *QVP* (1861):428, para. 23, OL.
4. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:860, para. 102, OL.
5. Royal Instructions to Phillip, 25 April 1787, *HRA*, 1, i, p. 13.
6. Quoted in the report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) with the minutes of evidence. Ordered to be printed 26 June 1837. House of Commons papers, Parliamentary Library, Brisbane. p. 25.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 425, 538.
8. *NSWGG*, vol. 1, 22 May 1839, p. 606, OL.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 606–7.
10. *R v. Jack Congo Murrell* (1836), 1 Legge (N.S.W.) 72. See also Barry Bridges, "The Extension of English Law to the Aborigines for Offences Committed Inter Se, 1829–1842", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* (Dec. 1973):264; and C. D. Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society: Aboriginal Policy and practice*, vol. 1 (Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1970), pp. 133–34.
11. Gipps/Glenelg, Despatch 200, 17 July 1839, *HRA*, I, xix, pp. 700–704.
12. Convicted before Justice Burton at Sydney 15 May 1841. Return of capital offences ordered to be printed 14 June 1860. *NSWVP* (1859–60): 115, OL.
13. Transmitted by Gipps/Normanby, 14 October 1839, Despatch 137. Included in papers ordered to be printed 7 June 1849. *NSWVP* (1849):989, OL.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 993.
15. Gipps/Russell, Despatch 89, 7 April 1841, *HRA*, I, xxi, p. 312.
16. 6 & 7 Vic. cap. 22.
17. Referred to by Gipps/Russell, Despatch 89, 7 April 1841, *HRA*, I, xxi, pp. 313–14. See also Rowley, *Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, vol. 1, pp. 35–37.

18. Eipper to the Select Committee on the condition of Aborigines. *NSWVP* (1846) 2:24–26, OL.
19. Grey/FitzRoy, Despatch 176, *HRA*, I, xxv, pp. 632–33.
20. 14 November. 40 Vic. No. 10.
21. Grey/FitzRoy, 11 February 1848, Despatch 24, *HRA*, 1, xxvi, pp. 223–28.
22. FitzRoy/Grey, 11 October 1848, Despatch 221, *HRA*, 1, xxvi, pp. 632–36.
23. G. W. Rusden, *History of Australia*, vol. 3 (Chapman and Hall, London, 1883), p. 235.
24. But see Rowley, *Destruction of Aboriginal Society*.
25. FitzRoy/Grey, 12 August 1848, Despatch 180, *HRA*, 1, xxvi, p. 559.
26. Report on the North Queensland Aborigines and the Native Police. *QVP* (1897) 2:36–37, OL.

### Chapter 1: Beyond the Limits of Location

1. Transportation to the colony, subject to a short lived renewal, ceased from 1 August 1840. The order in council discontinuing transportation was published in *NSWGG*, 28 October 1840.
2. On 14 October 1829.
3. Bourke/Glenelg, 10 October 1835, Despatch 99, *HRA*, 1, xviii, p. 156.
4. Gipps/Glenelg, 6 April 1839, Despatch 65, *HRA*, I, xx, pp. 91–92.
5. Gipps/Glenelg, 20 February 1839, *HRA*, 1, xx, p. 6.
6. The Mounted Police Force became prominent within the boundaries of location mainly in the capturing of bushrangers and runaway convicts. Its members were recruited from the military regiments in the colony. The Hon. E. Deas Thomson M.C. before the 1844 Select Committee on Crown Lands Grievances said the Mutiny Act applied to them, having reference to all soldiers. *NSWVP* (1844):223, OL.
7. Rolleston/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 30 November 1848, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
8. Report and minutes of evidence, *NSWVP* (1844):121–358, OL.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 171, paras. 24–25.
10. Col. Sec./Commissioners of Crown Lands, 20 June 1846, *HRA*, I, xxv, pp. 121–23.
11. Russell's second name Stuart was bestowed on the river. The Boyne River flowing into the sea near Port Curtis had been discovered by Oxley in 1823. Russell's Boyne is a tributary of the Burnett River named after Assistant Government Surveyor Burnett who traced the river downstream in 1847.
12. Simpson/Col. Sec., 26 July 1844, reel A2/14, COL, OL.
13. Simpson's annual report on Aborigines of Moreton Bay district, 1845, *HRA*, 1, xxv, pp. 2–3.
14. Rolleston/Col. Sec., 7 July 1846, reel A2/15, COL, OL.
15. *QVP* (1861):425, OL.
16. Evidence by Capt. John Coley before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee, *ibid.*, para. 18.
17. Evidence by Jacob Lowe and John Ker Wilson, *ibid.*, pp. 412, 477.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 477–78.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 413–15.
20. See note 21. Aborigines were attached to the Border Police of Commissioners Simpson (Moreton Bay) and Rolleston (Darling Downs).
21. Evidence by Hon. E. Deas Thomson before the 1844 Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances, *NSWVP* (1844):223, OL.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 130, para 10.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 247–48.
24. FitzRoy/Grey, 12 August 1848, Despatch 180, *HRA*, 1, xxvi, p. 559.
25. *NSWGG* (1848):1033, OL.
26. Copies of letters from the Commandant of Native Police, Middle District, to the colonial secretary dated 17 and 31 December 1849 respectively were ordered to be printed 6 June 1850. *NSWVP* (1850) 1:587–89.
27. Rolleston/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 30 November 1848, reel A2/18, COL, OL.

## Chapter 2: First Use of the New Corps

1. Estimated from his age at death as recorded in the death register at the registrar general's office, Brisbane. But see "Walker, Frederick", in *Australian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 9 (The Grolier Society of Australia, Sydney), pp. 146–47.
2. *NSWGG* (1847) 2:15. Appointment at Wagga Wagga, *ibid.*, p. 481.
3. Mother and sister/Walker, February 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
4. Evidence of W. B. Tooth before the 1858 Select Committee. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:880, para. 13, OL.
5. See note 4; also evidence of W. Forster, *ibid.*, p. 864, para. 10.
6. Evidence before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: by R. P. Marshall, p. 1194, para. 144; and by W. Forster, p. 1208, para. 20, OL. Author's note: Morris may have been responsible for the first use of the Native Police on the Macintyre.
7. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2: by A. Hodgson, p. 866; para. 22; W. Archer, p. 869, para. 22; J. B. Reid, p. 878, para. 59; A. Brown, p. 887, para. 52; E. B. Uhr, p. 905, para. 14; D. Connor, p. 895, paras. 73–76; W. B. Tooth, p. 882, para. 51–52.
8. "Personal Reminiscences by John Watts," a former member of the Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1901. Unpublished, OL.
9. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850): 588, OL.
10. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:845–909. By Arthur Hodgson, p. 865, para. 10; and by W. B. Tooth, p. 880, para. 13.
11. Evidence of W. H. Gaden before the 1858 Select Committee, *ibid.*, p. 893, para. 85.
12. Macdonald/Walker, 4 August 1840, NMP, B/4, QSA.
13. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850):588, OL.
14. *Ibid.*, paras. 3–4.
15. See chapter 1, note 27; also Rolleston/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 18 January 1849, and notation, reel A2/18, COL, OL.

16. Rolleston/Col. Sec., 20 January 1849, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
17. Those signing the petition included Richard Birrell (Tieryboo), John Dangar (Wallann Creek), J. G. Ewer (Wambo Forest), Joshua Peter Bell (Jimbour), William Edwards (Charleys Creek), Macdonald, manager for Colin MacKenzie (Warra), M. and G. Goggs (Chinchilla), N. Giggs (Onejongera), J. A. Blyth (Tieryboo), and Thos. Roskelly (Womba); reel A2/20, COL, OL.
18. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850) 1:588, OL.
19. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:880, para. 12, OL.
20. "Personal Reminiscences by John Watts".
21. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850) 1:588, OL.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Morris/Walker, 18 October 1849, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
24. Col. Sec./Walker, 8 August, 1849, referred to in Walker's reply, see note 25.
25. Walker/Col. Sec., undated but numbered 9/49, NMP, B/4, QSA.
26. Macdonald/Walker, 4 August 1849, NMP, *ibid.*
27. Morris/Walker, 18 October 1849, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
28. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850) 1:589, OL.
29. Callandoon is close to the Macintyre River near the present town of Goondiwindi. Even towards the end of 1850 the southwestern portion of the Darling Downs had no direct postal service to its shipping port at Moreton Bay. Callandoon was in the police district of Drayton some one hundred and fifty miles distant. Mail sent to the court of petty sessions at Drayton travelled via Tamworth, some five hundred miles. Walker requested that mail be addressed to him at Warialda. Post offices were established at Warialda, Warwick, Callandoon, and Drayton before there was postal communication between those places.
30. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850) 1:589, OL.
31. *NSWGG* (1848): 1,471.
32. Col. Sec./Walker, 22 January 1849; Walker Col. Sec., NMP, B/4, QSA.
33. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1849, *NSWVP* (1850) 1:588, para. 11, OL.
34. *NSWGG* (1850):27. Richard Purvis Marshall was a squatter who, after residing in the Gwydir district, had resided on the Macintyre in the Darling Downs district where he found the blacks "very troublesome – so much so that it was almost impossible to reside there; they were killing people and driving stock away in all directions". *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1189, paras. 2, 14. Marshall was the eldest son of Lt. Sampson Marshall, R.N. He was born in Devonshire, England in 1818, and followed his parents and family to Australia in 1837. His father lived at Rosebrook, Maitland, holding depasturing licenses in the Liverpool Plains. Marshall and his brother Sampson Yeaval Marshall went north in their father's interest, centre of which was Boolooroo near Moree. In 1840–41, the brothers, as partners, squatted on Goondiwindi station just north of the Macintyre River. Sampson Marshall remained on Goondiwindi station after Richard Purvis joined the Native Police, though they continued as partners. (Information kindly supplied by Mr. John Marshall of Armidale.) George Fulford's run, Rayleigh was gazetted in 1849. It was situated on the Macintyre River in the

- Gwydir district.
35. *NSWGG* (1850):27. Whitmill, who had been a sergeant of the Mounted Police Force of the colony, held good references from John Kinchela, son of Attorney General Kinchela, and Chaplain Charles Woodward of Port Macquarie. He travelled overland by horse from Sydney to Callandoon in January 1850. As sergeant major at Callandoon, he favourably impressed Augustus Morris. Testimonial November 1844, Whitmill/Walker, 2 January 1851, NMP, B/J1; also Morris/Walker, 11 May 1850, *ibid.*, QSA.
  36. Stockholders Burnett and Wide Bay districts/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 7 June 1849, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
  37. Bidwill/Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 16 October 1849, 49/60, 49/4565, reel A2/18, frame 308, COL, OL.
  38. Macpherson/Durbin, 20 May 1849, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
  39. Durbin/Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 2 July 1849, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
  40. Marshall/Surat Bench, 6 June 1850, reel A2/22, COL, OL.
  41. Marshall's evidence before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1191, para. 53, OL.
  42. Walker/Col. Sec., 3 March 1850, reel A2/52, COL, OL.
  43. Walker/Col. Sec., 4 April 1850, reel A2/52, COL, OL.
  44. *Ibid.*
  45. Walker/Col. Sec., 15 June 1850, reel A2/52, COL, OL.
  46. *Ibid.*
  47. *Ibid.*
  48. Depositions by Young taken before F. Walker J.P. and Campbell before A. Morris J.P. at Callandoon, 9 November 1850, NMP, B/4 and B/J1 respectively, QSA.
  49. To Marshall from; J. Ferrett, 12 February 1850; T. Crampton, undated; J. Bennett, 28 December 1849; J. A. Blyth, 16 February 1850. NMP, B/4, QSA.
  50. The Aborigines travelled to the Bunya pine scrubs to feast on the nuts during the harvest which occurred every two years.
  51. Blyth/Marshall, 16 February 1850, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  52. Deposition by J. Bennett before R. Mitchell, 14 March 1850, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  53. Walker/Col. Sec., 9 November 1850, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
  54. To Marshall from: J. Ferrett, 14 June 1850; J. G. Ewer, 2 July 1850; J. Ferrett, 25 July 1850. NMP, B/4, QSA.
  55. Deposition by G. Crawford before C. Greenway, A. Morris, and R. Marshall, 13 June 1850, at Callandoon. NMP, B/4, QSA.
  56. Depositions before R. Marshall by K. Urquhart at Retreat, 7 November 1850, and by T. Crampton at Merriwa, 8 August 1850. A further deposition was taken from J. S. Robertson, Goodar Weir Creek, by Geo. Gally at Callandoon on 23 August 1850.
  57. NMP, B/4, QSA. *Ibid.*
  58. *Ibid.*
  59. Surat Bench/Marshall, 24 May 1850, reel A2/22, COL, OL. Although "Surat on the Balonne River" was not appointed a place for holding courts of petty sessions until 17 June 1850, the letter was signed for the Surat Bench by Commissioner of Crown Lands Roderick Mitchell and W. R. Ogilvie. The writers stated that they were informed nearly a year previously that the commandant had

been instructed to proceed as soon as possible to that district. Mitchell's six working bullocks belonging to the Government had been killed, he had been attacked by Aborigines, and his encampment was repeatedly menaced by them. On 5 March 1851 Walker when reporting on a complaint by the Surat bench as to the non-assistance from Native Police referred to "the dictatorial style" which characterized the letter to Marshall in 1850. See chapter 3, note 32.

60. Marshall/Surat Bench, 6 June 1850, reel A2/22, COL, OL.
61. Stockholders/Fitzroy, presented by Donaldson with Fitzroy's notation apparently, 15 August 1850, reel A2/18, COL, OL.

### Chapter 3: The Corps Moves Out

1. Walker/Col. Sec., 7 November 1850, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
2. A. Morris/Walker, 20 May 1850, NMP, B/4, QSA.
3. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1174, para. 14, OL.
4. Walker/Col. Sec., 9 November 1850, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
5. Col. Sec./Walker, 26 October 1850, *ibid.*
6. Attorney General/Col. Sec., 9 November, 1850, referred to in Elyard/Government Resident Moreton Bay, 22 October 1858, G.Res., QSA.
7. Walker/Col. Sec., 9 November 1850, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
8. Walker/Col. Sec., 7 November 1850, reel A2/37, COL, OL.
9. Col. Sec./Walker, 3 December 1850, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
10. Report of 27 August 1850, *NSWVP* (1850) 2:para 44, OL.
11. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1176, para. 9, OL.
12. Walker/Col. Sec., 7 November 1850, reel A2/18, COL, OL. Walker regularly used the word "section" although Marshall and Fulford respectively were appointed in charge of a division. Nicoll before the 1856 Select Committee stated he thought the smallest detachment should be eight as six men were too few. If two were sick at any time, which was not unlikely, nothing could be done with four men. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1174, OL.
13. Walker/Col. Sec., 7 November 1850, reel A2/18, COL, OL.
14. *NSWVP* (1858):887, para. 52, OL.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 864, para. 10.
16. See note 13.
17. Noting by Fitzroy, dated 8 December 1850, on Walker's letter (see note 13).
18. On 10 January 1851 W. K. Ogilvie for the Surat bench wrote to the colonial secretary notifying this, reel A2/22, COL, OL. Walker replied to a complaint from that bench on 5 March 1851, see note 32. FitzRoy decided that the route taken by the Native Police was liable to be altered at the discretion of the commandant who no doubt had sufficient reason for this. Noting on Walker's letter.
19. Walker's account from publican Horton of Drayton included amounts for brandy, cigars, washing and meals, the largest item £1 11s. 6d. for three glasses of wine each for twenty-one men. NMP, B/4, QSA.
20. Walker/Col. Sec., report 10 March–27 July 1851, reel A2/23, COL, OL.



21. Goode/Walker, 8 March 1851, NMP, B/4, QSA.
22. Sandeman/Walker, 9 February 1851, enclosing copy of petition, NMP, B/5. Strengthened by the attack at the time by an Aborigine on the postman travelling from Goode's to Gayndah, this discussion resulted in a petition for assistance to the chief secretary by Sandeman and other stockholders "as far as Gayndah". Petition, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
23. Evidence before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: by C. L. Hay, p. 1186; W. Forster, p. 1209, OL.
24. Bench Wide Bay/Col. Sec., 17 February 1851, 148, reel A2/22, COL, OL.
25. Frame 846, 51/2577. Attached to Walker/Col. Sec., 18 February 1851, reel A2/23, frame 841, COL, OL.
26. The Aborigines against whom the warrants had been issued were: Neddy, Jacky Jacky, Johnny, Nosy, Boomer, Mr. Bunce, Fireway, Grassoorn, Robby, Jangera, Ben, Bullen, Jimmy, Pepo, Coola Coola, Wananinga, Perika, Charlie, Bungalee, Tom, Old Athlone, Old Diamond, Peter Puckemall, Toby, Trear, Boney, Paddy, Tommy Doughboy, Lawley, Big Diamond, Peter with one Eye, Athlone, Woolga, and Diamond. *Ibid.*
27. See note 25.
28. Walker/Col. Sec., 18 February 1851, 51/2577, reel A2/23, frame 841, COL, OL.
29. Plunkett/Col. Sec., 1 April 1851, 51/3313, *ibid.*
30. Notation at foot of Plunkett's letter, *ibid.*
31. Walker/Col. Sec., 6 July 1851, 51/7537, reel A2/23, frame 830, COL, OL.
32. Walker/Col. Sec., 5 March 1851, reel A2/22, COL, OL.
33. Walker/Col. Sec., 22 October 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
34. Gregory Blaxland, seventh and youngest son of the Blue Mountains explorer, accompanied by his nephew and partner, William Forster, had overlanded from the Clarence River to Wide Bay in 1847–48 and occupied the Tirroan run which was later renamed Gin Gin.
35. See note 38.
36. D. Archer/O'Connell, 4 July 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
37. D. Archer/Marshall, 21 September 1851, NMP, B/5, QSA.
38. Walker/Col. Sec., report 10 March–27 July 1851, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
39. These murders occurred on 20 October 1846 and involved "some score" of Aborigines. Mrs. Shannon and her husband were employed by Gregor. Her husband, who was in the habit of carrying a gun, and their three children escaped. Gregor had been informed of the intention of the Aborigines to kill him and those with him, because they would not give the Aborigines food. One of the leaders, Millbong Jemmy, after committing further depredations was killed by a sawyer.
40. Blaxland was killed by Aborigines on his Tirroan run and buried near where a stone monument has been erected to his memory beside the present Bruce Highway on the northern outskirts of the township of Gin Gin. The Hon. M. C. O'Connell, before the 1861 Queensland Select Committee, stated that as commissioner of crown lands he had followed Aborigines on the occasion of Blaxland's murder. A party of squatters on the Burnett, sworn in as

special constables, accompanied him. They found the Aborigines in a scrub on the banks of the Burnett River. They surprised a camp and burned all the things in it. Owing to the difficulties of the scrub, they did not succeed in getting the parties supposed to be implicated in the murder. *QVP* (1961):492, para. 79, OL.

