

“A Question of Necessity”:

The Native Police in Queensland

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Australian and Comparative Studies (Honours)**

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Abstract

Frontier issues are an inevitable part of Australian historiography, and have often been dealt with in either an indifferent or a moralistic manner. Specifically, it has been widely argued that records of officially condoned frontier violence have been destroyed or lost. This thesis, which deals with the Native Police in Queensland from 1860 to 1905, attempts to move the discussion on to firmer ground. It is driven by a passionate commitment to the rights of Indigenous Australians, and shows that detailed archival research does not support those who deny the violence that accompanied the colonisation of Australia. Apologists for dispossession will find no comfort in the archival records. The Native Police force was widely reputed to have been the most violent police force on the Australian frontier. Long-standing and widely cited references about the lack of Native Police records have been tied into arguments about the kind of force it was.

This dissertation is the first significant archival work on the Native Police force after Separation. The force was part of broader colonial settler-society, and I analyse the Native Police in that context. The problem with existing literature is that the archives have not been adequately consulted, and historians have neglected vital contextual aspects of the force in Queensland. The sociology of policing has not been integrated with a model of military force in the Queensland case, even though in colonial Queensland the same men formed the dual function of soldiers and police. The aim of the thesis is to provide an integrated model documented by detailed research in the archives. The research hypothesis is that the Native Police played a central role in the dispossession and punitive treatment of Indigenous people. Chapter 1 sets up the research problem in the context of the existing scholarship on native policing. Chapter 2 looks at the officers. Chapter 3 is concerned with the Aboriginal troopers of the force, and Chapter 4 examines the operations of the Native Police in Queensland. The thesis is very detailed, as the topic requires, but it still only opens up essential avenues of research. In particular, more work needs to be done on the experiences of the troopers and on the records of frontier violence in general.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Jonathan Richards

March 2005

WARNING

This thesis contains language and material that may be distressing for some readers. It includes references to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have passed away, and also includes racist language and expressions. Some readers will find the violence described in this thesis disturbing or offensive. No offence or disrespect is intended towards any persons living or deceased.

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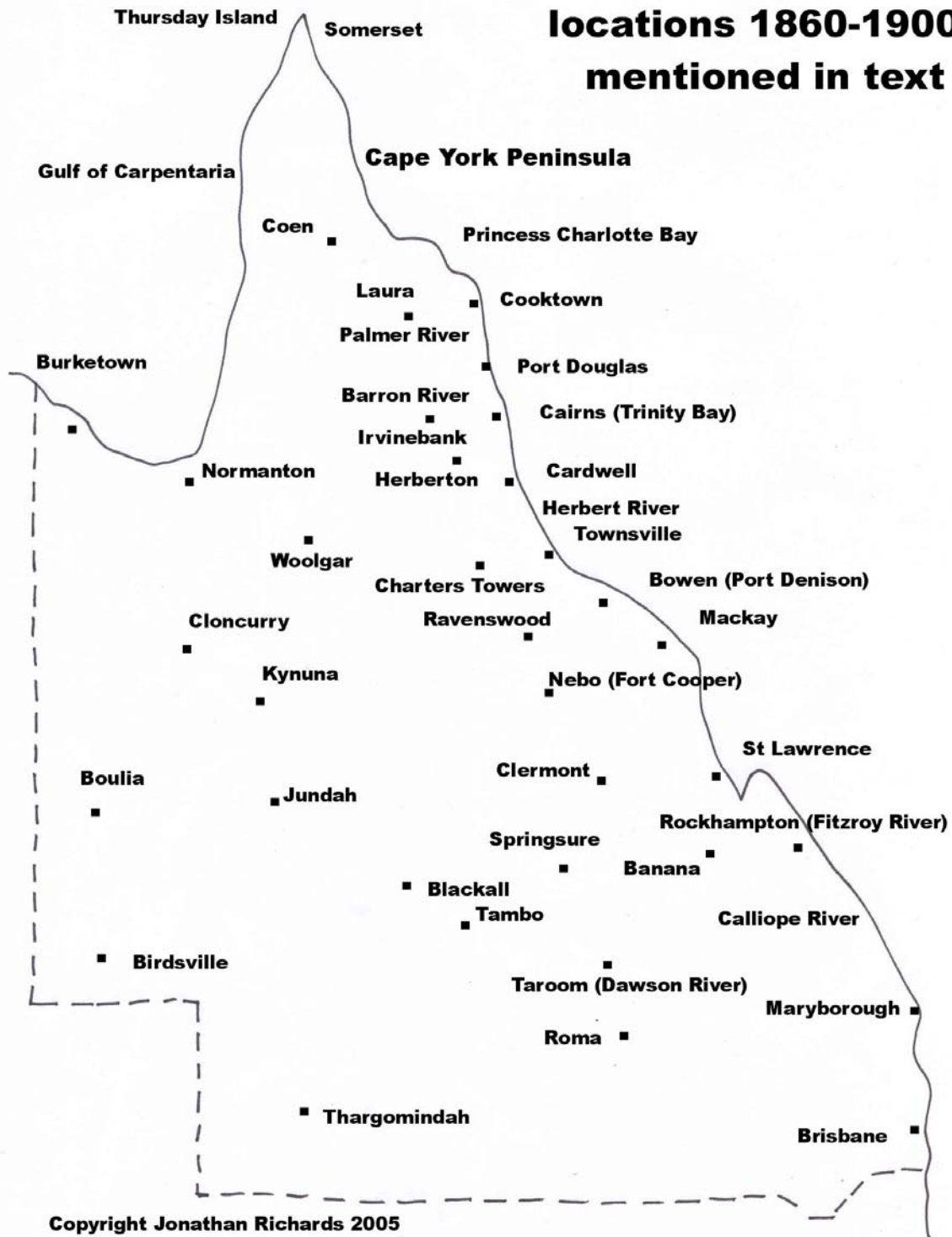
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Organisations: Archivists, librarians and staff at Brisbane City Council Library Service, Cairns Historical Society, Community and Personal History Unit, Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy, Griffith University Library, Mitchell Library (State Library of New South Wales), National Library of Australia, Queensland State Archives, School of Arts, Media and Culture, Griffith University, John Oxley Library (State Library of Queensland).

Introduction: 'Some true records are as yet extant'¹



On the Queensland frontier in the nineteenth century, Aboriginal men under the command of Europeans killed large numbers of Indigenous men, women and children. They were members of a force created by the New South Wales government in 1848 and called the Native Police. The Queensland government retained this armed force as an effective means of crushing Indigenous resistance to European colonisation. The Native Police were deployed in mounted detachments (usually about six Aboriginal troopers led

¹ 'Reminiscences of The Native Mounted Police of Queensland' by 'An Ex-officer', *Town and Country Journal* (29 March 1879:607).

by a White officer). When aspiring settlers complained about ‘attacks’ or ‘depredations’, the force went into action, ‘punished the offenders’, and made the country ‘safe’ for Europeans. They were the ‘defenders of colonisation’.

Were the Aboriginal men of the Native Police in colonial Queensland soldiers or police? What sort of force was the Native Police? In this dissertation, I argue that the differences between police and military actions in colonial Queensland were blurred. Archival records give us insights into the military-like operations of the Native Police. The thesis, which is divided into chapters dealing with the force in general, the officers, the troopers, and operations in the field, represents a revision of frontier history in Queensland.² This thesis looks at some unanswered questions in the context of new data on frontier violence. Many surviving records of Native Police operations have been located, and evidence reveals much about Native Police operations in Queensland. The records show that the force was, at the time, a standard form of colonial law enforcement apparatus.

Research historians for government, Indigenous groups and educational institutions in Queensland have needed a reliable and detailed history of the Native Police force for decades.³ Several books, all written after 1970, look at the force. While they give us some idea of the force’s cruel history, they are less useful when it comes to

² Two studies on the records of Native policy in Queensland sit alongside this work. They are Rosalind M Kidd’s *Regulating Bodies: administrations and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988* (Doctoral thesis, Griffith University, 1994), and Mark Copland’s ‘*Calculating Lives*’: *The Numbers and Narratives of Forced Removals in Queensland, 1859-1972* (Doctoral thesis, Griffith University, 2005).

³ ‘A substantial study of the Queensland native police is long overdue’, Peter Dennis et al, ‘Aboriginal armed resistance to White invasion’, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12.

details of actual operations. Only a limited selection of names, dates and places are given. None of the works to date covers the whole history of the force. Apparently, nobody knew where detailed records could be found.

I needed a history of the Native Police ten years ago when I was doing research for my Honours thesis on a part of the North Queensland coast. I wanted to know how many Aboriginal people the force had killed in the area. At the time, I believed, as most people involved in frontier history research did, that the records of the Native Police in Queensland had been destroyed, were lost or never existed.⁴ At the time, most if not all, historians of the colonial frontier agreed on this point. '[S]tudies were restricted by the lack of sources. Extensive research by Queensland historians has failed to find the majority of official records on this force'.⁵

As I was researching my Honours thesis, I discovered that the accounts of frontier violence in the area disagreed with one another. I needed to know what had happened to Aboriginal people in the study area, but the contradictions in the published works made this difficult. One historian said that Aboriginal people were killed, which distressed local residents.⁶ Another claimed 'no massacre took place'.⁷ I really needed to find as much as I could if I was to compile a reasonably accurate account of the history of the study area. In an attempt to clarify the situation, I began to compile my own 'guide to police operations' based on surviving primary records, and anything else I could find. My earliest attempt at making sense of the force's activities was primitive, and not very

⁴ This point is discussed in Chapter 1 of the thesis.

⁵ Alan Hillier, *A Comparative Study of the Queensland Native Mounted Police and the North West Mounted Police in Canada* (Honours thesis, Griffith University, 1991), 9.

⁶ JW Collinson, *Early Days of Cairns* (Cairns: GK Bolton, 1939), 64.

successful. To determine which officers were in the area, I looked at every source I could find. I eventually learned to be careful with primary records and secondary sources. While they can occasionally give us valuable insights into the Native Police, invariably they are found to be just rumours, opinions, and hearsay. My second task was to determine which Native Police officers really deserved the reputation they had been given by historians. That way, I would know if an officer with a proven record of extreme violence was in a particular area at the same time that newspapers, oral accounts or other sources indicated that killings had taken place. This was difficult, since I didn't know, when I first started looking, who had been in the force.

I discovered several newspaper stories, saying there had been reprisals in the study area, and that several children had been 'captured and taken away'.⁸ There were reports that 'a number of townsmen armed with revolvers and breechloaders in case of collision' went to the area I was interested in – obviously prepared to shoot Aborigines – 'but no such luck was in store'. I also found newspaper references to Native Police 'dispersals' and the capture of Aboriginal children.⁹ Were the settlers displeased or relieved? Which historian was right? All I could say at the time was that the events 'have been interpreted by some historians as important episodes in local history'.¹⁰ I really didn't know much more about the Native Police than I did when I started researching.

⁷ Dorothy Jones, *Trinity Phoenix: A History of Cairns and District* (Cairns: Cairns Post, 1976).

⁸ *Cairns Post* (16 April 1885).

⁹ WT Johnston, 'Early European Contact with Aborigines of the present Mulgrave Shire up to the end of the year 1889', *Mulgrave Shire Historical Society Bulletin* 54 (1983: 2).

¹⁰ Jonathan Richards, *A 'Captain Cook' at the Coast Road: Histories of the Cook Highway in North Queensland* (Honours thesis, Griffith University, 1996), 48.

With hindsight, my efforts were crude and unscientific. I naively believed that the published works were based on thorough research into primary records. I thought they were reasonably accurate and reliable interpretations. I was able to build a picture of the force, but knew there were lots of gaps in my understanding. With regard to the small area I was considering, I made some progress. I completed and submitted my Honours thesis.

Many writers have continued to argue that the records of the force were lost, so the history could not be written. ‘There are indications of official cover-ups and careful ‘weeding’ of the Native Police records’, and ‘Analysis of the workings of the Black Police is bedevilled by lack of documentation’.¹¹ I found that many experienced and respected historians had looked for records about the Native Police in the Queensland State Archives, without much success. A few useful documents had been located, but not too many more. Details of violence, and many other aspects of the force’s history, were extremely rare. Even basic questions were unanswered. For instance, was the Native Police force a legally constituted body? Some historians argued that it was not ‘lawful’. Then I realised something else. Most previous work on the Native Police was based on a small number of archival records, and official published sources such as the *Queensland Parliamentary Debates* and the *Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings*. Were the official reports of any real use? These books don’t provide much detail on personnel or operations, and leave gaps in our knowledge of the force’s activities.

¹¹ Bob Reece, ‘Our Killing Fields’, *Eureka Street* (2002); Ros Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2004), 260.

In the absence of a comprehensive and accurate historical account, I began looking at published works in the hope of building up some sort of reasonably decent picture of the force. I didn't anticipate great success, but I did find some useful material, a lot of second-hand opinions, and much hearsay evidence that could not be confirmed. It was not a very fruitful search. But, more importantly, my research confirmed that there were huge gaps in the secondary sources. Much of the force's history was, apparently, unknown to historians. Then, I found a much more serious problem in the published historical work. There was intense disagreement between historians about the extent and impact of frontier violence in Queensland, and the Native Police force was at the heart of the debate.¹²

After completing my Honours thesis, I began working as a history researcher, looking for records of relationships on the frontiers of colonial Queensland. I still needed to know more about frontier violence and the Native Police, because, if I had more detail on the force, I could write more accurate historical reports. Besides, one of the first questions that most of my Indigenous clients asked related to the force's violent history. 'What about the killings by the Native Police?' they said. I returned to the Queensland

¹² There have been, as noted through the thesis, several disputes between historians and writers over the level of frontier violence in Australia. The controversy that Keith Windschuttle ignited in 2000 over Henry Reynolds's work is the most recent 'debate'. Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1998); Keith Windschuttle, 'The Myths of Frontier Massacres in Australian History', *Quadrant* (2000); Henry Reynolds, *An Indelible Stain: The question of genocide in Australia's history* (Melbourne: Viking, 2001); Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Volume One, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1947* (Sydney: Macleay Press, 2002); *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Bain Attwood and SG Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003); and *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, edited by Robert Manne (Melbourne: Black Inc. Agenda, 2003).

State Archives and kept looking. I found some more material, but soon realised there were still many large gaps in the records. Others had already used many of the files that I saw. What could be done about this frustrating ‘research block’? Had the records of the Native Police really been, as so many believed, destroyed?

I refused to admit defeat. My first task was the compilation of a digital reference database containing all the references I found. At first this was a slow process, involving a collation of secondary sources with newspaper reports and any surviving official records. Later, as I started to recognise patterns and knew more detail, my ‘data-entry’ began to get faster. It is never easy work. One must learn to scan vast quantities of records quickly and accurately. There is another important issue – compassion. Those who research frontier violence records know that most European settlers felt little sympathy for Aboriginal people in Queensland. The work of examining records about extreme violence on the colonial frontier is generally frustrating, often tiring, and frequently distressing. It can be quite depressing, and disheartening.

Then I had a lucky break. I started work with Mark Finnane, examining inquests into Aboriginal deaths in colonial Queensland from 1859 to 1896. In the Justice Department inquest series (‘JUS/N’) at the State Archives, I looked at Magisterial Investigations into Aboriginal frontier deaths. Some inquests clearly implicated officers and troopers of the Native Police in unlawful killings. For the first time, there was good evidence of violence. I was starting to become numb to the brutality of the records. What else could be found? At archives, and in libraries and other repositories across Australia, I managed to locate notes about the force in logs, diaries, journals, manuscripts and personal papers. Some were useful, others just rumour and repetition. How could I tell

the difference? I started looking at microfilms of Queensland newspapers. The *Queenslander* and the *Brisbane Courier* were good sources of frontier violence reports. How many were true?

I didn't expect to find detailed records of the force. There were some exceptional discoveries, including a few reminiscences by former Native Police officers.¹³ Then I had a second piece of luck. I was working at the State Archives with two fellow researchers, Mark Copland and Andrew Walker, who were both as determined as I to discover any references to Indigenous people in the files. We joined forces in a systematic survey of the Colonial Secretary's Inwards Correspondence series (COL/A). The massive task of examining over 800 bundles of records took almost a year to complete, and enabled the production of a detailed index to over 3,000 historical documents relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Queensland. It was a major breakthrough, as there was much valuable evidence in the red-taped bundles. We even found clear signs of Aboriginal 'voices'. Many answers emerged, but, now, even more questions became possible. For example, there were references to the 'Rules and Regulations' under which the Native Police operated, but no copies of the actual rules. Where were they? If so many records could be found in one single provenance, how many more were in others?

I didn't want to just scrape the surface of the records. I needed to find a rich vein that would lead me deep into the documents about the force. Although the existing historical literature had introduced me to the subject, I wanted to see a lot more. It was

¹³ Ernest Eglinton, *Pioneering in the North-West* (unpublished manuscript, c.1925), John Oxley Library, Brisbane, OM92-140/2; and Robert Arthur Johnstone, *Spinifex and Wattle: Reminiscences of Pioneering in North Queensland*, edited and compiled by JW Johnstone-Need (Brisbane: 1985, originally published in *The Queenslander*, 1903-05).

not, I felt, good enough to examine a limited number of records, and to then make an assessment of the force based on them. A systematic survey of the archival files might, if I persevered, reveal more documents. So, one series at a time, I slowly and progressively worked my way through the record sets created by the machinery of colonial government. I took a scientific approach, believing that the subject of the Native Police in Queensland was important enough that others should be able to follow what I had begun. I felt it was crucial that my research should be *reproducible* and *expandable*. Any historian should be able to retrace my steps through the archives, and then could build on what I had found.

I found records relating to the Native Police in every provenance at the Queensland State Archives. The surviving Outwards Correspondence series from the Colonial Secretary's Office uncovered over 400 records. A survey of 2500 Police staff files yielded the names and career details of almost eighty individuals who served with the force. The bundles of Executive Council Minutes contain over three hundred references to the force. The 'Confidential Despatches' to and from successive Queensland Governors hold valuable correspondence with London on the subject of the Native Police. But of all the series of records that told us about the Native Police and violence on the Queensland frontier, none matches the Justice Department's inquest series. Apart from revealing investigations into Native Police killings, the inquest files show us details of Native Police retribution after the deaths of settlers. The series also contains rich material on the deaths of some members of the force.

I still hadn't found the Native Police Rules in the files at the State Archives. They had been drawn up in 1866, and approved by the Executive Council in the same year. Had they been legally proclaimed, and if so when? One day, after several years of

research, I decided to check the *Queensland Government Gazette*. In the 1866 volumes I found the ‘Rules for the general government and discipline of the Native Mounted Police Force’ in Queensland. They had been ‘staring us in the face’ all the time. There was no ‘secret cover up’ of the force’s existence. Encouraged by this find, I kept going. I found over 500 other Native Police references in the *Queensland Government Gazette*, ranging from the proclaiming of reserves for camps to the dismissal of men. There were another 500 references to members of the force in the pages of the *Queensland Police Gazette*. The archival evidence is complex, diverse and detailed.

Others had looked in these same places, but I was finding so much more. Why? The database of archival records and newspaper reports that I had looked at built over time into a massive document, which eventually became a critical mass. I started to recognise names, and I grew to know which ones were frequently misspelled. I acquired an understanding of how the records are organised at the State Archives. Most importantly, I became familiar with the operations of colonial government. I knew where to look, and what to look for. By constantly cross-referencing names, dates and other details on a chronological basis, I was able to determine which records were relevant. A nominal roll with the names of all European members of the Native Police made research easier. A list of all the Native Police camps gave the project a spatial base. All these factors helped me to navigate the Archives.

The archival files found thus far allow us to get a good idea of Native Police camps, operations, and personnel. Orders, reports, and despatches from the upper echelons of colonial government record the appointments, deaths, and dismissals in the force. *Queensland Government Gazette* and *Queensland Police Gazette* entries show

assignments, demotions, and retirements. Career paths, disciplinary action, and chain of command can be traced in the staff files. Investigations of some Native Police killings are recorded in the Inquest series. Details of criminal charges against a few former-officers can be found amongst Court record series. All these records help us see the force at work.

Other details also emerged from the archival material. One of the most surprising aspects of the research was the discovery of connections between the Native Police and two of Australia's best-known icons: the song *Waltzing Matilda* and the hunt for the Kelly Gang. While the use of Queensland trackers in a futile attempt to catch Ned Kelly's outlaw band is well known, the link with *Waltzing Matilda* is not.¹⁴ The clue was the line 'Down came the troopers, one, two, three'. At the time, White officers in the Queensland Police were never called 'troopers', only Aborigines were. Most writers have observed that the song, written by Banjo Paterson in 1895, was largely based on the death of shearer Samuel 'Frenchy' Hoffmeister near Kynuna in late 1894.¹⁵ The Police Magistrate at Winton, Ernest Eglinton (a former Native Police officer) investigated Hoffmeister's death, but the records definitely show there were no police 'troopers' at the scene.¹⁶ Hoffmeister shot himself with a revolver, and did not 'jump in the billabong'. Why were 'troopers' and the billabong mentioned in the song? The inquest files reveal the answer. Two months after the inquest into Hoffmeister's death, Eglinton investigated the drowning of a journalist at a waterhole near Winton.¹⁷ This man did jump in the water. Two Native trackers helped a police officer to retrieve the body. Three police went to that

¹⁴ Ian Jones, *Ned Kelly: A Short Life* (Melbourne: Lothian, 1995).

¹⁵ Richard Magoffin, *Waltzing Matilda: The Story Behind the Legend* (Sydney: ABC Books, 1987).

¹⁶ Inquest into death of Samuel Hoffmeister at Winton, JUS/N227/94/357.

¹⁷ Inquest into death of David Maxwell at Winton, JUS/N227/94/389.

billabong ('one, two, three'), but only one Constable investigated Hoffmeister's suicide. Perhaps Paterson heard about the two deaths, and rolled the stories into one song.

The importance of the Native Police to Queenslanders was brought home when a university colleague told me he was a descendant of Frederick Wheeler. What could I tell him about his forebear? In the course of my research I met a number of families who were descended from the officers and the troopers of the force. All were hungry for information, and curious for details about their relatives. I also discovered that places I knew (including a street I had once lived in, Patrick Lane at Toowong) were named after Native Police officers.¹⁸ The legacy of the force, both as part of Queensland's racial history, and in tangible terms through the naming of streets, mountains and watercourses, reaches into the present-day. More references will be found, I am sure, to expand this connection between the colonial frontier and contemporary Queensland.

There are limitations to this research. Obviously the incomplete nature of the records dictates this from the beginning. Another is time. I am firmly convinced that more records pertaining to the Native Police will be found with a stern resolve and sufficient resources. I confined my search to the period from 1860 to about 1910. Records of the Native Police, under New South Wales control before Queensland separated in 1859, could have been included. Another set of records succeeds that of the Native Police force in Queensland. These are the tracker files, which are well worth closer examination because they trace the employment of Aboriginal men and women by the Queensland

¹⁸ Apparently named after an early resident, Lieutenant Alfred Patrick, Helen Gregory, 'Toowong, Or Should It Be Baneraba or Even West Milton', *Brisbane: Local, Oral and Placename History* (Brisbane: Brisbane History Group, 1990), 103. In Cloncurry, three streets – Douglas, Seymour and Uhr – were named after police officers, A/3938/37/9016.

Police Force during the twentieth century. After the 1880s, 'ordinary' Police gradually replaced Native Police detachments. Unarmed Aboriginal 'trackers' were attached to each station to care for horses, to cut wood, and to assist in the location of missing persons, stolen livestock, or wanted criminals. Sometimes, in public statements, the troopers of the remaining Native Police detachments in North Queensland were referred to as 'trackers'. Fully armed and mounted, these men were used on bush patrols into the colony's rugged tropical districts. They were really 'troopers'. Further work on the 'tracker' files will undoubtedly reveal more detail of the troopers' lives as well. Another group of men who might have been considered were the 'Policemen' of Torres Strait; yet another could have been the 'Reserve Police', who policed Aboriginal Reserves and Settlements from about 1900.

The greatest restriction on the research has been with regard to the troopers. The Indigenous men who joined the force were almost exclusively Aboriginal. Only a limited number of Torres Strait Islander men were employed, mostly as Water Police at Thursday Island. It would appear, from the data, that shortage of troopers was a perennial issue. Desertion, one of the causes of the shortage, was always a major concern for all settlers. However, I did not get the same insights into the troopers' lives as I did with the officers. Almost 900 references to individual troopers have been located in the records, but only about twenty of these are given a family name. It is therefore, very difficult, to track a man with a name such as 'Dick', 'Harry', or 'Tommy'. While some records may indeed refer to the same individual at different Native Police camps, there is no way of checking them. For instance, it may just be a coincidence that a trooper 'Sam' was listed in ten

North Queensland camps from 1872 to 1901. There might have been ten troopers called ‘Sam’. Rather than speculate, it is better not to ‘track’ the troopers.

Another restriction relates to the reports of brutality, violence, and distress that this research uncovers. There is never an easy way to come to terms with the content of the records. They show that many Europeans had no regard for Indigenous people. Casual violence towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people was accepted and commonplace. Killing was no secret. The frankness of the admissions in the records is truly frightening. The records of investigations into Aboriginal deaths show that colonists in Queensland, especially the Native Police, killed Indigenous people for almost any reason. Similar levels of violence occurred in other parts of Australia, as Tony Robert’s work on the frontier history of the Northern Territory shows.¹⁹

The collection of Native Police references and records gradually grew into the 1000 page documentary history that is an appendix of this thesis. The data I have found in surviving records informs my analysis. The records clearly show that the Native Police acted in a military-fashion against Aboriginal resistance in Queensland. Colonial administrators, settlers, and the officers of the force justified this method. They all argued that the alternative was an abandonment of the colony.

The Native Police officers say their orders are to “disperse” blacks wherever they find them and, that, as they are a semi-military body, they are justified in putting the military interpretation on the word, and to kill all they can and scatter the rest.²⁰

¹⁹ Tony Roberts, *Frontier Justice: A History of the Gulf Country to 1900* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005).

Archival material shows that on many occasions, the Native Police killed ‘all they could’.