41. See note 38.
42. O'Connell/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 21 August 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
43. O'Connell/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 24 September 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
44. Noting O'Connell's letter, *ibid.*
45. See note 38.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Scholfield/apparently Marshall, 12 March 1851, NMP, B/4, QSA.
48. Roskelly/Ewer, 4 March 1851, *ibid.*
49. Goggs/Col. Sec., 23 April 1851, reel A2/22, COL, OL.
50. See note 38; Also evidence of F. Nicoll before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1175, para. 40, OL.
51. Walker/Ferrett and Burnett, 2 June 1851, NMP, B/4, QSA.
52. See note 38.
53. *Ibid.*
54. See note 38. In later years it was agreed that the Native Police Force was under-horsed. However, before the 1856 Select Committee, witnesses said the horses suffered more from sore backs than want of shoeing. The native troopers could not shoe horses. Robert Strathdee, a settler in the Burnett district since 1848, said he had seen the whole of the horses belonging to a section or detachment quite knocked up from sore backs and want of shoeing. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1197, para. 26. In 1858, James Blain Reid stated that none of the troopers knew how to saddle a horse and that was the reason they got knocked up so soon. Reid added that Marshall used to take his coat off and saddle all his troopers' horses himself. Consequently his horses were in better condition than the rest. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:877–78, paras. 21, 79. A number of witnesses before the 1858 Select Committee agreed on the carelessness of the troopers in regard to their horses and the keeping of their saddles in order. Some witnesses said the native troopers were hard on their horses, attributing their poor horses to the slovenly way in which they rode and their severity in galloping horses when no "head" was with them. There were witnesses who condemned the saddles as not large enough in the first place and too narrow in the tree, which gave the horses sore backs. H. M. Pearse said it was necessary to have the saddles on account of the heavy weights carried — carbines, cloaks and such things. *Ibid.*, p. 884, para. 54. W. Forster before the 1856 Select Committee claimed that one of the great faults in Walker's management was that he was continually moving the men about . . . from headquarters to other quarters and back again along lines of road. *Ibid.*, p. 1209, para. 40.
55. See note 38.
56. Draft of the address, NMP, B/4, QSA.
57. Two Aboriginal women had travelled from the Murray River with Walker's force to the Macintyre. (Evidence of J. B. Reid before the

1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:879, para. 66.) Walker allowed his Native Police to maintain, out of their allowances for rations, Aboriginal women at the various Native Police barracks.

58. Aboriginal dwelling. Here it was used apparently with reference to a dwelling at a station or one more or less permanently occupied.

#### Chapter 4: The Active Force of 1851

1. Fulford/Whitmill, 30 July 1851, NMP, B/4, QSA. Supplies for the force were forwarded from Sydney on 8 January 1851 to Moreton Bay by the ship *Eagle* and from there by Morris's teams to Callandoon. Among the stores were 24 prs. blue trousers, 48 prs. duck trousers, 48 shirts, 24 prs. boots, 24 forage caps, 4 kegs ball cartridges, 1,000 blank cartridges, 2 buckets, 24 halters, 24 hobbles, 1 watering pot, 1 coil rope, cooking utensils, tools, bed ticking, rice, curry combs, brushes, blacking, straps, and gun buckets.
2. Fulford/Dempster, 3 August 1851, *ibid.*
3. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1851, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. 16, p. 299, OL.
7. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1193, para. 101, OL.
8. Crown Law Officers/Col. Sec., 51/8113, 29 August 1852, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
9. Sworn by Urquhart before Fulford, 22 September 1851 at Wallann Creek, NMP, B/4, QSA.
10. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1851, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
11. See note 10. On Coutts's station one shepherd had been killed and five hundred sheep destroyed. Coutts/Marshall, 8 October 1851, NMP, B/5, QSA.
12. See note 10.
13. Walker/Col. Sec., 24 October 1851, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Noting dated 27 October 1851 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
16. Col. Sec./Walker, 24 October 1851, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
17. Eleven stockholders of Burnett/Col. Sec., 23 August 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
18. Five stockholders of Wide Bay/Col. Sec., 29 August 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
19. Jones/Col. Sec., 2 September 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
20. Noting on Jones's letter, *ibid.*
21. See note 19.
22. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1176, para. 58, OL.
23. Walker/Auditor General, 29 August 1850, NMP, B/4, QSA.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Scott/Col. Sec., 22 September, 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
26. Walker/Col. Sec., 22 October 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
27. Noting dated 22 October 1851 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
28. Walker/Col. Sec., 4 November 1851, reel A2/21, COL, OL.
29. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1851, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Fifty miles from John Ross's station. Coutts/Marshall, 8 October

- 1851, NMP, B/5, QSA. This country is about west of Gayndah, some one hundred miles. Daniel Connor before the 1858 Select Committee said of the Dawson: "The Dawson country is very difficult to travel over; it is cut up with scrubs in every direction; the stations are surrounded by scrubs; the blacks commit a murder, go into the scrub, and will be off some hundreds of miles, scarcely coming out in the open country at all." *NSWVP* (1858) 2:896, para. 128.
32. Walker/Col. Sec., report 1 August–31 December 1851, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
  33. Ibid.
  34. Ibid.
  35. Ibid.
  36. Blacksmith James O'Neil shod 17 horses at six shillings each. His account 27 November 1850, NMP, B/5, QSA.
  37. See note 32. Warrants issued by E. B. Uhr J.P., 25 October 1850, NMP, B/6, QSA.
  38. Deposition 25 October 1850, NMP, B/6, QSA.
  39. Deposition by Sergt. Dolan before Marshall J.P., 29 November 1851 at Toomcul, NMP, B/8, QSA.
  40. Broadbent's deposition sworn at Toomcul on 29 November 1851 marked "prisoner is discharged" by Marshall, *ibid.*
  41. Herbert's deposition before Marshall J.P., 13 November 1851 at Ban Ban, NMP, B/5, QSA.
  42. Deposition of John Broadbent as to this occurrence taken by Marshall, 1 December 1851, *ibid.*
  43. See note 32.
  44. Noting on Walker's report for August–December 1851 (see note 32).
  45. Walker/Col. Sec., 5 January 1852, 52/715, frame 819, reel no. A2/23, COL, OL.
  46. Aborigines Dunrobberee (or Hurryguree) and Periha. Civil and criminal cases tried at Moreton Bay, *NSWVP* (1855):817, OL.
  47. See note 45.
  48. Noting on Walker's report for January 1852 (see note 45). Also Walker/Col. Sec., 5 January 1851, 52/716, reel A2/23. FitzRoy's approval on Walker's letter, COL, OL.
  49. Uhr/Col. Sec., 26 December 1851, 52/751, reel A/23, frame 48, COL, OL.

#### Chapter 5: Disapproval of Walker's Management

1. Uhr/Col. Sec., 26 December 1851, 52/751, reel A/23, frame 48, COL, OL.
2. Hay and Walker/Col. Sec., 1 January 1852, 52/6717, *ibid.*
3. Noting on Uhr's letter (see note 1).
4. Uhr/Col. Sec., 30 December 1851, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Walker/Col. Sec., 22 March 1852, *ibid.*
7. Noting dated 14 April 1852 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
8. *NSWGG* (1852) 1:319; Walker's recommendation 22 January 1852, 52/1297, reel A2/23, frame 841, COL, OL.

9. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: H. H. Brown, p. 1202, paras. 103, 106. *NSWVP* (1858) 2: W. B. Tooth, p. 881, para. 21; H. M. Pearse, p. 885, paras. 87–88; E. B. Uhr, p. 907, para. 51. *QVP* (1861): J. Lowe, p. 417, paras. 134–37, OL.
10. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1202, paras. 103, 107, OL.
11. Walker/Col. Sec., 1 January 1852, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
12. Return of revenue and expenses for the various districts. 1 July 1850–30 September 1851, reel A2/19, COL, OL.
13. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1183, para. 62, OL.
14. See note 16.
15. See note 16.
16. Walker/Col. Sec., 18 May 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
17. NMP, B/J1, QSA.
18. Complaints for issue of warrants before Walker, NMP, B/4, QSA.
19. Copy attached to Sandeman/Marshall, 4 March 1852, NMP, B/5, QSA.
20. Copy also attached, *ibid*.
21. Sandeman/Marshall, 4 March 1852, *ibid*.
22. Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 25 April 1852, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
23. Walker/Col. Sec., 5 May 1852, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
24. Noting dated 17 May 1852 on Walker's letter, *ibid*.
25. Draft of address, NMP, B/4, QSA.
26. Walker/Morris, Albion Wharf, 10 June 1852, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
27. Walker/Col. Sec., 18 May 1852 and noting 20 May 1852 thereon, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
28. Walker/Col. Sec., 23 July 1852, ordered to be printed 20 October 1857, *NSWVP* (1857) 1:484, OL.
29. Fulford/Dempster, 20 April 1852, NMP, B/4, QSA. Dempster had been posted from Callandoon to Wondai Gumbal on 23 March 1852. Walker/Dempster, 23 March 1852, *ibid*.
30. Dempster/Fulford, 20 June 1852, *ibid*.
31. Walker/Col. Sec., 28 March 1857, written after the return of an *Address* of the Legislative Assembly for the tabling of a return of all correspondence between the government and any other parties relative to the suspension of a sergeant and the killing of station blacks by native troopers, *NSWVP* (1857) 1:486, OL.
32. Dempster/Fulford, 20 June 1852, NMP, B/4, QSA.
33. Fulford/Dempster, 13 May 1852, NMP, B/J2, QSA.
34. *Ibid*.
35. Dempster/Fulford, 20 June 1852, NMP, B/4, QSA.
36. Fulford/Dempster, 8 June 1852, *ibid*.
37. Walker/Col. Sec., 10 October 1852, *NSWVP* (1857) 1:484; Walker/Col. Sec., 28 March 1857, *ibid*., p. 485, OL.
38. Return of correspondence – alleged killing of station blacks – ordered to be printed 20 October 1857, *NSWVP* (1857) 1:483–86, OL.
39. Col. Sec./Walker, 5 November 1852, *ibid*., p. 485.
40. Forster/Col. Sec., 26 April 1852, NMP, B/6, QSA.
41. Apparently it was in relation to this allegation that Marshall wrote on 18 August 1852 to F. Oliver O'Neill, M.D. of Gayndah. Reply on 20 August, O'Neill stated that only one case of venereal disease among the troopers had come under his notice since the

- arrival of the force in those districts. NMP, B/6, QSA.
42. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1211, para. 62, OL.
  43. Archer/MacKenzie, 1 April 1852, NMP, B/5, QSA.
  44. MacKenzie/OC. Native Police, 13 May 1853, NMP, B/7, QSA.
  45. Civil and Criminal cases tried at Moreton Bay. Ordered to be printed 9 August 1855, *NSWVP* (1855): 820, no. 97, OL.
  46. Dickinson J./Col. Sec., 14 July 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
  47. Complaint by W. Trevethan before J. C. Mackay J.P. at Dalgangal, 3 March 1852, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  48. Walker/Col. Sec., 1 March 1852, reel A2/24, frame 698, COL, OL.
  49. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:880, para. 9, OL.
  50. *Ibid.*, p. 871, paras. 80–86.
  51. Fifteen Burnett stockholders/Col. Sec., 24 July 1852, reel A2/24, COL, OL.
  52. Walker/Col. Sec., 1 October 1852, reel A2/24, COL, OL.
  53. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 October 1852, reel A2/24, COL, OL.
  54. Noting on letter from Walker, *ibid.*

#### Chapter 6: Continued Aboriginal Attacks in 1852

1. Correspondence relating to Bungaree (see note 6); forty-four of the recruits are named in Appendix C to this volume.
2. Dolan/Walker, not dated but undoubtedly referring to the recruits of 1852, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
3. An expression used by squatters for the training of Aboriginal employees. Used by W. B. Tooth before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:881, para. 13, OL.
4. The Reverend W. Ridley, in his considerations on the means to be adopted for civilizing the Aborigines of Australia (suggested by a three years' mission among that people and information subsequently gathered from different quarters by him) placed before the 1861 Select Committee, wrote: "Bungaree who, after taking prizes in Sydney College speaking good Latin and behaving as a gentleman in elegant society, returned to the bush and then entered the Black Police, once said in a melancholy tone to Lieutenant Fulford (who repeated the remark to me at Surat on the Condamine): 'I wish I had never been taken out of the bush, and educated as I have been for I cannot be a white man – they will never look on me as one of themselves; and I cannot be a blackfellow – I am disgusted with their way of living.'" *QVP* (1861):572, OL. Bungaree, who held the rank of sergeant on his death while serving in the Native Police, was not the only Aborigine who had been educated at that time. Jacob Lowe before the 1861 Select Committee stated he knew of a native in his neighbourhood, Billy Bird, christened by Mr. Threlkeld and married to a white woman by Mr. Glennie at Toowoomba, who had received an education. *Ibid.*, p. 414, para. 67.
5. Hughes/Col. Sec., 20 July 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
6. Walker/Col. Sec., 25 August 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
7. Dolan/Walker, 29 January 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
8. Fulford/Walker, 12 November 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
9. Hughes/Col. Sec., 18 November 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.



10. Noting dated 1 December 1852 on Hughes's letter, *ibid.*
11. Walker/Col. Sec., 25 January 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
12. Noting dated 19 February 1852 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
13. Walker/Col. Sec., 4 September 1852, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
14. Composed from correspondence of that time.
15. Agreement between Grant and Walker, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
16. The site of Traylan barracks was located in 1970 by the author during a conversation with an Eidsvold resident. Down the years, Eidsvold residents had referred to it as the old police camp. Rusted handcuffs and other articles used by police, from time to time had been found there.
17. Mackay/Marshall, 2 March 1852, NMP, B/5, QSA.
18. Referred to in Ferriter's letter, see note 19.
19. Ferriter/O.C. Native Police, 25 March 1852, NMP, B/5, QSA.
20. Ferriter/O.C. Native Police Gayndah, undated, *ibid.*
21. Taylor/Marshall, 27 April 1852, *ibid.*
22. Haly/Marshall, 29 April 1852, *ibid.*
23. Landsborough/Commandant, Native Police, 9 and 20 June 1852, *ibid.*
24. Landsborough/Marshall, 8 July 1852, NMP, B/6, QSA.
25. Landsborough/Marshall, 24 September 1852, NMP, B/5, QSA.
26. Information, *ibid.*
27. Tooth/Commandant, Native Police, Wide Bay, 25 July 1852, NMP, B/6, QSA.
28. Walsh/Marshall, 30 August 1852, *ibid.*
29. Copy of reply by Marshall on Walsh's letter, *ibid.*
30. Walsh/Marshall, 14 September 1852, *ibid.*
31. Walsh/Murray, 3 December 1852, NMP, B/J2, QSA.
32. Complaint showing warrants issued against Peter, Young Diamond, Paddy, Tommy, and Puckemall, NMP, B/6, QSA.
33. Hay/Marshall, 2 November 1852, NMP, B/5, QSA.
34. Sandeman/Murray, 9 December 1852, *ibid.*
35. Murray/Walker, 19 December 1852, *ibid.*
36. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 May 1853, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
37. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1191, paras. 62, 63, OL.
38. Dempster/Fulford, 10 September 1852, NMP, B/4, QSA.
39. *Ibid.* Also Information on oath by Dempster before H. Whitty J.P. at Surat, *ibid.*
40. Fulford/Walker, 21 May 1852, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
41. Dempster/Fulford, 10 September 1852, *ibid.*
42. Fulford/Dempster, 13 September 1852, *ibid.*
43. Fulford/Walker, 14 January 1853, *ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Skelton/Fulford, 15 December 1852, NMP, B/4, QSA.
46. Fulford/Walker, 14 January 1853, *ibid.*
47. Depositions of C. Ezzy, and W. Clay for Loder taken by Fulford, J.P.: from Ezzy at Wyanbah on 26 December 1852 and from Clay at Wachoo on 30 December 1852. NMP, B/4, QSA.
48. Fulford/Walker, 14 January 1853, *ibid.*

## Chapter 7: Official Disapproval of Walker's Letters

1. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 January 1853, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
2. Mereweather/Col. Sec., 14 March 1853, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
3. Fulford/Walker, 20 January 1853, NMP, B/4, QSA.
4. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 May 1853, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
5. Strahan/Walker, 28 September 1849, NMP, B/4, QSA.
6. Gill/Col. Sec., 5 February 1853, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
7. Walker/Col. Sec., 21 March 1853, *ibid.*
8. Marshall/Walker, 17 February 1853, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
9. Composed from correspondence between Col. Sec. and Walker, particularly Walker/Col. Sec., 14 July 1853, reel A2/26, frame 604, COL, OL.
10. See note 9.
11. Col. Sec./Walker, 5 August 1853, reel A2/25, COL, OL.
12. Fitzroy's noting dated 8 August 1853, *ibid.*
13. Walker/Col. Sec., 19 August 1853, reel A2/29, COL, OL.
14. Walker/Col. Sec., 21 March 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
15. Walker/Col. Sec., 21 March 1853, *ibid.*
16. Walker/Col. Sec., 21 March 1853, *ibid.*
17. Col. Sec./Walker, 19 April 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
18. Walker/Col. Sec., 25 June 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL. Yabba, often spelt "Yabber", was selected by Walker as the site for Native Police barracks for the Moreton Bay and Wide Bay districts. The police station so named was on a tributary of the Mary River.
19. Noting dated 12 August 1853 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
20. Walker/Col. Sec., 24 September 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
21. Noting on Walker's letter (see note 18).
22. Walker/Fulford, 30 April 1853, NMP, B/J2, QSA.
23. Fulford/Walker, 26 August 1853, NMP, B/4, QSA.
24. Fitzroy's noting dated 23 January 1854 on Walker/Col. Sec., 30 December 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
25. *NSWGG* (1853) 1:314, OL.
26. Morisset/Col. Sec., 5 April 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
27. McGrath/Walker, 9 May 1853, *ibid.*
28. Noting on McGrath's letter, *ibid.*
29. Walker/Col. Sec., 2 June 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1212, paras. 4, 10, OL.
32. Walker/Col. Sec., 6 June 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
33. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 June 1853, *ibid.*
34. Noting dated 26 July 1853 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
35. Walker/Col. Sec., 28 August 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
36. *NSWGG* (1853) 1:655, OL.
37. *NSWGG* (1853) 2:1333, OL.
38. *NSWGG* (1853) 1:655, OL.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 881.
40. *NSWGG* (1853) 2:1333, OL.
41. Murray/Walker, 14 May 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
42. Murray/Walker, 25 June 1853, NMP, B/7, QSA.
43. Walker/Col. Sec., 14 June 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL. This report of patrols disagrees with Forster's charge before the 1856 Select Committee that one of the great faults of Walker's management

was his continual movement of men along the lines of road. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1209, para. 40, OL.

44. Captain M. C. O'Connell before the 1858 Select Committee thought it was hard on the European officers to compel them to sleep out every night year after year. *NSWVP* (1858) 1:858, para. 50, OL.
45. Simpson/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 31 December 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
46. Trials at Moreton Bay. Ordered to be printed 9 August 1855, *NSWVP* (1855): 820, no. 83, OL.
47. Therry/Col. Sec., 9 July 1853, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
48. Walker/Col. Sec., undated, *ibid.*
49. Therry/Col. Sec., 8 August 1853, *ibid.*
50. FitzRoy's noting dated 12 August 1853 on Therry's letter, *ibid.*

### Chapter 8: Further Indications of Walker's Intemperance

1. McLaren/Walker, 10 June 1853, NMP, B/8, QSA.
2. Goode/Humphrey, 3 December 1853, NMP, B/5, QSA.
3. *NSWGG* (1853) 11:1313, OL. Sub-lieutenants were taking the place of sergeants. Marshall claimed before the 1856 Select Committee he was responsible for this. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1191, para. 62, OL.
4. Walker/Col. Sec., 5 August 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
5. Noting on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
6. Walker/Col. Sec., 26 December 1853 and note thereon, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
7. Col. Sec./Walker, 8 February 1854, 54/31, NMP, B/4, QSA.
8. Walker/Col. Sec., 19 August 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
9. Buchanan/Col. Sec., 29 October 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
10. Noting dated 9 November 1853 on Buchanan's letter, *ibid.*
11. NMP, B/4, QSA.
12. Fulford's return, 1 September 1853, *ibid.*
13. Col. Sec./Walker, 9 August 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
14. Walker/Col. Sec., 28 August 1853, *ibid.*
15. Col. storekeeper/Col. Sec., 24 September 1853, *ibid.*
16. Walker/Col. Sec., report 1 August–31 December 1851, reel A2/23, COL, OL.
17. *NSWGG* (1854): 49–51.
18. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 August 1853, reel A2/26, COL, OL.
19. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 August 1853, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
20. Auditor General/Col. Sec., 3 October 1854, Fitzroy's approval 7 October 1854, *ibid.*
21. Euston/Col. Sec., 2 August 1853, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
22. Walker/Col. Sec., 14 October 1853, replying to Col. Sec. 22 September 1853, 53/7654, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
23. Euston/Col. Sec., 21 December 1853, *ibid.*
24. Noting on Euston's letter, *ibid.*
25. Marshall/Walker, 15 September 1853, NMP; B/J1, QSA.
26. Civil and criminal cases tried at Moreton Bay, *NSWVP* (1856):820, no. 98, OL.
27. Information by Hugh McGowan at Ipswich on 30 September 1853, NMP, B/1, QSA.