The dissertation is organised thematically. Chapter 1 of considers Native forces and precedents of the British Empire. Chapter 2 deals with the European officers of the force. The Aboriginal troopers are discussed in Chapter 3, and the operations of the Native Police are assessed in Chapter 4. Seven appendices follow, including a 1000-page documentary history in digital form (disc sleeve inside rear cover).

Capitalisation

In this thesis, the words Black, Colored/Coloured, Indigenous, Native and White are capitalised. All police are ‘officers’, but in the context of the Native Police, the term is used for those men above the rank of Acting Sub Inspector and Cadet Sub Inspector. The words ‘trooper’ and ‘tracker’ both refer to the Aboriginal members of the force. The terms ‘camp and ‘station’ are interchangeable.

²⁰ ‘The Native Police in Queensland’ by AL McDougall, *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 February 1874: 3).

Chapter 1: 'The Bloodhounds of the Queensland Government'¹: Positioning the Native Police



It was a question of absolute necessity, a choice between the protection of the pastoral industry of the country, or the abandonment of that pursuit by the colonists; nay, further, it was a choice between the sons of Japhet and the sons of Cush, for they could not coexist.²

The Native Police offered a perfect niche for the sadist.³

¹ *The Empire*, 27 October 1865.

² Japhet was Noah's son, and Cush was the Biblical name for Ethiopia, Charles Eden, *My Wife and I in Queensland* (London: John Murray, 1872), 114-117.

³ CD Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970), 168.

In this thesis, I argue that the history of the Native Police, reconstructed from an extensive archive of surviving records, shows that the differences between police and military actions in colonial Queensland were extremely blurred. This fact is significant because it contributes to what historians in recent years have come to recognise as a complete history of policing in the English-speaking world. At one extreme, London, and later the English counties, accepted police so long as they were not like a military force – at the other, mounted and armed forces were imposed without hesitation. The Native Police of Queensland was one such armed and mounted colonial force.

In this chapter I examine the research problem in the context of the existing scholarship on Native policing in the colonial world. Then, I deal with the diversity of police systems in the English-speaking world and beyond, the origins of the Native Police, and the failures of successive Queensland governments to make the force accountable. Later chapters deal with the backgrounds and careers of the officers and the troopers, and finally with an account of the force's violent operations.

'Pegging the boundaries'

In Queensland, the Native Police played a major role in the dispossession of Aboriginal people from their land, the almost complete destruction of Aboriginal law, and the disintegration of Aboriginal families. As a major instrument of colonial authority and order, the Native Police of Queensland was - for Aboriginal peoples - the symbol of

Native policy, invasion and dispossession throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Some people have claimed that a history of the Native Police could not be written because of the ‘known fact’ that the records of the force were destroyed years ago. Despite such assertions and assumptions, historical accounts of the force have been published, though public knowledge and misinformation about the Native Police has changed over time. In other words, there have been debates based on shallow research. For example, during the early decades of the twentieth century there was little mention of the force’s activities, but during the 1930s journalists and amateur historians began submitting ‘frontier’ stories and letters on the Native Police to magazines and newspapers. Hearsay became accepted as facts, and myths assumed importance as writers largely ignored Australia’s record of racial violence during the colonial era.⁴ The omission of frontier violence in published histories is inextricably linked to the denial of prior Aboriginal occupancy and ownership of the land. Much of the frontier history written to date relies too heavily on the work of a small group of men with an interest in perpetuating the stereotyped perceptions of the force. The main writers on the Native Police until 1960 were journalists, novelists and popular historians.⁵ Many later historians quote their works as if they were accurate accounts based on official records and reliable witnesses.

As a self-governing colony of the British Empire, Queensland had much in common with several settler colonies; however, this Native Police force and the others it

⁴ Even the name of the force is potentially confusing: at various times it was referred to as the Native Mounted Police, while for most of its history it was known simply as the Native Police. It was never called the Queensland Native Police.

⁵ For publication details see bibliography.

resembled were at the extreme end of a spectrum of police forces. As a first consideration, a brief survey of colonial policing practices in other places is useful. Police were often the symbols and instruments of colonial rule and the imposition of policing was an integral part of 'empire building'.⁶ Police forces came in a variety of forms, and explanations for this diversity can be found in social history.⁷ For example, the English did not want tyranny at home (except when controlling the working class) so avoided installing a gendarmerie – but when policing other people they had fewer scruples. Always, they looked for cheap solutions. Other examples of different kinds of police forces include uniformed but unarmed 'Bobbies' in London, and a complete range of law-enforcement bodies in the United States and Canada.⁸

Sir George Bowen was Queensland's first Governor. The Police Force he established in colonial Queensland was based on the Irish model. In Ireland, armed detachments living in fortified barracks policed the local inhabitants.⁹ Historians of

⁶ See Mark Finnane, 'The varieties of policing: colonial Queensland, 1860-1900', *Policing the empire*, edited by David Anderson and David Killingray (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 49.

⁷ Sir Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Police* (London: Max Parrish, 1952).

⁸ See David Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); David Philips and Robert D Storch, *Policing Provincial England 1829-1856: The Politics of Reform* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); also Wilbur Miller, *Cops and Bobbies: Police Authority in New York and London, 1830-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

⁹ Governor Bowen to the Duke of Newcastle, 10 April 1860, *Governor's Despatches*, GOV/22/60/33. For further on 'Irish' policing, see Seamus Breathnach, *The Irish Police* (Dublin: Anvil Books, 1974); Jim Herlihy, *The Royal Irish Constabulary* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997); Stanley Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Chapter 7; and Donal O'Sullivan, *The Irish Constabularies 1822-1922* (Dingle: Brandon, 1999). For two useful discussions on the significance of the 'Irish Model' in colonial settings, see Richard Hawkins, 'The 'Irish model' and the empire: a case for reassessment', *Policing the empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830-1940*, edited by David M Anderson and David Killingray (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) and Greg Marquis, 'The 'Irish Model'

policing have covered the development of modern police forces during the nineteenth century, particularly in Ireland and England.¹⁰ The ‘modern police’ represented a major shift away from the notion of communal policing and the traditional institution of village constables.¹¹ In Europe an older tradition of rural police, the gendarmerie, evolved into paramilitary forces that have largely survived until the present day.¹² Various forms of gendarmerie were operating in parts of Germany, France, Italy and France by the middle of the eighteenth century. Armed and mounted patrols of gendarmes effectively extended the rule of the capital into rural areas, but gendarmes were usually strangers to the areas they policed. Many English politicians rejected the European model as being too centralised and uncontrollable by local magistrates.¹³

The study of police history is a very useful and under-utilised tool for analysis of social history. However, although police history helps us to see the Native Police in a global context, a different kind of history is required to understand the military character of the Native Police. An understanding of colonial military practices is useful, because a significant number of colonists in Queensland had military backgrounds and army

and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Policing’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, 2 (1997).

¹⁰ See Clive Emsley, *Policing and its Context 1750-1850* (London: Macmillan, 1983); Palmer, *Police and Protest*; David Taylor, *The new police in nineteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); and David Taylor, *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

¹¹ For a different perspective on the evolution of modern police, see WG Carson, ‘Policing the Periphery: the development of Scottish Policing 1795-1900’, *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 17 (1984).

¹² Clive Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹³ For details, see Philips and Storch, *Policing Provincial England*; also Robert Storch, ‘The Old English Constabulary’, *History Today* 49, 11 (1999).

connections.¹⁴ Military history is a much older discipline, but until recent decades has been primarily concerned with describing and celebrating the actions of the European victors. However, some of the literature is useful as a means of understanding colonial military formations and techniques.¹⁵

Most contemporary understandings of police forces focus on their provision of internal security, but colonial formations operated in a more shadowy world where the distinction between internal and external threats was blurred. Indeed, in colonial situations there was confusion between internal and external threats. The agents of European expansion and settlement tended to see Indigenous peoples, who became ‘the colonised’ with the stroke of a pen, as potential law-breakers and ‘outlaws’ unless they embraced European culture. In examining the activities of a force like the Native Police, we can see how colonialism operates as the clash of two law systems. Indigenous law, based on principle and respect for elders, insists that individuals must defend their traditional country and their right to survival. Settler law, based on precedent and respect for authority, regards such self-preservation as an affront to ‘civilised’ beliefs and values.¹⁶ Indigenous people in Queensland were caught between the two laws, and

¹⁴ Bill Thorpe, *Colonial Queensland* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1996).

¹⁵ See work on other colonial frontiers: Gavin White, ‘Firearms in Africa: an Introduction’, *Journal of African History* 12, 2 (1971); and Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, ‘Resistance and Collaboration in Southern and Central Africa, c1850-1920’, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 10, 1 (1977).

¹⁶ On the other hand, the greatest ‘crime’ under military law (which was based on ‘discipline and not jurisprudence’) was to ‘impair’ a soldier’s efficiency, Gerry Oram, ‘The greatest efficiency’: British and American military law, 1866-1918’, *Comparative Histories of Crime*, edited by Barry S Godfrey, Clive Emsley and Graeme Dunstall (Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2003), 163.

subjected to the machinery of colonial government.¹⁷ ‘Native land was confiscated through trickery and the “white man’s law”, which was foreign to the native language and was an invention of a capitalist economy, i.e., private property as a new concept’.¹⁸ Their capacity to endure is even more astonishing.

Before we can consider the practices used by the force, we need to look at the policies and the groups in colonial society that made the force feasible. In other words, the context of ‘lawful racial violence’ that pervaded the Australian colonies at that time must be considered before we can gain an understanding of what the force actually did. Given the variety of attitudes to, and opinions about, the Native Police, we need to first pose a series of fundamental questions. What sort of force was the Native Police? Was it a legal body? Was it the only force of its kind, or were there other formations with similar roles? Who controlled it, and who benefited from its activities? What might cause a frontier colonist to publicly declare that the Native Police was a ‘question of necessity’? These questions guide the discussion that follows.

The military dimension of Native Police history has to be stressed for several reasons. Native Police camps were opened, closed and shifted as the frontier of settlement moved northwards and westwards – just as army posts were in colonial wars.

¹⁷ This collision of Law systems was recognised by a few observers in colonial times. ‘When the eastern coast of New Holland was taken possession of by the English in 1788, it was owned and occupied by a number of small Native states, each of which had its own territory, within and over which it was sovereign and independent’, W Frederic Morrison, *The Aldine History of Queensland 2* (Brisbane: Outridge Publishing, 1888), 565. See also ethnographer AW Howitt’s comment: ‘there are well-understood customs, or tribal laws, which are binding on the individual, and which control him’, AW Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 295; and Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: a history. Volume two: Democracy* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004), 154.

¹⁸ Randall G Shelden, *Controlling the Dangerous Classes: A Critical Introduction to the History of Criminal Justice* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001), 41-42.

An understanding of colonial military practices and history is useful - firstly, because Aboriginal resistance was deemed by some to require a military action; secondly, as previously mentioned, there is the presence of a network of military connections in Australian colonial society. Through the 'old boy networks', some gained prestigious appointments while others made fortunes from land speculation. A number of officers in the Native Police were former members of British armed forces, and fought in other parts of the Empire.¹⁹ At least one correspondent to the Brisbane papers wrote that recruiting soldiers for public service was a mistake. 'Military men are the very worst to select'.²⁰ As Bill Thorpe argues, the process of European colonisation in Australia was partly based on the artificial community of the regiment that replaced the 'lost homes' of soldiers from England, Ireland, and Scotland.²¹ The British army as a 'collection of military tribes or warrior guilds' influenced European expansion in Australia because officers especially assumed they belonged to a fraternity. They could expect hospitality, sharing of information, and protection by brother officers. At one stage, it was suggested that former officers living in the colony could 'supervise' the Native Police.²²

¹⁹ Officers in the Native Police with military experience included Henry Browne (1863-75), William Armit (1872-82), Alexander Douglas (1872-1905), Robert Little (1875-89), Walter Jones (1880-84), and Robert Barson (1891-1912). Others, including the Morisset brothers, Stanhope O'Connor (1875-80), Henry Kaye (1876-81), and Frederick Urquhart (1882-1921) were the sons of army officers.

²⁰ 'Civil Service Appointments' by 'Justitia', *Brisbane Courier* (3 November 1864).

What is interesting is the implication that military men were favoured

²¹ Thorpe, *Colonial Queensland*, 48; and Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²² Editorial, *Brisbane Courier* (26 June 1865).

The connection between the military and colonial society are important factors in the history of the force.²³ Details found during my research have convinced me that the Native Police should be regarded as a military force, albeit an odd one. Just as it was an exceptional police force, it was an exceptional military force, yet linked to the social world of officers ‘adrift’ in the colonies. The appointment of former military officers alerts us to the ‘special’ operational requirements of the force, and the connections with other armed units in different parts of the empire.

The Native Police were certainly not a police in the ordinary sense of the word. Their specific purpose was to suppress Indigenous resistance to colonisation. This emerges clearly from the instructions from the Governor of New South Wales when he sought the formation of a ‘Corps of Native Police’ in 1848.

Circumstances having been recently brought under the Governor’s notice, in respect of certain collisions which have taken place, in parts beyond the Settled Districts, between the white inhabitants and the Aborigines, which appear to him to require that immediate steps should be taken for their repression, he transmits to the Council an Estimate for the formation of a small Corps of Native Police, to be employed on this service.²⁴

It is worth noting that the new force was to be used beyond the settled districts, which immediately suggests something other than a regular Constabulary, and was described as a ‘Corps’ – a word which commonly meant, at the time, a military unit (in later years it was widened to include other groups, such as ‘the diplomatic corps’ and ‘press corps’).

²³ For further details on the relationship between the British army and colonial society, see Correlli Barnett, *Britain and Her Army 1509-1970* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970); Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977); Edward Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1980) and Thorpe, *Colonial Queensland*, 47-8.

²⁴ *New South Wales Parliamentary Votes & Proceedings* (1848).

Police today are sworn to uphold the law ‘without fear or favour’, but that was not the case with the Native Police, who failed to offer Aboriginal people the same protection as European citizens. Indeed, no evidence has been found of any Aboriginal trooper throughout the force’s history swearing an oath to ‘uphold justice’. Of course, discrimination against the Aboriginal population was also common among other agents of colonial law and order, such as the Justices of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrates, and Commissioners of Crown Land.

The problems of colonisers in Queensland, and the solutions they employed, in connection with the dispossession of Aboriginal people, were not unique. In other parts of Australia, in other British colonies and in other European empires, armed Indigenous forces performed similar functions to the Native Police of Queensland, using almost identical tactics. The beginnings of the Native Police are connected with the expansion of British control in Australia and the division of the continent into separate self-governing colonies of the Empire. As Libby Connors has previously noted, colonial police forces developed from rough convict patrols to professional bodies in the 1840s and 1850s.²⁵ The force was ‘inherited’ by Queensland on Separation from New South Wales in 1859, by which time its reputation as a violent, punitive institution was already well established. The force was transferred to the new colony along with all the other assets and prerogatives of colonial government.

²⁵ Libby Connors, *The Birth of the Prison and the Death of Convictism: The Operation of Law in Pre-Separation Queensland 1839 to 1859* (Doctoral thesis, University of Queensland, 1990).

A tradition of violence towards Indigenous people migrated north with landseekers from New South Wales.²⁶ The frontier violence inflicted upon Aboriginal people in Queensland was a refinement of practices in southern colonies. Colonialism is inherently violent.²⁷ Moreover, the concept of using Indigenous troops to further colonisation and suppress resistance was not new. Like the British, other conquerors had found that 'Native' forces enjoyed a number of important advantages as imperial soldiers and frontier guards. Indigenous people were familiar with local terrain, customs and languages, and they had an ability to survive off the land without the catastrophic health problems that affected invading armies and expeditions. British soldiers in the tropics, for example, suffered heavier casualties from medical problems than from conflict.²⁸ The greatest benefit of all, however, was cost.²⁹ Native forces expected less, were paid less, and their overall cost to colonial administrators was much less than for European soldiers.

By the time the British colonised Australia several practices were standard. The Native Police, like other armed colonial formations based on the use of Indigenous recruits, took advantage of the fact that Native people had no loyalties to other Indigenous groups. Indeed, in some cases they were sworn enemies, and fought as much in their own self-interest as for other reasons. The concept of 'divide and rule', which was implicit in the recruitment of Indigenous troopers, shows how the British had learned

²⁶ Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 326.

²⁷ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997), 42, and Jock McCulloch, 'Empire and Violence, 1900-1939', *Gender and Empire*, edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁸ See Philip Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16-18.

²⁹ See Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Victor Hanson, *The Western Way of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), and William Polk, *Neighbours Strangers: The Fundamentals of Foreign Affairs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

to adapt traditional Indigenous enmity to their advantage. Yet, with all forces like the Native Police, there was always the complicating risk that men taken locally would turn against their officers in sympathy with the people they policed. Consequently, the Native troopers were often recruited at distances from their postings, in order to ‘police’ Indigenous people without risk of them becoming partial in their activities. Divide and rule was, therefore, a fundamental means of oppression.³⁰ But there were other factors at work here as well. The records in Queensland show that in some cases the detachments targeted certain groups – young men, who were potential combatants; and old people, who as keepers of traditional law and protectors of tribal culture and sacred country, could ‘sing’ death on these strangers in police uniforms. The impact of the force’s violence on Indigenous people is discussed in Chapter 4.

Throughout the British Empire, armed Indigenous units were deployed against local resistance to colonisation, and to advance imperial ambitions. The British managed to conquer and hold India with the assistance of large locally recruited Sepoy armies, while in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) mercenaries were used. In the Caribbean, former slaves were recruited for the West Indian Regiments, which served as garrison forces on islands and also in West Africa.³¹ Similar armed colonial formations existed in almost every corner of the British Empire, and in the lands claimed by other European powers.³² As

³⁰ It has been argued that the search for ‘a Native power base’ is an essential step in many invasions, Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (San Diego: Harvest Books, 1970), 52.

³¹ For details on the employment of mercenary troops and their replacement by African recruits, see Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

³² See Anthony Clayton and David Killingray, *Khaki and Blue: Military and Police in British Colonial Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1989).

well, Japan, an expansionist power that adapted the practices of European empires, used Native police in Taiwan and its other Pacific territories, beginning in the 1890s.³³

Other colonial policing arrangements, and their influence on the Native Police, are worth consideration. In his Despatches to the Secretary of State for Colonies, Governor Bowen named several colonial forces as models for the Native Police. According to Bowen, the Native Police were protecting the margins of the Empire and contributing towards the expansion of British domains. The force was ‘a contribution towards the general defence of the Empire, since the inland boundary of Queensland is the boundary also of the Empire, which it is necessary to protect from the numerous and hostile savages of this portion of Australia’.³⁴ Bowen named the Malay Corps in Ceylon, the Cape Regiment in the Cape Colony (now South Africa), and the Native units of the Indian army. Bowen’s awareness of these units is a revealing example of the way that colonial administrators thought about their jurisdictions in relation to other regions of the empire. They were aware of practices in an emergent world empire; the empire was itself a textbook for oppression. Each force mentioned is worth closer examination, as they provide us with an understanding of how the operations and evolution of the Native Police in Queensland matched those in other colonial settings. Bowen’s letter clearly shows that the Native Police was not unique.

³³ For details, see Ching-chih Chen, ‘Police and Community Control Systems in the Empire’ *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, edited by Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Mark Peattie, *Nanyo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988); and Harry Lamley, ‘Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes,’ *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Murray Rubenstein, (New York: ME Sharpe, 1999).

³⁴ ‘Imperial Defence’, 7 January 1861, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E3/61/1.

In Ceylon, the Cape Colony, and India, similar colonial policing formations existed. Native armed forces used by the British in Ceylon evolved from units that first fought under the Dutch.³⁵ They included the Malay Corps, a formation that shared many characteristics with the Native Police of Queensland. The soldiers of this force helped the British to defeat the Kingdom of Kandy in 1815. Members of an African pastoralist group called the Khoikhoi, but known by Europeans as the Hottentots (and more recently as the Cape Coloured People), lived in the territory called by Europeans the Cape Colony. The Dutch and the British recruited them as soldiers. Khoikhoi men joined the Cape Regiment from 1806, and then the Cape Mounted Rifles.³⁶ Native soldiers fought in all South African frontier wars until the unit was disbanded in 1870. In India, the widespread use of Native troops or *sepoys* meant that a small number of British troops were able to control most of the subcontinent. Native forces defended the boundaries, and enforced colonial law and order throughout India during the nineteenth century.³⁷ In 1857 the East India Company employed 238,000 Indian soldiers. The British government, which took over the company's army and reorganised it after the 1857 Mutiny, continued to rely heavily on loyal Indigenous forces.

The issues in other colonies mirrored those in Queensland. Like most colonial administrators, Governor Bowen believed that some form of government control over frontier conflict was necessary, and reported to London that the Native Police only operated in the remote 'unsettled' districts of the colony. As well as mentioning other colonial military bodies, he also reported to London in 1860 that he had organised the

³⁵ BA Hussainmiya, *Orang Regimen: The Malays of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1990).

³⁶ WA Richards, *Historical Record of the Cape Mounted Riflemen* (Capetown, 1893).

³⁷ See <http://indianarmy.nic.in/arhist.htm>

Queensland Police Force 'on the Irish model'.³⁸ As an estate-owning Irishman and a former Chief Secretary for Ireland, his preference for the 'Irish model' is not surprising.³⁹ As police historians have noted, the Irish police was one of the main templates for the establishment of colonial law-enforcement agencies throughout the British Empire. Unlike the Native Police, the regular Queensland police force incorporated many features of the Irish Constabulary.

The Native Police incorporated one element of the 'Irish model' – the military aspect. Bowen mentioned the help he had received in setting up the Queensland Police from an officer of 'much experience' who had 'shown great energy and resolution as Commandant of the Native Mounted Police'. This individual was Edric Morisset.⁴⁰ The story of the Morisset family's involvement in the force's early history underscores what has already been noted, namely the importance of individual, regimental, and family movements in the administration of British colonies.

Bowen built on his apprehension about Aboriginal resistance, as justification for the force's existence, and claimed the 'Native tribes in Queensland' were 'far more

³⁸ Bowen to Newcastle, Governor's Despatches, 10 April 1860, GOV/22/60/33. According to one historian, Bowen 'had always been anxious for Imperial control of the aborigines', but his efforts were completely frustrated by the Queensland Legislature; Patricia C Kelly, *Sir George Bowen, Governor of Queensland 1859-1868* (Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1952).

³⁹ Bruce Knox, 'The British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1847-1859, and the Dispersion of a Foreign Elite', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 10, 1&2 (2000): 110.

⁴⁰ Edric Morisset was one of three brothers (the other two were Rudolph and Aulaire) who served in the force. Their father, James Morisset, served in the Crimean War, and was the Superintendent at the Norfolk Island convict settlement. He was later appointed as the Police Magistrate at Bathurst, New South Wales. See Vivienne Parsons, 'James Thomas Morisset, 1780-1852', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1967), 260-1.

numerous and more formidable than in any other portion of Australia'. He compared the colonisation of Australia with other parts of the British Empire.

In the early days of the occupation of each district, the Colonists are frequently obliged to associate together, for self-defence against the blacks, in a somewhat irregular manner, and after a fashion, as I am informed, of the old Dutch Commandos in South Africa. For many obvious reasons, it seems highly desirable that this border warfare, when absolutely unavoidable, should be carried on under some control on the part of the Government. The establishment of the Native Police has contributed much towards this end.⁴¹

The 'Dutch Commandos' had a distinctive history.⁴² It is unclear who informed Bowen about the use of 'commandos', but this statement demonstrates that practices in older colonies were transmitted to the new parts of empire. Bowen's remark about the Cape Commandos is another valuable clue to how colonial administrators thought about the empire, and it is also a useful lead into further reflection on the character of the Native Police. As South African historian Timothy Keegan argues 'the commando became the single most important symbol of the cultural and social cohesion of the frontier burghers, and the chief instrument of their common interest in dispossessing and subjugating Indigenous peoples'.⁴³ Interestingly, the commandos sometimes included Indigenous servants. Moreover, Khoikhoi soldiers that had formed part of the Dutch forces at the Cape since 1652, fought against British invaders, and took part in 'commandos' against other African peoples. The term 'commando' was also used in early colonial Australia.

⁴¹ GOV/22/60/33.

⁴² 'Commando', an Afrikaans name for an armed force raised by the Boers in South Africa, was originally a Portuguese word, *Macquarie Dictionary* (Sydney: Macquarie University, 1987), 376.

⁴³ Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 30.

‘The Yass and Bathurst Blacks in the early settling of the Colony were said to have been troublesome, and that in consequence Commandoes (sic) had gone out against them’.⁴⁴

In Ceylon the use of armed Native forces in several formations during the early decades of the nineteenth century firmly established new tactics and policies. There is no evidence in Australian historiography of any awareness of this important forerunner to the Native Police forces in Victoria, Queensland and the Northern Territory. The Malay Corps, later renamed the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, was formed in 1802.⁴⁵ When conventional military forces proved incapable of securing the island, British officials in Africa and India sent mercenaries from 1804.⁴⁶ The Kaffir Corps, composed of armed and mounted African soldiers, conducted a campaign of terror and destruction against the Singhalese, until being disbanded in 1825.⁴⁷ The Native Police in Queensland came to resemble this force.⁴⁸ The Malay Corps was used by the British to eventually defeat the Kingdom of Kandy in 1815. Many former members of the Malay Corps later joined the Ceylon Police.⁴⁹ For the last twenty years of the unit’s existence, it supplied detachments to Hong Kong and other British territories in Asia.⁵⁰

Malay soldiers were originally taken from the islands of the Dutch East Indies to Ceylon, and recruited by the Dutch. They were absorbed into the British army when the

⁴⁴ GA Robinson, *Journey into south-east Australia* (Sydney: DS Ford, 1941, originally published 1844).

⁴⁵ Hussainmiya, *Orang Regimen*.

⁴⁶ Colvin De Silva, *Ceylon Under the British Occupation, 1795-1833* (New Delhi: Navrang, 1995).

⁴⁷ Hussainmiya, *Orang Regimen*, 62.

⁴⁸ See Tennakoon Vimalananda, *The British Intrigue in the Kingdom of Ceylon* (Vidyalankara: MD Gunasena & Co, 1973), and Geoffrey Powell, *The Kandyan Wars: the British Army in Ceylon, 1803-1818* (London: Leo Cooper, 1973).

⁴⁹ Hussainmiya, *Orang Regimen*, 91.

⁵⁰ James Lunt, *Imperial Sunset: Frontier Soldiering in the 20th Century* (London: Macdonald, 1981), 372.

Dutch surrendered the island in 1796. Ceylon was a strategic part of British efforts to block French expansion. The Malay forces were divided into mounted detachments, and sent to the island's highland interior where they made frequent patrols to destroy resources and terrify the Singhalese. Villages were burned, crops destroyed and cattle driven away by these military mercenaries. The British quickly realised that local knowledge was the key to success, and one officer reported that the only way to defeat the Kandyans 'requires the aid of their countrymen'.⁵¹ The British war against the Kingdom of Kandy involved the use of 'plain terrorism' and violent reprisals to defeat local guerrilla forces.⁵² When difficulties arose in securing Malay recruits from Southeast Asia, British officials briefly considered using Hottentots from the Cape Colony.⁵³

In South Africa, the *Corps Bastard Hottentotten* composed of 400 Hottentot (Khoi-Khoi) and Bastards (people of mixed race origins) led by two European officers, was formed in 1781 but disbanded soon afterwards.⁵⁴ A second formation, the 'Pandour Corps', was established in 1793.⁵⁵ They were the precursors to the Cape Regiment, formed by the British in 1806 and later renamed the Cape Mounted Rifles. This unit fought in a number of frontier clashes until disbanded in 1870.⁵⁶ After serving with the

⁵¹ Cited in De Silva, *Ceylon*, 186.

⁵² De Silva, *Ceylon*, 189.

⁵³ Hussainmiya, *Orang Regimen*, 100.

⁵⁴ J de Villiers, 'The Pandour Corps at the Cape during the rule of the Dutch East India Company', *Military History Journal* 3, 3 (Johannesburg: South African Military History Society, 1975), 77.

⁵⁵ J de Villiers, 'Pandour Corps', 77.

⁵⁶ J de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regiments at the Cape during the First British Occupation, 1795-1803', *Military History Journal* 3, 3 (Johannesburg: South African Military History Society, 1975), 158.

British as they extended their control over most of Southern Africa, Native forces also played important parts in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902.⁵⁷

At the Cape, not all settlers were happy with the use of Native forces and settlers' anxieties were aroused in 1851 when deserters from the Cape Rifles joined other Hottentots in an abortive rebellion.⁵⁸ At the time, Britain was at war with the 'Kaffirs'- 'experts in guerilla warfare'.⁵⁹ Only Native forces that could be trusted were wanted. Settlers in later years held grave fears about the risks of armed African police turning against their White masters. The British continued to use Native Police in southern colonies of Africa for a further century, but colonial authorities took colonists' concerns seriously, and limited the Mounted Rifles' powers of arrest, located their barracks on the edges of towns, and ensured that Black troopers and constables only policed other Africans.⁶⁰ Queensland adopted these restrictions on Native armed forces for the operations of its Native Police.

⁵⁷ British officials wanted to recruit Africans for the Natal Mounted Police, but 'the colonists would not hear of it' although a 'large troop of Mounted Basuto Guides, armed with Martin-Henry carbines, and known as Durnford's Horse' was raised in the 1870s; Donald Morris, *The Washing of the Spears* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966) 272 & 305.

⁵⁸ J de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regiments', 160. See also Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips and Shurlee Swain, *Equal subjects, unequal rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 97.

⁵⁹ Robert Giddings, *Imperial Echoes: Eye-Witness Accounts of Victoria's Little Wars* (London: Leo Cooper, 1996), 146.

⁶⁰ John Brewer, *Black and Blue: Policing in South Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 22-3. There is a rich literature on the complex history of policing in South Africa, ranging from scattered references to the Natal Mounted Police and the Zululand Mounted Police, to the extensive records of the British South Africa Police (including Native Police), and the South African Police. The Bechuanaland Native Police Force, consisting of European officers and African constables, existed from the 1880s to the 1960s. For an introduction and a historical overview, see Brewer, *Black and Blue*.

Indigenous recruits were widely used in other parts of the Empire. Native soldiers in the British army of India were instrumental in the defeat of local rulers and their forces. Native units, including irregular forces led by British officers, were integral parts of the British army in India from the early decades of the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Local magistrates controlled formations of paramilitary police. ‘Irregular Horse’ units were used to suppress ‘disturbances’, and in some parts of the sub-continent, a ‘reign of terror’ against ‘insurgents’ was enforced by these troops.⁶² In the subcontinent’s northwest, irregular forces fought for decades against the Pathans and other groups.⁶³

A preference for the ‘martial races’ meant that Sikhs of the Punjab were recruited for military service from 1812.⁶⁴ The first Indian police force, established by the British in 1843, was led by ex-army officers and included a body of ‘special armed police’ used as mounted infantry. In 1847, the East India Company created an auxiliary force, the Northwest Corps of Guides, which was in turn succeeded by the Border Security Corps. This policy of using Native troops was so successful that an armed Sikh brigade ‘for police and general purposes on the Afghanistan/India border’ was raised in 1849.⁶⁵ In 1863 New Zealand Governor Sir George Grey asked for two Sikh regiments to fight the Maori, but, because the cost of Indian units was charged to India, the idea was dropped

⁶¹ For details of various irregular forces, see JG Elliott, *The Frontier 1839-1947* (London: Cassell, 1968).

⁶² TR Moreman, *The Army in India and the Development of Frontier Warfare, 1849-1947* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

⁶³ See C Collin Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932); Michael Barthrop, *The Frontier Ablaze: The North-West Frontier Rising 1897-98* (London: Windrow & Greene, 1996).

⁶⁴ Thomas R Metcalf, *The New Cambridge History of India III.4: Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 126-128.

⁶⁵ AH Bingley, *Sikhs* (New Delhi: Sumit Publications, 1984), 32-6.

for ‘financial reasons’.⁶⁶ Sikhs continued to be recruited as soldiers. A number also served as police in the Hong Kong Colonial Police Force (created in 1844); colonial officials used them to replace Chinese recruits whom they regarded as ‘utterly useless and untrustworthy’.⁶⁷ The abortive Indian Mutiny of 1857 meant that many Native units were subsequently considered unreliable, yet the British continued to use Indian troops for many decades and relied on them during many colonial campaigns and both World Wars.⁶⁸

Events in other parts of the world also had an effect on Queensland, including the widespread reporting of the Indian Mutiny, the political consequences of the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica, and similar events in the Cape Colony.⁶⁹ A rebellion at Morant Bay in 1865 was ruthlessly suppressed by Black troops of the First West India Regiment (first established in 1795) and groups of Maroon irregulars. Over 500 people died as a result. Governor Edward J Eyre (a former explorer and administrator in Australia and New Zealand) declared martial law, and defended his condoning of violent suppression.⁷⁰ Humanitarian groups, politicians and newspapers in Britain were outraged, and an official inquiry was convened in 1866. When the Hlubi in Natal refused to hand over their weapons to British authorities in 1873, official thoughts immediately turned to

⁶⁶ WP Morrell, *British Colonial Policy*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 294.

⁶⁷ Mark Gaylord and Harold Traver, ‘Colonial Policing and the Demise of British Rule in Hong Kong’, *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 23 (1995): 25-26.

⁶⁸ See Byron Farwell, *Armies of the Raj: From the Mutiny to Independence, 1858-1947* (New York: WW Norton and Co, 1989).

⁶⁹ As has been noted, news of the killings at Hornetbank reached settlers at the same time as reports on the Indian Mutiny, David Denholm, *Some Aspects of Squatting in New South Wales and Queensland, 1847-1864* (Doctoral thesis, Australian National University, 1972), 344 and 347.

⁷⁰ See Gad Heuman, *The Killing Time: the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 121; and Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Morant Bay, and the way in which the uprising there had been suppressed with ‘unnecessary ferocity’.⁷¹

In West Africa, Native soldiers were ‘recruited’ by purchase or capture. Both France and Britain used ‘freed slaves’ of other nations as soldiers. Soldiers from the colonies of Portugal, ‘liberated’ by the British, had to give fourteen years service to the Crown.⁷² British troops located at Sierra Leone and on the Gold Coast (Ghana) included a substantial proportion of convict-soldiers, whose sentences for military crimes were commuted when they ‘volunteered’ for West African duty.⁷³ The First and Second West India regiments of ex-slaves served as garrison troops in Africa and the Caribbean.⁷⁴ They fought in British campaigns against the kingdom of Ashanti in 1824 and 1873.⁷⁵ The Sierra Leone Frontier Police, consisting of Africans led by British officers, was founded in 1829, and a corps of African troops was merged with the West India Regiments in the 1840s.⁷⁶

Native units in Africa often bore the names of commanding officers; for example, Russell’s and Wood’s irregular regiments of militia and police.⁷⁷ Many of the soldiers in these unconventional armed forces were Hausa men from northern Nigeria. Like the

⁷¹ RL Cope, ‘CW de Kiewiet, the Imperial Factor, and South African ‘Native Policy’’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, 3 (1989): 494.

⁷² Philip Curtin, *Disease and Empire*, 17.

⁷³ Peter Burroughs, ‘The Human Cost of Imperial Defence in the Early Victorian Age’ *Victorian Studies* 24, 1 (1980): 14.

⁷⁴ Brian Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve: The Story of the West India Regiments of the British Army* (St Johns, Antigua: Hansib Caribbean, 1997).

⁷⁵ Roger Norman Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats: The British West India Regiments, 1795-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

⁷⁶ William F Gutteridge, ‘Military and Police Forces in Colonial Africa’, *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960: Volume 2 The History and Politics of Colonialism 1914-1960*, edited by LH Gann and Peter Duignan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 287.

⁷⁷ John Keegan, ‘The Ashanti Campaign 1873-4’, *Victorian Military Campaigns*, edited by Brian Bond (London: Hutchinson, 1967), 180-187.

Sikhs and the Gurkhas, the Hausa were labelled a 'martial race', and, because military experts saw the Hausa as potential 'African Sikhs', they were often used to police other races.⁷⁸ Glover's column in the 1873 Ashanti War consisted of Hausa from the Nigeria Armed Police Force (raised in 1862), ex-slaves, and former members of the Lagos Constabulary (founded in 1865).⁷⁹ The Hausa Armed Police Force, initially formed of freed slaves under British leadership, was reformed as the Gold Coast Constabulary in 1879.⁸⁰ The Aborigines Protection Society and others condemned the use of Hausa as soldiers in imperial armies as a 'disease'.⁸¹

In the Pacific, colonisers used the strategies that had worked so well in Africa. When New Guinea came under British control in 1888, Fijians 'who had a natural aptitude for soldiering' were initially preferred as constables.⁸² A military force known as the Native Infantry Regiment (later called the Armed Native Constabulary) had existed before 1874 when Britain annexed Fiji and the Fiji Police Force was created. When arrangements were made for a New Guinea Constabulary in 1890, two Fijian non-commissioned officers and ten Melanesian constables from the Solomon Islands, armed with rifles supplied 'at a very moderate price' by the Queensland Government, were

⁷⁸ See Mathieu Deflem, 'Law Enforcement in British Colonial Africa', *Police Studies*, 17, 1 (1994).

⁷⁹ Keegan, 'The Ashanti Campaign', 180.

⁸⁰ Tekena N Tamuno, *The Police in Modern Nigeria 1861-1965* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1970), 15-19; and Philip T Ahire, 'Re-writing the Distorted History of Policing in Colonial Nigeria', *International Journal of Sociology of Law* 18 (1990).

⁸¹ David Killingray, 'The Mutiny of the West African Regiment in the Gold Coast, 1901', *Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines*, 16, 3 (1983).

⁸² HE Clark, 'The Story of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary', *Police History* 2, (1987): 30.

chosen.⁸³ Native police operations continued as an integral part of colonial rule after German New Guinea was captured by Australian troops during the First World War. Further work could be undertaken on this particular colonial police force.⁸⁴

Other European powers used formations of Native troops and Native police in their colonies, especially in Africa. Historian David Killingray notes that 'European empires in Africa were gained principally by African mercenary armies'.⁸⁵ In Angola the Portuguese used 'Jaga (Imbangala) auxiliary troops', described as 'cannibal brigands' by one administrator, to counter resistance.⁸⁶ Settlers had persuaded the government that it would be impossible to maintain the colony without them.⁸⁷ The *tirailleurs algériens* and the *tirailleurs sénégalais*, formed in the 1850s, played an important role in French colonial expansion.⁸⁸ The French allowed a few Africans to pass from the enlisted ranks to the officer class, which was consistent with their policy of turning colonial subjects into French citizens. West African troops were sent to Madagascar in 1828; soldiers from

⁸³ HE Clark, 'The Story of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary', *Police History* 2, 4, (1987): 41.

⁸⁴ The most detailed work on the New Guinea Native Police to date is August Kituai, *My Gun, My Brother* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

⁸⁵ David Killingray, 'Colonial Warfare in West Africa 1870-1914', *Imperialism And War*, edited by JA De Moor and HL Wesseling (Leiden: EJ Brill/Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1989), 146.

⁸⁶ Cited in David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 85. The tradition of using African mercenary or auxiliary armies to fight for the Portuguese was established during the seventeenth century, Douglas L Wheeler and Rene Pelissier, *Angola* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), 37.

⁸⁷ Joseph Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 182.

⁸⁸ Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991).

Senegal fought in French Guinea during 1838 and Senegalese forces fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1871.⁸⁹

In the German Empire, the number of Native troops in colonial armed forces was restricted to levels sufficient for 'policing' only.⁹⁰ However, they were really soldiers. Native auxiliary forces under European officers were deployed in most German colonies in Africa and the Pacific: 2500 in German East Africa, 1500 in the Cameroons and 500 in South-West Africa.⁹¹ The German police force in the Cameroons in 1891 included Hausas, Dahomans and recruits from the Sudan and Togo.⁹² The members of the *Schutztruppen* or 'protective forces' in German East Africa were Zulus, Somalis, Sudanese, Swahilis and coast 'Arabs'.⁹³ In German New Guinea, each station and district office raised recruits locally and then exchanged them with other offices in order to reduce the possibility of Native constables having to deal with their own communities.⁹⁴ This Native Police formation existed from 1899 until the German colony was surrendered to Australian military forces in 1914.

In South America, Black soldiers served as part of frontier armies and supervised Indian workers.⁹⁵ Colombian and Peruvian rubber barons employed men from Barbados

⁸⁹ Michael Crowder, *Colonial West Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), 108.

⁹⁰ For further details, see WO Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire 1884-1919* (London: Frank Cass, 1993); and John Noyes, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915* (Reading: Harwood, 1992).

⁹¹ Peter Hemenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978), 23.

⁹² VG Kiernan, *Imperialism and its Contradictions* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 81.

⁹³ Kiernan, *Imperialism*, 82.

⁹⁴ Peter Hemenstall, 'The Neglected Empire: The Superstructure of the Colonial State in German Melanesia' *Germans in the Tropics*, edited by Arthur J Knoll and Lewis H Gann (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 103.

⁹⁵ Mark Burkholder and Lyman Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 201.

to control their Indian labour force in the early years of the twentieth century. The violence they used and the terror they inflicted on the Putumayo Indians was so extreme it became the subject of an English parliamentary enquiry.⁹⁶ Anthropologist Michael Taussig says the Barbadians were in effect ‘indebted peons’ who were used to ‘hunt down Indians’ and were themselves subject to torture’.⁹⁷ Even worse violence was committed by the ‘muchachos’ (‘guys’ or ‘servants’) or ‘muchachos de confianza’ (‘trusted servants’ or ‘trusted inferiors’), who were armed Indians working for the rubber companies. These men were ‘armed with the weapon of greatest repute, the infamous Winchester rifle’ and were ‘recruited and trained at an early age to bully other Indians into gathering rubber’ – usually Indians ‘from tribes hostile to those to which the boys belonged’.⁹⁸

As has already been seen with respect to the Cape Colony, Native troops worried as well as served colonisers. New Zealand considered forming a Native Police force in 1845. It was to be led by White officers and organised after the style of the Cape and Ceylon formations as ‘a cheap and effective means of controlling race relations’ in that colony.⁹⁹ In New Zealand, all Maori were declared British subjects after 1842 at the same time that police forces were being organised along paramilitary lines throughout the

⁹⁶ Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 22-60.

⁹⁷ Taussig, *Shamanism*, 43.

⁹⁸ Taussig, *Shamanism*, 47.

⁹⁹ This plan was suggested by Governor Sir George Grey, who wanted to establish a sixty-man all Maori unit, but instead got a mixed race paramilitary force, Richard S Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier* Volume One, Part One (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1986), 239. See also Richard S Hill, ‘Maori police personnel and the *rangitiratanga* discourse’, *Crime and Empire 1840-1940: Criminal justice in local and global context*, edited by Barry Godfrey and Graeme Dunstall (Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2005).

Empire. Maori who joined the police forces at isolated frontier outposts did so as a means of retaining their status, rather than as agents of the coloniser's 'civilizing' mission.¹⁰⁰ Many European settlers opposed what they saw as a dangerous and irresponsible scheme to place 'armed Natives' in positions of power, and that forced an end to the scheme, but the colonial government recruited many Maori in the late 1860s to end rebellion of other Maori.¹⁰¹

A summary account of policing in British North American colonies completes the history of imperial experiments. Canada, like Australia, tried all sorts of police forces. The Canadian Rural Constabulary, raised in 1839 to deal with the aftermath of the Rebellion of 1837, was an Irish-style gendarmerie housed in barracks in 'an attempt to cut them off from the populace'.¹⁰² British army instructors trained police units that were modelled on the mounted rifle units of the American army used in the Indian Wars. The formation had a short life. Black (or 'Coloured') soldiers, including men from Sierra Leone, were used to separate rival Irish factions during the building of Ontario's Welland Canal during the 1840s.¹⁰³ An unsuccessful experiment in Native policing, using chiefs and influential West Coast Natives as special constables, was conducted in 1861 near

¹⁰⁰ Maori constables had very restricted powers and were often seen by other Maori as 'components of traditional [i.e., Indigenous] struggles', Richard S Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier*, Volume One, Part Two (Wellington, 1986), 839.

¹⁰¹ A 'Native Police Ordinance' was passed in 1847, but settlers resisted the levy, Hill, *Policing*, Volume One, Part Two, 802, and James Belich, 'The New Zealand Wars and the Myth of Conquest' *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, edited by Robert Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 2000. Small numbers of Maori Constables were retained in remote areas until 1945, Hill, 'Maori police'.

¹⁰² Marquis, 'The Irish Model', 196.

¹⁰³ Ernest Green, 'Upper Canada's Black Defenders', *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 27 (1931); Ruth Bleasdale, 'Class Conflicts on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s', *Journal of Canadian Labour Studies* 7, (1981): 37; and Daniel Hill, *The Freedom Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Toronto: Book Society of Canada, 1981), 123-125.

Vancouver.¹⁰⁴ This force was based on a previous body of volunteers, the ‘Victoria Voltigeurs’, which was largely made up of ‘French-Canadian halfbreeds’ and used to ‘deal with any disturbances between settlers and the local Native population’ from about 1853.¹⁰⁵ Native constables were seen as useful in ‘the assimilation of Indians to Canadian law’.

The Northwest Mounted Police, established in 1873, was to be called the Northwest Mounted Rifles but Canadian Prime Minister Sir John Macdonald decided that ‘Police’ sounded less military. The NWMP was originally intended to be a Native Police force, following the Indian constabulary pattern, composed of Indigenous and mixed blood (Métis) troops commanded by European officers, but the Red River rebellion of 1869-70 forced a change of plans.¹⁰⁶ The name of the formation was later changed to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, but the men simply became known as ‘Mounties’.

Indigenous and African American men were used as allies, scouts and soldiers by the American, British, French and Spanish armies in the wars of invasion, the Colonial Wars, and the War of Independence.¹⁰⁷ Like most Indigenous people, American Indians ‘defined their loyalty according to community, not race’, so were not betraying their own tribes when they collaborated with the Europeans.¹⁰⁸ The Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts, which operated against Native tribes in Texas, was formed during the 1870s from the

¹⁰⁴ Marquis, ‘The Irish Model’, 202.

¹⁰⁵ Tina Loo, ‘Tonto’s Due: Law, Culture, and Colonization in British Columbia’ *Making Western Canada*, edited by Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996), 70.

¹⁰⁶ Marquis, ‘The Irish Model’, 209.

¹⁰⁷ See Jack D Foner, *Blacks and the Military in American History: A New Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1974).

¹⁰⁸ Richard White, “*It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own*”: *A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 101.

descendants of escaped slaves and Native Americans from Florida and Mexico.¹⁰⁹ The pay, guns and opportunity to strike at traditional enemies provided incentives for military service; so too was the opportunity for young men to escape from life in a disintegrating world and become warriors again.¹¹⁰ In the United States, a Choctaw light horse police operated during the 1820s, and a company of light horse consisting of Cherokee troopers was raised in 1844.¹¹¹ A United States Indian Police, consisting of troopers from a number of Indigenous nations, was organised at Muskogee, Oklahoma in 1880.¹¹² As one historian notes, tribal police may have easily seen themselves as ‘the last of the warriors’.¹¹³

American armed forces of the nineteenth century, particularly in the South and the West, included a few units of African-American soldiers, some mounted.¹¹⁴ During the Civil War, 180,000 Black soldiers, organised in Native Guard, Colored Volunteer, Black Brigade and regular units, served in the Union army.¹¹⁵ Although soldiers rather than police, the parallels with the Native Police are important. Numbers of African-

¹⁰⁹ Mary L Williams, ‘Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts’, www.coax.net/people/lwf/scouts.htm.

¹¹⁰ See further discussion of the recruiting process in Chapter 3.

¹¹¹ See William Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996) and Michael Barker, *Policing in Indian Country* (New York: Harrow and Heston, 1998).

¹¹² Art Burton, ‘Frontier Indian Police’, *Oklahoma State Trooper Magazine* (1996).

¹¹³ Wilcomb Washburn, *Red Man’s Land/White Man’s Law*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971), 171.

¹¹⁴ See Art Burton, *Black, Buckskin and Blue: African-American Scouts and Soldiers on the Western Frontier* (Austin: Eakin Publishers, 1999).

¹¹⁵ See Laurence Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1995); Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862-65* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1998); and Joseph Reidy, ‘Black Men in Navy Blue During the Civil War’, *US National Archives & Records Administration* 33, 3 (2001).

Americans, and some Native Americans, also served with the Confederate armies.¹¹⁶ This included rival groups of Cherokee who fought for the Union and the Confederate armies.¹¹⁷ Regiments of African Americans, many of them freed slaves, served in the United States Cavalry during the Indian Wars and were known as ‘Buffalo Soldiers’.¹¹⁸ Useful comparisons can be made between the Native Police of Queensland and the United States Cavalry.

After this survey of comparable formations, we now turn to look at the situation in Queensland. As we have seen, the use of Native soldiers and police in colonial situations was a well-established practice by the time the Native Police force of Queensland was created. And the Queensland force adopted many of the elements found in forces elsewhere. These include the concept of ‘divide and rule’, where Indigenous formations policed other colonised peoples, and the widespread use of ex-slaves or ex-convicts. Men from certain groups, identified by colonisers as ‘martial races’, were

¹¹⁶ The history of ‘Colored units’, and their experiences in American Civil War armies, has been the subject of recent debates amongst United States historians. See for example James Hollandsworth, *The Louisiana Native Guards: the Black Military Experience during the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); Susan-Mary Grant, ‘Pride and Prejudice in the American Civil War’, *History Today* 48, 9 (1998); Colonel Nathan W Daniels, *Thank God My Regiment An African One*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1998); and Scott K Williams, ‘Black Confederates Heritage’, www.geocities.com/~sterlingprice/blackconfed.htm.

¹¹⁷ Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

¹¹⁸ See Robert Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967); John W Ravage, *Black Pioneers: Images of the Black Experience on the North American Frontier* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997); and David D Smits, ‘‘Fighting fire with fire’’: the Frontier Army’s use of Indian scouts and allies in the Trans-Mississippi campaigns, 1860-1890’ *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21, 1 (1998).

preferred.¹¹⁹ However, the arming of Natives to control others was never popular with settler-colonists, and restrictions were always placed on their powers. Colonists feared an uprising of armed Natives.

‘Native Police in Australia’

Given the universal recourse to Indigenous manpower in the armies and police forces of colonising powers, it is unremarkable that Indigenous recruits served in other parts of Australia. The best known is the Victorian Corps, which began at Port Phillip in 1837. Marie Fels concluded that the history of this formation was ‘basically a story of co-operation’ and its activities were ‘quite distant from what is termed murderous’.¹²⁰ In truth, this force killed many Aboriginal people. There has been a lengthy debate about the general level of settler-Aboriginal violence in Victoria. Older studies by Andrew Markus and Beverley Nance, along with more recent work by PD Gardner, Richard Broome and Ian Clark, leave little doubt about the role of this force in killing Aborigines to clear the way for European occupation.¹²¹ The conclusions that Fels reached cannot be applied to

¹¹⁹ See discussion ‘The Gurkha Syndrome: State Utilization of ‘Martial Races’, Cynthia Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), 23.

¹²⁰ Marie Fels, *Good Men and True: The Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District, 1837-1853* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988).

¹²¹ See Andrew Markus, *From The Barrel of a Gun: The Oppression of the Aborigines, 1860-1900* (Melbourne: Victorian Historical Association, 1974); Beverley Nance, ‘The Level of Violence: Europeans and Aborigines in Port Phillip, 1835-1850’, *Historical Studies* 19 (1980): 74-77; Richard Broome, ‘The struggle for Australia: Aboriginal-European warfare, 1770-1930’, *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace*, edited by Michael McKernan and Margaret Browne (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1988);

the Queensland force. As Jan Kociumbas argues, the approach used by Marie Fels, with an emphasis on ‘intelligent parasitism’ could really only be called a ‘positive Aboriginal choice’ if each trooper was fully informed of the consequences of his actions.¹²² By focusing on the ‘bonds of affection’ instead of the violence, Fels downplays the negative aspects of the Victorian Native Police Corps.