28. Report on the state of the Aborigines, Maranoa district 1853, reel A2/28, frame 568, COL, OL.
29. Halloran/Walker, 13 October 1853, NMP, B/6, QSA.
30. Attached to Halloran's letter, *ibid.*
31. Hay/Walker, 11 November 1853, NMP, B/10, QSA.
32. Murray/Walker, 12 December 1853, NMP, B/6, QSA.
33. Sandeman/Murray, 28 December 1853, NMP, B/5, QSA.
34. See note 35. Also Keen/Walker, 27 January 1854, NMP, B/8, QSA.
35. Humphrey's deposition made before Walker at Traylan on 10 December 1853, NMP, B/5, QSA.
36. Goode/Humphrey, 3 December 1853, *ibid.*
37. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1853, NMP, B/5, QSA.
38. Dolan/Walker, 17 March 1854, Ferguson/Walker, 9 February 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
39. Nicoll/Walker, 1 April [though written March] 1854, NMP, B/4, QSA.
40. *QVP* (1861):414, paras. 56–61, OL.
41. Walker/Col. Sec., December 1853, NMP, B/5, QSA.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *NSWVP* (1858) 2: O'Connell p. 858, para. 47; Archer p. 872, para. 92, OL.
44. Noting on Walker's letter (see note 41).
45. Contained in letter Col. Sec. Deas Thomson/Walker, 12 February 1854, 54/167, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
46. Thomson/Walker, 12 February 1854, *ibid.*
47. Walker/Col. Sec., 5 December 1853, note thereon 10 January 1854, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
48. Walker/Col. Sec., 31 December 1853, *ibid.*
49. *NSWGG* (1854) 1: Irving p. 259; Nicoll pp. 184, 226; Fortescue, p. 226, OL.

## Chapter 9: The Northern Districts in 1854

1. Walker/Col. Sec., 13 January 1854, no. 54/2, reel A2/33, frame 481, COL, OL. Approved Elyard/Walker, to March 1854, 54/1880, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
2. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 January 1854, *ibid.*
3. Marshall/Walker, 5 July 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
4. Christie/Col. Sec., 27 February 1854, *ibid.*
5. Elyard/Walker, 18 March 1854, 54/1880, *ibid.*
6. Walker/Col. Sec., 8 June 1854, referred to in Elyard's letter (see note 7).
7. Elyard/Walker, 30 June 1854, 54/5451, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
8. Walker's request was dated 8 June and Ferguson in a letter to Walker dated 4 February 1854 stated he had received the horse from Dr. Brown. Ferguson then had posted the voucher adjusting the advance of £180 made for the purchase of nine horses for the Port Curtis survey. Ferguson/Walker (delivery of horse), 4 February 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA. Walker/Brown, 23 February 1854, *ibid.*
9. Murray/Walker, 25 January 1854, and statement from Sgt. Bungere, *ibid.*

10. Walker/Col. Sec., 17 January 1854, 54/6, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
11. Elyard/Walker, 22 February 1854, 54/1198, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
12. Walker/Col. Sec., 17 January 1854, 54/4, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
13. Elyard/Walker, 21 February 1854, 54/1194, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
14. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 January 1854, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
15. Before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: by W. Forster, p. 1207, para. 10; C. L. Hay, p. 1185, para. 28; R. P. Marshall, p. 1191, para. 54. Before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2: by W. H. Gaden, p. 893, para. 81; and D. Connor, p. 895, para. 72, OL.
16. See letters referred to in notes 13 and 20.
17. Ferguson/Walker, 4 February 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
18. Ferguson/Walker, 9 February 1854, *ibid.*
19. Marshall/Walker, 12 May 1854, *ibid.*
20. Marshall/Walker, 1 June 1854, *ibid.*
21. Walker/Col. Sec., 20 January 1854, 54/9, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
22. Elyard/Walker, 24 February 1854, 54/1195; and Elyard/Walker, 21 February 1854, 54/1193, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
23. Walker/Col. Sec., 21 January 1854, reel A2/28, COL, OL.
24. Elyard/Walker, 10 March 1854, 54/1196, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
25. *NSWGG* (1854) 1:226, OL; Riddell/Walker, 1 February 1854, 54/23, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
27. Ferguson/Walker, 4 February 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
28. Ferguson/Walker, 1 March 1854, *ibid.*
29. Ferguson/Walker, 4 February–1 March 1854, *ibid.*
30. Ferguson/Walker, 1 March, 1854, *ibid.*
31. Ferguson/Walker, 12 May 1854, *ibid.*
32. Riddell/Walker, 22 February 1854, 54/1197, *ibid.*
33. Murray/Walker, 2 March 1854, NMP, B/11, QSA.
34. Elyard/Walker, 21 February 1854, 54/1199, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
35. Ferguson/Walker, 1 March 1854, *ibid.*
36. Dolan/Walker, 17 March 1854, *ibid.*
37. Walker/Col. Sec., 25 February 1854, *ibid.*
38. Dolan/Walker, letter undated, *ibid.*
39. Marshall/Walker, 1 June 1854, *ibid.*
40. Marshall/Walker, 5 July 1854, *ibid.*
41. Walker/Col. Sec., 14 July 1854, *ibid.*
42. Elyard/Walker, 9 August 1854, *ibid.*
43. Marshall/Walker, 5 July 1854, *ibid.*
44. Ferguson/Walker, 4 February 1854, *ibid.*
45. Dolan/Walker, 22 February 1854, NMP, B/6, QSA.
46. Dolan/Walker, 22 February 1854, *ibid.*
47. Dolan/Marshall, 16 March 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
48. Marshall/Walker, 20 March 1854, *ibid.*
49. Halloran/Walker, 28 February 1854, NMP, B/6, QSA.
50. Halloran/Walker, letter partly destroyed, *ibid.*
51. Halloran/Marshall, 17 April 1854, NMP, B/5, QSA.
52. Marshall/Walker, 19 May 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Halloran/Marshall, 14 June 1854, NMP, B/6, QSA.
55. Halloran/Marshall, 23 June 1854, *ibid.*
56. Marshall/Walker, 5 July 1854, *ibid.*

57. Marshall/Walker, 19 May 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
58. Traylan Duty List, 1 June 1854–18 February 1855, NMP, B/13, QSA.

#### Chapter 10: A Board of Enquiry

1. Irving/Walker, 20 February 1854, NMP, B/4, QSA; Date of Fulford's return to duty in Fulford/Walker, 18 July 1854, *ibid.*
2. Fulford/Walker, undated requisition, NMP, B/4, QSA.
3. Irving/Walker, 20 February 1854, *ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Stated in Fulford/Col. Sec., 11 November 1854, NMP, B/10, QSA.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Nicoll/Irving, 24 March 1854, NMP, B/4, QSA.
8. Nicoll/Walker, 1 April 1854, *ibid.*
9. Nicoll/Fulford, 15 May 1854, *ibid.*
10. Irving/Walker, 29 April 1854, *ibid.*
11. Nicoll/Walker, 19 May 1854, *ibid.*
12. Nicoll/Col. Sec., 15 June 1854, referred to in Nicoll's examination by the Board of Inquiry of 1854, *NSWVP* (1855):873, OL.
13. Confirmed by Nicoll's evidence, *ibid.*
14. Fulford/Walker, 18 July 1854, report of proceedings since his return to work, NMP, B/4, QSA.
15. Walker/Col. Sec., 4 May 1854, reel A2/29, COL, OL.
16. Confirmed in Sanderson/Walker, 17 June 1854, NMP, B/1, QSA.
17. Col. Sec./Wickham, 30 June 1854, NMP, QSA.
18. Walker/Col. Sec., 28 August 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
19. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1175, para. 35, OL.
20. Wiseman's Letter Book, 24/55, OL.
21. See note 18.
22. Walker on 23 September 1854 reported the date as 20 August. Fulford later reported the date as 23 August.
23. To escape the feared Native Police, a practice favoured by many Aborigines who had attacked settlers was to forthwith mix with station Aborigines friendly to the settlers.
24. Report on his visit to the Dawson, Walker/Col. Sec., 23 September 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
25. Walker/Col. Sec., 21 October 1854, *ibid.*
26. Settlers/Gov. General, 28 August 1854, reel A2/30, frame 729; Fulford/Col. Sec., report on petition, 11 November 1854, NMP, B/10, QSA.
27. Evidence before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: by Gordon Sandeman, p. 1207, paras. 10, 14; and H. H. Brown, p. 1199, para. 14, p. 1200, para. 50, OL.
28. Examination of Marshall by the Board of Inquiry of 1854, *NSWVP* (1855):872, OL.
29. Morris/Walker, 6 September 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
30. Morris/Walker, 6 September 1854, *ibid.*
31. Morris/Walker, 19 September 1854, *ibid.*
32. Elyard/Walker, 21 September 1854, mem. 312, NMP, B/J1, OL; and *NSWVP* (1855):870, no. 1, OL.



33. Traylan duty book, NMP, B/13, QSA.
34. Ibid.
35. Evidence by Marshall before Board of Inquiry Brisbane, 20 December 1854, *NSWVP* (1855)1:871, OL.
36. Fulford/Col. Sec., 11 November 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
37. Walker/Sgt. A. Walker, 3 October 1854, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
38. The meaning of Morum Billak – an Aboriginal name bestowed on Walker by the troopers – is indefinite. The language group to which the words belong is unknown. Morum or Murrum may mean “big” as in Murrumbidgee (big water). Billak could mean legs. Bullakibil in one dialect meant bull-frog. Frederick Walker is referred to by Nehemiah Bartley in his book *Opals and Agates*. Bartley when describing his visit to Colinton on the Brisbane River wrote that he met at the bachelor’s cottage there F. Walker the organizer of Native Police “who was disporting his lengthy legs on a reclining chair”.
39. Walker/Ned, undated, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
40. Walker/Col. Sec., 7 October 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
41. Walker/Col. Sec., 11 October 1854, *ibid.*
42. O’Connell/Col. Sec., *ibid.*
43. Walker/Col. Sec., 11 October 1854, *ibid.*
44. Bligh/Marshall, 20 December 1854, NMP, B/1, QSA.
45. Walker/Col. Sec., 15 October 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
46. Fitzroy’s noting dated 27 October 1854 on Walker’s letter, *ibid.*
47. Lear/Walker, 22 October 1854, NMP, B/4, QSA.
48. *NSWVP* (1855):870, no. 2, OL.
49. Wickham/Col. Sec., 22 November, 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.

#### Chapter 11: Dismissal of Frederick Walker

1. Board of Enquiry/Col. Sec., 20 December 1854, *NSWVP* (1855):871, OL.
2. *Ibid.*, 2nd paragraph. Also Marshall/Col. Sec., 6 February 1855, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
3. Proceedings and report of Board of Enquiry, *NSWVP* (1855): 869–74, OL.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 871.
5. Marshall/Col. Sec., 25 November 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
6. Memo at foot of letter Col. Sec./Government Resident, Moreton Bay, 23 September 1854, included in papers ordered to be printed 5 December 1855, *NSWVP* (1855):870, OL.
7. Walker/Col. Sec., 1 January 1855, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
8. Marshall/Col. Sec., 6 February 1855, *ibid.*
9. Noting by Denison dated 27 February 1855 on Marshall’s letter, *ibid.*
10. Riddell/Walker, 19 January 1855, *NSWVP* (1855):874–75, OL.
11. Evidence of W. Forster before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1207, para. 14, OL.
12. Noting by Denison dated 31 January 1855 on minute of Executive Council, 2 January 1855, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
13. See chapter 2, note 7, also note 15 this chapter.
14. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:855, para. 7, OL.

15. See chapter 2, note 7; also evidence before the 1858 Select Committee by J. B. Reid (p. 877, para. 17), A. Brown (p. 885, para. 15), and, before the Queensland Select Committee *QVP* (1861): by C. R. Haly, p. 487, paras. 23–27, OL.
16. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:847, OL.
17. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2: by W. Forster, p. 865, para. 11; and before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *QVP* (1861): by T. Petrie, p. 517, para. 24; and A. H. Brown, p. 521, para. 27, OL.
18. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:856, para. 18, and before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *QVP* (1861):492, para. 92, OL.
19. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1191, para. 59, OL.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 1161.
21. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:864, para. 5, OL.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 906, para. 36.
23. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, by W. Archer (p. 873, paras. 143–44), and before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *QVP* (1861): by Pollet Cardew, p. 534, para. 24, and Lt. Carr, p. 541, para. 192, OL.
24. Evidence of E. M. Royds before the 1858 Select Committee, p. 875, paras. 60–63.
25. Walker/Col. Sec., 10 July 1861, NMP, QSA.
26. *QVP* (1861):541, paras. 205–9, OL.
27. Registration of death, Registrar General's Office, Brisbane.

## Chapter 12: Marshall Fettered in His Command

1. Evidence before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1190, para. 44; 1189, para. 19, OL.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1178, para. 54.
3. Walker/Ferguson, 28 September 1854 and Marshall/Col. Sec., 10 November 1854, reel A2/30, COL, OL.
4. *NSWGG* (1854) 11:2663, OL.
5. Marshall/Col. Sec., 3 March 1855, reel A2/31, COL, OL.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Marshall/Col. Sec., 23 December 1854, reel A2/33, frame 658, COL, OL; also Marshall/Col. Sec., 28 March 1855, reel A2/36, *ibid.*
8. Marshall/Col. Sec., 3 March 1855, *ibid.*
9. Noting dated 23 March 1855 on Marshall's letter, *ibid.*
10. Irving/Marshall, 17 March 1855, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
11. Marshall/Col. Sec., 28 March 1855, *ibid.*
12. Noting by Denison dated 19 April 1855 on Marshall's letter, *ibid.*
13. Irving/Gov. General's private secretary, 9 June 1855, *ibid.*
14. Auditor General's note on Marshall/Col. Sec., 22 December 1854, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
15. FitzRoy's note on Auditor General's suggestion, *ibid.*
16. Wickham/Col. Sec., 10 January 1855, *ibid.*
17. See evidence of A. Brown before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:886, paras. 28–29. Evidence of C. Archer, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1184, para. 68.
18. Denison's noting dated 4 September 1855 on Kitchen & Co./Col.

- Sec., 31 August 1855, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
19. Fulford/Commandant, 22 August 1854, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  20. Auditor Gen./Col. Sec., 29 September 1855, reel A2/33, frames 633/5, COL, OL.
  21. Walker/Col. Sec., 11 October 1855, reel A2/35, COL, OL.
  22. Auditor General/Col. Sec., 10 March 1856, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  23. H. H. Brown/Col. Sec., 16 February 1856 and note thereon by Marshall, reel A2/35, COL, OL.
  24. Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 9 March 1856, *ibid.*
  25. Noting dated 4 April 1856 on letter to Col. Sec., *ibid.*
  26. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1201, paras. 65–73, OL.
  27. *Ibid.*, p. 1191, para. 54.
  28. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:886, paras. 28–29, OL.
  29. Memo 1 February 1855, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
  30. Noting by Col. Sec., dated 8 February 1855 on memo, *ibid.*
  31. Auditor General/Col. Sec., 15 February 1855 and approval thereon, 19 February 1855, *ibid.*
  32. Marshall/Col. Sec., March and 3 August 1855, reel A2/33, frame 157, COL, OL.
  33. Dolan/Marshall, 8 November 1854, NMP, B/7, QSA.
  34. Fulford/Marshall, 24 November 1854, (2 letters) NMP, B/4, QSA.
  35. Marshall/Col. Sec., 23 December 1854 attaching Nicoll's report 15 December 1854, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
  36. Bligh/Marshall, 15 and 16 November 1854, NMP, B/8, QSA.
  37. Fortescue/Marshall, 22 October 1854, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  38. Murray/Marshall, 28 October 1854, NMP, B/11, QSA.
  39. Evidence by O'Connell before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:856, paras. 21–23, OL.
  40. *Ibid.*, para. 23.
  41. Murray/Marshall, 30 December 1854, NMP, B/11, QSA.
  42. Walker/Marshall, 23 October 1854, NMP, B/10, QSA.
  43. Walker/Marshall, 1 December 1854, *ibid.*
  44. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1184–85, paras. 3–12, OL.
  45. Depositions taken by Walker J.P. 14 October 1854, NMP, B/10 and forwarded with covering letter to Murray, undated, NMP, B/J2, QSA.
  46. R. Walker/Col. Sec., 18 November 1854, reel A2/32, frame 452, COL, OL.
  47. Noting dated 2 January 1855 on Walker's letter, *ibid.*
  48. Walker/Murray, two letters, undated, NMP, B/J2, QSA; also Walker/Commandant, 15 February 1855, reel A2/32 and Plunkett/Col. Sec., 15 June 1855, *ibid.*, frame 463, COL, OL.
  49. Halloran/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 24 October 1854, reel A2/30, *ibid.*
  50. Note Barney/FitzRoy 15 November 1854 on Halloran's letter, *ibid.*
  51. *NSWGG* (1855) 1:365, OL.
  52. Dolan/Marshall, 2 January 1855, NMP, B/7, QSA.
  53. Dolan/Marshall, 15 January 1855, *ibid.*
  54. Dolan/Marshall, 2 March 1855, *ibid.*
  55. Nicoll/Marshall, 29 April 1855, *ibid.*
  56. Fulford/Marshall, 12 January 1855, NMP, B/4, QSA.
  57. Fulford/Marshall, 23 February 1855, *ibid.*
  58. Bligh/Marshall, 13 February 1855, NMP, B/8, QSA.

59. Bligh/Marshall, 2 April 1855, *ibid.*
60. Walker/Marshall, 1 March 1855, NMP, B/10, QSA.
61. Murray/Wickham, 22 March 1855, *ibid.*
62. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1189–90, paras. 23, 25; p. 119, para. 91, OL.
63. *Ibid.*, paras. 23–24, OL.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 1176, para. 5.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 1189, paras. 12, 20, 24.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 1192, paras. 92–93; p. 1193, paras. 117–19.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 1193, para. 120.
68. Particulars kindly supplied by Mr. John Marshall, of Armidale, New South Wales. Death registered at Registrar General's Office, Brisbane.