In South Australia twelve Aboriginal troopers were recruited in 1852 but none returned after being granted leave, and the police engaged local trackers ‘as needed’ instead.¹²³ In Adelaide in 1884, a deputation of Northern Territory residents sought the creation of a ‘Black Police Force on the same lines as the Queensland force’.¹²⁴ This occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Daly River copper mine murders in which Aborigines killed three miners and seriously wounded another on 3 September. The government agreed to the formation of such a force and within a matter of weeks six Aboriginal troopers were recruited from Central Australia for service in the Top End under the control of two European officers. They arrived in Palmerston (now Darwin) in January 1885 and were stationed at the Roper River. A second unit was then formed, for service in Central Australia. Their official role, as set out in the *South Australian*

PD Gardner, *Gippsland Massacres: The Destruction of the Kurnai Tribes 1800-1860* (Ensay, Victoria: Ngarak Press, 1993); and Ian Clark, *That's my country belonging to me': Aboriginal land tenure and dispossession in nineteenth century Western Victoria* (Melbourne: Heritage Matters, 1998).

¹²² Jan Kociumbas, ‘Introduction’, *Maps, Dreams, History*, edited by Jan Kociumbas (Sydney: Sydney University, 1998), 43-4.

¹²³ See Robert Clyne, *Colonial Blue: A History of the South Australian Police Force* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1987); and Robert Foster, Rick Hosking and Amanda Nettelbeck, *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2001).

¹²⁴ ‘Deputation of Residents’ in the *South Australian Register* (10 September 1884: 7).

Government Gazette, was to ‘protect the settlers from the outrages of the Natives’.¹²⁵ The Top End unit was disbanded in the latter part of 1886. In 1891, Constable William Willshire, the officer in charge of the southern unit, was tried for murder but acquitted. Further allegations of troopers shooting Aboriginals in cold blood were made in 1898 and shortly afterwards the remaining Native Police units appear to have been disbanded.¹²⁶ Work by Peter Donovan, Richard Kimber, Gordon Reid, Peter Read, Bill Wilson and Tony Roberts have detailed the history of this small but violent frontier force, which killed a great many Aboriginal people.¹²⁷ Bill Wilson notes that Fels’ denial that Native Police engaged in ‘wholesale slaughter’ would not apply in the Northern Territory, where ‘a bankrupt policy led to Native police engaging in outright warfare to secure peace on the frontier, a peace bought with death and violence’.¹²⁸

Thirty-nine Aboriginal men were employed as trackers and guides by the West Australian police in 1872.¹²⁹ In 1893, northern graziers in the Legislative Assembly called for a force of Native troopers to be stationed in the Kimberley district.¹³⁰ The

¹²⁵ *South Australian Government Gazette* (17 September 1885:831).

¹²⁶ Gordon Reid, *A Picnic With The Natives: Aboriginal-European Relations in the Northern Territory to 1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1990), 126, and Tony Roberts, *Frontier Justice: A History of the Gulf Country to 1900* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005), 131-132.

¹²⁷ See Peter Donovan, *Alice Springs: Its History & the People who made it* (Alice Springs: Alice Springs Town Council, 1988), 89; Reid, *A Picnic With the Natives*; Richard Kimber, *The End of the Bad Old days: European Settlement in Central Australia, 1871-1894* (Darwin: State Library of Northern Territory, 1991); Peter and Jay Read, *Long Time, Olden Time: Aboriginal accounts of Northern Territory history* (Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development Publications, 1991); A Stapleton, *Willshire (Mounted Constable, First Class) of Alice Springs* (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1992); Bill Wilson, *A Force Apart: A History of the Northern Territory Police Force 1870-1926* (Doctoral thesis, Northern Territory University, 2000); and Roberts, *Frontier Justice*.

¹²⁸ Wilson, *A Force Apart*, 328.

¹²⁹ Mollie Bentley, *Grandfather was a Policeman* (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1993), 40.

¹³⁰ *Western Australia Parliamentary Debates* 5 (1893: 1049).

member for East Kimberley, Francis Connor, said ‘it is simply a question of whether the Natives are to have the country or the whites’. Premier Sir John Forrest disagreed:

I do not think anyone in this House would approve of a lot of armed Native trackers going through the country shooting Natives indiscriminately, wherever they found them – men, women and children.¹³¹

Forrest continued, ‘we know what Native trackers are. [T]he first idea of these Natives is to shoot all the blackfellows who are not of their own country’.¹³² The subject of Native Police for Western Australia surfaced again in 1916. A senior police officer said, with regard to the alleged problems of arresting Aboriginal ‘offenders’, that:

I have heard it said that in the early days of Queensland the Native police there had a special and most effective way of overcoming the difficulty [of language], but I am afraid that the tactics employed by them to that end would hardly find favour here.¹³³

Other colonies eventually mentioned the Queensland force both as a model and as an example of ‘over-zealous’ policing. To summarise, the Native Police had a conflicted status in Australian discourses over policing. As the brief account above of similar formations in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and the Cape Colony (South Africa) demonstrates, Queensland’s own Native Police was modelled on previous formations of Indigenous armed forces. Similar groups were raised in the West Indies, Africa and North

¹³¹ *Western Australia Parliamentary Debates* 5 (1893: 1064).

¹³² *Western Australia Parliamentary Debates* 5 (1893: 1064).

¹³³ Inspector Sillenger to Police Commissioner, 29 March 1916, Western Australia Public Records Office, ACC 430.

America. Some British men appointed to the Native Police force between 1848 and 1859 had been military officers in other colonies, and had seen action against, and with, Native forces. The use of armed Indigenous formations was, at the time of Queensland's inception, a standard colonial practice embraced by the first Governor as a core function of the new colonial government. To establish exactly how such a formation came into existence in Queensland, I have to offer a short account of selected episodes in the history of policing in New South Wales.

Native Police in New South Wales

The New South Wales Mounted Police section, formed from an earlier 'Horse Patrol' by Governor Brisbane in 1826, initially consisted of soldiers seconded from the various infantry regiments posted at Sydney.¹³⁴ The New South Wales Mounted Police wore military-style uniforms of Black trousers and jackets – a uniform described as 'similar in every respect to the 18th Light Dragoon Regiment'.¹³⁵ They continued to be paid by the army and, importantly, retained their military status.¹³⁶ The government stationed detachments of the force at Bathurst and Newcastle in 1829 to control

¹³⁴ The Mounted Police were described by one Sydney newspaper as 'the germ and basis of all our future military institutions', cited in Peter Stanley, *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1988), 75.

¹³⁵ IE Hoban, 'The New South Wales Mounted Police', *Police History* 3, 2, (1992): 13. Dragoons, a form of light cavalry named after their firearms, were used for skirmishing, to prevent surprise attacks and to pursue enemies, see Michael Howard, *War in European History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 61.

¹³⁶ David Neal, *The Rule of Law in a Penal Colony* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 151.

Aboriginal 'depredations'.¹³⁷ The relations between Indigenous groups and these Mounted Police usually turned violent. The Mounted Police probably killed about one hundred Aboriginal people in 1836, and at least a further sixty-five were shot dead in 1838.¹³⁸ As David Neal notes, the Mounted Police exerted the Crown's monopoly over armed force on the frontier while maintaining the appearance of law.¹³⁹ In other words, while described as a police force upholding the rule of law, the force actually resembled an army unit actively engaged with an enemy.

According to Roger Milliss, the Mounted Police Force's most 'notorious' commander was Major James Nunn.¹⁴⁰ After arriving at Sydney in July 1837 with the 80th Regiment, Nunn was appointed Commandant of the Mounted Police in September 1837. In January 1838 possibly up to three hundred Aboriginal people were killed at Waterloo Creek by Mounted Police under Nunn's command.¹⁴¹ In the same year, a massacre of Aboriginal people at Myall Creek by stockmen resulted in the public learning about frontier massacres and eventually, for the first time, the hanging of White men for the killing of Blacks.¹⁴² The Mounted Police apprehended the Myall Creek

¹³⁷ See John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788-1838* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2002).

¹³⁸ Neal, *Rule of Law*, 152.

¹³⁹ Neal, *Rule of Law*, 154

¹⁴⁰ Roger Milliss, *Waterloo Creek* (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1992) 726. Milliss' work was criticised as 'dated in conception and analysis', and 'for perpetuating a fixation with overt violence', Peter Read, 'Unearthing the Past is Not Enough', *Island 52* (1992), and Tom Griffiths, 'The Frontier Fallen', *Eureka Street* (2002).

¹⁴¹ Millis, *Waterloo Creek*, 166-203. See also Bruce Elder, *Blood on the Wattle* (Sydney: New Holland Publishers, 2003).

¹⁴² See Michael Sturma, 'Myall Creek and the Psychology of Mass Murder', *Journal of Australian Studies* 16 (1985); Michael O'Rourke, *The Kamilaroi Lands: North-central New South Wales in the early 19th century* (Canberra, 1997); Russ Blanch, *Massacre Myall Creek Revisited* (Delungra: Grah Jean Books, 2000).

murderers, because it was the duty of the force. The action conformed to an image of police neutrality in service of the Crown and civilisation.

The New South Wales Mounted Police operated in the central parts of the colony, and the government created another force for the expanding northern districts – the Native Police of New South Wales. When Queensland ‘inherited’ the Native Police upon Separation in 1859, the force had existed for ten years.¹⁴³ The first Commandant of the (New South Wales) formation, Frederick Walker, had already conducted similar operations in that colony’s western districts before his appointment in 1848. It must be stressed that Walker received his appointment because of his connections with colonial gentry and his previous experience in crushing Aboriginal resistance.¹⁴⁴ Widely referred to as ‘Filibuster’ Walker, he was dismissed in 1855. In addition to its well-known political context, ‘filibuster’ also has a darker meaning. The *Macquarie* and *Oxford* dictionaries define it as ‘an irregular military adventurer’, ‘to act as a freebooter, buccaneer, or irregular military adventurer’, ‘one who engages in unauthorised warfare against [a] foreign State’. As Richard Slotkin, an American historian, explains, ‘Filibusters were private military expeditions’.¹⁴⁵ Walker was at one time superintendent on grazier William Wentworth’s ‘Tala’ station on the Murrumbidgee River from 1845 to

¹⁴³ The first troopers in the Native Police were recruited in the Murray and Murrumbidgee districts of southern New South Wales, LE Skinner, *Police of the Pastoral Frontier* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1975).

¹⁴⁴ For details of Walker’s previous exploits, see Patrick Collins, *Goodbye Bussamarai: the Mandandanji Land War, Southern Queensland 1842-1852* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2002), 48-51. Collins confuses Frederick’s brother Robert, who also served in the Native Police, with frontiersman Richard Walker; see 35, 180 & 194. Others believed Frederick and Robert were unrelated. For instance, see David Denholm, *Some Aspects of Squatting in New South Wales and Queensland, 1847-1864* (Doctoral thesis, Australian National University, 1972), 338.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 243.

1846.¹⁴⁶ References to Walker's presence in the Darling River area, when squatter Edmund Morey called for assistance to 'chasten the local tribes', alerts us to his frontier experience.¹⁴⁷ Walker took with him two Aboriginal men from the Murrumbidgee who were 'spoiling for a fight against an alien tribe'.¹⁴⁸

For the most part, the settlers who colonised Australia did not recognise any form of Indigenous Sovereignty and regarded Indigenous people as 'sub-human'. Most saw Aboriginal resistance as an 'outrage' against civilised values and British law. As far as the colonists were concerned, the only way to deal with 'collisions' and 'depredation' was by using overwhelming force against what they saw as the enemy. Walker's small band of Native Police at Callandoon near Goondiwindi was, as Mark Copland notes, a pilot scheme for the policing of the colony.¹⁴⁹

It is important to remember that the Native Police, as formed in 1848, originated from a well-established history of violence against Aboriginal people in older colonies. As in other colonies, the 'dangers' of arming Indigenous men was constantly reiterated in politics and in the press.¹⁵⁰ A complicated man, Walker voiced controversial views about the place of Aborigines in Australia. Not only did he favour arming a Native Police, he felt squatters should allow Aborigines to stay on stations. There was animated discussion

¹⁴⁶ General Correspondence Records of the Native Police (1848-57), NMP/J1. WC (William) Wentworth, the champion of the squatters, was antagonistic to 'the Blacks', and his 1849 speech 'the civilized people had come in, and the savage must go back' was cheered by the Legislature of New South Wales, *Sydney Morning Herald* (29 June 1849).

¹⁴⁷ Bobbie Hardy, *Lament of the Barkindji* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1976), 77.

¹⁴⁸ Collins, *Goodbye Bussamarai*. Walker 'answered a call' in the 1840s from pioneer Edmund Morey for assistance in 'chastening' the local tribes; 48-49.

¹⁴⁹ Mark Copland, 'The Native Police at Callandoon: A blueprint for forced assimilation?' in *Policing the Lucky Country*, edited by Mike Enders and Benoît Dupont (Sydney: Hawkins Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁰ For further discussion of media and political attitudes to Walker, see Denis Cryle, *The Press in Colonial Queensland*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989).

over his preference for a supposed policy of encouraging squatters to ‘let in’ Aboriginal people who could be effectively controlled.¹⁵¹

Walker and his Native troopers gained a reputation for brutality towards Aborigines in southern Queensland, but his was only one part of the violence on this colonial frontier. It was common knowledge on the frontier that squatters killed Aborigines before the arrival of the Native Police. For example, in 1853 Walker's force was criticised in a letter to the *Moreton Bay Courier* by a man named James Marks. Walker responded, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, that Marks was ‘an individual whose atrocities on the MacIntyre first induced His Excellency to command me to raise the Native Police’.¹⁵² The *Moreton Bay Courier* actively supported the force’s deployment, arguing that the Native Police would ‘afford a more probable chance of repressing aboriginal violence than any plan hitherto proposed’.¹⁵³

More telling is the correspondence between the New South Wales Colonial Secretary and Walker. In October 1848, before the force arrived at the Macintyre, squatter E.D. Thomson wrote to the Colonial Secretary about ‘certain murders having been recently perpetrated by the whites on the Aborigines at the MacIntyre River’.¹⁵⁴ There is no evidence, however, of Walker or his Native Police attempting to apprehend anyone for these alleged murders. The New South Wales Native Police force was, on the available evidence, an armed instrument of a colonial government. Like the Victorian

¹⁵¹ Copland, ‘The Native Police at Callandoon’.

¹⁵² Walker to Colonial Secretary, 31 December 1853, NMP B/5.

¹⁵³ *Moreton Bay Courier* (1 July 1848).

¹⁵⁴ Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 4 October 1848, New South Wales State Archives, 4/3860, reel 2818. See also an important recent revision on Walker by Mark Copland, ‘The Native Police at Callandoon’.

Corps, its purpose was the protection of squatters' lives and property in the aftermath of resistance by Aboriginal people to the taking of their traditional land.

'The language of oppression'

The historical accounts of policing and of colonial military units comprised of Indigenous troops help to contextualise the Native Police; however, another branch of historical inquiry is also helpful, namely studies of the ideology or language of displacement and violence. A complete language of colonisation, dispossession and conquest evolved in the colonies, and Queensland was no exception.¹⁵⁵ The denial of human rights extended to the use of derogatory terms for Aboriginal people; men were 'boys', women were 'gins' and children were 'picaninnies'. 'Myalls, and niggers, and gins and piccaninnies seem further removed from humanity'.¹⁵⁶ This 'linguistic coding' caused problems for later historians and writers, who sometimes incorrectly assumed that the word 'boy' signified a child. For example, some thought that the killing of a young man of twenty-two referred to a boy of eight.¹⁵⁷

Indigenous resistance was 'an outrage' and colonial punitive expeditions justified as necessary steps in the colonial project.¹⁵⁸ This use of coded terms extended further. The word 'disperse' became a euphemism for the killing of Aboriginal people. Disperse;

¹⁵⁵ Griffiths, 'The Frontier Fallen' and Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 157.

¹⁵⁶ 'Black and White in Queensland' by Charles Heydon, *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 February 1874: 3).

¹⁵⁷ See the discussion on the age of a young man named Jemmy on page 68.

¹⁵⁸ The term 'Outrages', or 'attacks on people and animals', was brought from Great Britain, see Palmer, *Police and Protest*, 45.

dispersal and dispersion had frequent use in the official correspondence about the police. Some writers mentioned frontier linguistic terms. One contributor to Edward Curr's study of Aboriginal languages described as 'interesting to note the new signification of the verb *to disperse*: that when a Black girl of fifteen is shot down she is said to be *dispersed*'.¹⁵⁹ Some officials and newspaper correspondents took this use of euphemistic language to extremes. For example, a news item was published stating 'we trust that these sable brethren will receive a lesson likely to endure amongst the archives of their tribe'.¹⁶⁰ The term 'sable', to describe Aboriginal people, was used very occasionally in the nineteenth century. Another newspaper story described one Native Police 'dispersal', supposedly in the words of an officer. 'I am glad to say they will not run a white man (sic) again in this sublunary orb'.¹⁶¹ The writer, evidently a literary 'type', was happy to see Aboriginal lives terminated.

The term 'Disperse' gained a specific legal meaning with the introduction of the *Riot Act* in Britain during the Eighteenth-century, although it was probably used more frequently during the early part of the nineteenth century.¹⁶² When workers and peasants resisted authority, government officials and soldiers called on them to 'disperse' at once.¹⁶³ Under this law, penalties were introduced for any group of more than twelve persons who refused to disperse within an hour of a magistrate's direction.¹⁶⁴ Local

¹⁵⁹ James MacGlashan, 'Main Range between the Belyando and Cape Rivers Waters', *The Australian Race*, edited by Edward M Curr (Melbourne: John Ferres, 1887), 21.

¹⁶⁰ 'Palmer News', *The Queenslander* (6 February 1875: 6).

¹⁶¹ 'The Northern Land: A Day in the Lava' by 'Boomerang', *The Queenslander* (25 January 1879: 109).

¹⁶² See Clive Emsley, 'Order and the Police', *Policing and its Context, 1750-1870*, edited by Clive Emsley (London: Macmillan, 1983), 132-147.

¹⁶³ *George I, Statute 2*, 1714

¹⁶⁴ Palmer, *Police and Protest*, 57-9.

magistrates were granted the power to order soldiers to fire upon those who failed to ‘disperse’ when so ordered. To invoke the Act’s provisions, magistrates had to ‘read the *Riot Act* to the mob’, declaring:

Our Sovereign Lord the King chargeth and commandeth all persons, being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the act made in the first year of King George, for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies. God save the King.¹⁶⁵

The recourse to troops was politically dangerous, and thus there was a growing support for some new agency that could enforce order without stabbing, slashing, or shooting people. In other words, support for a police force.

The first use of the term ‘dispersal’ in connection with Aboriginal people in Australia was made in the very early years of the first British outpost at Sydney. Military units were sent to ‘disperse’ Natives in various districts during the first decades of the Nineteenth century, culminating in the declaration of Martial Law in the Bathurst district during 1824.¹⁶⁶ An acceptance of racial violence on the frontier was shared by many – perhaps most – colonists, from the highest officials to the poorest labourers. The Native Police came into being within this violent context. Calls for action and aggressive ‘punishment’ by the Native Police generally increased after colonial newspapers reported that Indigenous people had allegedly committed ‘atrocities’, ‘depredations’ and ‘outrages’, or after colonists petitioned the government to stop Aborigines raiding

¹⁶⁵ *George I, Statute 2, 1714*

¹⁶⁶ See Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars*, 53-67.

stations. See, for example, a letter from the Colonial Secretary to a grazier who reported ‘an aggression by the Natives’ at his station on the Maranoa River.

It is with extreme regret that this intelligence has been received and I am to assure you that prompt measures will be adopted for punishing the aggressors and restoring tranquility and confidence among your own people and the residents in the outlying portions of the Maranoa district. Instructions have already been sent to the Headquarters of the 3rd Division of Native Police directing the immediate despatch of a proper force to the scene of the outrage and the complete dispersion of the Natives.¹⁶⁷

It is possible to cite many instances when Aboriginal resistance provoked colonisers’ anxieties, to embark on retribution, and to enlist the Native Police in a campaign of vengeance that simultaneously served to pacify the land for further exploitation. There is a danger of underestimating the role of fear and anxiety in the contact zones. If Aboriginal resistance was persistent, unpredictable, occasionally murderous, then ‘panic’ does not adequately describe the situation.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, one gains the impression that at certain times, colonists were very afraid of being overwhelmed by Aborigines. Settlers abandoned the North Queensland mining township of Gilberton in 1873.¹⁶⁹ According to one colonial official, most of the Chinese left the township owing to ‘the impunity with which the blacks rob and murder them’.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Colonial Secretary to Edward Moray, 4 August 1862, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/R3/62/473, author’s underlining.

¹⁶⁸ According to one pioneer grazier, workers ‘cried’ “Wild Blacks” to ‘prevent other men from coming out’ and reducing their ‘high wages’, Mary A McManus, *Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of the Maranoa District* (Charleville, 1969), 5.

¹⁶⁹ Colin Hooper, *Angor to Zillmanton: stories of North Queensland’s deserted towns* (Brisbane, 1995), 59.

¹⁷⁰ Dalrymple to Colonial Secretary, 24 January 1873, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A183/73/893 and *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* 2 (1874).

Two notorious examples will serve to show how fear, racism, and vengeance pulled the Native Police into acts of violence. Local squatters and the Native Police organised punitive expeditions after Aborigines killed eleven Europeans at Hornetbank station in the Upper Dawson district in October 1857. ‘The massacre aroused horror throughout the colony’ says one historian.¹⁷¹ Grazier George Serocold wrote to his brother in England after Hornetbank, saying he and a group of colonists ‘killed every grown up black’ they found for 100 miles.¹⁷² The number killed by the Native Police is unknown, but was large.¹⁷³ When news of the killings at Cullin-la-Ringo in October 1861 reached Brisbane, Colonial Secretary Robert Herbert personally ordered all available detachments of Native Police into the area.

The Government feels deep sympathy for those who have suffered and who are endangered by the cold blooded and unprovoked hostility of the Natives; and will use every effort to protect life and property against their attacks.¹⁷⁴

Colonists justified their actions with elaborate rationalisations that invoked God, assumptions of European superiority, and notions of how to discipline children and Blacks. In 1861, a correspondent writing in the *Darling Downs Gazette* criticised the ‘liberal agitation’ of a Brisbane newspaper against the Native Police.

¹⁷¹ JE Murphy, ‘11 Settlers died in Queensland station massacre’, *Courier Mail* (26 October 1957: 2).

¹⁷² George Serocold to Charles Serocold, 31 December 1857, *Serocold Papers*, John Oxley Library, QHRP 5-7. See also Gordon Reid, *A Nest of Hornets* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982), Chapter 6.

¹⁷³ According to colonist George Lang of Maryborough, squatters and their ‘confidential overseers’ shot ‘upwards of eighty men women and children’, George Lang to Gideon Lang, 31 March 1858, *Autographs, 1849-1893*, Mitchell Library, Manuscript -A63.

¹⁷⁴ Colonial Secretary to Mayor of Rockhampton, 12 November 1861, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/R2/61/895, emphasis added.

The country does not belong to the black man; it is God's country. If he put the black man first upon the land, it must also be allowed it is through His providence that the white man has come to dispossess that black man of that country which the latter has failed to apply to the purposes of its designed utility. We concur with the *Courier* that the occupation of the country must be held by main force; but we disagree with that contemporary, when he contends that the pastoral pioneers should be allowed to fight it out single handed with the blacks, unaided by Government police protection. In occupying the country, it is necessary to subjugate the blacks, and the most merciful way of doing this, in the long run, is to treat them with severity at first. If they attempt to massacre the whites, or to wage war against us, they must be shot down, and only when this is done promptly, and effectually, can they be trusted.¹⁷⁵

This justification for colonisation, and for the methods used to achieve it, was a perennial theme in Queensland and in other parts of Australia, as Eden's comments at the beginning of this chapter show.¹⁷⁶ Many newspaper editorials and letters claimed that settlers had no choice except to 'exterminate' Aboriginal people in order to hold and improve the country.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *Darling Downs Gazette* (21 November 1861: 3).

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, Henry Reynolds, 'Violence, the Aboriginals and the Australian Historian', *Meanjin* 31 (1972: 471-77); Richard Broome, 'The Struggle for Australia: Aboriginal-European Warfare, 1770-1930', *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace*, edited by Michael McKernan and Margaret Browne (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1988); and Osterhammel, *Colonialism*.

¹⁷⁷ Examples include, 'a war of extermination is the only policy to pursue, the alternative being an abandonment of the country, which no sane man will advocate for an instant', *The Queenslander* (31 March 1866: 7); a letter from 'Birralee' saying there were two courses open 'either to abandon our property, or to fight it out to the bitter end in a war of wholesale extermination', *The Queenslander* (5 June 1880: 722-3); and an article by Archibald Meston stating:

The pioneer squatters knew nothing of the blacks' tribal laws and boundaries, and cared less. If a sheep or a bullock was killed the valuable animal had to be avenged in the blood of the nearest blacks. War once begun, continued and spread with white settlement from Point Danger to the Gulf of Carpentaria. Squatters at last were forced to shoot the blacks or abandon their runs and all they possessed.

Making frontier history

A realistic approach to frontier history involves the recognition that Black and White histories in Queensland are intertwined, highly fluid, and often violent. Not all settlers were antagonistic towards Indigenous people, and the true extent of the violence is ultimately unknowable. Are the violent episodes we know about only the ‘tip of the iceberg’? Even if they were not, enough is now known about violent acts and the casual attitudes of White hatred and cheap regard for life to know that there is a terrible context for the violence of the Native Police.

Australian history until recently betrayed a triumphalist approach to colonisation. For example, the widely quoted writings of Hudson Fysh, Sir Raphael Cilento, W Ross Johnston, Anne Allingham and others are based on ‘triumph’ over nature and British ‘conquering’ of Australian lands.¹⁷⁸ This triumphalist approach carried over into the historical treatment of the Native Police. Existing histories of the police are useful as initial points of study but generally uncritical. Most, if not all, are based on incomplete research, wrong assumptions or inaccurate secondary texts. There is a reliance on several key documents, for example the *Report of the 1861 Select Committee into the Native*

It was impossible that the two races could exist and flourish together’,
‘Queensland Aboriginal Missions’, *The Queenslander* (4 October 1890: 654-5).

¹⁷⁸ See Hudson Fysh, *Taming The North* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1933), Sir Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack, *Triumph in the Tropics* (Brisbane: Smith and Paterson, 1959), W Ross Johnston, *The Call of the Land: A History of Queensland to the Present Day* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1982) and Anne Allingham, *Taming The Wilderness* (Townsville, James Cook University, 1988).

Police; and an ignorance of others. No work cites the crucial 1866 Native Police Rules and Regulations in the *Queensland Government Gazette*.¹⁷⁹

The most commonly cited works on the Native Police are Les Skinner's *Police of the Pastoral Frontier*, Henry Reynolds's *With The White People*, and Bill Rosser's *Up Rode The Troopers*.¹⁸⁰ Of these, Reynolds is the most important because, as John Connor notes, of the number of books he has written, intended for 'both general and academic audiences'.¹⁸¹ Skinner's book covers the history of the force from 1848 to 1859, but does not deal with the Native Police under Queensland control. It is therefore of very limited use to anyone examining the Queensland force. There is another issue to consider as well. Skinner is criticised by Copland for neglecting to mention 'Walker's use of the term annihilate' in his reports.¹⁸² Historians who skirt around the topic of violence with regard to the Native Police do not really help us to come to terms with our colonial history.¹⁸³ Reynolds uses the Native Police in his book as an instance of his wider theme about Aboriginal co-operation, but does not discuss the force in detail. Rosser combined oral history with some archival research, but his book doesn't cover the whole history of the Native Police. The only published history of the Queensland Police, Ross Johnston's *The*

¹⁷⁹ The 'Instruction of the Commandant', usually cited by historians, is taken from the evidence of the 1861 Inquiry, Noel Loos, *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal-European Relations on the North Queensland Frontier 1861-1897* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982), 25 and 254.

¹⁸⁰ Skinner, *Police of the Pastoral Frontier*; Henry Reynolds, *With The White People: The crucial role of Aborigines in the exploration and development of Australia* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1990); and Bill Rosser, *Up Rode The Troopers* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1990).

¹⁸¹ Connor, *Frontier Wars*, ix.

¹⁸² Copland, 'The Native Police at Callandoon', 11.

¹⁸³ '[C]olonial violence accompanied, and often made possible, the act of dispossession', Klaus Neumann, 'Among Historians', *Cultural Studies Review* 9, 2 (November 2003: 181).

Long Blue Line, contains one brief chapter on the Native Police and thirty-two on the 'ordinary Police'.¹⁸⁴

Violence and terror are integral parts of the colonisation process. As we know, historians and writers, generally, would rather applaud the achievements of the 'pioneers' than deal with the distress and loss that is the Indigenous experience of colonialism. Some historians have drawn connections between colonialism, terror, and the relationships of power and knowledge, but more work on this critical nexus is needed.¹⁸⁵ The literature to date fails to adequately assess the relationship between the force and the rest of the Queensland Police. It also fails to come to terms with the oddness of the force.

The Native Police was not purely a police force, but rather a military formation of 'irregular light cavalry', which was distinguished by the use of extreme violence.¹⁸⁶ One of the most useful ways to describe the status of the Native Police is suggested by historian Peter Hemenstall in his analysis of a similar force in German New Guinea. He describes the Native Police in that colony as 'soldier-police', and this synthesis appears to come closest to the organisation and activities of the Native Police.¹⁸⁷ This way of looking at the force is similar to Clive Emsley's 'state-military police' who were armed, lived in separate barracks, operated under central control, and were more like soldiers

¹⁸⁴ W Ross Johnston, *The Long Blue Line* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1992).

¹⁸⁵ Barry Morris, 'Frontier Colonialism as a Culture of Terror', *Knowledge, Power and the Aborigines*, edited by Bain Attwood (1992).

¹⁸⁶ According to one newspaper, light cavalry were used to 'prevent all possibility of a surprise' and to 'keep the enemy at a proper distance', *Illustrated London News* (23 December 1854: 678). An editorial in 1861 described the Native Police as 'Our Ethiopian Cavalry', *Moreton Bay Courier* (16 April 1861).

¹⁸⁷ Hemenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 63.

than police.¹⁸⁸ The Native Police needs to be dealt with in terms of police history, military history, empire history, and a history of violence in Australian colonisation.

‘Police protection’

The Native Police are part of the history of policing in Australia, and the history of the force reveals much about the development of ‘lawful violence’ in the southern continent. As the colonial frontier moved northwards and westwards from the southeast corner of what became Queensland, the Native Police rode at the vanguard of expansion. Detachments of Aboriginal troopers led by European officers patrolled newly occupied pastoral districts, responded to calls for ‘police protection’ from settlers, and made districts ‘quiet’. The object of colonisation was the acquisition of land, minerals, timber, and other resources, and in Queensland, the Native Police was an essential instrument of government policy in achieving this aim.¹⁸⁹ ‘There was a direct link between the legal recognition of the land grab by squatters and the development of specific forms of policing’.¹⁹⁰

The tactics used by the Native Police were typical under the rules of frontier colonialism. Signs of resistance were usually met with immediate and violent ‘punitive measures’, although sometimes, in other parts of Empire, prudent retreat and negotiation

¹⁸⁸ Clive Emsley, ‘A typology of nineteenth-century police’, *Crime, History and Societies* 3, 1 (1999): 36.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Aborigines are unnecessary to a capitalist Australia. The land they live upon may be required’, Nonie Sharp, ‘Aboriginal Resistance’, *Arena* 35 (1974): 4.

¹⁹⁰ Chris Cuneen, *Conflict, Politics and Crime: Aboriginal Communities and the Police* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2001), 47.

were chosen instead. By using the advantages of the colonisers, namely technology, mobility and communication, the force enjoyed an enormous advantage when attacking Aboriginal people. It readily imposed a regime of terror, confusion and suffering on them. The use of horses and firearms gave the detachments a clear advantage in the field. Efficient postal and telegraphic systems allowed the authorities in Brisbane to quickly gather news and send orders. Horses (and horse food) were always problems for police, but regular subsidised steamer services helped the government to remotely deploy the Native Police rapidly and effectively against any Indigenous resistance. While many historians have noted the use of firearms and horses, not all have commented on the importance of technology at the frontier. Orders were sent to detachments, and reports transmitted back to Brisbane, via the postal and telegraphic systems. Postal services, operating before Separation, allowed orders and reports to be transmitted before telegraph lines opened. The first telegraph line in Queensland, from Brisbane to Ipswich, was opened in 1861.¹⁹¹ Communication and transportation systems were critical factors in the operations of the Native Police. Contextual factors such as technology have to be considered before an assessment of the force's history can be attempted.

The Native Police have not gone unnoticed. We have mentioned the four most commonly cited works, but many other books either focus on the Native Police or incorporate it into a history of colonisation. Worth mentioning, in chronological order, are Arthur Vogan, *The Black Police: a story of modern Australia* (1890); Edward

¹⁹¹ For details on the rollout, and the importance, of Australia's early telegraphic history, see Kevin Livingston, *The Wired Nation Continent* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), 48. See also Daniel R Headrick, 'The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979).

Kennedy, *The Black Police of Queensland* (1902); Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin, *Race Relations in colonial Queensland: a history of exclusion, exploitation, and extermination* (1975); and Noel Loos, *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal-European Relations on the North Queensland Frontier 1861-1897* (1982).¹⁹²

Even the best works leave room for major reassessment, the objective of this thesis. All works on the Native Police to date either approach the subject superficially, and fail to recognise important transitions in the force; or focus on a single geographic area or period of time, and miss the broader aspects of the force's history. For example, there were significant differences between the Native Police in the southern parts of Queensland during the 1860s and activities in northern districts during the 1890s, which have been overlooked. Far too many historians have used the report from the Queensland Parliament's 1861 Select Committee into the Native Police as representative of the force's entire history. None of the officers who gave evidence at the Select Committee hearings were still employed after the 1870s. By the 1890s, the Native Police were seen as 'the friends of the Blacks', rather than as their enemy.¹⁹³

Awareness of the force's activities appeared to have largely disappeared during the early decades of the twentieth century, but re-emerged before the Second World War. Journalists and amateur historians began submitting articles on the Native Police to

¹⁹² Arthur Vogan, *The Black Police: a story of modern Australia* (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1890); Edward Kennedy, *The Black Police of Queensland* (London: John Murray, 1902); Skinner, *Police of the Pastoral Frontier*; Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin, *Race Relations in colonial Queensland: a history of exclusion, exploitation, and extermination* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1975); and Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*. There are also, as shown in the bibliography, several theses, many book chapters, and numerous magazine and journal articles about the Native Police.

¹⁹³ See Chapter 4 for further detail.

popular magazines during the 1930s, and many of these were subsequently published. Much of what has been written since relies too heavily on the writings of a small group of men intent on praising the force's record.¹⁹⁴ Hearsay became accepted as facts, and myths assumed importance as historians largely ignored Australia's record of racial violence during the colonial era.

There has been some good revisionist work on local and regional history in recent years, which has illuminated specific episodes, and these are noted throughout this thesis.¹⁹⁵ However, far too much writing on the Native Police has been constructed from tainted sources and hearsay. The authors of popular histories of regions and detailed accounts of frontier incidents have often relied on 'recycled' inaccurate evidence, which has sometimes led to myths being widely accepted as truth. An example of a chain of errors concerns a young Aboriginal man's death in Central Queensland during 1876. It demands attention because of apparent discrepancies in the claims about his age. Jemmy died after being beaten by Sub Inspector Frederick Wheeler and his detachment at Banchory station near Clermont.¹⁹⁶ Journalists, beginning with Clem Lack in 1964, said he was 'no older than ten or eleven', and this has been accepted by most writers and historians as accurate.¹⁹⁷ In fact Jemmy was a man in his early twenties, but only one

¹⁹⁴ The main writers on the Native Police until 1960 were journalists Clem Lack and JE Murphy, novelist Henry Lamond, and popular historians Glenville Pike and Harry Perry.

¹⁹⁵ See for example John Mulvaney, *Encounters In Place* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989); Bruce Breslin, *Exterminate With Pride: Aboriginal-European Relations in the Townsville-Bowen Region to 1869* (Townsville: James Cook University, 1992); Geof Genever, *Failure of Justice: the story of the Irvinebank Massacre* (Eacham: Eacham Historical Society, 1997); Pamela Lukin Watson, *Frontier Lands & Pioneer Legends* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1998); and Elder, *Blood on the Wattle*.

¹⁹⁶ Supreme Court Records, SCT/CG7/372.

¹⁹⁷ Jemmy was first described as 'a strange Native boy, no older than ten or eleven', Clem Lack and Harry Stafford, *The Rifle and The Spear* (Brisbane: Fortitude Press, 1964), 132;

historian, Geof Genever, got this simple fact right.¹⁹⁸ He looked at the archival records of this incident while others apparently relied on flawed published works.¹⁹⁹

However, the greatest error of all does not relate to an event, but to a false notion about archival records that deal with the force. For over fifty years, this absence has justified assumptions, inaccuracies and mistakes. One reason given for the absence of a comprehensive history of the Native Police has been the alleged ‘non-existence’ of records pertaining to the force.²⁰⁰ Historians and writers have claimed that archival records in Queensland have been destroyed, removed, defaced or ‘lost’ in attempts to ‘cover up’ the force’s record of violence against Aboriginal people.

Some years ago I wanted to write a book dealing with the Native Mounted Police. I went to the Police [but] one high official told me the records had been lost; another told me they had been destroyed by fire. I know Police don’t lose records or destroy them. I don’t know yet if those were polite snubs or diplomatic lies. I also knew, such is the petty conceit of some men in high places, the true records weren’t wanted.²⁰¹

Noel Loos says he was ‘a ten-year old boy’, Loos, *Invasion*, 26. Writers Al Grassby and Marji Hill say Wheeler ‘shot dead a ten-year old child in a peaceful location with white witnesses’, Al Grassby and Marji Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1988), 251. See also Alan Hillier’s claim that Jemmy was ‘a ten year old boy’, Alan Hillier, ‘The Native Police Under Scrutiny’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 15, 6 (1994), 282; and that of Bill Thorpe and Raymond Evans, who said Wheeler was charged with ‘flogging a ten-year old Aboriginal boy to death’, Bill Thorpe and Raymond Evans, ‘The Massacre of Aboriginal History’, *Overland* (2001), 29.

¹⁹⁸ Inquest into death of Jemmy at Banchory, SCT/CG7/372.

¹⁹⁹ Geof Genever, *The Road to Lotus Glen: the Law, Justice and Imprisonment in Colonial Queensland* (Honours thesis, James Cook University, 1996), 278-279.

²⁰⁰ Henry Lamond, ‘Native Mounted Police’, *Walkabout* 15, 11 (1949), 31-32; Evans et al, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, 61; Rosser, *Up Rode the Troopers*, 7; Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*, 255.

²⁰¹ ‘U9L’ (HG Lamond), ‘The Native Mounted Police’, *Cummins & Campbell’s Monthly Magazine* (1948).

Lamond was not the only writer to complain about alleged ‘cover-ups’. Veronica Brady, author Judith Wright’s biographer, claimed that Wright encountered difficulties with records during the writing of her account of frontier conflict. ‘Letters and documents to do with atrocities against the Aborigines had been removed and mutilated. Pages had been torn out and there were large gaps in the records’, and ‘not only libraries, but whole institutions, are involved in *suggestio veri* and *suggestio falsi*’. There is no reference in *The Cry for the Dead* to these discoveries.²⁰² According to Noel Loos, ‘determined efforts to locate these records have been unsuccessful’.²⁰³ Henry Reynolds said ‘very few records of the Native Police have survived’.²⁰⁴ Most recently, Alison Palmer, quoting Mulvaney, Reynolds and Loos, claims ‘the Native Police Corps files are missing from the historical archives’. These repeated assertions helped cement the image of Native Police as a secretive organisation.²⁰⁵ Writer Patrick Collins claims (without proof) that records were destroyed to ‘cover up’ the activities of the Native Police.²⁰⁶ Some New South Wales inquest records were pulped simply because no one valued them. Apparently, the official destruction of these records took place during the twentieth century.²⁰⁷ Additionally, it must be emphasised that this force operated far from the capital and its white officers were rarely men of a bureaucratic temperament. They disliked writing.

Yet, vast amounts of historical material, allowing us to gain a good understanding of the activities of the Native Police, are held in the Queensland State Archives. Records

²⁰² Judith Wright, *Cry for the Dead* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981), and Veronica Brady, *South of My Days*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1998), 376 and 514.

²⁰³ Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*, 255.

²⁰⁴ Henry Reynolds, *An Indelible Stain: The question of genocide in Australia’s history* (Melbourne: Viking, 2001), 102

²⁰⁵ Alison Palmer, *Colonial Genocide* (Adelaide: Crawford House, 2000), 56.

²⁰⁶ Collins, *Goodbye Bussamarai*, xviii.

²⁰⁷ For a useful discussion on ‘lost records’, see Tom Griffiths, ‘The Frontier Fallen’.

about the Native Police can be found under a wide range of provenances, including the Colonial Secretary's office, the Commissioner of Police, the Justice Department, and others. Records relating to the Native Police in Queensland have been located in every branch of colonial government, from the Executive Council and the Governors' Despatches to the Colonial Storekeeper and the Department of Works. Even the Colonial Architect's files contain references to the force. All that was needed, to uncover this wealth of historical detail, was a considerable commitment of time and a systematic approach to the records. How to process the huge body of historical material, without descending into an antiquarian slant, was the real problem. I am especially mindful of Peter Sack's warning, in his study of German New Guinea, that conventional narrative history is not a realistic tool to account for colonial history. His concept of 'phantom history' using administrative records to reveal structural features and quantitative details is a useful method of approaching Native Police history.²⁰⁸

What was the nature of the records collected by government departments? The main source of Native Police records in each agency reflects that agency's part in the constitution of colonial law and government. The Executive Council files demonstrate the evolution of government policy, and the machinery of control over all branches of the colonial authorities. For instance, the Executive Council approved appointments, dismissals, promotions, retirements, and reductions in rank. Some contemporary correspondents perceived the Executive Council as being the supreme authority with regard to colonial violence. See for example the letter, saying 'It is not enough that we occupy what was their country, but a number of paid ruffians ... shoot down the

²⁰⁸ See Peter Sack, *Phantom History: The Rule of Law and the Colonial State* (Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Australian National University, 2001).

unoffending and the useful of them like dogs, while the innocent blood thus shed lies at the door of our Executive Council'.²⁰⁹ See also a news item about Lieutenant Harris, who was charged with murdering a 'blackfellow'. Harris was set free on bail, and the writer asked 'Does not Lieutenant Harris act under orders from the executive?'²¹⁰ The decisions made by the executive arm were relayed to the operational forces via the Colonial Secretary's Office and the Police Commissioner. General orders, memos and staff files are found in the Commissioner's records. The Colonial Secretary, who functioned as the government's main co-ordinator of important letters, petitions, and executive decisions, sent paperwork on to other agencies, including the Attorney General and the Justice Department. The Justice Department records include dozens of coronial inquests into sudden and violent deaths of Aboriginal people at the hands of the Native Police, along with associated correspondence and court records.²¹¹

There are two major factors that probably now help enormously in the production of a comprehensive history of the force. First, it is now easier than ever before to access and process the information using computers. To some extent, the improvement came due to technological advances, but the creation of the Queensland State Archives was also important. It was very difficult until the later decades of the twentieth century to gain access to the state's records for a number of reasons. Queensland's first State Archivist was not appointed until 1959, and many records were still held by various government departments in widely dispersed and inaccessible locations. There were very limited

²⁰⁹ 'Legalised Murder of Aborigines' by 'Truth', *Moreton Bay Courier* (6 April 1861).

²¹⁰ 'The Case of Lt Harris', *The Courier* (25 June 1863).

²¹¹ The discovery of almost fifty coronial investigations naming the Native Police as being involved in the deaths of Aboriginal people alerted me to the possibility of writing a history of the Native Police based on primary records.

facilities for viewing those records that were open. The opening of the Runcorn facility of the Queensland State Archives in 1993 effectively meant the beginning of easy and open access to most archival material.²¹²

Second, there is now a curiosity to discover the truth about the Native Police. The fact that those generations that may have personally recalled the frontier period are no longer with us has liberated historical inquiry from the pale of self-appointed guardians of alleged fact. The descendants of pioneers still hold private records, but there has been a general reluctance to allow researchers access to material that might incriminate individuals involved in acts of colonial violence. Government officials and departments, with a desire to 'leave the past behind', echoed this attitude.²¹³ Of the numerous examples of this informal censorship, two will suffice. In 1882 *Wanderings South and East* by journalist Walter Coote was published, saying he was 'almost tempted to say something here about these luckless Queensland blacks,' and noting 'the truth of it has been hidden by those who were interested'.²¹⁴ This book has not been widely used as a source by later writers and historians. Seventy years later, little had changed. In 1945, an article by writer Noel Griffiths was submitted to the Queensland Police Public Relations before publication in *Walkabout*.²¹⁵ Consent was granted, after deletion of this paragraph: 'Last century, when it was war to the death between white men and the former lords of the Australian soil, the Queensland Native Mounted Police were ruthless in their method of ridding the outback of marauders'. Griffiths eventually submitted a piece on a

²¹² One significant exception is the murder file series, which remain partly closed.

²¹³ Commissioner of Police, Historical Inquiries re Queensland Police Force, A/45223.

²¹⁴ Walter Coote, *Wanderings, South and East* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 5-6.

²¹⁵ Commissioner of Police, Historical Inquiries re Queensland Police Force, A/45223.

completely different topic to *Walkabout*.²¹⁶ Perhaps earlier researchers did not have easy access to these records, but there is very little sign of any deliberate tampering with them.²¹⁷ The research conducted to date shows that rather than there being a shortage of archival material, there is actually so much at the Archives that some records have not been closely examined.

The absence of an extensive accurate analysis of the Native Police also owes something to the impoverished state of the historiography of settler-colonialism, at least before the 1970s. Violence, which was often evaded in ‘pioneer’ histories, is ever-present in both ‘contact’ and ‘revisionist’ histories.²¹⁸ Primary sources from the colonial era are rich with references to the violent treatment of Indigenous peoples, but historians of the early twentieth century failed to incorporate this evidence in their narratives. The newspapers of the colonial period also allow us to learn about some of the violence and public criticism of the force. They also make it possible to investigate contradictions and congruencies between public knowledge and internal correspondence. Myths and opinions about the force’s history remained undisturbed by fact and critical analysis until

²¹⁶ ‘Mt Bartle Frere’ by Noel Griffiths, *Walkabout* (May 1945).

²¹⁷ The only known instance of the deliberate destruction of documents took place in 1892, when a case of records marked ‘Old Papers Colonial Secretary’s Department 1847 to 1860’ was found by the Colonial Storekeeper; the case was opened and was found to contain records of the Government Resident’s Office. The file was noted ‘a greater portion of them [are to] be burnt’, Colonial Storekeeper to Colonial Secretary, 11 July 1892, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A703/92/8443.

²¹⁸ See an extensive body of literature from other settler-colonies, including Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Evan Haefeli, ‘Kieft’s War and the Cultures of Violence in Colonial America’, *Lethal Imagination: Violence and Brutality in American History*, edited by Michael A Bellesiles (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

the 1970s and 1980s when new perspectives on ‘subject’ peoples began to be incorporated into our national history.

Another source of confusion for some historians was the force’s legal standing. Some contemporary critics claimed that the Native Police force was not a ‘legal body’ and later historians have occasionally accepted this allegation without closer examination. After his dismissal from the force, ex-Sub Inspector John Carroll, condemned ‘the vague and mysterious regulations’ under which the Native Police operated.²¹⁹ Another letter-writer, called ‘An Ex-officer’, wrote in 1879 ‘never from its origin to its existence in Queensland at the present moment, has its legitimacy been defined’.²²⁰ Later historians have accepted these two statements as valid sources. For example, Russell McGregor claims ‘the force as a whole was largely uncontrolled and unregulated by any superior central authority’.²²¹ Under the *Police Act* of 1863, the Native Police was a legally constituted force under the immediate control of the colony’s Police Commissioner and Government.²²²

The Colonial Secretary, as the head of government, and the Governor in Council, as the representative of the Queen, generally but not always, endorsed the Police Commissioner’s decisions and recommendations. The Commissioner acted under the direction of the Colonial Secretary, and the Executive Council had sole responsibility in

²¹⁹ ‘The Native Police Force’ by JW Carroll, *Townsville Herald* (23 July 1881).

²²⁰ ‘Reminiscences of the Native Mounted Police of Queensland’ by ‘An Ex-officer’, *Town and Country Journal* (15 March 1879); the Executive Council noted in 1863 that the force was ‘not as yet constituted or recognised by law’ but remedied that soon after, 16 May 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E7/63/22.

²²¹ Russell McGregor, ‘Law Enforcement or Just Force? Police Action in Two Frontier Districts’ *Race Relations in North Queensland*, edited by Henry Reynolds (Townsville: James Cook University, 1993): 67.

²²² *Victoriae Reginae No 11*, ‘An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the Police Force’, *Queensland Government Gazette* 4 (10 October 1863).

some areas (for example, senior appointments). Officers of the Native Police force were legally appointed, promoted, disciplined, and dismissed as members of the police force. News of these official actions was conveyed throughout the colony by official channels such as the *Queensland Police Gazette*. The Native Police was legally constituted and official decisions about it were clearly, publicly announced.²²³ However, as will be seen, its operations in the field were not always the result of clearly enunciated government orders, let alone published orders. The Native Police existed in two worlds – the legal, visible, and governmental; and the secretive, unofficial, and violent.

‘Taking charge’

For most of the time that the Native Police existed, the Commissioner of Police in Queensland was David Seymour. He was in charge for thirty-one years – 1864 to 1895. His attitude towards the force must be examined along with any evidence of his knowledge of the force’s secretive, unofficial, and violent activities. His family and military background reveals much about the importance of patronage networks across the British Empire, and the promulgation of colonial practices deemed to have been ‘successful’. Colonists often compared parts of Queensland with other British colonies, and there was a constant exchange of information, policies and practices between different parts of the British Empire, as evidenced by the records of Governors’

²²³ Appointments, promotions and dismissals were regularly advised in the *Queensland Police Gazette* and the *Queensland Government Gazette*, and thence to the newspapers.

Despatches and Circular Memoranda.²²⁴ Seymour recommended the appointment of some very unsuitable officers (discussed in Chapter Two), and defended the Native Police against its critics on several occasions. His part in the history of the force merits close examination.

David Seymour was born in 1831 at Ballymore Castle, Galway, in western Ireland.²²⁵ His father Thomas was a barrister, High Sheriff at the King's Court, and Lieutenant Colonel of the Galway Militia.²²⁶ David joined the British army as an ensign at the age of twenty-five, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the 12th Regiment of Foot two years later.²²⁷ A detachment from this unit arrived at Brisbane in 1861, and Seymour became Governor Bowen's aide-de-camp.²²⁸ Appointed as Queensland's first Commissioner of Police in 1864, Seymour held this office until his retirement in 1895.

Seymour's family connections undoubtedly helped in securing the post of Commissioner, and his military background is relevant to the Native Police. Seymour oversaw the restructure of the force from a small frontier force into an armed wing of the colonial government.²²⁹ In 1865, with the assistance of other government officers, he

²²⁴ See, for instance, George Dalrymple's comparison of the North Queensland coast with Ceylon, 'Narrative and Reports of the Queensland North-East Coast Expedition', *Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1873): 8; most colonial newspapers carried stories from other parts of the Empire. The movements of Governors and other colonial officials from one colony to another also served to disseminate practices from other Empire posts.

²²⁵ Police Staff File, David Thompson Seymour, A/47922.

²²⁶ 'Seymour of Ballymore Castle', *Burke's Peerage* (London, 1904), 546.

²²⁷ For detail of the regiment's campaigns, see CH Gardiner, *Centurions of a Century: The Twelfth or The Suffolk Regiment of Foot* (Brighton, c.1908); and Guthrie Moir, *The Suffolk Regiment* (London: Leo Cooper, 1969).

²²⁸ *Queensland Government Gazette* (16 May 1861: 285).