### Chapter 13: A Policy to Partially Disband

1. H. Walker/Col. Sec., 28 May 1855 and note by Insp. General of Police, 10 July 1855, reel A2/32, COL, OL.
2. *NSWGG* (1856) 1:518, OL.
3. H. Walker/Col. Sec., 4 April 1856, and note thereon, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
4. Fortescue/Marshall, 19 June 1855, two letters, NMP, B/6, QSA.
5. See chapter 9, note 42; also Col. Sec./Wickham, 2 March 1855, res. 10, no. 27, QSA.
6. Keen/Wickham, 6 August 1855, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
7. Wickham/Col. Sec., 14 August 1855, *ibid.*
8. Noting dated 20 August 1855 on Wickham's letter, *ibid.*
9. Elyard/Govt. Resident, 22 April 1856, NMP, B/6, QSA.
10. Col. Sec./Govt. Resident, 19 May 1856, *ibid.*
11. Col. Sec./Commandant, October 1855, NMP, B/4, QSA.
12. Evidence of Marshall before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1192, para. 94, OL.
13. The troopers discharged were Waaroomie, Booraly, Scotchy, Goorandirie, Wondominie, Woolena, Harry, Aamonda, Cum Bilbilla, Oonally, Waaroopin, Mr. Jones, Cundaroo, Dundalli, Harold Paaparie, Terynia, Naanyie, Calbungera, and Barrabie. This list contains the name Dundalli and an Aborigine by that name was hanged for the murders of Waller and Boller later though it is uncertain whether he was the same man. Return of troopers discharged at Traylan and remarks by Marshall, 1 August 1855, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
14. Wiseman/Chief Commission Crown Lands, 20 September 1855, following application for troopers, 3 September 1855, reel A2/34, COL, OL.
15. Wiseman/Marshall, 25 September 1855, 57/55. NMP, B/5, QSA.
16. Walker/Marshall, 11 January 1855, NMP, B/10, QSA.
17. The 1858 Select Committee reported that "the sudden disbandment of a large portion of the Native Police was a most untoward event . . . and to this cause the inefficiency of the Native Police Force, as at present constituted, may be undoubtedly traced". *NSWVP* (1858) 2:847, OL.
18. This Committee in its report stated: ". . . the system of recruiting

- in the Northern Districts is most pernicious . . . wholesale desertion having, in consequence, taken place. All the witnesses agree that troopers should be raised from distant parts of the Colony . . .”, *ibid.*, p. 848, para. 4.
19. Evidence of Tooth before the 1858 Select Committee, *ibid.*, p. 882, para. 58.
  20. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, *ibid.*, of A. Brown, p. 886, para. 15; p. 887, para. 59.
  21. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1189, para. 19, OL.
  22. The 1858 Select Committee reported: “. . . there is too much reason to believe that the disbanded troopers have been leaders in most of the murderous attacks upon the whites . . .”, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:847, OL.
  23. Halloran/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 28 December 1855, reel A2/35, COL, OL.
  24. R. P. Marshall stated before the 1856 Select Committee he was told that Furber “had been making use of firearms in the camp”, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1193, para. 108, OL.
  25. Annexed to Halloran’s letter (see note 23).
  26. Halloran/Marshall, 5 December 1855, referred to in Marshall’s letter (see note 27).
  27. Marshall/Halloran, 11 December 1855, reel A2/35, COL, OL.
  28. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1193, para. 117, OL.
  29. See note 27.
  30. Aldridge/Governor General, 23 December 1855, reel A2/35, COL, OL; Denison’s note 28 February 1856 on memo, 28 February 1856, 56/1211, *ibid.*
  31. Mayne/Col. Sec., 25 October 1855, reel A2/34, COL, OL.
  32. Noting dated 27 October 1855 on Mayne’s letter, *ibid.*
  33. Report on the state of the Aborigines in the Darling Downs district 1855, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
  34. Report on the state of the Aborigines in the Maranoa district 1855, 1 January 1856, reel A2/35, COL, OL.
  35. Nicoll/Marshall with depositions taken from W. Gillies and J. Bennett, 11 April 1855, Res. 10, QSA.
  36. Evidence of H. H. Brown before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1202, para. 105, OL.
  37. Fulford/Marshall, 5 July 1855, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
  38. Fulford/Marshall, 8 August 1855, *ibid.*
  39. Nicoll/Marshall, 8 October 1855, *ibid.*
  40. Nicoll/Marshall, 25 October 1855, *ibid.*
  41. *NSWGG* (1855) 11:3057, OL.
  42. Nicoll/Marshall, 22 January 1856, NMP, QSA.
  43. Nicoll/Marshall, 6 July 1855, NMP, B/7, QSA.
  44. Nicoll/Marshall, 13 July 1855, *ibid.*
  45. Nicoll/Marshall, 5 July 1855, *ibid.*
  46. Nicoll/Marshall, 30 July 1855, reel A2/36, frame 603, COL, OL.
  47. Marshall/Insp. General of Police, 10 August 1855, reel A2/36, COL, OL; Mayne/Col. Sec., 4 September 1855, *ibid.*
  48. Chief Commissioner Crown Lands/Col. Sec., 15 May 1856, *ibid.*
  49. Noting on letter to Col. Sec., *ibid.*
  50. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1175, para. 45, OL.
  51. Nicoll/Marshall, 26 August 1855, NMP, B/7, QSA.

52. Nicoll/Marshall, 30 August 1855, *ibid*.
53. Nicoll/Marshall, 22 September 1855, *ibid*.
54. Wiseman's Letter Book, 24/55 and 5/56, OL.
55. Murray/Marshall, 2 June 1855, NMP, B/6, QSA.
56. *Ibid*.
57. Contained in O'Connell's letter (see note 58).
58. O'Connell/Col. Sec., 31 May 1855, and Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 30 June 1855, and notes thereon, reel A2/32, COL, OL.
59. Ferguson/Marshall, 9 June 1855, NMP, B/4, QSA.
60. Ferguson/Marshall, 12 July 1855, *ibid*.
61. Ferguson/Marshall, 24 July 1855, *ibid*.
62. Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 12 September 1855, Christie's report 20 September 1855 and Denison's note, reel A2/33, COL, OL.
63. Noting on letter to Col. Sec., *ibid*.
64. Walker/Marshall, 30 August 1855, NMP, B/6, QSA.
65. Col. Sec./Insp. General of Police, 25 October 1855, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
66. Wiseman/s Letter Book, 24/55, OL.
67. Murray/O'Connell, 26 September 1855, reel A2/34, frame 358, COL, OL.
68. O'Connell/Murray, 27 September 1855 and O'Connell/Col. Sec., 22 October 1855, *ibid*.
69. Wiseman's Letter Book, 5/56, OL.

#### Chapter 14: Stations Attacked in the Port Curtis District

1. Mayne/Lt. Murray, 5 December 1855, reel A2/34, COL, OL.
2. Included in Wiseman's report on the state of the Aborigines in the Leichhardt district during 1855, 5 January 1856, No. 5/56, Wiseman's Letter Book, OL. See also note 3.
3. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 3 July 1855, reel A2/32, COL, OL.
4. See note 1.
5. Walker/Morisset, 9 October 1855, NMP, B/10, QSA.
6. Walker/Morisset, 8 October 1855, *ibid*.
7. See note 1.
8. Evidence of J. B. Reid before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:879, para. 70; also see note 1.
9. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:859, para. 66, OL.
10. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1184, paras. 77–81, OL.
11. Contained in Murray/Govt. Resident Port Curtis, 18 January 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
12. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1178, para. 51, OL.
13. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2: by W. Forster, p. 865, paras. 10, 12; W. Archer, p. 873, paras. 128–34; E. M. Royds, p. 876, para. 96; and A. Hodgson, pp. 885–86, para. 15, OL.
14. See note 11.
15. *Ibid*.
16. The *Elida* was the first ship to navigate the FitzRoy River to the site of present Rockhampton. This was shortly after the arrival of



- Charles Archer and party to establish Gracemere station.
17. J. Grant Pattison in his *"Battler" Tales of Early Rockhampton* (Fraser & Jenkinson, Melbourne, 1939) credits Inspector George Murray with leading this expedition. However George Murray, a brother of John Murray who was the leader, did not join the Native Police until 1857. Pattison adds that the second collision with these Aborigines occurred at Nankin Creek.
  18. Wiseman's annual report for 1856 on the Aboriginal population of the Leichhardt district, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
  19. See note 11.
  20. Mayne/Murray, 14 August 1856, 56/118, NMP, Res. 10, QSA.
  21. Murray/Mayne, 7 November 1856, *ibid.* Murray's report forwarded McLerie/Wickham, 15 December 1856, 56/154, *ibid.*
  22. Wiseman's Letter Book, No. 5/56, OL.
  23. See note 11.
  24. Noting on Murray's report (see note 11).
  25. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 7 January 1857, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
  26. O'Connell/Col. Sec., 19 February 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
  27. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1194, para. 7; 1195, para. 10–11, OL.
  28. See note 26.
  29. *Ibid.*
  30. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands (see note 25).
  31. See note 26.
  32. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1195, para. 31, OL.
  33. Mayne/Col. Sec., 27 February 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
  34. Noting on Mayne's letter, *ibid.*; also memo Fitzpatrick clerk to the council 19 March 1856 and approval by Denison thereon, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
  35. Mayne/Col. Sec., 29 March 1856, *ibid.*
  36. Sandeman and others/Governor, 31 January 1856, *ibid.*
  37. Mayne/Col. Sec., 19 February 1856, *ibid.*
  38. The colony of New South Wales had been granted the system of responsible government by the imperial act "The New South Wales Constitution Act 1855" (18 & 19 Vic. c. 54.).
  39. Col. Secretary's memo and note thereon 56/1750; also Col. Sec./Sandeman, 6 March 1856, reel A2/36, frame 795, COL, OL.
  40. Referred to in letter to Col. Sec. (see note 41).
  41. Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 19 November 1855, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
  42. *Ibid.*
  43. re Bligh, evidence R. P. Marshall before the 1856 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1192, para. 94; also see note 41.
  44. Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 12 April 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
  45. See note 44.
  46. Hutchinson/Halloran, 16 February 1856, sent Halloran/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 1 March 1856 and referred by Denison to Insp. General of Police, 27 March 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
  47. Powell/Halloran, 18 March 1856, *ibid.*
  48. Halloran/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 1 April 1856, *ibid.*
  49. Morisset/Mayne, 20 March 1856, *ibid.*

50. Morisset/Marshall, 18 March 1856, NMP, B/8, QSA.
51. Mayne/Morisset, 8 April 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
52. Morisset/Mayne, 16 April 1856, *ibid.*
53. Noting dated 9 May 1856 on Morisset's letter, *ibid.*
54. Morisset/Mayne, 16 May 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
55. Irving/Col. Sec., 30 March 1856, Denison's approval thereon, Mayne/Col. Sec., 25 April 1856, reel A2/36, COL, OL.
56. *NSWGG* (1856) 11:1961, OL.
57. *NSWGG* (1856) 1:518, 1097, 1581; and (1856) 11:3026, OL.
58. The members originally appointed to the board were J. W. Bligh, W. E. King, Francis Rusden, Gideon S. Lang, and John Hay. J. Garland and G. Allen were later appointed in place of Bligh and Rusden, the former of whom could not act and the latter being absent from the colony. William Forster was also appointed to the board several days after the appointment of the original members.
59. Correspondence and report of board of inquiry ordered by Legislative Assembly to be printed 26 November 1856. *NSWVP* (1856):1147. Col. Sec./Insp. General of Police, 25 June 1856, *ibid.*, p. 1148.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 1149.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 1152.

#### Chapter 15: The 1856 Select Committee

1. The report with the proceedings of the committee and minutes of evidence ordered by the Legislative Assembly to be printed 28 January 1857. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1157–1216, OL.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1162.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 1163.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 1163–65.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 1213, paras. 1–2; also Elyard/Wickham, 13739, 172, Res. 10, and Elyard/Wickham, 25 November 1856, 56/8683, Jus. 10, QSA.
6. Circular 56/146, Jus. 10, QSA; also Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 24 November 1855, reel A2/37, frame 543, COL, OL.
7. Wickham/Morisset, 25 November 1856, Res., QSA.
8. Col. Sec./Wickham, 25 February 1857, *ibid.*
9. Settlers/Wickham, March 1857, *ibid.*
10. Wickham/Col. Sec., March 1857, *ibid.*
11. *NSWGG* (1857) 1:1023, OL.
12. Boyle/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 3 January 1857, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
13. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 7 January 1857, *ibid.*
14. Ross/Ferguson, 7 December 1856, *ibid.*
15. Ferguson/Wickham, 11 December 1856, *ibid.*, frame 215; Wickham/Col. Sec., 8 January 1857 and Elyard/Govt. Resident, 16 January 1857, res. 10, QSA.
16. Murray/Insp. General of Police, 2 November 1856, Res. 10, QSA.
17. Ross/Nicoll, 16 March 1857, NMP, B/7, QSA.
18. Murray, senior to Nicoll, was 2nd Lt. Walker's superior officer, both serving in the Port Curtis district.
19. Nicoll/Wickham, 24 March 1857, NMP, B/4, QSA.

20. The office of government resident at Port Curtis which had been occupied by O'Connell by then had been abolished. That office was later reestablished.
21. O'Connell/Col. Sec., 23 December 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
22. Murray/Wickham, 22 April 1857, NMP, B/JL, QSA.
23. Murray/Insp. General of Police, 2 November 1856, Res. 10, QSA.
24. Col. Sec./Wickham, 8 July 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
25. Nicoll/Wickham, 24 August 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
26. Nehemiah Bartley, *Opals and Agates* (Gordon & Gotch, Brisbane, 1892), p. 248.
27. Morisset/Murray, referred to in reports by Walker and Murray. See notes 30–31.
28. Mentioned by Walker in report to Murray (see note 30).
29. Wickham/Morisset, 2 January 1857, (informing the latter of his instructions to Murray), NMP, B/J1, QSA.
30. Walker/Murray, 28 December 1856 (see note 31).
31. Murray/Wickham, 12 January 1857, (forwarding Walker's report), 7/57, NMP, B/6, QSA.
32. O'Connell/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 21 January 1857, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
33. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1198, paras. 33–35, OL.
34. *QVP* (1861):427, paras. 74–75, OL.
35. Wickham/Col. Sec., 22 February 1854 and approval thereon 27 March 1854, reel A2/28, frame 581, COL, OL.
36. Murray/Wickham, 10 January 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
37. See note 17.
38. Halloran/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, December 1856, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
39. Murray/Wickham, 6 March 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
40. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:906, para. 32; 908, para. 80, OL.
41. See note 39.
42. Murray/Wickham, 9 March 1857, two letters, NMP, B/6, QSA.

## Chapter 16: An Inefficient Force

1. Walker/Murray, 14 March 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Murray/Wickham, 21 March 1857, and also Willmott's deposition before R. G. Walker J.P., 21 March 1857, forwarded with this letter, NMP, QSA.
4. Kinley's deposition before J. Murray J.P., 19 March, 1857, *ibid.*
5. Tolson's deposition of events at Miriam Vale before J. Murray J.P., 19 March 1857, *ibid.*
6. Witt's deposition before J. Murray J.P., 19 March 1857, *ibid.*
7. Landsborough/Govt. Resident, 31 December 1856, G/Res. 10, QSA.
8. Deposition by Landsborough before R. G. Walker J.P., 16 March 1857, forwarded with report by Walker (see note 10).
9. Murray/Wickham, 21 March 1857, NMP, QSA.
10. Walker/Murray, 20 March 1857, NMP, B/11, QSA. Powell/Walker, 6 March 1857, (identification of Tancred in canoe), *ibid.*

11. Elyard/Commandant, 6 July 1854, 54/5188, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
12. Referred to in Col. Sec./Under Sec. Lands and Public Works, 1 June 1857, attaching copy Col. Sec./Commissioner Crown Lands Port Curtis, 12 August 1856, NMP, B/6, QSA.
13. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1163, OL.
14. Elyard/Govt. Resident, 1 June 1857, 57/47, referred to in Col. Sec./Under Sec. Lands and Public Works, 1 June 1857.
15. Elyard/Govt. Resident, 17 June 1857, NMP, QSA.
16. Wickham/Col. Sec., 24 June 1857, *ibid.*
17. Elyard/O'Connell, 12 August 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
18. Landsborough/Govt. Resident, 31 December 1856, G.Res. 10, QSA.
19. Allman/Landsborough, 2 January 1857, referred to in Allman's letter (see note 23).
20. McLerie/Govt. Resident, 9 February 1857, G.Res. 10, QSA.
21. Landsborough/Govt. Resident, 18 February 1857, *ibid.*
22. Landsborough/Govt. Resident, 17 April 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
23. Allman/Morisset, 18 July 1857, *ibid.*
24. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 22 July 1857 and note thereon by Wickham, 31 July 1857, *ibid.*
25. Referred to in Landsborough/Wickham, 8 October 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Elyard/Wickham, 16 September, 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
28. Wickham/Col. Sec., 7 February 1857, res. 10, QSA.
29. Col. Sec. Govt. Resident, *ibid.*
30. Wickham/Col. Sec., 21 February 1857, reel A2/38, frame 294, COL, OL.
31. Insp. General of Police/Col. Sec., 21 August 1856 and approval thereon, 5 September 1856, reel A2/37, frame 583, COL, OL.
32. Invitation to tender, 4 November 1856, reel A2/37, COL, OL.
33. Elyard/Govt. Resident, 11 December 1856, 56/8915, Res. 10, QSA.
34. Previous Morisset/Insp. General of Police, 7 August 1856, Insp. General/Col. Sec., 21 August 1856, reel A2/37, frame 583; Morisset/Wickham, December 1856, NMP, QSA.
35. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 12 February 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA: Surveyor General's reference no. 725, 609/8. The location of the reserve is indicated to some extent by Bligh/Surveyor General, 21 June 1858, *ibid.*
36. Morisset/Insp. General of Police, 17 October 1856, Jus. 10, QSA.
37. Halloran/Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 26 November 1856, in reply to 56/2697, Jus. 10, QSA.
38. Irving/Col. Sec., 7 October, 1856, reel A2/37, COL, OL.
39. Mayne/Col. Sec., 22 October 1856, *ibid.*, frame 313.
40. Wickham/Col. Sec., 4 April 1857, and Morisset/Wickham, 16 March 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
41. *QVP* (1861): 494, para. 120, OL.
42. Chapman/Wickham, 8 April 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
43. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:870, para. 51, OL.
44. See evidence of Captain O'Connell before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:856, para. 15, OL.
45. Evidence of W. H. Gaden, *ibid.*, p. 893, paras. 85–86.

46. His observations, *ibid.*, p. 898, Appendix A.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 866, paras. 17–18. See also evidence of: W. Forster, p. 866, para. 17; D. Connor, p. 895, para. 57.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 871, paras. 60–68; p. 869, para. 22. See also evidence of O’Connell, p. 860, para. 78.
49. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee by: M. C. O’Connell, p. 856, para. 14, and p. 857, para. 40; W. Archer, p. 871, paras. 57–59; A. Brown, p. 888, para. 70; W. H. Gaden, p. 891, para. 38.
50. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1176, para. 60, OL.
51. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:903, para. 23, OL.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 859, para. 72; p. 893, para. 73.
53. Wickham/Col. Sec., 4 May 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
54. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1194, para. 125–26, OL.
55. *QVP* (1861): evidence of J. K. Wilson, p. 479, para. 45. See also that of F. Wheeler, p. 438, para. 98. OL.
56. Morisset/Wickham, 11 June 1857, NMP, B/4, QSA.
57. Morisset/Wickham, 18 June 1857, *ibid.*
58. *NSWGG* (1857) 11:1207, OL.
59. Col. Sec./Govt. Resident, 18 May 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
60. *NSWGG* (1857) 11:1207, OL.
61. See note 59.
62. Auditor General Mayne/Morisset, 6 November 1857, NMP, B/4, QSA.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Hampton/Auditor General, 8 December 1857, NMP, B/5, QSA.
65. Evidence of E. N. V. Morisset before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *QVP* (1861):552, paras. 116–18, OL.
66. Lester/Wickham, 5 February 1857, NMP, B/4, QSA.
67. Lester/Col. Sec., 15 December 1856, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
68. Wickham/Nicoll, 6 February 1857, 57/22, referred to in Nicoll/Wickham (see note 71).
69. Referred to in Elyard/Govt. Resident, 24 April 1857, NMP, B/4, QSA.
70. Nicoll/Govt. Resident, 31 March 1857, *ibid.*
71. Nicoll/Govt. Resident, 10 April 1857, *ibid.*
72. Smith/Mayne, 4 October 1856, Ferguson/Insp. General of Police, 18 October 1856, Jus. 10, QSA.
73. Smith/Govt. Resident with memorial, 31 December 1857, Col. Secretary’s memo., reel A2/39, frame 433. Declaration by Smith before Gray, 28 December 1857, reel A2/40, frame 81, COL, OL.
74. Wickham/Col. Sec., 1 June 1858, NMP, B/4, QSA.

## Chapter 17: Attempts to Reorganize

1. Claim by A.S.N. Co. for passage. See chapter 16, note 62; also Morisset/Govt. President, 12 August 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
2. Harris/Morisset, 12 July 1857, referred to in Morisset/Harris (see note 3).
3. Morisset/Harris, 13 July 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.
4. Endorsement as to medical certificate in commandant’s office on Morisset/Harris (see note 5).
5. Morisset/Harris, 14 July 1857, (asking for an explanation), NMP, B/8, QSA.

6. Harris/Wickham, 13 July 1857, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
7. Wickham/Col. Sec., 30 July 1857, *ibid.*
8. Murray/Harris, 1 August 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.
9. Carr/Harris, 6 August 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
10. Murray/Harris, 10 August 1857, *ibid.*
11. Harris/Murray, 10 August 1857, referred to in Murray/Harris (see note 12).
12. Murray/Harris, 11 August 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
13. Robertson/Harris, 12 August 1857, reel A2/39, frame 246, COL, OL.
14. Morisset/Harris, 12 August 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.
15. Morisset/Wickham, 12 August 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
16. Harris/Wickham, 20 October 1857, *ibid.*, frame 230.
17. Harris/Wickham, 4 September 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.
18. Morisset/Wickham, 6 November 1857, reel A2/39, frame 230, COL, OL.
19. Recommendation by Executive Council 15 February 1858, Denison's approval 19 February 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
20. Recommendation approved by Denison, *ibid.*; Wickham/Col. Sec. forwarding copies of all correspondence between Harris and commandant, 3 March 1858, *ibid.*
21. Morisset/Col. Sec., 19 June 1857, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
22. McLerie/Col. Sec., June 1857, *ibid.*
23. Col. Secretary's noting on McLerie's memo, *ibid.*
24. Wickham/Col. Sec., 14 July 1857, reel A2/41, frame 796, COL, OL.
25. Auditor General/Col. Sec., 23 May 1859, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
26. Morisset/Wickham, 20 July 1857, *ibid.*
27. Noting dated 31 July by Wickham on Morisset's letter, *ibid.*
28. Ferguson/Govt. Resident with Hampton's addition, 6 October 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
29. Morisset/Wickham, 30 July 1857, *ibid.*
30. Buckley/Parker, 17 October 1856, reel A2/37, COL, OL.
31. McLerie/Col. Sec., 4 November 1856, *ibid.*
32. *NSW VP* (1856–57) 1:1179, para. 75, OL.
33. Wickham/Col. Sec., 15, 30 September 1856, NMP, B/8, QSA.
34. Statement of duty by the detachment, McLerie/Govt. Resident, M.B., 7 February 1857, Res. 10, QSA.
35. Gray and Brookes/Wickham, 7 October 1857, *ibid.*
36. Jordan and Zillman/Wickham, 19 October 1857, *ibid.*
37. Morisset's evidence, *QVP* (1861):552, paras. 132–44, OL.
38. Corfield/Wickham, 15 August 1857, NMP, QSA.
39. Morisset/Wickham, 14 October 1857, *ibid.*; 11 January 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
40. Col. Sec./Govt. Resident, 4 December 1857, enclosing copy of letter Corfield/Col. Sec., 21 November 1857, Res., QSA.
41. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 12 August 1857, NMP, B/11, QSA.
42. Morisset/Wickham, 12 September 1857; Morisset/T. Ross, 7 September 1857, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
43. Wickham/Col. Sec., 29 September 1857; Wickham/Ross, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
44. Wickham/Col. Sec., 9 September 1857, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
45. Morisset/Wickham, 15 October 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.



46. Noting on Morisset's letter, *ibid.*
47. Morisset/Wickham, 15 October 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
48. Morisset/Wickham, 6 November 1857, *ibid.*
49. Wickham/Col. Sec., 3, 11 November 1857, *ibid.*
50. Morisset/Wickham, 14 October 1857, NMP, QSA.
51. NSWGG (1857) 11:2283, OL.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Morisset/Wickham, 15 October 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.
54. Keen/Wickham, 2 July 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
55. See note 53.
56. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee, NSWVP (1858) 2: by D. Connor, p. 896, para. 128; H. M. Pearse, p. 883, para. 39, OL.
57. Compiled from various settlers' correspondence.
58. Evidence by C. L. Hay before the 1856 Select Committee NSWVP (1856–57) 1:1185, para. 12, OL.
59. Evidence before the 1858 Select Committee NSWVP (1858) 2: by E. M. Royds, p. 875, para. 51; J. B. Reid, p. 879, paras. 82–89, OL.
60. Evidence of A. C. Gregory before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, QVP (1861):449, para. 80, OL.
61. Magistrates/Col. Sec., 3 December 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
62. The residents at Hornet Bank that night thus were described at the time by William Miles. It appears he described as men David Fraser 16 years of age and Sylvester (West) Fraser 14 years, and as a woman, Mary Fraser then aged 11 years.

#### Chapter 18: Massacre at Hornet Bank – a Scapegoat

1. Information about the run obtained from Department of Lands, Brisbane. Over the years six or more resumptions have been made from the original holding but the homestead block has been held for generations by descendants of Scott. Hornet Bank was twice leased on a short-term basis: once to A. Gordon and once to Frasers. Scott's tender for the land was not accepted until 30 May 1858 five years after he had occupied it. In the Brisbane *Sunday Mail*, 17 October 1971, reference was made to the approaching sale of Hornet Bank by the owners the families of R. L. Scott and Wallace Scott on 27 October 1971 an anniversary of the massacre. Andrew Scott and his wife are buried near the stockyard on the homestead ridge.
2. See Ross's letter, note 19.
3. Names, ages, and occupations are as recorded in the register of deaths kept at Roma court house.
4. The persons who occupied the various rooms at the homestead and at the hut that night, as well as the description of what occurred is taken from the statement by Sylvester Fraser, dated 7 November 1857 and made before Pollet Cardew at Ipswich. Statement forwarded with letter Cardew/Wickham, 7 November 1857, G. Res. 10, QSA.
5. Published by Unwin, London, 1902. Mrs. Campbell-Praed nee Murray-Prior.
6. Clem Lack and Harry Stafford, *The Rifle and the Spear* (Smith and

- Paterson, Brisbane), p. 27.
7. Powell/Morisset, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
8. *QVP* (1861):535, paras. 20–29, OL.
9. Moorhead's action referred to in Morisset/Wickham, 30 April, 1858, Res., QSA.
10. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 13 November 1857, NMP, QSA.
11. Referred to in Elyard/Govt. resident, 15 March 1858, Res., QSA.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Noting on Elyard's letter (see note 10).
15. Report on the state of the Aborigines in the Leichhardt district, 5 January 1856, Wiseman's Letter Book, 5/56, OL.
16. Miles/Col. Sec., 4 November 1857, reel A2/39, frame 219, COL, OL.
17. Magistrates/Col. Sec., 3 December 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
18. Lamb/Cowper, 14 December 1857, *ibid.*
19. Ross/Denison, 28 September 1857, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
20. Wickham/Col. Sec., 12 October 1857, reel A2/40, frame 609, OL; Morisset/Wickham, 14 October 1857, NMP, B/8, QSA.
21. Wickham/Col. Sec., 4 November 1857, reel A2/40, frame 609, COL, OL.
22. Murray/various stockholders, 23 December 1851, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
23. Boulton/Murray, 28 December 1857, *ibid.*, frame 597.
24. Ross/Murray, 3 January 1858, *ibid.*
25. Miles/Murray, 9 January, 1858, *ibid.*
26. Scott and Thomson/Murray, 22 December 1857, *ibid.*, frame 589.
27. Fraser/Murray, 25 December 1857, *ibid.*, frame 595.
28. Dolan/Murray, 27 December 1857, *ibid.*
29. King/Murray, 30 December 1857, *ibid.*, frame 605.
30. Royds/Murray, 31 December 1857, *ibid.*
31. Sericold/Murray, 1 January 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
32. Scott/Murray, 11 January 1858, *ibid.*
33. Wickham/Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, *ibid.*
34. Minute 58/11, proceedings of Executive Council confirmed 15 March 1858, signed 19 March 1858, reel A2/40, frame 566, COL, OL.
35. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1163–64, OL.
36. *QVP* (1861):537, paras. 84–86, OL.
37. Murray/Insp. Gen. of Police, 2 November 1856, Res. 10, QSA.
38. See chapter 19, note 3.
39. Ross/Col. Sec., 8 April 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
40. Noting dated 26 April 1858 on Ross's letter, *ibid.*
41. Ross/Col. Sec., also note thereon, reel A2/40, frame 553, COL, OL.
42. Charters/Col. Sec. Qld., 14 July 1862, Col. Sec's Correspondence, QSA.
43. Robinson/Cowper, 8 January 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.

#### Chapter 19: Inefficiency at Wondai Gumbal

1. Nicoll/Wickham, 7 August 1857, NMP, B/J2, QSA.

2. Nicoll/Wickham, 5 November 1857, *ibid.*
3. Elyard/Wickham, 16 September 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
4. Rusden/Govt. General, 8 January 1858, reel A2/42, frames 404/5; Wickham/Col. Sec., 11 February 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
5. Referred to in Nicoll/Col. Sec., 7 February 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
6. Referred to in Ferrett/Commandant, 20 March 1858, *ibid.*
7. Morisset/various settlers, 22 January 1858, referred to in settlers' replies (see notes 8–13).
8. Scott/Morisset, 11 March 1858, reel A2/42; Hollins/Commandant, 22 March 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
9. Gillies/Morisset, 17 March 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
10. Miles/Morisset, 17 March 1858, *ibid.*
11. Bennett/Morisset, 13 March 1858, *ibid.*, frame 388.
12. Ferrett/Morisset, 21 March 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
13. Coxen/Morisset, 15 May 1858; Wickham/Col. Sec., 24 August 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
14. Frasers and Scott/Principal Secretary, 11 January 1858; Col. Sec./Wickham, noting on this letter, 13 March 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
15. Nicoll/Col. Sec., 7 February 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
16. Nicoll/Col. Sec., 27 February 1858, *ibid.*, frame 369.
17. Nicoll/Col. Sec., 3 March 1858, NMP, B/6, QSA.
18. Wickham/Col. Sec., 13 April 1858, also note thereon, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
19. Wickham/Col. Sec., 12 May 1858, *ibid.*
20. Morisset/Wickham, 30 April 1858, *ibid.*
21. See note 19.
22. Memo by Mereweather clerk of the Executive Council, 31 May 1858 and Denison's approval thereon, 3 June 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
23. Wickham/Col. Sec., 20 October 1858, *ibid.*, frame 335.
24. Nicoll/Col. Sec., 10 July 1858, *ibid.*
25. See note 23.
26. Auditor General/Principal Under Secretary, 13 November 1858, and notes thereon, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
27. Nicoll/Col. Sec., 13 September, 9 December 1858, 20 April, 17 June 1859, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
28. Wickham/Col. Sec., 10 August 1859, *ibid.*
29. Newspaper cutting, date unknown, reel A2/42, frame 310, COL, OL.

## Chapter 20: The 1858 Select Committee

1. Corfield/Col. Sec., 21 November 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
2. Col. Sec./Govt. Resident, 4 December 1857, *ibid.*; Ferguson/Commandant, 9 January 1858, reel A2/39, frame 483, COL, OL.
3. Referred to in Morisset's letter (see note 7).
4. Included in Merisset's letter (see note 7).
5. Morisset/Wickham, 13 November 1857, NMP, B/4, QSA.
6. Morisset/Wickham, 23 December 1857, sent Wickham/Col. Sec., 28 December 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.

7. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 11 January 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
8. Ibid.
9. Appendix A, Queensland 1861 Select Committee's proceedings, *QVP* (1861):557, OL.
10. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: C. L. Hay, p. 1186, para. 61; R. P. Marshall, p. 1190, para. 37; C. J. Mackenzie, p. 1187–88, para. 24; W. Forster, p. 1209, para. 41, OL.
11. Ibid., p. 1190, para. 36.
12. Ibid., p. 1186, para. 61.
13. Ibid., p. 1214, para. 10.
14. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:879, paras. 73, 93, OL.
15. Ibid., p. 872, para. 120.
16. Ibid., p. 880, paras. 101–2.
17. *QVP* (1861):459, paras. 77–78, OL.
18. Ibid., p. 511, para. 111.
19. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:889, para. 108, OL.
20. *QVP* (1861): 468, para. 58, OL.
21. *NSWGG* (1857) 11:2283; (1858) 1:327, OL.
22. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 19 April 1858, NMP, B/6, QSA.
23. Wiseman/Attorney General, 29 April 1858, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:843, separate appendix A, p. 909.
24. Simpson's letter book, Surveyor General's Office, Brisbane.
25. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 4 February 1858, NMP, QSA.
26. Wickham/Col. Sec., 21 April 1858, Res., QSA.
27. See note 29.
28. See *Criminal Law of Queensland*, R. F. Carter, 3rd ed. (Butterworths, Sydney, 1969).
29. Col. Sec./Wickham, 2 September 1858, Res., QSA.
30. Reference to the spearing of Walker was made before the 1858 Select Committee by E. M. Royds, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:875, para. 55; Conciliation Creek is fixed by Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 13 May 1859, 100/59, Wiseman's letter book, OL.
31. F. Walker/Col. Sec., 12 May 1858, NMP, QSA.
32. References in the register of letters received by the attorney general, A.O. ref. 4659. The Archives Authority of New South Wales where the register may be found has advised that the correspondence itself appears to have been destroyed. The letter from Wickham regarding the magistrate who declined to hold an inquest was received by the Col. Sec.'s. Office on 23 March 1858, reg. 30 March, ref. 58/1125, 4/3377.
33. Report from the Select Committee together with the proceedings of the committee and minutes of evidence, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:845–909, OL; also Votes, no. 44, Tuesday, 15 June 1858, p. 846.
34. Votes, no. 57, Tuesday, 13 July 1858, *NSWVP* (1858) 2.
35. Ibid. p. 406.
36. Ibid., p. 407.
37. Ibid., p. 847.
38. Ibid., pp. 847–49.
39. Ibid., p. 876, para. 93.
40. Ibid., p. 888–89, paras. 87–92.

41. Ibid., p. 866, para. 19.
42. Ibid., p. 858, paras. 58–62.
43. Ibid., recommendation (3), p. 848.
44. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:876, paras. 90–91, OL.
45. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1208, para. 21, OL.
46. *QVP* (1861):449, paras. 73–74, OL.
47. Recommendation (4), *NSWVP* (1858) 2:848, OL.
48. Recommendation (6), *ibid.*
49. Ibid., p. 849.
50. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 29 April 1859, NMP, QSA.
51. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1:1209, para. 45, OL.
52. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:869, paras. 16, 18; p. 871, para. 71, OL.
53. *QVP* (1861):434, para. 216, OL.
54. Ibid., p. 492, para. 87.
55. Ibid., p. 446, para. 28.
56. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:860, paras. 84, 88, OL.
57. Ibid., p. 879, paras. 88–89.
58. Ibid., p. 860, para. 102.
59. Ibid., p. 871, paras. 82–83.
60. Ibid., p. 897, paras. 13–15.
61. *QVP* (1861):517, para. 18, OL.
62. Before the 1858 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:892, para. 52, OL.
63. *QVP* (1861):560, para. 44, OL.
64. Ibid., p. 478, para. 41.
65. Ibid., p. 516, paras. 74–75.
66. Ibid., p. 484, paras. 73–76.
67. *QVP* (1860):563–4, paras. 1–13, OL.
68. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:898, para. 18, OL.
69. *QVP* (1861):493, para. 102, OL.
70. Wood/Col. Sec. Qld., 12 March 1862, Col. Sec., QSA.
71. J. W. Bleakley, *The Aborigines of Australia: Their History – Their Habits – Their Assimilation* (Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1961).
72. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:879, para. 84, OL.

## Chapter 21: Difficulties in Administration

1. Hampton/Govt. Resident, 12 August 1857, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
2. Hampton/Govt. Resident, 23 September 1857, NMP, B/6, QSA.
3. Hampton/Morisset, 12 November 1857, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
4. Wickham/Col. Sec., 25 February 1858, with notes thereon including approval by Denison 17 March 1858, *ibid.*
5. Wickham/Col. Sec., NMP, B/J2, QSA.
6. Col. Sec./Wickham, 24 February 1858, *ibid.*
7. McLerie/Col. Sec., 18 February 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
8. Col. Sec./Wickham, 9 April 1858, NMP, B/J2, QSA.
9. Wickham/Col. Sec., 20 May 1858, and note thereon, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
10. Col. Sec./Wickham, 1 June 1858, NMP, B/J1, QSA.
11. Hampton/Govt. Resident, 14 June 1858; Wickham/Col. Sec., 15 June 1858 and Cowper's note thereon 25 June 1858, reel A2/40,

- frame 119, COL, OL.
12. Williams/Morisset, 15 April 1858, reel A2/39, COL, OL.
  13. Wickham/Col. Sec., 21 April 1858, *ibid.*
  14. Wickham/Col. Sec., 8 June 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
  15. Ramsay/Wickham, 23 June 1858, NMP, QSA.
  16. *NSWVP* (1856–57) 1: evidence of C. L. Hay, p. 1186, para. 62; W. Forster, p. 1211, para. 69. *NSWVP* (1858) 2: W. Archer, p. 871, para. 86; A. Brown, p. 889, para. 108. *QVP* (1861): J. Hardie, p. 506, paras. 111–12, OL.
  17. *NSWVP* (1858) 2: recommendation (9), p. 848, OL.
  18. Denison/Cowper, 5 February 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
  19. Col. Sec./Wickham, 22 February 1858, *ibid.*
  20. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 1 May 1858, *ibid.*
  21. Wickham/Col. Sec., 12 May 1858, *ibid.*
  22. Noting on Wickham's letter, *ibid.*
  23. Memo of proceedings by Mereweather clerk of the council, 1 June 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
  24. Noting on memo, *ibid.*
  25. Col. Sec./Wickham, 9 June 1858, Res., QSA.
  26. Col. Sec./Wickham, 3 August 1858, *ibid.*
  27. Wickham/Col. Sec., 1 June 1858, *ibid.*
  28. *Ibid.*
  29. Morisset/Wickham, 14 May 1858, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:413, OL.
  30. Elyard/Wickham, 30 June 1858, *ibid.*, p. 412.
  31. Wickham/Col. Sec., 7 July 1858, *ibid.*
  32. Morisset/Wickham, 17 June 1858, *ibid.*, p. 414.
  33. Morisset/Wickham, 8 August 1858, *ibid.*, p. 416.
  34. Before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *NSWVP* (1861): 437, para. 72, OL.
  35. Published by John Murray, London, 1902, p. 139.
  36. See note 33.
  37. Morisset's letter (see note 33).
  38. Morisset/Govt. Resident, NMP, QSA.
  39. Wickham/Col. Sec., 21 July 1858, *NSWVP* (1858) 2:409, OL.
  40. Morisset/Wickham, 8 August 1858, *ibid.*, p. 417.
  41. Wickham/Col. Sec., 1 September 1858, Res., QSA.
  42. Elyard/Wickham, 21 September 1858, *ibid.*
  43. Cole/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 20 October 1858, *ibid.*
  44. Perry/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 20 October 1858, *ibid.*
  45. Walker/Morisset, 19 July 1858, reel A2/42, frame 673, COL, OL.
  46. Settlers/Commandant, 20 July 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL. The signatories were Charles Coxen J.P. who also signed for Lang and Hunter and also R. Cobham as well as J. R. Wilkie, H. P. Gordon, Stephen Spence, S. G. Mackay, Ewen Campbell, A. S. Darly, John Marlow, and Finlay Ross.
  47. Wickham/Col. Sec., 14 September 1858, reel A2/42, frame 681, COL, OL.
  48. Col. Sec./Wickham, 20 September 1858, 58/3393, referred to in Wickham/Col. Sec., 30 November 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
  49. Walker/Morisset, 9 September 1858, NMP, B/8, QSA.
  50. Walker/Allman, 9 September 1858, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
  51. Morisset/Allman, 26 November 1858, referred to in Allman's letter (see note 52).