²²⁹ See Seymour's *Annual Report* for 1865, mentioning 'the proposed staffing structure for the Native Police, with Inspectors to be placed in charge of Sub Inspectors',

drafted the 'Regulations for the Native Police Force'.²³⁰ Soon afterwards he was criticised for failing to drill the police force and the government reminded him that a military officer had been chosen to lead the police specifically because of his experience in drill, discipline and use of firearms.²³¹

Seymour's rules authorised the use of 'appropriate force' against Aboriginal people. The key word is appropriate. What men in the field, riding with squatters, thought was appropriate is one thing; what the Commissioner thought another. What the members of the government thought about frontier violence was still another matter completely. Rule 31 stated 'The officers will see the necessity of teaching the aborigines that no outrage or depredation shall be committed with impunity'. Rule 47 said 'their duties are never ending; their presence is required everywhere, and it is solely by their intelligence, unceasing vigilance, and watchful superintendence of the men, that the protection, which is the main object of the force, can be afforded'. There is no doubt that contemporaries knew that the terms 'teaching the aborigines' and 'protection' meant different things to different people. Later, one North Queenslander wrote to the Commissioner 'I know you have no conception of how things are carried on here', showing northern opinion on officialdom in distant Brisbane.²³² The Colonial Secretary wrote to the Commissioner.

Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 15 February 1866, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A77/66/870 and *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1867).

²³⁰ See *Queensland Government Gazette* (10 March 1866: 258-261); and note re 'Native Police Rules and Regulations' being 'carefully revised' by Attorney General Ratcliffe Pring, in Bowen to Earl of Carnarvon, 12 November 1866, Governor's Despatches, GOV/25/66/61.

²³¹ 'Drilling of Police', 9 May 1866, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E13/66/23.

²³² A Forsythe to Commissioner, Port Douglas Inspector's Letterbook, 27 August 1881, POL/12M/G2.

Representations having on more than one occasion been made to the Government that the Native Police when dispersing assemblages of blacks, are in the habit of indiscriminately shooting down and otherwise maltreating those against whom they are acting, I am directed to inform you that under an Order in Council it is your duty to issue such explicit instructions to the officers of the Force under your control as will put an immediate and effectual stop to all unnecessary harshness or cruelty and I am to inform you that under the same Order in Council it has been directed that when in future any instance of this kind is proved the Government will make severe examples of all persons concerned.²³³

Three months later, under government pressure, Seymour sent out a circular memo directing police to ‘carefully insert on the back of each report the date of all outrages reported to have been committed by the Blacks, on whom, by whom reported, with particulars of outrages and supposed cause thereof, also date and full particulars of every “collision”’.²³⁴ There is no evidence of this order being obeyed.

In his first *Annual Report* Seymour said there were no written instructions for the guidance of the Native Police, and a serious shortage of troopers to meet the demands of settlers engaged in the ‘constantly increasing occupation of hitherto waste country’.²³⁵ The absence of written instructions was remedied in 1866. But the shortage of troopers remained a problem. Three years later he reported:

I can only say that, with the means at my command, every exertion has been made to render it as effective as possible; and any want of success has been caused, not by the inefficiencies of the force, but by its weakness. The detachments are too small and too far apart to patrol properly the extensive area of country they are supposed to protect.²³⁶

²³³ Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 26 February 1867, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/Q4/67/160.

²³⁴ Circular Memo from Commissioner of Police, 14 May 1867, POL/4/249.

²³⁵ *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1865): 449-452.

²³⁶ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 4 February 1868, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A101/68/343.

This became a perennial theme in each of Seymour's *Annual Reports*, although he claimed in 1873 that the force's 150 troopers had 'served such as to prevent great murders and bloodsheds' by an Aboriginal population, estimated to be 50,000 strong.²³⁷

In 1875 the Commissioner was asked to report on 'outrages alleged to have been committed by the Native Police'. Seymour responded:

If there was any truth in the tenth or even the hundredth of what is charged against the Native Police, surely at least one instance could have been given that might be brought home to the perpetrators, but this has never been done; and it is but fair to presume that the cases existed but in imagination.²³⁸

Yet by this date Seymour had personally recommended the dismissal of three officers from the Native Police after each was implicated in killings that led to criminal charges, parliamentary inquiries or became public knowledge. Magisterial investigations were held into each of the killings. Archival records of these dismissals have been located. Sub Inspector Myrtil Aubin was dismissed by the Executive Council after his detachment killed several 'quiet' Aborigines at Morinish near Rockhampton in 1867.²³⁹ Acting Sub Inspector Charles Shairp was dismissed in 1872 after an inquiry into the death of an Aboriginal woman at the Herbert River.²⁴⁰ Acting Sub Inspector Thomas Williams was dismissed in 1875, ostensibly for drunkenness and financial irregularities.²⁴¹ Williams' detachment had killed two 'friendly' Aboriginal men at Tambo in 1872, which may have

²³⁷ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 15 January 1873, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A188/73/2320.

²³⁸ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 1 May 1875, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A209/75/1276.

²³⁹ Dismissal of Sub Inspector Aubin, 11 July 1867, Executive Council Minute, COL/E1/67/172.

²⁴⁰ Commissioner of Police, General Orders, 31 October 1872, POL/4/552.

²⁴¹ Commissioner of Police, General Orders, 31 January 1875, POL/4/583.

been his 'undoing'. Moreover, with his public denial of wrongdoing Seymour explicitly rejected complaints made by numbers of 'respectable' persons about the force that had been surfacing for almost thirty years. His claim pre-empted the report prepared by Aboriginal Commissioners William Drew, Augustus Gregory and Charles Coxen in the same year. They stated that any inquiry into the force's activities would be useless:

Nearly the only persons who could afford reliable information upon the subject are the Native Police officers themselves, whose testimony, if favourable to the Force, would not satisfy the public, and if unfavourable, would probably reflect upon, or possibly incriminate the witnesses themselves.²⁴²

The Commissioners decided that the Native Police's actions amounted to 'the employment of a Civil force in what were really military operations'.

The legality of the force's tactics was not an issue, but getting evidence of illegal action was at issue. Had the police exceeded appropriate force, its actions would have been illegal. However, the problem facing anyone who attempted to indict members of the force was obvious – the absence of witnesses who would testify. Officially speaking, the police could not kill Aborigines without cause, anymore than they could kill settlers. The challenge is to examine the borderline between the force acting under law, and the evidence of violent illegal acts, which nevertheless were not prosecuted. Successive administrators and officials were often reminded by the government in London that Aboriginal people were British subjects and were therefore entitled to the same treatment as others. As New South Wales Governor Richard Bourke had been informed by London in 1837:

²⁴² Police Staff File, Hervey Fitzgerald, A/40291.

All the Natives inhabiting the territories [of every part of the continent of New Holland] must be considered as Subjects of the Queen and as within Her Majesty's allegiance. To regard them as Aliens with whom a War can exist, and against whom Her Majesty's Troops may exercise belligerent right, is to deny that protection to which they derive the highest possible claim from the Sovereignty, which has been assumed over the whole of their Ancient Possessions.²⁴³

The Secretary of State for Colonies (Lord Glenelg) advised Bourke that 'if the rights of the Aborigines as British Subjects be fully acknowledged', an Inquest should be held to 'ascertain the cause of death' whenever 'any of them comes to death by the hands of the Queen's officers'.²⁴⁴ These directives were generally – but not always – obeyed in colonial Queensland and in other parts of Australia, as the frontier inquest records show. Glenelg was specifically referring to soldiers and police, but settlers also killed Indigenous men, women and children, and inquests were not always conducted.²⁴⁵ Fewer Aboriginal deaths were investigated than those of settlers. When they were, it was due to the initiative of an exceptional Justice of the Peace, who often found little support – and no thanks – for his actions.²⁴⁶ As has been pointed out, evidence from Aboriginal witnesses about frontier crimes, including murder, was not accepted in Australian courts

²⁴³ Lord Glenelg to Bourke, 26 July 1837, *Historical Records of Australia Volume 19*: 48. This directive stands in stark contrast with the attitudes of Governor Bowen.

²⁴⁴ *Historical Records of Australia Volume 19*: 48.

²⁴⁵ Many records about the killing of Aboriginal people by settlers have been located – in at least twenty cases the evidence was clear, but none of these resulted in a conviction. See Mark Finnane and Jonathan Richards 'You'll Get Nothing out of It'? The Inquest, Police and Aboriginal Deaths in Colonial Queensland', *Australian Historical Studies* 35, 123 (2004): 84-105.

²⁴⁶ These men, such as Ipswich doctor, parliamentarian and clergymen Henry Challinor, did exist, as some historians have noted, Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, 165-166.

until the end of the nineteenth century.²⁴⁷ Authorities in Great Britain were powerless to prevent violence against Aboriginal people in Queensland after self-government was granted to the colony in 1859.²⁴⁸ The Native Police, as will be shown in Chapter 4, participated in murders, and certainly did not perform investigative roles in any meaningful way. It was no ordinary police agency.

Violence by settlers towards Aboriginal people was noted by the Aboriginal Commission of 1875, which saw frontier policing as a necessary activity with a long history:

Before the establishment of this force, the outer districts were often left without protection, and the Settlers were under the necessity of repelling aggression personally. This, however, was not only inconvenient and insufficient, but often otherwise illustrated the inexpediency of leaving the execution of the law in the hands of persons seeking redress for personal injury.²⁴⁹

The Commission further noted that despite the objections of ‘many’ to the force’s continuing existence, ‘hitherto no practicable substitute has been suggested by the objectors and without an armed force the frontier settlement could not be maintained’.²⁵⁰

In other words, colonisation needed defenders.

²⁴⁷ Russell Smandych, ‘Contemplating the Testimony of ‘Others’: James Stephen, the Colonial Office, and the Fate of Australian Aboriginal Evidence Acts, Circa 1839-1849’, *Australian Journal of Legal History* 8 (2004): 237-83.

²⁴⁸ See, for example, a 1882 news item about an English Parliamentary debate over ‘Kidnapping in the Pacific’, which mentioned the question as to ‘whether Queensland was not a Crown Colony, and therefore under the control of Her Majesty’. The answer was ‘in the negative’, *London Times* (23 June 1882: 6-7).

²⁴⁹ *Report from Aboriginal Commissioners Drew, Gregory and Coxen to the Colonial Secretary*, 6 May 1875 staff file of Hervey Fitzgerald, A/40291.

²⁵⁰ *Aboriginal Commissioner’s Report*.

Conclusion

Until recent years, much of the popular writing about the Native Police was published during the middle decades of the last century, the period that WEH Stanner described as 'The Great Australian Silence'. He was remarking on an alleged exclusion of the Aboriginal experience.²⁵¹ However, a great deal was written and published in Queensland about the Native Police during the period between 1930 and 1960.²⁵² Stanner's survey of 'historical writings' did not extend to popular magazines that were the main avenue for the promulgation and dissemination of erroneous 'facts'.²⁵³ The combination of ignorance about Aborigines in the Australian experience and biased accounts of the Native Police had enabled Queenslanders to 'stick their heads in the sand'.²⁵⁴

The historical picture of the Native Police that has emerged relied principally on the opinions of popular writers, who mostly insisted that the force's officers were 'gentlemen' who obeyed the law and treated Aboriginal people fairly. Keith Windschuttle's claim in 2000 that 'British colonies in Australia were civilised societies governed by both morality and laws that forbade the killing of the innocent', is the latest

²⁵¹ WEH Stanner, *After The Dreaming: The Boyer Lectures 1968* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1968), 18-29.

²⁵² Others to write on the force during this period included former officer Robert Little, journalist Arthur Laurie, and CA Jenkinson writing from North Queensland as 'Tramp'.

²⁵³ Stanner, *After The Dreaming*.

²⁵⁴ One Queensland historian said, 'Humanity seems to be blessed with a form of amnesia as regards the unpleasant events of the past', JCH Gill, 'Governor Bowen and the Aborigines: A Documentary Review', *Queensland Heritage* 2, 7 (1972: 28).

incarnation of this denial.²⁵⁵ Anyone who seriously believes that argument has obviously never looked at archival records of frontier violence in Queensland. CD Rowley accurately predicted in 1986 that some Australians would continue to justify frontier violence against Aboriginal people as ‘necessary police action’.²⁵⁶

Another version of Native Police history, derived from the critics of the force, has also survived, but is not as widely quoted or known. A number of individuals, including Doctor Henry Challinor, anti-slavery campaigner Alfred Davidson, and journalist Carl Feilberg publicly criticised the violent tactics used by the Native Police. Henry Challinor arrived at Moreton Bay in 1849, and in 1860 (as the Ipswich coroner) held an inquest into the killing of Aboriginal people at Fassifern. After the Attorney General informed him he had found ‘no evidence to sustain a charge of murder’ by Wheeler’s detachment, Challinor resigned from his position. He sent a copy of his letter to Attorney General Ratcliffe Pring to the Ipswich and Brisbane papers to ‘inform the public that I was no party to the non-further prosecution of the case’.²⁵⁷ Alfred Davidson, who arrived in Brisbane during 1863, was probably the most outspoken critic of the Native Police. He wrote his first letters about “The Blacks” in the early 1870s, and submitted a proposal for an Aboriginal Commission in early 1872.²⁵⁸ This was rejected by the Executive

²⁵⁵ Keith Windschuttle, ‘The Myths of Frontier Massacres in Australian History Part II: The Fabrication of the Aboriginal Death Toll’, *Quadrant* 44, 11 (2000): 23.

²⁵⁶ CD Rowley, *Recovery: The Politics of Aboriginal Reform* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1986), 1.

²⁵⁷ Attorney General to Challinor, 14 February 1861, Attorney General’s Letterbook, JUS/G1/61/16; Challinor to Attorney General, 16 February 1861, Attorney General’s Correspondence, JUS/A2.

²⁵⁸ *The Queenslander* (21 May 1870: 2).

Council.²⁵⁹ Historians have largely ignored another long-term critic of the Native Police, journalist Carl Feilberg. Feilberg, a friend of parliamentarian and one-time Premier John Douglas, attacked the force, and earned the hatred of many political figures. In 1882, Feilberg wrote in a personal letter that he had never known of a White man being convicted for killing an Aboriginal person during his eleven years in the colony.²⁶⁰

Several quotes from the apologists for the force will suffice as examples of their attitudes, and bring to a close this chapter on positioning the Native Police in historical writing. In 1947, popular historian Glenville Pike wrote in his regular weekly column, 'Around the Campfire', that the Native Police officers were innocent of wrongdoing. He blamed the troopers, but at least intimated there had been killings.

[R]umours have been rife for years of the atrocities committed by the Native Police in the early days. The dusky policemen are said to have shot down their wild brothers indiscriminately, and in some cases are said to have been urged on to do so by their white officers. It is more feasible, however, that the Native Police got out of hand occasionally. If any atrocities did take place, I think the blackboys themselves were the only ones responsible, and there is no mention of any such occurrence in police records.²⁶¹

Judging from his published writings, there is little evidence of Pike examining any records. He returned to this theme soon after, claiming 'All police records I have studied have denied that the black troopers ever committed crimes against their black brethren'. Pike concluded 'Something is wrong somewhere and I do not think it is the memories of

²⁵⁹ 'Proposal for an Aboriginal Commission', 18 April 1872, Executive Council Minutes, COL/E9.

²⁶⁰ Carl Feilberg to Sir Arthur Gordon cited in Robert Ørsted Jensen, *The Right To Live: The Troubled Conscience of An Australian Journalist* (forthcoming).

²⁶¹ Glenville Pike, writing as 'Sundowner' in 'Around the Camp Fire', *North Queensland Register* (1 November 1947).

the old timers!’²⁶² Pike, like many popular historians, never references his work, but his impact on contemporary historical knowledge, especially in North Queensland, should not be underestimated. Over 150,000 copies of his twenty-seven books have been sold since 1952.²⁶³ Author Henry Lamond, writing during the early 1950s, expressed his opinion on the force in an article he said was ‘written after much research: from information gained by correspondence and conversation with old officers of the corps over the past 30 years’.

Old maids of both sexes of today may pretend to shudder in horror over the methods used by the N.M.P. If they have Australian lineage long enough and consider for a moment, they may realise they are alive now because the early N.M.P. protected their ancestors.²⁶⁴

Lamond said, in response to criticism from journalist Clem Lack, that the Native Police was ‘paid to *uphold* the law’, and did ‘as they were told to do’.²⁶⁵ Lack, who had acknowledged ‘the blacks committed terrible atrocities’, wrote that the ‘indiscriminate vengeance’ of the Native Police and the ‘decimation of whole tribes’ by the colonisers was the ‘greater infamy’.²⁶⁶

Now that the debates about the Native Police and the imperial and local contexts for the force’s formation have been dealt with, we can proceed to an examination of the men who served as officers in the Native Police and the relationship between these men and broader colonial contexts and networks. As the next chapter shows, many of the

²⁶² Pike, ‘Around the Camp Fire’, *North Queensland Register* (17 January 1948).

²⁶³ Peter Simon, ‘Champion of the North’, *Magnetic Island News* (1 November 2004).

²⁶⁴ Henry Lamond, ‘Queensland Native Mounted Police’, *The Bulletin* (28 January 1953): 27.

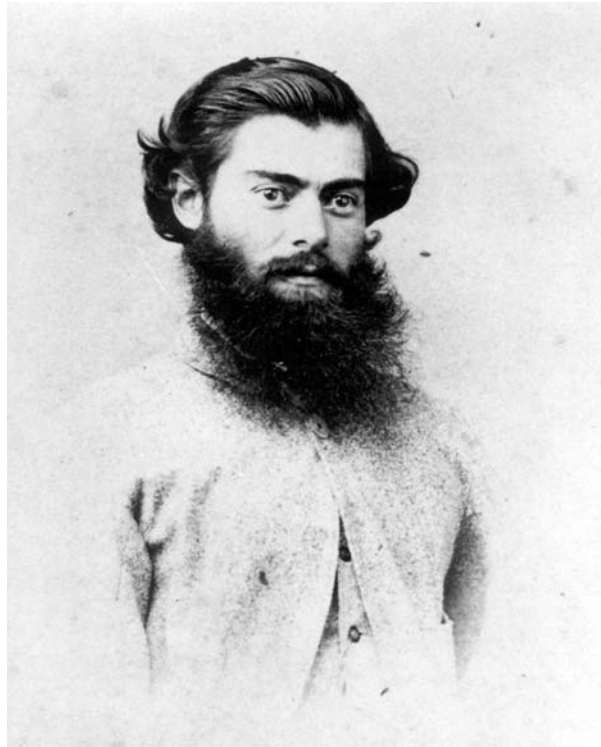
²⁶⁵ Henry Lamond, ‘Queensland Native Mounted Police’, *The Bulletin* (1 April 1953): 30.

²⁶⁶ Clem Lack, ‘Queensland Native Mounted Police’, *The Bulletin* (11 March 1953): 30.

officers had connections with land-owning families and individuals who enjoyed government favour. Individual officers interpreted the official regulations in different ways, which often led to public complaints and official inquiries. The importance of networks, patronage and favour are critical factors in determining who joined the force, who climbed the ranks, and who left in disgrace. The White officers of Native Police bridge the world of imperial privilege and opportunity, and the world of frontier resource grabbing. They were middlemen of the empire.

Chapter 2: 'never any lack of candidates'¹

The European members of the Native Police



As no depot exists for training Officers to the special duties of the Force, and as no more are employed than are absolutely required for active service, it becomes frequently a matter of very great difficulty to find a suitable officer to fill a vacancy; though there has never been any lack of candidates.²

A frightful amount of irresponsible power is held by the officers of the Native Police.³

¹ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 1 May 1875, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A209/75/1276.

² COL/A209/75/1276 (underlining in original).

³ 'The case of Wheeler', Alfred Davidson to Aborigines Protection Society, 18 April 1876, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, *Australian Joint Copying Project*, M/2427.

The men who supervised the Native Police and the men who led the detachments were the only Europeans. They filled both commissioned (Sub Inspectors, Inspectors, Commissioners) and non-commissioned ranks (Constables and Sergeants). When New South Wales directed the force, Europeans held positions as Lieutenants and Camp Sergeants. The first appointments under Queensland control were as Lieutenants, followed by Sub Inspectors, and later Acting Sub Inspectors (who replaced the Camp Sergeants).⁴ Constables were in charge of Native Police camps from the 1870s, and in charge of bush patrols in North Queensland from the 1880s. The shift from military to civilian designations echoed similar changes in other colonial police forces and contexts at the time. This chapter examines the careers of the Europeans in the force, as revealed in the surviving records. An assessment of these men's lives shows a number of important points about colonial policing. The 'right' connections helped to gain appointment, posting to 'easy' stations and camps, and assisted in promotion. Some came from military backgrounds or held other colonial offices; others went on to successful careers in the Public Service after leaving the Native Police. Most importantly, this chapter shows that the men who served in the force can be positively identified. We can also determine – from the records – which of them was partial to violence.

What do the surviving records tell us about the officers of the Native Police? How much can the records tell us about the careers they had before, during, and after their service in the force? Do the files contain enough information to allow us to ask why these men were attracted to this line of 'work' in the first place? Finally, how do the answers to

these questions compare with what is known about comparable police forces in British colonial settings?

Apparently, no government official in New South Wales, or in Queensland after Separation during the nineteenth century, ever compiled a complete list of all the Europeans who served with the Native Police. The names of one hundred and fifty individual men appointed to the force have been found in assorted archival files; staff files have been located for almost half (seventy six) of this number.⁵ These documents reveal many details of individual careers, and give some insights into the characters of the men. For instance, the birthplaces of seventy-six men are recorded. A third (twenty) were born in England, and another third (seventeen) in Ireland. A sixth (twelve) came from New South Wales, and only five were born in Queensland. Smaller numbers came to Queensland from Canada, the Channel Islands, Scotland, Tasmania, and Victoria. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, and Russia were the birthplaces of other officers. Family connections and career patterns, including length of service, promotions and disciplinary measures, are all included.

Although some published works do mention the cases and careers of individual officers, none cover all those recorded as having served in the force, and errors often emerge in these books. The published secondary works on the Native Police are generally inaccurate and unreliable. The flaws begin with the officers' names and ranks. Non-existent ranks appeared in the secondary texts. The force never had captains, commanders or sub-lieutenants but these ranks appear in several books and other sources.

⁴ The rank of Cadet Sub Inspector replaced that of Acting Sub Inspector from 1860 to 1889.

⁵ See Appendix 1 for a nominal roll of all Europeans who served in the Native Police.

For example, Sub Inspector Robert Little has often been referred to as ‘Captain’, his former rank in the army.⁶ His son, John Little (also a Native Police officer), wrote a number of pieces referring to his father, including a letter to *The Bulletin* claiming that Robert Little was ‘inspector of white police from Normanton to Camooweal’ at the same time that he (John Little) was posted to the Native Police station at Turn Off Lagoon in 1902.⁷ Records reveal that Robert Little only reached the rank of Sub Inspector in the Native Police, and was never stationed in the Gulf district.⁸ Most importantly, they show that Constable John Little was not sent to the Turn Off Lagoon station until 1902, thirteen years after his father’s death at Birdsville. By the time the family story had been passed down to the next generation, Robert Little had ‘raised the first trackers in the Colony’, then went to Birdsville where he ‘died of a wound he had received during the Indian Mutiny’.⁹ According to the inquest records, Robert Little died of heat apoplexy during a ‘very hot summer’; an obituary after his death did not mention any old war injuries.¹⁰ Writer Henry Lamond wrote to journalist Sydney May, saying his father was ‘a cadet under Captain Little’, and added the family ‘now call themselves Kyle-Little and are great publicity hunters’.¹¹ Lamond was born at Carl Creek Native Police camp, the son of Inspector James Lamond, and had his own skewed interpretation of Native Police history,

⁶ See an article stating ‘Captain Kyle Little formed the first native police camp at Bedourie in 1881’, ‘Western Memories’ by ‘Wirrigi’, *The Grazier’s Review* (16 December 1925): 1195.

⁷ John Kyle Little, ‘The Black Police’, *The Bulletin* (15 April 1953): 35

⁸ Police Staff File, Robert Kyle Little, A/40048/89/2351.

⁹ Syd Kyle-Little, *Whispering Wind: Adventures in Arnhem Land* (London: Hutchinson, 1957), 25.

¹⁰ Sergeant McDonald to Inspector Britton, 16 January 1889, A/40048/89/2351; death of Sub Inspector Little, Executive Council Minute, 16 February 1889, COL/E107/89/188 and ‘Country News’, *The Queenslander* (16 February 1889: 317).

but the exaggerations of both writers show just how unreliable and inaccurate secondary sources on the Native Police can be. Lamond is often quoted as a ‘good’ source, but in at least one important respect, he was very misleading. He claimed that one in four officers died. Records show that actually about one in eight died on active service, and only five died during attacks. Lamond refused to name the officers in case he missed one, saying ‘it would be a greater shame for me to omit one of those gallant old boys than it would be to my credit if I could name forty of them’.¹²

Some men, such as Sub Inspector James Gilmour, had names that were easily misspelled, and obviously became confused over time with those of others.¹³ The correct spelling can usually be determined by locating a document signed by the individual.¹⁴ Officer ‘Gilmore’ appeared in the records and the newspapers, and then in books and articles as the Sub Inspector who led an 1871 search for any traces of Ludwig Leichhardt’s last expedition.¹⁵ When more than one man with the same family name served in the force – for example, the five unrelated men with the family name of Murray – compounded by ignorance or misunderstandings about first names, non-existent ranks

¹¹ Henry Lamond to Sydney May, 21 November 1960, *May Papers*, JOL, OM 70-46, Box 5, Envelope 55.

¹² Henry G Lamond, ‘Native Mounted Police’, *Walkabout* 15 (1 November 1949: 32).

¹³ I have seen, in a forgettable article, Commissioner Seymour’s name recorded as ‘Seymore’.

¹⁴ For example, the letter signed ‘James Merry Gilmour’ requesting an appointment, Gilmour to Commissioner, 25 November 1865, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A76/66/549.

¹⁵ See letter of acknowledgment in relation to receipt of a *Brisbane Courier* article about ‘Sub-Inspector Gilmore’s report on the search for a white man reported to be living with Aborigines’, Chief Secretary of Western Australia to the Colonial Secretary, 8 June 1871, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A157/71/1547.

and fictitious characters were created.¹⁶ Colonial clerks and contemporary historians alike have been confused by the fact that in at least twelve cases more than one member of a family, (multiple family members included two Littles, two Blakeney's, three Morisset brothers, two Townsend brothers, two Uhr brothers, two Walker brothers and two Wheeler brothers) served in the Native Police.