52. Allman/Commandant, 2 December 1858, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
53. Allman/Commandant, 16 December 1858, *ibid.*
54. Morisset/Wickham, 16 December 1858, *ibid.*

## Chapter 22: Inheritance by a New Colony

1. Note by Lt. Murray on Wheeler's report (see note 2).
2. Wheeler/Murray, 17 October 1858, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
3. *The Queen v. Frederick Wheeler*, Circuit Court Rockhampton, No. 2, Crown Solicitor's brief, Jus., QSA.
4. Wheeler/Murray, 21 October 1858, reel A2/41, frame 600, COL, OL.
5. Murray/Commandant, 3 November 1858, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Powell/Morisset, 18 October 1858, Denison's approval noted 13 December 1858, reel A2/40, COL, OL.
8. Wickham/Col. Sec., 28 December 1858, reel A2/41, frame 590, COL, OL.
9. Noting dated 10 January 1859 on Wickham's letter, *ibid.*
10. Wheeler/Wickham, 5 March 1859, Wickham/Col. Sec., 29 March 1859, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
11. Carr/Lt. Murray, 8 December 1858, *ibid.* Also referred to by Carr before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *QVP* (1861):535, paras. 12–16, OL.
12. Cardew/Col. Sec., 19 November 1858, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
13. Morisset/Wickham, 20 January 1859, *ibid.*; also Wickham/Col. Sec., 24 January 1859, *ibid.*, frame 158.
14. Also Carr's evidence before the Queensland 1861 Select Committee, *QVP* (1861):535–36, paras. 30–39, OL.
15. Wickham/Col. Sec., 24 January 1859, reel A2/41, frame 158, COL, OL.
16. Morisset/Wickham, 15 December 1858, reel A2/42, frame 663, COL, OL.
17. Wickham/Col. Sec., 28 December 1858, reel A2/42, COL, OL.
18. Wickham/Col. Sec., December 1858, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
19. Wickham/Col. Sec., 28 December 1858, *ibid.*
20. Memo A. Moriatry, clerk of the council, 17 January 1859, Denison's approval 19 January 1859, *ibid.*
21. Wickham/Col. Sec., 2 February 1859, and Denison's approval, *ibid.*
22. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 24 January 1859, *ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Wickham/Col. Sec., 25 January 1859, and approval 31 January 1859, *ibid.*
25. Noting by Col. Sec. 14 February 1859 on Wickham's letter (see note 21).
26. Fitzpatrick/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 19 January 1859, reel A2/41, frame 721, COL, OL.
27. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 15 March 1859, reel A2/41; statement by F. Walker before Wiseman 14 March 1859 and noting on Wiseman's report (see note 28).
28. Noting on Wiseman's report, 7 July 1859, *ibid.*
29. See any English works on Criminal Law, magistrates courts.

30. Referred to in Pearce's letter (see note 31).
31. Pearce/Col. Sec., 1 March 1859, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
32. Evidence of Dodwell before the Queensland 1860 Select Committee on the Police Forces, *QVP* (1860):566–69, OL.
33. Morisset/Wickham, 24 January 1859, reel A2/42, frame 642, COL, OL.
34. Wickham/Col. Sec., 27 January 1859, *ibid.*
35. Elyard/Govt. Resident, 1 February 1859, *ibid.*
36. Morisset/Govt. Resident, 17 September 1859, *ibid.*
37. Wickham/Col. Sec., 5 April 1859, reel A2/41, COL, OL.
38. Murray/Commandant, February 1859, NMP, QSA.
39. The Executive Council until parliament assembled on 22 May 1859 was cautious in taking any action involving the expenditure of money requiring ratification by the future parliament.
40. Frederick Sinnett, *An Account of the Rush to Port Curtis* (Ray and Richter, Geelong, 1859), pp. 69–72.
41. *QVP* (1861):449, para. 80, OL.
42. F. Walker/Col. Sec., 10 July 1861, NMP, QSA.
43. Published by H. Pole & Co., Brisbane, 1907, p. 25.
44. *QVP* (1861):449, para. 76, OL.
45. *NSWVP* (1858) 2:869, paras. 12–13; p. 873, para. 150, OL.
46. *QVP* (1861):479, para. 50, OL.
47. Wiseman/Chief Commissioner Crown Lands, 7 January 1857, reel A2/38, COL, OL.
48. *QVP* (1861):479. OL.

# Sources

## **Queensland State Archives**

In the Queensland State Archives there is a considerable amount of correspondence and other material relating to the Native Police Force in Queensland before separation. Much of this is not officially numbered but it has been sorted into bundles. References to specified material which is located in any of these bundles bear the bundle description.

## **Colonial Secretary's Office of New South Wales files**

Correspondence to and from this office was obtained partly from microfilm copies held by the John Oxley Library, Brisbane. Where this was not the case the alternative source, the Queensland State Archives, is indicated.

## **New South Wales Votes and Proceedings**

These were referred to in copies held by the John Oxley Library, Brisbane. The full reports and proceedings of the 1856 and 1858 Select Committees are included in these *Votes and Proceedings*.

## **Queensland Votes and Proceedings**

These were referred to in copies held by the John Oxley Library, Brisbane. The references to the 1861 Select Committee and other committees of Queensland are located in these *Votes and Proceedings*.

**Commissioner of Crown Lands William H. Wiseman's reports**

These are mostly in a letter book of W. H. Wiseman located during the research with Mr. J. Lucy, a former commissioner of the Queensland Department of Lands, who has handed the book to the John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

**New South Wales Government Gazettes and Queensland Government Gazettes**

Copies are held by the John Oxley Library and Queensland State Archives, Brisbane.



# Index

- Aborigines.** *See also* Districts; Enquiries or inquests into deaths of Aborigines; Native Police Force; Station or hut Aborigines; Troopers
- administrative policies, 4–5, 11–12
  - blankets and clothing distributions, 230, 237
  - border police, in, 398n.20
  - British subjects, 5
  - Broadsound, near, 372
  - bunya season, 37, 109, 220, 400n.50
  - corroborees and meetings, 81, 327, 339
  - court trials
    - Davy, 80
    - Dunrobberie, 65, 138, 405n.46
    - Meridie, 7
    - Mickey, 110–12
    - Murrall, Jack Congo, 6–7, 396n.10
    - Nungavil, 7
    - Perika, 65, 405n.46
    - Sippy, 119–20
  - Cubba Galoes tribe, 94–95
  - evidence in law courts of, 7–8, 77
  - fear of, 3, 23, 37, 82, 193, 281
  - generous impulses, 175, 253
  - hostility and resistance generally towards settlers, 1–2, 23–24, 193, 200, 202–3, 205, 207, 215, 280, 326–27, 370
  - killing of station Aborigines by, 76, 97, 144, 209, 278
  - land
    - right to hunt on, 5, 11
    - titles unrecognized, 2–3
  - legal status, 6–7, 9
  - liquor, 193
  - nocturnal attacks by, 203–4, 206, fig.5
  - poisoning of, 21, 24
  - promises to, 3, 329
  - rape by, 106, 331
  - revenge of, 4, 24, 193, 279, 328–30
  - settlers' reprisals, 4, 16–18, 22–24, 33, 37, 370
  - sheltering
    - in scrubs, 165, 316, 322, 328, 372, 404n.31
    - on stations, 278–79, 281, 413n.23
  - station runs
    - closed to, 2–3, 51, 81, 84, 200
    - efficiency as stockmen and shepherds on, 194
    - employment on, 2, 181, 230, 239
    - opened to, 2, 51, 81, 181, 200
  - travelled from home areas, 31, 280–81
  - tribal alliances, 251



- war, 369—70  
 watched police movements, 181  
 Wiseman's opinions, 1, 279  
 Aborigines Protection Society, 5  
 Acts of Council and Parliament Imperial  
   6 & 7 Vic. c.22 (evidence of unsworn witnesses), 8, 10  
   9 & 10 Vic. c.104 (lands), 11, 24  
   18 & 19 Vic. c.54 (New South Wales Constitution Act), 420n.38  
 New South Wales  
   7 Wm. IV No. 4 (1836) (Crown Lands), 16—17  
   2 Vic. No. 27 (1839) (Squatting Act), 6, 8, 17—20  
   3 Vic. No. 16 (1839) (evidence of Aborigines), 8  
   5 Vic. No. 1 (1841) (Renewal of Squatting Act), 9  
 Queensland  
   40 Vic. No. 10 (1876) (Oaths), 11  
 Aldridge, E. T., 192  
 Allan, Sgt., 310  
 Allman, Sub-Lt. F., 222, 229, 246—48, 263—64, 350—53  
 Assembly, unlawful, 317—18  
 Atkins, Prov. Insp. of Police H., 72  
 Auburn River, 189—90, 200, fig.22  
 Auckland Creek, 117  
 Australian Steam Navigation Company, 254—55, 335  
 Baker, 2nd Lt. J. T., 367  
 Bald Hills, Brisbane, 265  
 Balonne River, 20, 55, 74—78, 97, 103, 146, 200. *See also* Districts, Maranoa  
 Banana station, attacks on, 203, 205, 230, 280, 315—16, fig.26  
 Bannister, Chief Const., 50  
 Bell, Dr. H., 162  
 Bidwill, C. of C. L. J. C., 34, 45, 67  
 Billy Bird, 407n.4  
 Blackboy, P. (killed), 209  
 Blackman (Maryborough), 64  
 Blandford, Sub-Lt., 87—88, 105  
 Bleakley, J. W., 332, 430n.71  
 Bligh, Lt. (later Cmdt.) John O'C.  
   appointments, 108, 254  
   apprehension of convict runaway Fahay, 157  
   at enquiry into conduct of F. Walker, 159  
   opinion on some Aboriginal outrages, 329  
   service  
     Auburn River (Hawkwood), 345  
     Clarence district, 189, 219  
     Dawson River, 123—24, 343  
     recruiting at Clarence River, 254, 264—66  
     Yabba, 174  
     trooper insubordinate, 183  
 Bligh, Richard, 106  
 Board of Enquiry into conduct of F. Walker, 158—62  
   unpaid expenses of officers attending, 169  
 Bokhara River, 97, fig.20  
 Bonar, Andrew, 228  
 Border Police Force, 9, 17—22  
 Bourke, Governor Sir Richard, 16, 25  
 Boyle, C. of C. L. Henry, 193, 229, 256  
 Briggs, Fanny (killed at Rockhampton), 199  
 Broadsound, 372  
 Brookes, Benjamin (farmer), 265  
 Brown, Dr. H. H., 69, 129, 135, 163, 171—72, 355, 411n.8  
 Buchanan, Colonial storekeeper, 114—15  
 Buckley, M. P., Henry, 264  
 Bungaree, Sgt. John, 85—88, 129—30, 407n.4  
 Bungil Creek, 94, 146, 348—49, 361, fig.20

- Burnett district. *See* Districts, Burnett
- Burnett River, 200, 240, 397n.11, fig.22, fig.23
- Buxton, Foxwell, 5
- Cabbage Tree Creek (Sandgate), 265, fig.24
- Caboolture Scrub, 248
- Calliope River, 355, fig.26
- Campbell, D. W., 37
- Campbell-Praed, Rosa, 276
- Canooka gold rush, 369
- Carr, 2nd Lt. F. W., 254, 259–60, 272, 277, 292, 345, 357–58, 360
- Chapman, C. P. S., 250
- Charley's Creek, 31, fig.21
- Chinese station employees, 62, 71–72, 90, 92, 122, 147, 281  
killed, 68–69, 89, 91, 109, 121, 187, 337–38
- Christie, Postmaster-General, 128, 202
- Clarence River, 311, 325
- Cole, C. of C. L., 342, 347–48
- Coley, Capt. John, 237
- Comet River, 200, 315
- Commandant, office of  
abolished, 218–19  
restored, 226
- Commissioners of Crown Lands, 18, 22, 24. *See also* Border Police Force; Districts (reports by land commissioners on Aborigines)
- Conciliation Creek, 318, fig.25, fig.26
- Condamine River, 22, 27, 31, 37–38, 57, 83, 200, fig.21. *See also* Districts, Darling Downs
- Cowper ministry, 12, 339, 341
- Cracow Creek, 316, fig.22
- Culgoa River, 97. *See also* Districts, Maranoa
- Currie, Capt., 64–66
- Curtis Island, 243–44, 356, fig.26
- Dalhunty, R. Vernon, 19
- Dana, H. E. Pultney, 25
- Darling, Governor, 15
- Darling Downs district. *See* Districts, Darling Downs
- Dawson River, 20, 200, 316, 404n.31. *See also* Districts, Leichhardt; Native Police Force, operations  
lower, 34, 108, 121, 205–8, 315–16, 357–58  
upper, 34, 61, 96, 144, 149, 152, 230–31, 268, 274–76, 279, 344
- Dempster, Lt. Richard, 70, 74–78, 93–96, 106–7, 219, 406n.29
- Deniliquin, 35
- Denison, Governor Sir William, 163–64, 216, 341
- Denty, Mr., 180
- Districts. *See also* Squatters, list of; Stations  
Burnett, fig.22  
Aborigines: depredations by, 24, 34, 59, 239; settlers and others killed by, 34, 50, 59–60, 62, 80, 82, 109, 190  
Native Police: operations of, 49, 62–63, 109, 121–22; requests for, 34, 39, 121  
proclaimed, 21
- Darling Downs, fig.20, fig.21  
Aborigines: depredations by, 27, 29, 34, 36, 38, 50–51; reports by land commissioners, 22, 193; settlers and others killed by, 22–23, 27, 29, 31, 37–38, 57, 83, 117, 124, 149, 194–96  
Native Police, operations of, 29–31, 37–39, 50, 55, 57, 61  
proclaimed, 21  
runs abandoned, 23
- Leichhardt, fig.25  
Aborigines: depredations by, 50, 133; reports by land commissioner, 1, 200,

- 212, 279; settlers and others killed by, 61, 108, 121, 144, 149, 152, 213-14, 268, 273, 279, 282, 315-16, 350-51
- Native Police: operations of, 50, 57, 61-62, 96, 108-9, 181, 269, 315, 344-45; requests for, 108, 121, 358-60
- Maranoa, fig.20
- Aborigines: depredations by, 24, 34-35, 39, 120; reports by land commissioners on, 35, 120, 229-30; settlers and others killed by, 31, 34, 39, 120, 149-50, 194-96
- Native Police: operations of, 52, 55-56, 61, 74-77, 93-97, 146-47, 150-53, 194-96; requests for, 34, 39, 152-53, 217-18
- proclaimed, 21
- Moreton Bay, fig.24
- Aborigines: depredations by, 21, 264-65, 336; reports by land commissioner on, 21-22, 110, 187; settlers and others killed by, (to 1853, 21, 23), 266, 337-39
- Native Police: operations of, 89, 187-88, 336-39; requests for, 148, 187, 264-65
- proclaimed, 21
- New England
- Aborigines, depredations by, 106, 219
- Native Police: depart from Brisbane, 106; request for, 105; required no longer, 325; travelled to Brisbane, 265
- Port Curtis, fig.26
- Aborigines: report by land commissioner on, 215, 237, 372; settlers and others killed by, 206, 208-10, 214, 230, 241-42, 314-15, 353-54
- Native Police: operations of, 176-79, 206, 209, 216-18, 230-31, 241-44, 354-58; reserve for, 117
- opened for settlement, 116
- Wide Bay, fig.23
- Aborigines: depredations by, 24, 34, 39, 59, 63, 78, 120, 179-80, 191-93, 220-21, 238-39, 241, 266-67; reports by land commissioner on, 191-93, 238-39; settlers and others killed by, 21, 34, 59, 68, 82-84, 89-91, 109, 120, 180, 191, 221, 238, 267
- Native Police, operations of, 49-50, 64-65, 90, 121, 186-87, 272
- proclaimed, 21
- Dodds, Rev., 212
- Dodwell, A., 366
- Dolan, Adj. J., 49, 53, 55, 58, 62, 70, 83, 85, 88, 114, 133, 135, 136-39, 173, 180-82, 289, 380
- Donaldson ministry, 12
- Dowzer's store (Maryborough), 238
- Drayton, 147, 399n.29, fig.15
- Duncan, W. A., 188
- Durbin, C. of C. L. J.H., 34-35
- Eipper, Rev. C., 9-10

- Elida*, 210, 419n.16  
 Elliotts' station, attack on, 213-14  
 Enquiries or inquests into deaths of Aborigines, 7-8, 37, 41, 55-57, 61, 63, 66, 77, 176, 232
- Fahay, J. (Gilberry), 157  
 Fanning, William, 228  
 Ferguson, Lt. J. D. L., 128-33, 168, 201-2, 229, 248, 256-57, 263, 266, 310  
 Fifer's Camp, 177  
 Finigan, Temp. Sgt. L., 201  
 Fitzgerald, Sgt., 156, 198-99  
 FitzRoy, Governor Sir Charles, 10-12, 26, 84, 87-88  
 FitzRoy Downs, 20, 55, 93, 146  
 FitzRoy River, 316, fig.26. *See also* Districts, Port Curtis; Native Police Force, operations
- Flora Ville (Leichhardt River), 167  
 Fortescue, Sub-Lt. W. H., 126, 133, 140, 147, 186-87, 189, 229  
 Fraser family, massacre of. *See* Stations, Hornet Bank  
 Fraser's Island (Great Sandy Island), 45-48, 64-66, fig.23  
 Fulford, Lt. George  
     appointments, 34, 168  
     at Maryborough, 45  
     death, 198  
     efficient, 69  
     magisterial powers exercised, 45  
     meticulous rations report, 197  
     patrols  
         Balonne River, 55  
         Bogandilla, 196  
         Condamine River, 61, 146-47  
         Maranoa, 55  
     posted in charge of Wondai Gumbal, 52, 55  
     rebuked by F. Walker, 103-4  
     sickness, 114  
     travelled down the Darling River, 35
- Furber, George (killed), 68, 191, 238, 418n.24  
 Gayndah, 48-49, 63, 68, 80, 84, 92, 105, 127-29, fig.22, fig.27  
 Geoghegan, Sgt., 351  
 Gerike, minister, 330  
 German station employees, 117, 123, 214, 242  
 Gill, Richard, 89, 99  
 Gipps, Governor Sir George, 5-6, 12, 17-19, 24-25  
 Gladstone, 117, 130, 201, 209, 241, 272, 355, fig.27(11)  
 Glenelg, Lord, 4, 16, 25  
 Glynn, 248  
 Goode, Jacob, 45  
 Goode, Jane, 113  
 Goode's Burnett Inn (Nanango), 45, 113, 122-23  
 Goodfellow, John, 60  
 Gracemere, 202, 213-15  
 Grafton Range, 50, 349, fig.20  
 Graham, Sgt., 119, 141, 143  
 Grant, Adam, 89  
 Grant, Peter (killed in Caboolture scrub), 248  
 Gray, Col. C. G., 158  
 Gray, David, 242  
 Gray, Thomas, 265  
 Gregor, Andrew (killed Brisbane area), 49, 110, 402n.39  
 Gregory, A. C., 123, 345, 370  
 Grey, Earl, 4, 10-11
- Halloran, C. of C. L. A.E., 120-21, 137-40, 179, 191, 220, 249  
 Hammond, William, 132, 134  
 Hampton, F. B., 254-55, 263, 334-36, 366  
 Harold, 210, 214  
 Harris, 2nd Lt. J. T., 254, 259-62  
 Hill, W. R. O., 371  
 Hitches, Camp Sgt., 341-42  
 Hornet Bank. *See* Stations, Hornet Bank  
 Horrigan, Const., 210, 216  
 Horse Creek (Dawson), 231, fig.25  
 Hughes, M. L. C., Henry, 85-87

- Humphrey, Sgt. C., 113,  
122–23, 176, 184, 201
- Inquests into deaths of Europeans, 248, 338
- Instructions to governors, 4, 6,  
10
- Irving, Lt. S. J. C.  
appointments, 108, 126, 133,  
168  
attendance at board of enquiry into F. Walker's conduct, 159–63  
at Wondai Gumbal, 141  
death, 250  
dismissal, 170  
insubordination of trooper,  
141–42  
patrols Maranoa, 146  
reappointed at Wide Bay,  
222, 229  
supports Marshall's complaint against Walker, 153  
suspension, 169–70  
unpaid salary, 250
- Jamison, C. P. S., 45  
Jemmy, 20
- Keen, Sub-Lt. F., 108, 122–23,  
134–36, 168, 188–89,  
272
- Kennelly, Sgt., 350  
Kerr, Sgt., 92–93  
Kirchner and Co., 133  
Knight, Capt., 238  
Knox, E., 228
- Lamb, W., 281  
Langhorne, missionary, 25  
Lawless, Sgt. R., 70, 91–93  
Laws applicable to colonies upon acquisition, 1  
Lawson, A. R., 228  
Layton & Co., E. W., 60  
Lear, F., 158  
Leichhardt district. *See* Districts, Leichhardt  
Leichhardt, Dr. Ludwig, 3, 20,  
177–78  
Limits of location, 16  
Livingstone, 64  
Lonsdale, Capt., 25
- Lynd Range, 150
- McCabe, surveyor, 117, 129  
McCarthy, Sgt. J., 361  
Macdonald (Yass), 32  
McGowan, Hugh, 120  
McGrath, Sgt. M., 105, 110  
Macintyre River, 23–24, 29–30,  
36, 83, 117, fig.20, fig.21.  
*See also* Districts, Darling Downs; Native Police stations, Callandoon
- MacKenzie, K., 80  
Mackenzie River, 205, fig.26  
McLerie, Insp. Gen. of Police J.,  
227, 249, 262, 313, 335  
Manning, A. W., 193  
Maranoa district. *See* Districts, Maranoa  
Maranoa River, 200, fig.20  
*Margaret and Mary*, 64  
Marshall, Lt. (later Cmdt.)  
Richard P., 399n.34  
accounts paid promptly, 173  
appearance before  
Board of Enquiry into F. Walker's conduct,  
159–63  
the 1856 Select Committee, 56, 192, 253,  
313  
appointments, 34, 155, 180  
capture of Aborigines on Fraser's Island, 65  
complains of Walker's irregularities, 153  
death, 185  
declined post of senior officer, 184  
discharged troopers, 189  
magisterial powers, exercise of, 45, 63, 79, 119  
on truthfulness, 56  
opposes reduction in strength of Native Police, 184  
police magistrate after resignation, 185  
rebuked by F. Walker, 107–8, 150  
resignation, 184–85  
service  
Burnett district, 55. *See also* Traylan hereunder

- Macintyre and Condamine Rivers, 35–39, 41–42  
 Traylan, 135–40, 180  
 Wide Bay district, 49–50  
 sickness, 109  
 sole officer in Burnett and Wide Bay districts, 189  
 sureties, 173  
 suspends Lt. Irving, 169  
 tenders resignation, 153  
 unpaid salary, 155  
 Martin, William (drayman), 177  
 Maryborough, 34, 45, 68–69, 137–40, 187, 191–93, 219, 238–39, 263, 334, fig.27(6). *See also* Native Police stations, Coopers Plains  
 Mary River, 49, 249, fig.23. *See also* Districts, Wide Bay; Maryborough  
 Mayne, Insp. Gen. of Police W. C., 43, 205–6, 208, 215–17, 219, 227, 249, 255, 265  
 Military post at Dividing Range, 21  
 Miller, John, 251  
 Miriam Vale station, attack on, 241–43, fig.26  
 Mitchell, C. of C. L. Rod, 37  
 Mitchell, Sir Thomas, 20  
 Moorhead, 2nd Lt. William, 254–55, 270, 277, 299, 304, 345  
 Moreton Bay, 264–66, fig.24  
 Moreton Bay district. *See* Districts, Moreton Bay  
 Moreton Bay penal settlement, 20  
 Morris, M. L. C., Augustus, 28, 31–32, 153–54, 400n.35, 400n.48  
 Morisset, Lt. (later Cmdt.) Edric V.  
     appointments, 105, 168, 219, 228–29  
     contradicts letters in public journals, 346–47  
     Corfield's criticism of, 266–67, 310–11  
     delayed action on 2nd Lt. Harris, 259–62  
     desertion of troopers, 221  
     enquiry into Lt. Nicoll's conduct, 298–305  
     instructions to officers, 312–13  
     rebuked by Lt. J. Murray, 236–37  
     recommends dismissal of Lt. Ross, 268–69  
     reports adversely on Wondai Gumbal, 269–70  
     service  
         Clarence River, 219 (recruiting, 311)  
         Dawson River, 315, 344–45  
         Wide Bay district, 220–22  
     suspends Lt. Nicoll, 298  
     tours of inspection by, 266–68, 344–45  
     unfree of blame for Ross's dismissal, 293  
     visit to Sydney, 254  
 Morisset, R., 362–63  
 Mort & Laidley, 228  
 Mortimer, J., 314  
 Mount Abundance, 20, 34, fig.20  
 Mount Larcom station, attacks on, 208–12, 354, fig.26  
 Mucadilla Creek, 94  
 Murray, 2nd Lt. George, 271, 345, 420n.17  
 Murray, Lt. John  
     appointments, 69, 168  
     efficiency, 69, 105, 109, 216, 366  
     enquiry into conduct of Lt. Ross, 285–91  
     insubordination of men, 92–93  
     lawyer's letter to commandant, 99  
     leave, 201  
     rebukes Lt. Morisset, 236–37  
     recruiting at Maryborough, 239  
     service  
         Burnett district, 92, 121–22  
         Dawson River: lower, 108–9, 206; upper, 105, 232, 236–37, 277–78, 315

- Elliotts' station attack, 215  
 Miriam Vale station attack, 243  
 Mt. Larcom station attacks, 209-12, 356-57  
 Port Curtis district, 206, 209-16, 239-40, 243, 356  
 sickness, 109  
 Myall Creek case, 7-8, 17  
 Narran River, 97  
 Native Police Force. *See also* Districts; Native Police stations; Stations, benefited from Native Police action; Troopers  
 Aboriginal attacks on native police  
   Kianga station, 357-58  
   marking Gladstone tree line, 129-30  
   Rannes: camp, 202-3, 205-8; patrol, 178-79  
   Yabba Creek, 157  
 camp sergeants, 226, 254, 338, 341-42, 361-63.  
*See also* Appendix E; also under personal names  
 carriage of supplies for, 125, 132  
 commandants. *See* Appendix D; also under personal names  
 control generally  
   by Capt. Wickham, 227-28  
   by insp. gen. of police, 184  
 criticism of, 49, 58-59, 77-78, 91, 220-22, 266, 278, 309-10, 357  
 desirability confirmed, 223-24, 321  
 disbanding partially, effect on tribes of, 30, 66, 190  
 discipline, 13, 33-34, 44  
   deterioration of, 92-93, 252  
 dispersing Aborigines, 206-7, 314  
 Morisset's instructions, 313-14  
 dray, 132, 147, fig.14  
 duties, 43  
 efficiency, 28, 43-44, 110, 166, 217, 295, 313-14, 316, 327, 366  
 escorts by, 113, 140, 176-77, 202, 300  
 established  
   northern districts of New South Wales, 12, 26  
   Port Phillip district, 25  
 finances  
   accounts, 130-33, 146, 160, 171-72  
   advances, 69-70, 99-101, 107, 131-32  
   cheques dishonoured, 99, 102  
   estimates and votes, 26, 29, 69, 98, 102, 117, 215-19, 228, 367  
   expenditure, 319-20  
   overspent, 130-31, 145  
   system, 70, 99-101, 131-33  
 headquarters, 33, 124-25, 134, 263, 324, 335  
   of divisions, 117, 226, 249, 262-63, 268, 335, 344, 348-50, 366-67  
 horses  
   breaking in, 35, 148  
   bush fed, 199  
   misuse, 135-36, 139, 403n.54  
   paddocks, 199, 263-64, 367  
   purchase, 100  
   saddles, 143, 243, 313, 403n.54  
   shoeing, 63, 109, 134, 226, 403n.54, 405n.36  
   sore backs, 135, 243, 403n.54  
 legality of actions of, 26, 32, 40-43, 47-48, 317-18  
 mails carried, 127-29, 202



- officers. *See also* Appendix D; also under personal names
- appointments, 34, 69, 73, 108, 133, 168, 222, 254, 271, 314, 339-41, 362
  - as magistrates, 45, 63, 253
  - deaths, 198, 250
  - dismissal of, 170, 262, 291, 353
  - efficiency, 43, 69, 253, 324, 353, 366
  - financial duties, 99-100
  - indictment for murder, 355
  - Morisset's instructions to, 312-13
  - personal money spent on police, 145, 171
  - rationing arrangements with settlers deemed private arrangements, 170
  - remuneration, 254
  - resignation of, 105, 256-57, 310
  - stations favoured charge, 79
  - suspension of, 135-36, 282
  - warrants obtained by, 253
  - wounded, 360
- official policy, 26, 32, 41-43, 208, 218, 325-26
- operations
- Balonne River, 74-78, 94-97, 103-4
  - Brisbane area, 89, 188
  - Burnett district, 49, 62-63, 71-72, 345
  - Clarence and McLeay Rivers, 34, 105-6, 219
  - Condamine River, 29-31, 37, 39, 50, 55, 61, 146, 194-96
  - Darling River, 36, 202, 219
  - Dawson River: lower, 205-6, 357-58; upper, 50, 57, 61-62, 96, 142-45, 150-53, 176-79, 181, 230-31, 276-78, 315, 344-45
  - FitzRoy River, 268
  - Fraser's Island, 45-48, 64-65
  - Macintyre River, 29-30, 36, 38-39
  - Maranoa district, 52, 55-56, 61, 74-77, 93-97, 146
  - Moonie River, 146
  - Port Curtis district, 103, 116, 134, 209-15. *See also* Dawson River, lower
  - Wide Bay district, 45, 49-50, 120-21, 186-87, 221-22
  - Yabba Creek, 157
- organization and distribution, 33, 44-45, 52, 88-89, 105-6, 116, 134, 165, 223, 232, 235, 272, 319-20, 401n.12. *See also* Appendix B
- protection to Aborigines, 166
- rationing of, 59-60, 101, 130, 141, 148, 170-71, 182-83, 361
- reserves, 199, 249, 423n.35
- secretary, 226, 254, 278, 334-36, 366
- sergeants. *See also* Appendix E; Camp sergeants under this head
- Aboriginal. *See* Appendix F
  - appointments, 34, 49, 70, 73
  - barrack, 201
  - death, 156
  - desertion, 201
  - dismissal, 78, 121. *See also* Resignations hereunder
  - instructions from F. Walker to, 74-76, 104
  - insubordination, 92-93
  - resignations, 93, 98-99, 105
  - suspension, 78

- shooting at prisoners escaping, 36–37, 62, 202  
special constables (European), 64, 201  
strengths. *See* Appendix A  
    recommendation of the 1856 select committee, 226  
    reduction in, 181, 184, 189, 192, 198, 200–201, 215, 221, 225, 231, 238, 251, 272, 312, 324; effect of, 192, 217, 225, 241; Mayne's justification, 215, 219; no reason given to 1856 Select Committee, 225  
travelling distances, 35, 57–58  
troop orders, 70  
Native Police stations, fig.27.  
    *See also* Native Police Force, headquarters  
    Bungil Creek, 348–49, 361, fig.27(3)  
    Callandoon, 33, 53, 118–19, fig.27(1)  
    Coopers Plains, 249, fig.27(6)  
    Dawson River, 199, 346, fig.27(9)  
    Gladstone, 116–17, fig.27(11)  
    Rannes, 134–36, fig.27(10)  
    Traylan (Burnett River), 89, 122, 127–40, 249, 408n.16, fig.27(8)  
    Walla, 136–37, 186–87, fig.27(7)  
    Wondai Gumbal, 51–52, 55, 77, 113–14, 141, 182, 196–97, 255–58, 269–70, 295–303, 348–53, 361, fig.27(2)  
    Yabba, 107, 122, 169–70, 174, 221, 409n.18, fig.27(5)  
New England district. *See* Districts, New England  
Nicoll, Lt. F.  
    appointments, 126, 133, 168, 198  
    attendance before  
        Board of Enquiry into F. Walker's conduct, 159–63  
        the 1856 Select Committee, 60, 229  
    charges of his inefficiency, 298–302  
    Land Commissioner Boyle's complaint regarding Wondai Gumbal, 256, 295–96  
    Lester's complaint regarding officers at Wondai Gumbal, 255–57  
    resignation, 303  
    salary payment delayed, 146, 306–7  
    service  
        Bogandilla, 194–96  
        upper Dawson, 142–45, 182  
        Maranoa patrol, 146  
        recruiting on Condamine, 271; alleged recruiting of Hornet Bank murderers, 302–5  
        Wondai Gumbal, 141, 174, 198, 235  
    supports Marshall's complaint against Walker, 153  
    suspension, 303; allegations against native police operations, 305; asks for impartial enquiry, 303  
    visited Ipswich, 235–36  
Nogoa River, 331, fig.19  
O'Brien, Timothy (drayman), 176–77  
O'Connell, Capt. (later Sir) M. C., fig.18  
Aborigines  
    dispersed on Mondure station, 50  
    followed on Blaxland's murder, 402n.40  
    issued blankets, etc. to, 237  
    opinions on, 3, 175, 328–29  
    avoided desertions by troopers, 175

- Commissioner of Crown Lands, Gayndah, 49  
disbanded troopers, opinion on, 328  
Government Resident, Port Curtis, 156  
    abolition of office, 244-46, 422n.20  
instructions to Lt. J. Murray on Rannes station attack, 203-4  
Native Police at Gladstone  
    in charge of, 201, 216-17, 244-46  
    caused return of woman in camp of, 207  
    reports on camp, 156  
    reports on sickness, 156-57  
    reports on strength, 215  
    opinions before Select Committees, 165, 207, 253, 322, 328-29, 331  
Walker, F., references to, 165  
O'Connell, Carlo, 241  
O'Connell, H. B., 239  
O'Neil, J., 405n.36  
Owens Creek, 231, fig.20, fig.25
- Palm Tree Creek, 181, 199-200, 231-32, fig.25  
Palmer, Surgeon E. F., 91, 239, 259  
Parker, Abraham (death of), 95  
Parker, Premier H. W., 12, 264  
Parry-Okeden, W. E., 13, 397n.26  
Pearce, J. C., 366  
Perry, C. of C. L., 348  
Petrie, T., 329, 415n.17  
Phibbs, 2nd Lt. C. H., 254, 266-68, 344-45  
Phillip, Governor, 4, 12  
Pincott, Sgt. B., 99  
Pine Mountain (Ipswich), 120  
Pine Rivers, 88, 264-66, 337, fig.24  
Plunkett, Attorney Gen. J. H., opinions of, 8, 11, 41-42, 44, 47-48, 112  
Port Curtis district. *See* Districts, Port Curtis  
Poulden, 2nd Lt. R. B., 262, 314, 339-41
- Powell, Lt. F. T., 222, 238, 241, 244, 268-69, 272, 276-77
- Queensland colony, 368
- Raglan Creek, 355, fig.26  
Rannes Native Police camp, attack on, 108-9, 205-8  
Recruiting. *See* Troopers  
Riddell, Colonial Secretary, 163  
Ridley, Rev. W., 407n.4  
Robertson, Surgeon A. C., 260  
Robinson, Hugh, 293  
Rockhampton, 117, fig.26, fig.27(12)  
Rodd's Bay, 243, fig.26  
Rolleston, C. of C. L. C., 18, 21-22, 27  
Ross, Sub-Lt. Thomas, 222, 229, 231-32  
    decision undisturbed by 1858 Select Committee, 325  
    dismissal, 291  
    evidence, 282-93  
    in Maranoa Mounted Patrol, 293  
    suspension, 268-69, 282  
Rusden, M.L.C., T. G., 77
- Sandgate, 265, 337, fig.24  
Sandy Creek, Dawson River, 143, fig.22
- Select Committees, etc.  
    (1836-37) House of Commons (Foxwell Buxton), 5  
    (1844) Crown Land Grievances, 19, 25  
    (1850) State of the Police, 43  
    (1856) Board of Inquiry into Police, 223  
    (1856) Select Committee on Native Police, 225-27  
    (1858) Select Committee on Dawson River murders, 319-28  
    (1861) Queensland Select Committee on Native Police, 23, 373
- Settlement  
    expansion of, 15-17, 20-22, 61  
    limits of, 15-16

- Settlers. *See* Squatters, list of  
Settlers and others killed by  
Aborigines. *See under*  
Districts
- Shannon, Mrs. Mary (killed in  
Brisbane area), 49, 110,  
157, 402n.39
- Sheridan, R. B., 3, 328
- Sidney, John, 125–26
- Simpson, C. of C. L. Dr.  
Stephen, 21–22, 110, 158
- Sinnett, F., 369–70
- Sippy, 117–20
- Skelton, Sgt. James, 49, 53, 55,  
57, 61–62, 96, 98–99
- Small, Dr., 133
- Smith, Sub-Lt. William, 222,  
229, 255–58
- Spooner, Sgt. W., 362
- Squatters, list of  
(Abbreviations of districts  
used under this head  
and also under  
Stations:  
Burnett district: BD  
Darling Downs district:  
DDD  
Leichhardt district: LD  
Maranoa district: MD  
Moreton Bay district:  
MBD  
Port Curtis district: PCD  
Wide Bay district: WBD)
- Archer, Charles, BD, PCD,  
49, 70, 127, 171, 202,  
207, 213, 215
- Archer, David, BD, PCD, 49,  
80
- Archer, William, BD, PCD, 2,  
81, 327, 329, 371–72,  
431n.16
- Baldwin, W., MD, 94
- Balfour, M.L.C., John, MBD,  
338
- Barney, Capt. J. G., DDD, 29
- Bell, R., PCD, 209
- Bennett, James, DDD, 37,  
299–301
- Berry, BD, 133
- Birrell, R., DDD, 399n.17
- Blaxland, Gregory (killed),  
WBD, 49, 402n.34,  
402n.40
- Blyth, J. A., DDD, 31,  
37–38, 51, 55, 359,  
399n.17
- Bouverie, W. P., BD, 92
- Bradley, E. (killed), DDD, 83
- Brown, Alfred, WBD, 314,  
322, 431n.16
- Burnett, DDD, 52
- Cardew, Pollett, LD, 268,  
284, 287, 298, 305,  
358–60
- Cash, MBD, 122
- Charlton, PCD, 247
- Chauvel, DDD, 31
- Clarke, F., PCD, 209, 354
- Connor, Daniel, PCD,  
176–77, 203, 371,  
426n.56
- Corfield, Henry Cox, WBD,  
83–84, 138, 266–69,  
297, 309
- Coutts, LD, 61, 404n.11,  
404n.31
- Coxen, M.L.A., Charles,  
DDD, 51, 86–87,  
431n.46
- Coxen, S., DDD, 86
- Coxen, W. H., DDD, 302, 361
- Dangar, H., MD, 8, 94
- Dangar, J., MD, 31, 399n.17
- Edwards, W., DDD, 31,  
399n.17
- Elliott, William T., PCD,  
213–14, 371
- Euston, H. T., DDD, 117–19
- Ewer, J. G., DDD, 31, 51,  
399n.17
- Ezzey, Charles, MD, 94, 97
- Ferrett, M.L.A., John, DDD,  
37, 52, 301
- Ferriter, J. S., DDD, 89–90
- Fitzgerald, MD, 76
- Forster, William, WBD,  
78–79, 125, 131, 153,  
251, 322–23, 402n.34,  
431n.16
- Fraser family, LD, 61, 274
- Fraser, J., MBD, 314
- Fraser, J. and W., LD, 181,  
274–76, 283, 286–87,  
289, 302, 426n.4
- Freill, P., BD, 34
- Gaden, W. H., PCD, 253, 329,  
371