Records can correct mistakes in rank and name, but more significantly they also reveal much about particular groups of men in the force. One of the most important facts is length of service, because it can be used to establish clusters of men who were either career officers or 'passing through'. Lengths of service in the Native Police varied from a few weeks to three decades. Reconstructing a nominal roll from a variety of documents allows one particular group, the 'Short-timers', who served less than five years, to be identified. Some of these actually served longer periods, by virtue of successive re-appointments. About forty individuals left and were re-appointed.

Collecting and collating data on officers also makes it possible to identify a small group of 'phantoms' – men appointed to the force, according to published sources – for whom no other records exist. Some of these may be the result of clerical mistake (as with the misspelling of names in official records) and simple human error, but others incorrectly identified men appointed, but who probably never joined the Native Police. Histories of the Native Police written solely from the official published records, especially the Commissioner's Annual Reports in the *Queensland Parliamentary Votes*

¹⁶ Frederick J Murray (1865-95), George PM Murray (1857-67), John Murray (1852-70), Michael J Murray (1900-07) and Robert Murray (1889-1904) were all unrelated.

and Proceedings, can sometimes be inaccurate and misleading.¹⁷ Thus, a thorough historical investigation requires working with several types of records and an especial search for information in the archives.

To begin to understand the Europeans who served in the Native Police, we need to know not only who was actually in the force at a particular time, but also to gain insights into attitudes towards the Native Police in Queensland, and the private motivations of those individuals who joined. The attitudes, motives, and experiences of one hundred and fifty men are equally as hard to understand if studied as a whole or as individuals. However, the men of the force can be easily organised into clusters containing groups of individuals sharing common characteristics or experiences, such as rank. This is a helpful method for studying a group such as this because it allows useful insights – despite the lack of complete personnel records – into their backgrounds, personal careers, and colonial connections. However, before turning to examine the groups of officers that can be identified in the Native Police of Queensland, some general remarks on previous colonial experience, chain of command, rank, appointments and dismissals, and individual careers, are in order.

Service in the Native Police was a classic ‘Boy’s Own’ adventure for some men, and a nightmare for others. Some individuals lasted decades in the force, but others left within weeks of their induction. Many left the force with their health broken by lengthy service in rough isolated conditions, and a number of officers literally gave their lives to

¹⁷ For example, Winifred Cowin, *European-Aboriginal Relations in Early Queensland, 1859-97* (Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1950) and Narelle Taylor, *The Native Mounted Police of Queensland, 1850-1900* (Honours thesis, James Cook University, 1970).

the Native Police.¹⁸ Yet the government was reluctant to mark the graves of these men who died in the name of Empire.¹⁹ This paradox, of men seeking adventure and danger on the frontier in the colonial project, knowing they were expendable and their work would be unacknowledged, echoes the position of the force itself. The men who served in it were civil servants with special duties on a complex and shifting frontier, where aggression and agreement took place simultaneously. Native Police officers worked at the ‘edge of the wave’ that settlers and colonial officials glowingly described.²⁰

Many men were originally appointed to the force on the recommendation of the Commandant, and after 1864, the Commissioner. Serving officers recommended their brothers, and sometimes politicians, clergymen and pastoralists recommended young men. The eleven men who transferred from the New South Wales Native Police force at Separation in 1859 formed the initial officer cohort.²¹ Joining the force in Queensland usually meant applying in writing to the Commissioner of Police, the Colonial Secretary or to other Government ministers.²² Some individuals moved between the Native Police and other branches of the Public Service, and their cases are worth closer examination

¹⁸ Marcus Beresford (1883), George Dyas (1881), Cecil Hill (1865), Henry Kaye (1881) and Alfred Wavell (1889).

¹⁹ See letter from Commissioner’s office, saying they had ‘no record of Kay’s burial’, 17 January 1922, Police Staff File, Henry P Kaye, A/38864.

²⁰ See, for example, an editorial ‘The Native Police’, noting ‘the wave of resistless settlement’ that swept over New South Wales and Victoria, and ‘carried before it the barbarous and disunited tribes’, *The Queenslander* (18 September 1880: 368) and ‘the great invading wave of white faces’ in Margaret Seymour, ‘Queensland: Past and Present’, *Cassell’s Picturesque Australasia*, edited by EE Morris (Sydney: Fine Arts Press, 1978, 642; originally published in London by Cassell & Company, 1889).

²¹ These were John Murray, Edric Morisset, John Bligh, Robert Walker, Frederick Powell, Frederick Carr, Charles Phibbs, William Moorhead, George Murray, Frederick Wheeler, and John Baker. Phibbs drowned in 1861 and Baker resigned a year later.

²² Over thirty unsuccessful applications to join the Native Police have been located.

because they show that the force was not, in career terms, really a shadowy distant elite but an almost 'normal' branch of the colonial administration.

There were specific criteria for appointment to the force. Previous writers have gleaned the primary requirements that successful candidates for appointment had to be 'a crack shot and a first rate rider', and able to 'control' Aboriginal people, but several other equally important pre-requisites have not been as readily noticed.²³ These were the ability to navigate, to write legible reports, to organise the issue and order of stores, and to prepare financial statements. Mark Finnane has correctly identified literacy as 'the major requirement' for appointment to the police force.²⁴ Numeracy was another. In many districts, funds for the trooper's rations were deposited in the bank account of the officer in charge of a detachment, and he was required to furnish regular and accurate financial reports. This use of the individual police officers as paymasters for the government was, as Ross Johnston notes, a standard procedure at the time.²⁵ Several officers were dismissed or reprimanded for failing to provide timely financial returns.

Issues such as these remind us that the units and the men of this force usually operated 'beyond the settled districts'. Service in the Native Police meant isolation. Most officers served in remote locations, and often had only their Aboriginal troopers for company. Some complained about the loneliness, and they nearly all grumbled about the

²³ From a letter asking about 'employment for a friend of mine who just arrived on the Flying Cloud', and who 'prefers getting a berth in the Native Police if possible, to going on a station at £30 to £40 a year with nothing else in view', Mr Palmer of South Brisbane to Arthur Macalister, Secretary for Lands and Public Works, 22 January 1863, Land and Works Department Correspondence, LWO/A4/63/310.

²⁴ Mark Finnane, 'Governing the Police', *Ireland, England and Australia: Essays in Honour of Oliver MacDonagh*, edited by FB Smith (Canberra and Cork: Australian National University and Cork University Press, 1990), 210.

²⁵ W Ross Johnston, *The Long Blue Line* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1992), 29.

isolation. For example, when asked why he was drunk at the Coen Native Police camp, Constable Joseph Shannon said ‘the only reason I can give are that life here is monotonous’. Adding that ‘I am frightened of having my nerves totally unstrung from listening to blacks, gins and piccaninnies howling or chanting both day and night’, he asked for a transfer.²⁶ Marriage was actively discouraged, as it could mean bigger and more expensive accommodation would be needed for the officers’ families.²⁷

Fourteen Native Police officers (listed page 99) were later appointed as Police Magistrates in colonial Queensland. Four other men (Maxwell Armstrong, Aulaire Morisset, John Nutting, and Thomas Thornton) acted ‘on magisterial duties’ while still serving in the Police force. As the local authorities for the colonial law system, Magistrates were powerful figures in colonial society. In particular, Police Magistrates were responsible for hearing criminal charges brought against members of the public by the police (including the Native Police). They did not generally initiate proceedings against settlers for murdering Aborigines. Those who became Magistrates had served an average of five years in the force before appointment, but six individuals served less than two years. Charles Shortt Dicken, Alfred Henry, and James Hamilton Scott became Magistrates after very brief periods of service with the Native Police.²⁸ After serving as a

²⁶ Shannon to Sergeant Whiteford, 13 September 1906, Police Staff File, Joseph Shannon, A/40161/06/16184. He was dismissed instead.

²⁷ In 1866, Seymour declared that police could not marry until they had served for three years. A complete prohibition on marriage for Native Police officers was ordered in 1883, one month after the weddings of Constable James Whiteford and Sub Inspector James Lamond. Both families had children while living in Native Police camps. A/45259/66/212, *Queensland Police Gazette* (3 October 1866: 83), *Queensland Police Gazette* (25 June 1883: 120), and *Queensland Government Gazette* (29 June 1883: 1699).

²⁸ Appointment of Charles S Dicken as Police Magistrate at Springsure, *Queensland Government Gazette* 13 (19 July 1872: 1045); Appointment of Albert Henry as Police Magistrate at Tambo, *Queensland Government Gazette* 13 (18 January 1872: 74);

Police Magistrate for eight years, Dicken was appointed as Queensland's Agent General at London.²⁹

<u>Native Police officers appointed as Police Magistrates</u>	
1864	John Bligh
1867	George Murray
1868	Frederick Nantes
1869	Thomas Thornton, Reginald Uhr
1871	Aulaire Morisset, John Nutting
1872	Charles Dicken, Henry Alfred
1873	Charles Nutting
1875	Walter Compigne
1879	William Hill
1880	Henry Gough
1881	Robert Johnstone, Lionel Towner
1882	Robert Moran
1883	James Scott
1884	Ernest Eglinton
1888	Brabazon Stafford

Table 1: Native Police officers appointed as Police Magistrates in Queensland.

Only four of these men had any previous experience as Clerks of Petty Sessions before their appointment as magistrates. In 1885, twelve of Queensland's fifty-seven Police Magistrates were former Native Police officers.³⁰ These facts suggest how 'talent thin' colonial Queensland was, and how integrated the Native Police was with the whole law and order establishment.

Appointment of James H Scott as Police Magistrate at Thargomindah, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (26 September 1883): 21.

²⁹ *Queensland Government Gazette* 64 (1 October 1895): 786.

³⁰ *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1885).

Other former officers later held responsible posts in various branches of the colonial public service. Former Sub Inspector Alexey Matveieff became Queensland's Superintendent of Electric Telegraphs in 1880 after serving in the Native Police for one year from 1860.³¹ Ernest Scriven, who stayed in the force for one year from 1881, was appointed as the Chief Clerk of the Agriculture Department in 1889.³² It is likely that a few young men sought appointment to the Native Police as well as other government positions, but probably viewed the Native Police as a fallback position, not a first-choice. In 1862, Commandant Bligh recommended Edward Deshon for appointment as a cadet, but the Executive Council advised Bligh that he had 'made other arrangements'; almost thirty years later, Deshon became Queensland's Auditor-General.³³

One of the most revealing aspects that involved the officers of the Native Police was the method of their departure from the force. In the absence of routinely maintained and full personnel records, the few shreds of information on departures are important. According to assorted archival records, about a fifth (over thirty men) were dismissed from the Native Police for a range of disciplinary charges, including drunkenness, financial irregularities, incompetence and neglect of duty.³⁴ There is evidence of other men being discharged on 'reduction in the force', and for indiscipline, and for other reasons.

³¹ *Queensland Government Gazette* 10 (22 April 1869): 518.

³² *Queensland Government Gazette* 48 (1 November 1889): 870.

³³ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 28 July 1862, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A31/62/1915; Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 8 August 1862, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q2/62/586; and *Queensland Government Gazette* 48 (4 December 1890).

³⁴ See Table of Dismissals on page 101.

Dismissals were probably not surprising given the nature of the work involved, a point noted by at least one newspaper editor who noted that ‘not all officers are in love with their work’, as ‘the general body of them are of a high personal character’.³⁵

<u>Dismissals</u>	
<u>Violence</u> Frederick Carr, 1866 Myrtil Aubin, 1867 Edward Wheeler, 1871 Charles Shairp, 1872 John Carroll, 1876 Frederick Wheeler, 1876 William Nichols, 1884	<u>Drunkenness</u> Thomas Williams, 1875 Hugh Galbraith, 1879 George Nowlan, 1881 George Townsend, 1881 Walter Jones, 1884 Frederick Clerk, 1883 Cornelius Doherty, 1891
<u>Discipline</u> Marmaduke Richardson, 1863 Sergeant Harris, 1863 Charles Blakeney, 1866 Alfred Wavell, 1874 Charles Brown, 1877 Nicholson, 1880 William Armit, 1880 Brabazon Stafford, 1880	<u>‘Reduction of the force’</u> William Hill, 1867 Frederick Nantes, 1867 Edward Seymour, 1868 Lyndon Poingdestre, 1868 Robert Kyle Little, 1879 Walter Cheeke, 1880 Alfred Smart, 1884
<u>Incompetence</u> WT Powell, 1861 Horace Ramsay, 1862 Richard Crompton, 1872 Edward Dumaresq, 1875	<u>Financial irregularities</u> Thomas Watterston, 1866 Otto Paschen, 1867 Thomas Barron, 1881 William Armit, 1882

Table 2: Dismissals from the Native Police, by ‘reason’ and by date, as shown on records. Sources are given in Appendix 1: ‘A Nominal Roll of Native Police Officers’.

³⁵ Editorial ‘Native Police’, *Brisbane Courier* (22 October 1888: 4).

Resignations were common too. Constables in Britain during the nineteenth century resigned in large numbers, and the high attrition rate was connected with the arduous nature of the work, the hostility and abuse of the public, and the strict rules and constant supervision.³⁶

David Philips notes that most early police forces experienced, as the Native Police did, difficulties in finding recruits who ‘would accept the discipline of a police force’.³⁷ In Queensland, we have the example of Sub Inspector George Price, who complained in 1866 ‘I have now served for a period of nearly five years in arduous service’. He was transferred to the Justice Department two years later.³⁸ Some officers were allowed to resign, rather than be dismissed or discharged, after being found guilty of various offences. Drunkenness and financial accountability were two of the biggest ongoing problems for the Commissioner of Police.³⁹

³⁶ According to one historian, policing in England at the time was ‘a practical, rough ‘trade’ to be worked at’, Paul Lawrence, ‘Scoundrels and scallywags, and some honest men ...’ *Memoirs and the self-image of French and English policemen, c.1870-1939*, in *Comparative Histories of Crime*, Barry S Godfrey, Clive Emsley and Graeme Dunstall eds. (Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2003), 130; see also Stanley H Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 300-1.

³⁷ David Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: The Black Country 1835-1860* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 65. The high dismissal rates due to drunkenness and other offences in most early police forces is also noted by Finnane, ‘Governing the Police’, 204.

³⁸ Price to Colonial Secretary, 8 September 1866, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A111/67/70.

³⁹ After a survey of about 2500 Queensland police staff files, it appears that the observation that drinking was ‘the most common cause for action’ is correct, Finnane, ‘Governing the Police’, 215.

Drunkenness was, as historian Ross Johnston and others have pointed out, ‘not an uncommon problem among policemen’.⁴⁰ The Native Police resembled other forces in this regard. At least seventeen officers in the force were dismissed, reduced in rank or disciplined for alcohol-related problems. There are many archival references, throughout the life of the force from the 1860s to the early decades of the twentieth century, to excessive drinking by police, and the consequences. Examples will suffice to show the extent of this issue, and the ways in which the records show that people on the frontier condoned drinking problems in the force. Second Lieutenant Marmaduke Richardson was dismissed in 1863 by the Executive Council for ‘becoming intoxicated while on duty and subsequently shooting a black boy whom he had in custody as a deserter from the force’.⁴¹ Commandant Bligh reported he was previously ‘made aware of Mr Richardson’s intemperance’ but because of ‘extenuating circumstances’ he did not report his behaviour to the Colonial Secretary ‘in the hope he might still prove an efficient officer’.⁴²

In 1909 Constable Jeremiah O’Grady was reported for being drunk and neglecting his duty as campkeeper at the Coen Native Police camp. Campkeepers were generally junior officers who took care of the clerical and administrative tasks needs of a detachment, and remained in camp. When reporting O’Grady’s breach of discipline, Sergeant James Whiteford stated ‘Coen is such a cursed place for drinking that it is hard

⁴⁰ W Ross Johnston, *The Long Blue Line: A History of the Queensland Police* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1992), 30. Philips also notes that drunkenness was ‘a particular problem’ among early recruits to many English police forces, Philips, *Crime and Authority*, 65.

⁴¹ Dismissal of Lieutenant Richardson, 26 September 1863, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A44/63/2231 and 10 October 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E8/63/41.

for a man, if he drinks at all, to resist taking too much'⁴³. After O'Grady was transferred to Cairns he was reported for drunkenness again, and said in his defence 'As I have just left the bush the Cairns liquor took effect on me'. He was dismissed in early 1911.⁴⁴

Often senior officers ignored the excessive drinking problems of their subordinates. Thomas Williams was appointed in 1861 and dismissed for drunkenness in 1865.⁴⁵ However, during Seymour's absence in 1872, Acting Commissioner Thomas Barron reappointed him and placed him in charge of the Tambo detachment. Six months later Williams and his troopers shot two 'quiet' Aboriginal men dead 'in their beds' on Bell and Dutton's station.⁴⁶ According to one witness, grazier Robert Bell found Williams after the killing and told him he would report him at Headquarters.⁴⁷ Williams apparently asked Bell 'whether he intended to report him for drunkenness or for shooting the Blacks', to which Bell allegedly replied 'for shooting the Blacks'.⁴⁸ No records of any complaint, inquiry or charges in relation to this matter have been found to date.⁴⁹ Inspector Fred Murray reported on Williams after most of his troopers deserted in 1875, saying 'there can be no doubt but that his conduct has been at times disgraceful. He is

⁴² Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 21 September 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A44/63/2231.

⁴³ Police Staff File, Jeremiah O'Grady, A/40215.

⁴⁴ Police Staff File, O'Grady, A/40215.

⁴⁵ Police Staff File, Thomas Spence Williams, A40194.

⁴⁶ Inquest into deaths of Billy and Chow Chow at Tambo, JUS/N36/73/64a; 'Deaths reported to the Police', Chow Chow and Billy 'supposed to have been shot by some person or persons unknown', *Queensland Police Gazette* 9 (4 December 1872: 108); and 24 December 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A407/84/8140.

⁴⁷ Deposition of P Le Nicholson, 31 October 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A407/84/8140

⁴⁸ Deposition of Le Nicholson, COL/A407/84/8140.

⁴⁹ According to one source, Bell and Dutton also killed Aboriginal people at Tambo; *Scott-Cowen Manuscript*, John Oxley Library, OM 71-23.

totally unfit to be in charge of a detachment by himself when within the reach of grog'.⁵⁰ Williams admitted that he 'may have exceeded the bound of sobriety' on one or two occasions, but denied ever neglecting his duty. Seymour recommended his removal from the force, and the Executive Council approved his dismissal.⁵¹

Some men probably drank in an attempt to forget their part in frontier violence. George Nowlan began his career with the force as an Acting Sub Inspector in 1868.⁵² After serving in camps at Cunnamulla, Springsure and Belyando, he was promoted to Sub Inspector in 1876 and was the longest serving Native Police officer in 1878.⁵³ That year he led a detachment to the Whitsunday Islands after the schooner *Louisa Maria* was wrecked and the crew attacked. The papers reported that troopers under Nowlan's command spent a week executing 'reprisal'. 'The blacks evidently had not expected that the strong arm of the law would reach them in their stronghold' on Dent Island.⁵⁴ There they were 'permanently 'dispersed'', but according to one local author, 'the true story will never be revealed'.⁵⁵ From what we know about frontier euphemisms like 'permanent dispersal', it is reasonable to suggest that the slaughter of many innocent people took place.

⁵⁰ Police Staff File, Williams, A/40194.

⁵¹ Police Staff File, Williams, A/40194. Parliament investigated the Tambo killing in 1884 and ordered all papers connected with the matter to be published, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1884): 243, 269, & 691-5.

⁵² General Orders, 20 June 1868, POL/4/348.

⁵³ Police Staff File, George Denis Bowman Nowlan, A/40105. See an order for a list of all police officers, their length of service, 'and their nationalities' to be provided to the Parliament. Twenty-four of forty-six Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors were Native Police officers, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1878).

⁵⁴ *Brisbane Courier* (21 September 1878).

⁵⁵ One local historian says 'various versions of the extent of the killings' have emerged over the years, but despite 'diligent searching' at the State Archives an official report on

Having proved himself, Nowlan was then sent to the Barron River station in 1879 to replace Robert Little who was ostensibly discharged 'on reduction of the force', but who had been found guilty of financial irregularities.⁵⁶ Little thought he had been dismissed 'on account of a black mark' against his name. 'I was not aware of being guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer or gentleman during my service in the Native Mounted Police'.⁵⁷ Horses were of little use to the Native Police in the impenetrable rainforests and steep ranges of North Queensland, so most patrolling was done on foot.⁵⁸ Inspector John Stuart said Little was unfit for 'walking' duties in the North.⁵⁹ From the Barron River camp, Nowlan led patrols to the Barron, Mossman, Mowbray and Mulgrave River valleys.⁶⁰ During 1880 Stuart reported Nowlan was 'not a physically strong man but since he came here he has done his best and punished the blacks severely on several occasions for committing outrages'. Nowlan was transferred to the McKinlay Downs Native Police barracks, but Inspector Frederick Murray reported from that post in late 1881 that Nowlan was drunk.⁶¹ Murray suggested giving him another chance at Eyres Creek camp near Birdsville where he would be 'out of the way of all temptation, as 'it

the matter 'could not be found', Ray Blackwood, *The Whitsunday Islands: An Historical Dictionary* (Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press, 1997), 256-258.

⁵⁶ Police Staff File, Robert Kyle Little, A/40048.

⁵⁷ Little to Colonial Secretary, 20 August 1879, A/40048/79/3034.

⁵⁸ According to Loos, the effectiveness of the Native Police was 'greatly diminished' in the rainforest, Noel Loos, *Invasion and Resistance* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982), 103

⁵⁹ Stuart to Seymour, 13 September 1879, POL/12M/G2/79/239.

⁶⁰ Police Inspector's Office, Port Douglas, Letterbook, POL/12M/G2.

⁶¹ Murray to Seymour, 15 December 1881, Police Staff File, Nowlan, A/40105/82/106

would be a pity to see him dismissed'. Seymour disagreed and summarily dismissed him – a decision the Executive Council endorsed.⁶²

For some men, heavy drinking continued or increased after they left the Native Police. Walter Jones, a former soldier, was appointed as a Cadet in 1880, posted to the Barron River camp, and promoted to Second Class Sub Inspector in 1882.⁶³ After being stationed at the Dunrobin (Georgetown) and Norman River camps, he was dismissed in 1884 for drinking.⁶⁴ Subsequently employed as a Customs Department Clerk in Brisbane, he drowned while heavily intoxicated at the seaside resort of Sandgate in 1893.⁶⁵ According to writer George Essex Evans, who appeared as a witness at the inquest, he had often seen Jones 'take off all his clothes and walk about his room' after drinking. Evans recalled 'He used to do many eccentric things at times', and often spoke of 'swimming flooded creeks when he was up North in the police'.⁶⁶

Another officer who liked to take off all his clothes when drinking was Sub Inspector Frederick Clerk. In 1882, Inspector Tompson wired to the Commissioner, saying Clerk had to be kept away from public houses. Tompson thought that Clerk, at the age of twenty-nine, would 'eventually end in ruin'.⁶⁷ The only Native Police station Tompson could send him to was Carl Creek but 'not with Armit in charge of it, as he is

⁶² Police Commissioner's General Orders, 31 December 1881, POL/4/620 and dismissal of Sub Inspector Nowlan, 3 January 1882, Executive Council Minute, COL/E47/82/2.

⁶³ Police Staff File, Walter Jones, A/38846 and promotion of Cadet Walter Jones to 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 7 July 1882, Executive Council Minute, COL/E50/82/33.

⁶⁴ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 2 April 1884, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A385/84/2101 and dismissal of Sub Inspector Jones, 17 April 1884, Executive Council Minute, COL/E60/84/129.

⁶⁵ Inquest into death of Walter Jones at Sandgate, JUS/N214/93/340.

⁶⁶ JUS/N214/93/340.

⁶⁷ Police Staff File, Frederick M Clerk, A/38742.

too much given the same way when opportunity offers, I believe'.⁶⁸ Six months later, troopers reported Clerk took seven bottles of spirits on patrol and was 'drunk while it lasted'.⁶⁹ He was eventually dismissed after Sub Inspector Smart reported him for heavy drinking in 1883. 'For the last two days he has been running about the camp in a state of nudity'.⁷⁰

A number of Native Police officers were dismissed for fraud or for not keeping accurate records of their detachments' finances.⁷¹ Several (Robert Kyle Little and Thomas Williams) were also sacked for drunkenness, and their cases have already been discussed. Two other examples are Thomas Watterston and Thomas Barron, who were dismissed in 1866 and 1881 respectively. Scottish-born Thomas Watterston joined the Native Police after his wife died in 1866. Seymour recommended his dismissal after discovering that Watterston had signed three separate orders for the same pay to cover a cash advance. The Commissioner's recommendation was acted upon. Watterston was in difficult circumstances when he received his dismissal notice. 'I have not only spent all the cash I had, but have given an order on my pay so that I will be penniless and a long distance in the interior without a friend or means to remove from here'.⁷² His statement is another reminder of the isolation that European officers faced.

⁶⁸ A/38742.

⁶⁹ A/38742.

⁷⁰ A/38742.

⁷¹ Charles Blakeney, Thomas Watterston, Otto Paschen, Robert Kyle Little, Thomas Barron and William Armit.

⁷² Watterston to Colonial Secretary, 29 September 1866, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A85/66/3127.

The case of Thomas Barron is more complicated.⁷³ After spending thirteen years in the Indian Navy, Barron was appointed Police Magistrate at Warrego in 1864 and Inspector of Police in 1866.⁷⁴ Thirty years after Barron's 'resignation' in 1881, Commissioner William Cahill gave former Sub Inspector Walter Cheeke an interview about 'certain circumstances connected with his service'. Cheeke claimed that Barron 'made use of the power of attorney' to involve himself and others in an 'embezzlement scandal' while Commissioner Seymour was 'away in England'.⁷⁵ Barron acted as Commissioner in Seymour's place on four separate occasions, but when an audit report found £489 to be missing from the Commissioner's Office Barron was dismissed.⁷⁶ The Executive Council considered his case. 'Under the circumstances', the 'irregularities with which he was charged took place', but in view of his 'long and faithful services and ill-health', as well as the fact that he had paid all of the 'deficiencies' back, the Council decided to cancel its previous directive. Barron was allowed to resign and to retain his superannuation.⁷⁷ He returned to England where he died six months later.⁷⁸

In summary, the first task, in looking at the Europeans who served, was to accurately identify the members of the force from surviving records. The names of one

⁷³ In 1876, Sub Inspector Robert Johnstone said he named the Barron River in North Queensland 'after the chief clerk of police', 'New Route to Thornborough', *The Queenslander* (21 October 1876: 15).