- Giggs, N., DDD, 399n.17  
 Gillies, William, DDD, 299  
 Glover, W. H., DDD, 20  
 Goggs, M. and G., DDD, 51, 399n.17  
 Gordon, H. P., MD, 51, 351, 431n.46  
 Gregory, H. C., LD, 287, 323, 328, 344  
 Grover, MD, 94  
 Hall, T. S., MD, 35, 55, 74–78  
 Haly, W. O'G., BD, 71–72, 90, 228  
 Hay, MBD, 337  
 Hay, C. L., WBD, PCD, 176, 205, 313, 426n.58, 431n.16  
 Hay, James L., WBD, PCD, 64, 91, 121, 176, 228  
 Hay, Norman L., WBD, PCD, 64, 91, 121, 176, 228  
 Herbert, Henry, BD, 63, 83  
 Hope, L., MBD, 338  
 Hughes, H., DDD, 31  
 Hunter, DDD, 31  
 Hutchinson, F. R., WBD, 220–22  
 Jones, M.L.A., Richard, BD, 34, 59  
 Kellman, W., LD, 232  
 Kettle, George (killed), MD, 147, 149  
 King, Joseph, DDD, 143, 149, 181, 198, 289–90  
 Lamb, Phillip, BD, 281–82  
 Landsborough, James, BD, PCD, 243–44, 309  
 Landsborough, John, PCD, 90, 122, 246–48, 297  
 Lang, G. S., DDD, 349  
 La Trobe, C. J., DDD, 25  
 Leslie, Patrick, DDD, 20, 228  
 Lester, R. E., DDD, 51, 144, 255–56, 295, 330  
 Little, PCD, 246–47  
 Livingstone, LD, 152  
 Loder, MD, 94, 97  
 Lowe, J., DDD, 24, 407n.4  
 McArthur, John, LD, 280  
 McEncroe, MD, 55, 96–97, 104  
 McGeachie, John, DDD, 52  
 Mackay, J. C., BD, 62–63, 89, 109, 127, 173, 249, 431n.46  
 Mackenzie, C. J., DDD, 52, 86, 399n.17  
 McLaren, James (killed on Kinnoul), BD, LD, 113, 149, 152  
 McMillan, John, DDD, 38  
 McNab, PCD, 357–58  
 McPhail, WBD, 309  
 MacPherson, Allan, MD, 31, 34–35, 55  
 Mactaggart, D., WBD, 83, 180, 189  
 Marks, DDD, LD, 113, 124  
 Miles, M.L.A., William, LD, 233, 275, 279–80, 288, 299, 426n.4  
 Miller, LD, 143, 150–51  
 Miller, J., DDD, 329, 331  
 Mortimer, WBD, 220  
 Murray, J., BD, 34, 63  
 Murray-Prior, L., BD, 280  
 O'Connell, Carlo, PCD, 240–41  
 Ogilvie, W. R., MD, 74, 76, 94, 171, 401n.18  
 Owen, Robert, LD, 144  
 Pearse, H. M., LD, 426n.56  
 Philpott, BD, 133  
 Pigott, P. J., BD, 280, 345  
 Ramsay, Robert, MBD, 337–39  
 Ranken, PCD, 243  
 Rea, DDD, 147  
 Reid, James B., BD, 313, 332, 426n.59  
 Roach, LD, 61, 181  
 Robinson, PCD, 344  
 Rogers, LD, 181  
 Roskelly, Thomas, DDD, 51, 399n.17  
 Ross, J., LD, 133  
 Ross, N. (killed), LD, 61  
 Royds, M.L.A., C. J., LD, 142, 331  
 Royds, M.L.A., E. M., LD, 142, 290, 322–23, 426n.59  
 Sandeman, M.L.A., M.L.C., Gordon, BD, LD, 45, 71–72, 92, 122, 148, 181, 217, 228, 261–62

- Schofield, H. S., DDD, 51  
 Scott, Andrew, LD, 144, 274, 283-91, 297-99, 302, 426n.1  
 Scott, John, LD, 288-89  
 Sericold, G. P., LD, 280, 285, 290  
 Smith, J., DDD, 118  
 Spencer, S., MD, 351  
 Stanley, WBD, 19  
 Stephens, LD, 50  
 Street (killed), BD, 62  
 Thompson, Joseph, LD, 315  
 Thompson, William, LD, 284, 288-89  
 Tolson, L. W., PCD, 239, 242-43, 422n.5  
 Tooth, W. B., WBD, 29-30, 49, 81, 418n.19  
 Trevethan, A. H. (killed at Rawbelle), BD, 63, 80  
 Trevethan, William, BD, 80  
 Uhr, Edmund B., WBD, 45, 63, 67-69, 91, 109, 190, 238-39  
 Walsh, M.L.A., M.L.C., William Henry, WBD, 91, 121-22, 153, 163  
 Wilkie, J. R., DDD, 85-88, 431n.46  
 Wills, H. S. (killed at Cullinla-Ringo), 331  
 Wilson, J. K., DDD, 23, 38, 329, 372  
 Wilson, R. K., DDD, 38  
 Yaldwyn, M.L.A., W. H., LD, 268, 284, 351  
 Yeomans, R., DDD, 39  
 Young, Thomas, DDD, 36-37  
 Young, William, PCD, 208-12, 354-56  
 Stafford, Const. John, 58  
 Stapylton, assistant surveyor, 7  
 Station employees. *See also* Chinese station employees; German station employees  
 Battie, William (Rannes), 205  
 Bennett, J. (Ferrett's overseer), 37, 194  
 Beumavo (killed at Hornet Bank), 274, 276  
 Bevilley, E. (killed at Macintyre River), 36  
 Blackboy, Peter (killed at Mt. Larcom), 209  
 Blair (killed at Camboon), 315  
 Boulton, T. R. (supt. Eurombah), 231, 268, 284-87  
 Bourke (killed at Mt. Larcom), 354  
 Broadbent, J. (supt. Toomcul), 63  
 Byrnes (Burns), Mr. and Mrs. (killed at Bogandilla), 194-96  
 Cameron, D. (supt. Yululah), 67-68  
 Churchman (killed at Camboon), 315  
 Crampton, T. (killed at Mt. Larcom), 354  
 Driscoll, Daniel (Widgee), 63  
 Duncombe (supt. Yamboukal), 75  
 Dwyer, John (killed at Mt. Larcom), 354  
 Foran, James (killed at Mt. Larcom), 209  
 Foran, Margaret (killed at Mt. Larcom), 209  
 Gillies, William (Bogandilla), 194  
 Harmer, J. (killed at Wallann), 57  
 Hazard (supt. Wachoo), 76  
 Hillery, J. (killed at Miriam Vale), 242  
 Johnson (Wachoo), 75, 95  
 Kelly, D. (Rannes), 205  
 Kinley, D. (C. O'Connell), 241-42  
 McKirk, James (killed at Weir River), 38  
 Marland (killed at Camboon), 315  
 Mason (supt. Mondure), 50  
 Moreton, Charles (killed at Dawson River), 152  
 Murphy, P. D. (P. Leslie), 20  
 Murray, John (killed at Mt. Larcom), 209  
 Neagle, Henry (killed at Hornet Bank), 274-75  
 Newman, R. P. (killed at Hornet Bank), 274-76

- Norman, James (Talavera), 295-96
- O'Brien (killed at Camboon), 315
- Page, George (killed at Dawson River), 152
- Parker, Abraham (killed at Wachoo), 95, 104
- Poncini, Joseph (killed at Mt. Larcom), 354
- Ramshay, J. (killed at Miriam Vale), 242
- Schofield (Blyth's supt.), 352
- Smelt, G. (killed at Mt. Larcom), 209
- Taylor, William (Widgee), 63, 90
- Urquhart, D. (Wallann), 57
- Volk, A. (killed at Eurombah), 231
- Walker, R. (Yambougal), 295-96
- Witt, B. (supt. Miriam Vale), 242
- Yeomans, R. (Boganbilla), 39
- Station or hut Aborigines, 229
- assisted squatters in search of Aboriginal offenders, 103
- as stockmen or shepherds, 194
- killed by native police, 74-78, 103-4, 318-19
- killed by other Aborigines, 97
- sheltered those pursued, 200
- Stations. For abbreviations of districts *see* Squatters, list of
- abandoned on Aboriginal action, 23, 31
- benefited from Native Police action, 30-32, 41, 166, 181
- effect of submitting to Aboriginal attacks on property, 206
- list of
- Alderton, DDD, 301, fig.25
- Banana, PCD, 203, 205, 230, 280, 315-16, fig.26
- Ban Ban, BD, 63, fig.22
- Beeboo, DDD, 30, fig.21
- Billa Billa, DDD, 117, fig.21
- Boganbilla, DDD, 39, fig.20
- Bogandilla, DDD, 19, 143-44, 147, 149, 194-95, 299, fig.20
- Booranga, DDD, 38
- Boubyjan, BD, 62, fig.22
- Bungaban, LD, 145, 181, 200, 280, fig.22
- Burrandowan, BD, 20, 45, 71-72, 92, 122, fig.21
- Callandoon, DDD, 23, 36, 44, 57-58, 72, 88, 119, 125, 399n.29, fig.20, fig.21, fig.27(1)
- Camboon, PCD, 314-15, fig.19, fig.22, fig.26
- Cambooya, DDD, 27, fig.21
- Canoona, PCD, 371, fig.26
- Chinchilla, DDD, 51, fig.22
- Cockatoo, LD, 151, 167, 181, 200, fig.22
- Colinton, MBD, 109, 337-39, fig.24
- Coonambula, BD, 49, fig.22
- Cullin-la-Ringo, LD, 331
- Dalgangal, BD, 62-63, 109, fig.22
- Degilbo, BD, 91, 121-22, fig.22
- Dulacca, DDD, 51, 329, 359, fig.20, fig.25
- Durundur, MBD, 109, 122, fig.24
- Eidsvold, BD, 49, 62, 81, fig.8, fig.22, fig.27(8)
- Eurombah, LD, 230-32, 268-69, 275, fig.25
- Gigoongan, WBD, 91, fig.23
- Gin Gin, WBD, 50, 78, 125, 187, fig.27(7)
- Glastonbury, WBD, 220, fig.23, fig.24



- Goganda, LD, 232  
 Gracemere, PCD, 2, 202, 210, 213-15, 371, fig.26  
 Hawkwood, BD, 276, 345, fig.22  
 Hornet Bank, LD, 426n.1, fig.25; an attempted attack, 282, 285-91, 332; an outside station exposed to attack, 151, 280, 332; cattle killed, 144; causes of massacre advanced, 320-21, 327-32; no magisterial enquiry, 319, 429n.32; residents careless, 286-87, 333; settlers and shepherds killed on the upper Dawson, 61, 96, 144, 149-50, 152, 268, 282, 316  
 Jimbour, DDD, 20, fig.21  
 Juandah, LD, 142, 144-45, 151, 181, 200, 230-31, 268, fig.25  
 Kianga, PCD, 357-58, fig.22  
 Kinnoul, LD, 143-45, 149-50, 200, 231, 233, 275, fig.25  
 Kogan Creek, DDD, 29, fig.21  
 Marydale, LD, 143-44, 182, fig.25  
 Miriam Vale, PCD, 239-43, 354, fig.22, fig.26  
 Monduran, PCD, 246, 297  
 Mondure, BD, 34, 50, 59, 239, fig.22  
 Mt. Abundance, MD, 20, 31, 34-35, 55, fig.20  
 Mt. Esk, MBD, 337, 339, fig.24  
 Mt. Larcom, PCD, 209-12, 354-56  
 Mundubbera, BD, 92, 174, fig.25, fig.27  
 Ockobolla, MD, 55, 96-97, 104  
 Onnaberry, LD, 144-45  
 Philpot, BD, 133  
 Princhester, PCD, 371, fig.26  
 Rannes, PCD, 108-9, 121, 150, 177-78, 203, 205-8, 230, fig.27 (10)  
 Rawbelle, BD, 63, 80  
 Redbank, BD, 133, fig.22  
 Retreat, DDD, 38, 400n.56, fig.21  
 Rocky Springs, BD, 281-82, fig.22  
 Spring Creek, MBD, 338  
 Stanton Harcourt, WBD, 240, 266-69, fig.22  
 Taabinga, BD, 90  
 Tabil, DDD, 51  
 Talavera, MD, 295-96, fig.20  
 Taromeo, MBD, 69, 71, 101, fig.24  
 Taroom, LD, 198, 268, 284, fig.25  
 Teningering, WBD, 90-91, fig.22, fig.26  
 Tiaro, WBD, 20, fig.23  
 Tieryboo, DDD, 37-38, 51, 55, 142, 144, 301, 359, fig.21, fig.25  
 Tirroan. *See* Gin Gin  
 Toomcul, WBD, 63, 89-90, 180  
 Wachoo, MD, 74-76, 94-95, fig.20  
 Wallann, DDD, 31, 37, 57, 142, 144-45, 359, fig.20  
 Walooga, BD, 220-22  
 Waltami, DDD, 51  
 Wambo, DDD, 51, fig.21, fig.25  
 Wambo Forest, DDD, 51, fig.21  
 Warkon, DDD, 146  
 Waroo, MD, 76-77, fig.20  
 Warra Warra, DDD, 51, fig.21  
 Weribone, MD, 76-77, 96  
 Westholm, WBD, 187

- Widgee Widgee, WBD, 63, 90-91, fig.23  
Womba, DDD, 51, fig.25  
Wulooga, BD, 34, 113  
Yamboukal, MD, 35, 55, 75-78, fig.20  
Yululah, WBD, 66-67, fig.23  
Statutes. *See* Acts of Council and Parliament  
Strahan, John, 99  
Stuart River, 20, 397n.11, fig.22  
Surat, 34, 39, 48, 75, 77, 400n.59, fig.20  
Swete, 2nd Lt. R. W. L., 340-41  
Swifte, Dr., 136  
  
Tannin Creek, 31  
Tchanning Creek, 93, 146, 149, fig.20, fig.25  
Therry, Justice, 111-12  
Thomson, Deas, 86  
Thornton, Hon. W., 56  
Traylan. *See* Native Police stations  
Troopers. *See also* Appendix F; Native Police Force, sergeants  
absent with bush Aborigines, 269-70, 304  
accoutrements, 313  
allowances for rations, 130, 403n.57  
ammunition shortage, 143, 181, 197  
carbines, 3, 85, 150, 313  
clothing, 45, 114-15, 124-25, 172-73, 196-97, 366  
communication with local tribes, 190  
conduct, 31-33, 97, 106, 110, 113, 135, 141-42, 173, 179, 212, 356, 361. *See also* Appendix C  
control of, 253, 296, 322, 371  
courage of, 13, 179  
Darling River, posting to, 202, 219  
deaths, 13, 40, 108-9, 147, 156-57, 183, 201, 206, 336  
desertions, 87, 94, 124, 175, 182-83, 186, 189, 221, 240-41, 251-52, 254, 310-11, 316, 342, 347, 355  
disbanded, 189, 233-34, 418n.22  
employment near home, 190, 251  
enlistment under agreements at first, 29  
hostility of labourers to, 121  
hunting by, 135  
insubordination, 92-93, 95, 141-42  
liquor, 92, 314  
Maryborough under land commissioner, 137-40  
pay, 130, 325  
punishments, 141, 252  
rationing, 101, 115-16, 130-32, 145, 148, 153, 182-83, 197  
allowances in lieu, 107  
deductions from pay, 101, 306  
recruiting of, 28-29, 55, 85, 88, 147, 239, 241, 266, 271, 302, 311, 346, 367, 417n.18  
return to home after service, 175, 202, 270-71  
scrubs, 31, 61, 109, 165, 316, 322  
sickness, 39-40, 48, 52, 97, 122-23, 136, 172, 187  
swords, 85, 313  
tracking by, 344-45  
training of, 40, 85, 147, 189, 252, 312  
unsettled on Walker's dismissal, 161-63, 173-75, 181  
venereal disease, 79, 172, 406n.41  
wages of station hands lowered by means of, 30, 121, 181  
women  
in police camp, 131, 133, 138, 141-42, 207-8, 246-48, 403n.57

- outside police camp, 79,  
 200, 207, 351-52  
 Yappo's gin, 246-48  
 Tuck, William, 7
- Unlawful assembly, 317-18
- Walker, Cmdt. F.  
 Aboriginal name, 144, 156,  
 414n.38  
 Aborigines  
   believed in a show of  
   police strength to,  
   45  
   encouraged opening of  
   stations to, 50, 81  
   understood, 28, 40, 165  
 accounts, carelessness in rela-  
 tion to, 45, 99,  
 130-32, 146, 160,  
 171-72  
 acted when holding warrants  
 of apprehension, 32,  
 38, 45, 57, 62-63  
 addresses to native police by,  
 53-54, 72-73  
 appointment as commandant,  
 26, 28  
 at Brisbane, 98, 105, 159  
 at Sydney, 73  
 at Traylan, 127-33  
 at Wondai Gumbal, 148  
 Board of Enquiry into his  
 conduct, 158-62  
 cautioned against acts of  
 aggressive warfare, 32  
 complaints against  
   by officers, 146, 153,  
   165-66  
   by squatters, 45, 58-60,  
   67, 78-79, 82,  
   85-86, 153  
 controversy between Burnett  
 squatters and, 81-84  
 death of, 167, 398n.1  
 disagreement with colonial  
 storekeeper, 114-15  
 dismissal from native police,  
 163-64  
 financial claims against, 169  
 gentleman, 113, 164  
 instructions to sergeants,  
 74-76, 104, 125-26  
 intemperate habits, 79, 107,  
 125-26, 153-54  
 irregular force of, 317, 322,  
 359-60, 363-64  
 leadership of, 28, 32-33, 44,  
 66, 165  
 legal position of native police  
 queried by, 40-43  
 life after dismissal from  
 native police, 166-67  
 magisterial powers, exercise  
 of, 36, 62, 118-19  
 objected to  
   native police acting as con-  
   stabulary, 72  
   native police led by out-  
   siders, 121  
   posting of native police to  
   Clarence and  
   McLeay district,  
   106; to lower Dar-  
   ling district, 102, 116  
 personally led police opera-  
 tions  
   Burnett, 49, 62, 71  
   Condamine, 31, 50  
   Dawson, 50, 61-62, 114,  
   150-53  
   Fraser's Island, 64-66  
   Macintyre River, 29-30  
   Maranoa, 55-56  
 punishment of troopers by,  
 252  
 rebuked by Governor  
 FitzRoy, 103, 112,  
 115, 126;  
 rebuked by Justice Therry,  
 111-12  
 recruiting by, 26-27, 28-29,  
 35, 133, 147  
 scrubs, kept with troopers in,  
 165  
 sickness, 109-10  
 suspension, 154  
 wounded at Conciliation  
 Creek, 318  
 Walker, Sgt. A., 150, 155-56  
 Walker, Sub-Lt. Harry, 222  
 Walker, Henry, 186, 222  
 Walker, James, 309  
 Walker, Lt. R. G., 108, 136-37,

- 168, 177-79, 183,  
205-6, 236, 241,  
243-44, 248, 272, 277,  
348-53
- Wallann Creek, 31, 146, fig.21
- Wallumbilla Creek, 93, fig.25
- Warra. *See* Native Police stations
- Warialda, 37, 399n.29
- Warrants to apprehend Aborigines, 67, 79, 82, 97, 188, 201, 253, fig.6
- Watts, John, 28, 30-31
- Weir River, 38, fig.20
- Wentworth, W. C., 28
- Wheeler, 2nd Lt. F., 271, 314, 344-45, 347, 354-57, 370-71
- White, William, 241
- Whitmill, Sgt. Major Thomas, 34, 58, 400n.35
- Whitty, C. of C. L., 193
- Wickham, Capt. J. C.  
asked to make recommendations when making reports, 297  
asked to report on allegations of inefficiency of native police, 297  
case of  
Lt. Nicoll, 304  
2nd Lt. Harris, 259-62  
2nd Lt. Ross, 269, 291  
chairman of Board of Enquiry into Walker's conduct, 158-62  
control of native police, 227  
opinion on use of native police, 26  
questions 2nd Lt. Wheeler's report, 357  
recommends Morisset as commandant, 228-29  
requests native police for Brisbane area, 148, 187  
report on native police operations in Brisbane area, 188
- Williams, 2nd Lt. E. G., 254, 266, 272, 311, 336-37
- Wilmot, J., 64-66, 128, 177, 241, 243
- Wiseman, C. of C. L. W.H., 1-2, 149, 167, 189-90, 199, 202, 204, 212, 215, 230, 279, 314-17, 327, 363-64, 372
- Wondai Gumbal. *See* Native Police stations
- Wood, I. D., 331-32
- Woogaroo, 21, fig.24
- Yabba. *See* Native Police stations
- Yappo's woman, case of, 246-48
- Yu, 339
- Yuleba Creek, 94, 146
- Yululah, 89
- Zillman, J. L., 330
- Wide Bay district. *See* Districts, Wide Bay
- Wieneke, C., 341
- Wilkes, Dr., 123