⁷⁴ Resignation of Thomas Barron as Crown Lands Commissioner, 24 March 1866, Lands and Works Department Correspondence, LWO/A27/65/2770 and *Queensland Police Gazette* 3 (1 January 1866: 1).

⁷⁵ Police Staff File, Walter Cheeke, A/38756.

⁷⁶ Inquiry into fraud in the Office of Commissioner of Police, 7 July 1881, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A345/82/4944.

⁷⁷ Resignation of Acting Commissioner Barron, 25 October 1881, Executive Council Minutes, COL/E45/81/343 and 81/352.

hundred and fifty men have been found to date. Staff files for about half – seventy-six – of these officers have been located. Issues of disciplinary breaches, especially alcohol-related, plagued the Commissioner, but the Native Police was no different from other police forces in this regard. Some of those who passed through the force without blemish were rewarded with judicial appointments. Sometimes, as we will see, former Native Police officers sat in judgement over charges against serving officers of the force. Lastly, the records revealed corruption at the highest levels of the force. Now we consider the structure of the force.

Command structure

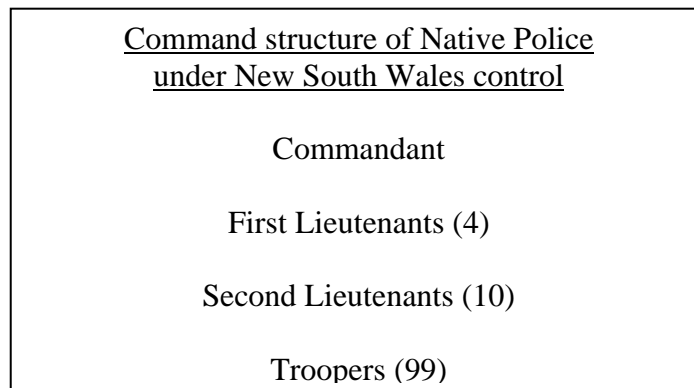
The name for the lowest initial rank at the time of appointment to the Native Police changed over time. When Queensland took control of the force in 1860, the lowest rank in the officer-class of the Native Police was Second Lieutenant. From 1860 to 1863, nineteen men were appointed as Cadets, and between 1865 and 1869, sixty-three appointments to the force were made at the rank of Acting Sub Inspector. These two statistics show how the numbers of the force were ‘built up’ during the 1860s after Queensland took control and colonial expansion to the north increased.

The Native Police in Queensland had a very simple chain of command. The force’s Inspectors passed orders to the Acting Sub Inspectors and Sub Inspectors.

⁷⁸ Intestate file, Thomas Henry Bowman Barron, SCT/P75/2669. It is quite possible that Barron’s death so soon after his ‘retirement’ in disgrace was self-inflicted, although no

Inspectors reported to the Commissioner of Police, or to his delegated substitute. After serving a probationary period, Acting Sub Inspectors were usually promoted to the rank of Sub Inspector, and then Inspector. Some twenty-five individuals progressed through the ranks of Inspector, Chief Inspector, Commandant or Commissioner.

Men were appointed as Acting Sub Inspectors from 1867; previously camp sergeants had filled their role. Men at these entry points were not to go out on patrol without a senior officer, but ended up being sent because there weren't enough 'senior officers'. Records show that Acting Sub Inspectors were frequently in charge of detachments. After 1881, fourteen individuals were appointed as Cadet Sub Inspectors, with the last appointment at that rank being made in 1889.⁷⁹ Individuals in the Native Police had different ranks from those in the 'ordinary' Police, because they were appointed as officers, while those in the 'ordinary' Police were sworn-in as constables.⁸⁰



evidence has been found to confirm this.

⁷⁹ William Cooper was the last Cadet appointed to the Native Police, *Queensland Police Gazette* 26 (19 June 1889: 263).

⁸⁰ The term 'ordinary constables' was used in the 1866 Native Police Regulations and Commissioner Seymour specifically used the phrase to differentiate the town police from the Native Police in 1874, see Police Commissioner, General Orders, 4 August 1874, POL/4/572.

Table 3: Command structure and numbers, 1859
LE Skinner, *Police of the Pastoral Frontier* (Brisbane:
University of Queensland Press, 1975), 374.

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Command structure of Native Police under Queensland control (1)</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Commissioner of Police</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Inspectors (5)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sub-Inspectors (12)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Troopers (160)</p>
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Table 4: Command structure and numbers, 1864,
Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings (1865: 34).

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Command structure of Native Police under Queensland control (2)</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Commandant</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chief Inspector</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Inspectors (4)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sub Inspectors (9)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Acting Sub Inspectors (17)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Troopers (141)</p>
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Table 5: Command structure and numbers, 1872,
Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings (1873:14-19).

Constables were placed in charge of detachments in North Queensland from 1882, despite criticisms of this policy by some senior officers. ‘The system of Constables or Senior Constables being in charge of Native Police stations has seen the efficiency and tone of the Force steadily diminish’.⁸¹ It is worth looking at the Constables – ‘non-commissioned officers’ in military parlance – who were placed in command of Native Police detachments towards the end of the force’s history, if only for the reason that it is not generally known that police officers below the rank of Sub Inspector were in charge of patrols. They were the last men to serve in the Native Police, and the final group with personal memories of life in the force. After they retired, the force ceased to exist.

When the force began at Separation in 1859, the officers of the Native Police reported via the Commandant to the Colonial Secretary. In 1863, notice of vice-regal assent for the Police Act was advised. From 1864 the Commissioner of Police was specifically ‘charged with the superintendence of the Police Force of the whole colony including the Native Police Force’.⁸² So, from 1864, the Commissioner of Police was responsible for the force, and in turn answered to the Colonial Secretary, the Executive Council and Parliament. The Executive Council, consisting of ‘the Governor in Council’ with his senior ministers (usually the Colonial Secretary, and one or more ministers), was

⁸¹ Marrett to Commissioner, May 1896, Home Secretary’s Correspondence, HOM/J22/07/967.

⁸² *Queensland Government Gazette* 4 (10 October 1863).

in control of the force. The Governor appointed the Colonial Secretary as the colony's foremost public servant, answerable (through the Vice Regal office) to Her Majesty the Queen via the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. In later years the occupant of the office was termed the Chief Secretary (later 'Chief Minister' and 'Premier'). He was always more than just another elected colonial politician.

Some individuals in the Native Police tried to 'go over the head' of the Commissioner by appealing to the Colonial Secretary, and other Ministers, with mixed results. The officers who did so were usually disciplined, but some were only lightly chastised, and a few were apparently rewarded. Family connections often influenced relationships between high-ranking colonial officials and the officers of the Native Police. For example, in 1866 Sub Inspector Wentworth D'Arcy Uhr left his post in Queensland's northwest and pursued a horse thief to New South Wales. The Executive Council paid his travel expenses from the Police Reward Fund.⁸³ Uhr's movements directly breached Rule 56 of the Native Police Regulations, stating officers were not permitted to leave their districts without permission in writing.⁸⁴ Men without patrons could be dismissed for relatively minor infractions of this rule. Sub Inspector William Armit complained that he had been dismissed for the 'the somewhat venial offence of leaving my district to report to the Inspector'.⁸⁵ Uhr's father was the Sergeant-at-Arms for the Queensland Legislature and used his position to secure his son's appointment to

⁸³ Uhr at Bourke, New South Wales to Commissioner, 2 October 1866, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A84/66/2923, and approval of claim for expenses by Sub Inspector Uhr, 26 April 1867, Executive Council Minute, COL/E1/67/125.

⁸⁴ *Queensland Government Gazette* (10 March 1866)

⁸⁵ Armit to Colonial Secretary, 3 December 1884, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A409/84/8694.

the force.⁸⁶ Uhr in fact left a record of his request. ‘Mr Herbert kindly promised me a cadetship in the Native Police for one of my sons in the Native Police’. WD Uhr’s brother, Reginald, joined the force three months after his father’s letter.⁸⁷

On rare occasions the chain of command was circumvented from above. In November 1861, reports reached Brisbane that Aborigines had killed nineteen Europeans at a location known as Cullin-la-ringo. Queensland’s first Colonial Secretary, Robert Herbert, wrote personally to the officers in command of several Native Police camps, and ordered the officers to attend the scene with their full detachments immediately, and to ‘efficiently patrol’ the district.⁸⁸ Usually, however, colonial officials other than the Colonial Secretary relayed all instructions to the force via the Commandant or, after 1864, the Commissioner.

Records of the large number of Native Police issues that came before the Executive Council are worth special attention. They tell us which matters were senior appointments, scandals, and dismissals. There are over three hundred documents relating to the Native Police in the files of the colony’s most senior public managers. Successive Governors, Colonial Secretaries, and Ministers of the Crown knew what was going on in the Native Police. Even if they didn’t have a full awareness of the extent of the violence, they knew who had been dismissed or disciplined for ‘unlawful killing’. The members of the Executive Council evinced no apparent interest in controlling the force’s violence. This suggests that the so-called ‘annual’ Parliamentary debate on the Native Police was

⁸⁶ *Queensland Government Gazette* (1 October 1864: 851).

⁸⁷ Uhr to Colonial Secretary, 11 September 1862, LWO/A2/62/877; appointment of Reginald Uhr as Cadet, 23 December 1862, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E6/62/52.

⁸⁸ Colonial Secretary to Messrs Gregson, McIntosh & others, 11 November 1861, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/R2/61/893.

largely irrelevant to the operations of the force.⁸⁹ '[O]nce a year, ever since Queensland has been a colony, there has been a debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Aboriginal question. It generally takes place when the estimates for the maintenance of the Native Police are asked to be voted'.⁹⁰

This section has shown that the Native Police in Queensland operated under the direct control of the colony's most senior administrators – the Executive Council. The Governor, in council with the Colonial Secretary and other Ministers decided where to deploy the Native Police, and which officers to dismiss. No evidence has turned up during a long and thorough search that shows a member of the Executive or of the Legislature ever taking responsibility for what went on at the frontier. Members of the Executive were the best-informed people in the capital. It is most unlikely that they had no information.

By looking at the careers of these men, we are in a sense making some general observations about colonial life. The movement of men into other positions or from other positions into the Native Police indicates that perhaps the Native Police was not a secret, walled-off part of 'the state', but a part of 'the State' – though one that could be embarrassing. The Native Police was to be run on a shoestring, but men made careers in it, and moved into other government departments from it. Everything in the research material suggests the Native Police was vaguely modelled on the Irish Constabulary, but like other frontier forces operated with a tight budget that did not attract, train, or hold the

⁸⁹ The Native Police were mentioned in Parliamentary debates on a number of occasions between 1860 and 1900. See 11 May 1864, 9 August 1864, 4 October 1867, 28 & 29 November 1867, 30 January 1868, 6 December 1868, 17 November 1870, 1 December 1870, 11 & 25 June 1874, 14 July 1874, and 1 & 21 October 1880.

⁹⁰ 'Aboriginal Reserve at Mackay', clipping from unknown newspaper (22 July 1875).

best characters.⁹¹ Police in Ireland first used the force's terminology. The rank of Sub Inspector was first introduced in the Irish Police in 1828.⁹² Cadet Sub Inspectors were first appointed to the Irish Constabulary in 1842.⁹³ As well, like other frontier forces, the Native Police put its European 'leaders' in dangerous, and – for any moral individual – unsafe territory. Therefore, some men died or left.

Who were they?

Officers in the Native Police came from a range of backgrounds. Some were born in different parts of Great Britain, including the Channel Islands, and Ireland. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, men from colonial families were appointed to the force. Each man had a different experience in the force. Records for many have been found. How can the mass of data be organised to make any sense of the European members of the Native Police? One useful way to look at the officers of the force is to arrange them in 'clusters', according to the circumstances of their appointments, their careers in the police force, and their subsequent appointments (if any) after serving in the Native Police. For instance, the men who were appointed as Police Magistrates after serving in the Native Police would be worth closer examination because their records might be expected to be

⁹¹ See Richard Hawkins, 'The 'Irish Model' and the Empire: A Case for Reassessment', *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830-1940*, edited by David & David Killingray Anderson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

⁹² Palmer, *Police and Protest*, 255.

⁹³ Donal J O'Sullivan, *The Irish Constabularies, 1822-1922: A century of policing in Ireland* (Dingle: Brandon, 1999), 62.

exemplary from the government's perspective.⁹⁴ Thus, we should be able to gain some insight into the government's expectations for this force. Since rarely did police commissioners or ministers write or say anything about the force, this direct evidence is valuable. The records of these men may also show how some individuals used the force as a 'stepping stone' for their public service careers. Useful clusters could also be constructed according to reasons for discharges, dismissals and resignations. Therefore, the records of individuals, arranged in clusters of rank, serve as a good starting point for further discussion on the officers of the Native Police.

The first group are the 'Higher Ranks' – Commissioners, Commandants, and Chief Inspectors. The 'Inspectors', and two groups of Sub Inspectors – the 'Long-term men' and the 'Short-time men' – follow these. Constables are the last of the clusters. These one hundred and fifty individuals were the total number of Europeans who served in or over Native Police detachments, between 1860 and 1910. These are the men for whom there are multiple references in the archival material, and therefore, those who can be positively identified as having been members of the force for lengthy periods.

Some exceptions do have to be noted. The clusters do not include some members of the force during the early 1860s whose careers cannot be followed. Those individuals who only remained in the Native Police force for very brief periods are also not included. For example, James Huband was appointed as a Cadet in 1862, but he failed to turn up for duty, and no further references to him have been found.⁹⁵ Sydney Reed, apparently

⁹⁴ See Table 1 'The Magistrates', page 96.

⁹⁵ Approval for appointment of James Huband as Cadet, 23 December 1861, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E4/61/52 and approval for appointment of William Sharp as Cadet 'in place of James Huband who has not taken up his position', 17 February 1862, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E5/62/7.

appointed as a Cadet, was dismissed in 1881 for ‘marrying without permission’. No more references have been found so far.⁹⁶ His case reminds us that Native Police officers, like men in other police forces and military units, were generally not allowed to marry.⁹⁷

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Clusters</u></p> <p><u>The Higher ranks</u>: Commandants, Commissioners and Chief Inspectors.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Inspectors</u>: supervised police districts.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Sub Inspectors</u>: led the troopers on bush patrols.</p> <p><u>The Constables</u>: were in charge of detachments from the 1880s.</p>
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Table 6: The ‘clusters’ of Native Police officers.

The higher ranks

The cluster consisting of Commissioners, Commandants, and Chief Inspectors is worth examining because it gives an insight into the management of British colonial frontiers, and the forces like the Native Police that operated on them. Analysis of the

⁹⁶ No references to this appointment has been found, and the only record known to exist is a letter from him complaining about his dismissal, Sydney Reed to Colonial Secretary, 13 July 1881, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A317/81/3069.

⁹⁷ In 1883, Native Police officers were advised that marriage would cause them to ‘cease to hold office in the Force’, *Queensland Police Gazette* (25 June 1883: 120) and *Queensland Government Gazette* (29 June 1883: 1699).

records reveals the diverse origins of officers; people moved and changed careers. The old regime of military as opposed to bureaucratic experience was still evident; Queensland ran on a ‘shoestring’.

<u>The Higher Ranks</u>	
Thomas Barron (1865-81)	Henry Browne (1863-75)
John Bligh (1853-64)	Alexander Douglas (1872-1905)
Edric Morisset (1853-61)	John Marlow (1860-74)
William Parry-Okeden (1892-1905)	George Murray (1857-77)
David Seymour (1864-95)	John Stuart (1869-1900)

Table 7: The ‘Higher Ranks’, with dates of service.

The individuals in this group all reached the rank of Chief Inspector or higher during their careers. These ten officers served for an average time of seventeen years, and include two thirty-year careers (John Stuart and David Seymour). Half this group came from military backgrounds: two, Henry Browne and David Seymour, had previously served in British army infantry regiments; two, Thomas Barron and Alexander Douglas, had served in the Indian Navy and with the Royal Navy in China respectively. The New South Wales government appointed three of this cohort (John Bligh, Edric Morisset and George Murray) before 1859.⁹⁸

There were two Commandants of the Native Police between 1859 and 1864: Edric Morisset and John Bligh. They took charge of a force that had been established for eleven years under the control of the New South Wales government. The first Commandant,

Frederick Walker, was dismissed for drunkenness in 1854, and the second, Richard Marshall, resigned in 1855. The Queensland government appointed Edric Morisset as Inspector General of Police in 1860, and he retired in 1861.⁹⁹ He was one of three sons of British army officer Lieutenant Colonel James Morisset who served in the Native Police. Colonel Morisset, who had seen active service in Egypt, India, Spain, and the Crimean War, was a 'stern disciplinarian', and his three sons (Edric, Aulaire and Rudolph) grew up in a strict military household.¹⁰⁰ These three brothers all served in the Native Police, and confused clerks and historians. Even the family name is often misspelt.¹⁰¹

Morisset's replacement as Commandant of the Native Police was John O'Connell Bligh, the grandson of Governor William Bligh, and the nephew of Sir Maurice O'Connell, a member of the Queensland Legislative Chamber.¹⁰² Bligh's attitude to Aboriginal people was illustrated by an incident at Maryborough in 1860 when his detachment pursued several Aboriginal men through the township, and into the Mary River. Bligh and his troopers then obtained boats, chased the 'suspects' and shot them

⁹⁸ The New South Wales government also appointed the force's first two Commandants – Frederick Walker and Richard Marshall.

⁹⁹ Resignation of Commandant Morisset, 18 June 1861, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A16/61/1478.

¹⁰⁰ 'Morisset exercised his authority very forcibly', Vivienne Parsons, James Thomas Morisset, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 260-261; and Ken Fry, *Beyond the Barrier: Class Formation in a Pastoral Society: Bathurst, 1818-1848* (Bathurst: Crawford House Press, 1993), 31.

¹⁰¹ The 'number of ways' to spell the name was noted by one historian, who 'followed the spelling in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*', David Denholm, *Some Aspects of Squatting in New South Wales and Queensland, 1847-1864* (Doctoral thesis, Australian National University, 1972), 334.

¹⁰² John Bligh's father, Richard, was the Crown Lands Commissioner for the Gwydir Pastoral District, New South Wales. John Bligh's aunt, Mary Bligh (Maurice O'Connell's wife), was the eldest daughter of Governor Bligh. John Bligh was also related to the Blakeney and Nutting families. Unknown, 'Bligh Family History', and *Queensland Government Gazette* 2 (10 July 1861: 340).

dead in the water.¹⁰³ Soon after, these same troopers took other Aboriginal people to the Coopers Plains police barracks near Maryborough, and they were never seen again.¹⁰⁴ ‘What honor can there be in occasionally slaughtering the naked, unarmed, flying savage?’¹⁰⁵ Bligh was presented with a sword by the townspeople of Maryborough, in gratitude for his efforts in bringing peace to the district.¹⁰⁶ His death at Gympie in 1880, four years after the death of his wife, was probably self-inflicted.¹⁰⁷

One of the important changes that Queensland made when it took control of the Native Police was the creation of the position of Commissioner to superintend both the ‘ordinary’ Police and the Native Police. David Seymour was Queensland’s first Commissioner of Police, and occupied that office from 1864 to 1895. He arrived in Brisbane as the officer in command of an army detachment, and was soon appointed as the Governor’s Aide-de-camp.¹⁰⁸ Seymour’s career and private life attracted controversy (beginning with his appointment). His passion for racehorses and turf clubs became public knowledge.¹⁰⁹ He appears to have been distinctly uncomfortable with the

¹⁰³ Inquest into death of Darky at Maryborough, JUS/N1/60/6a.

¹⁰⁴ Letter ‘To Lt John O’Connell Bligh, Native Police’ by ‘The Sword of Damocles’, asking if Bligh took an old man out of town and shot him, *Maryborough Chronicle* (21 March 1861: 2).

¹⁰⁵ *Moreton Bay Courier* (25 April 1861).

¹⁰⁶ See letter ‘The Sword Presented to John O’Connell Bligh, Native Mounted Police’ by ‘Robin Hood’, *Maryborough Chronicle* (28 February 1861: 3); see also Denis Cryle, *The Press in Colonial Queensland* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁷ *Maryborough Chronicle* (18 December 1880), and Ailsa Dawson, ‘John O’Connell Bligh’, *Gympie Historical Society Bulletin* 71.

¹⁰⁸ HM Draper and C Exelby, *Origin and History of Queensland Police Force* (Brisbane: 1949), 18.

¹⁰⁹ See the editorial on his appointment, and the editorial on his first *Annual Report*, saying the police ‘are nearly all Irishmen’ and given to horse-dealing, but Commissioner Seymour proposed to ‘remedy this great evil’ by ‘going into the horsey line himself’. See also ‘Government Appointments’ by ‘XX’, describing Seymour as ‘lacking even the

behaviour of some Native Police officers. For instance, when Lyndon Poingdestre wrote ‘the duty performed by me at Cape York conferred a lasting boom on the pearl shell industry’, Seymour added a notation to the report. ‘Drunk nearly all the time – did nothing’. Seven years later, when adverse reports about Poingdestre’s behaviour emerged, a furious Seymour demanded to know why successive Inspectors had failed to report his ‘misconduct’.¹¹⁰

Seymour’s comments on the force and his position are important, because he answered to the Legislature and the Executive with regard to the Native Police for thirty years. In 1868 he defended the force, about which he observed ‘a great deal has been said and written’; the failure of the Native Police to protect settlers was caused by lack of numbers rather than ‘the inefficiencies of the force’.¹¹¹ When allegations of Native Police ‘outrages’ were published in 1874, Seymour reported to the Colonial Secretary in response to a memo from the Governor, that ‘the organisation of the Native Mounted Police is not that for which this Department is responsible’.¹¹² Seymour was responding to allegations brought by Charles Heydon of ‘outrages’ committed by the Native Police on ‘The Aborigines in Queensland’.¹¹³ According to one source, Heydon first learnt of

trifling amount of cerebral development necessary for an aide-de-camp’, *The Courier* (5 January 1864), *Brisbane Courier* (26 June 1865) and, *The Queenslander* (9 November 1867: 5).

¹¹⁰ Poingdestre to Commissioner, 11 January 1882, Police Staff File, William Eddington De Margerites Armit, A/38710. Also see Lamond to Commissioner, 27 February 1889, Police Staff File, Lyndon John Agnew Poingdestre, A/40323.

¹¹¹ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 4 February 1868, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A101/68/343.

¹¹² *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1875: 625-627).

¹¹³ ‘Black and White in Queensland’ by Charles Heydon, *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 February 1874: 3).

frontier killings in 1872 when he went to North Queensland after the *Maria* shipwreck.¹¹⁴ News of Heydon's accusations reached Lord Canarvon in England, and he asked Governor Normanby to 'find out' the truth. Seymour concluded that if any 'want of control' had ever happened, it could be attributed to 'the inexperience of the officers in the special duties of the service'.¹¹⁵ He wrote his report for the Colonial Secretary five days before the *Report of Aboriginal Commissioners into the Organisation and Discipline of the Native Mounted Police Force* was completed.¹¹⁶

When further comments emerged a year later, Seymour said it would have been his duty to take notice of any 'atrocities' and these charges 'existed in imagination' only. As previously noted, this statement stands at odds with his dismissals of a number of officers for 'unlawful killings'. With regard to the European officers in the force, he said 'it becomes frequently a matter of very great difficulty to find a suitable officer to fill a vacancy; though there has never been any lack of candidates' for the 'special duties' of the force.¹¹⁷ The difficulty of finding appropriate officers was also noted by the second Commissioner Parry-Okeden, who said, in relation to North Queensland during 1897, there were 'plenty of mounted men in the district but very few, if any, suitable for Native Police patrol'.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Raymond Evans, 'Across the Queensland Frontier', *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Bain Attwood and SG Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003), 64.

¹¹⁵ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 1 May 1875, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A209/75/1276.

¹¹⁶ Drew, Gregory and Coxen to Colonial Secretary, 6 May 1875, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A209/75/1276, and A/40291.

¹¹⁷ Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary, 1 May 1875, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A209/75/1276.

The violent officers

1860	John Bligh, Frederick Wheeler
1861	William Moorhead, Rudolph Morisset
1863	Frederick Carr, Joseph Harris, Ralph Johnson, Marmaduke Richardson
1864	Sergeant Brown
1865	Arthur Beevor
1866	Edward Seymour
1867	Myrtil Aubin
1870	Edward Wheeler
1872	Thomas Williams
1874	Aulaire Morisset
1875	Alexander Douglas
1876	William Armit, John Carroll, Frederick Wheeler
1883	Alfred Smart
1884	Roland Garraway, William Nichols
1887	Lyndon Poingdestre
1888	John Affleck
1902	John Hoole

Table 8: Men recorded as being dismissed, or ‘allowed to resign’, or chastised, after being involved in ‘unlawful killings’ (For sources, see Appendix 1).

The Colonial Secretary, the Executive Council, and the Parliament decided which of Seymour’s recommendations regarding appointments and dismissals to adopt. Resources and finances were also largely outside his control. This might have been what he was alluding to in 1874. Even though he was nominally in command of the Native Police, he bowed to the policies and interventions of the Colonial Secretary and the Executive Council. There are definite signs of tension in the relationship between the Commissioner and some other colonial officials. The fact that some men managed to

¹¹⁸ Lamond to Commissioner, Police Staff File, Michael Cuddihy, A/40267.

remain employed despite their misdemeanours suggests that politicians applied pressure.¹¹⁹

Poingdestre's case is a good example. Reported in 1897 by Inspector Lamond for living with three Aboriginal women at Highbury camp (one for fourteen years, and another for ten years), with a number of his children, he was allowed to resign on a pension in the same year.¹²⁰ Poingdestre's connections were powerful forces in colonial politics and society.¹²¹ By contrast, even Commissioner Seymour was quickly forgotten. After his death in 1916, there is no record of any form of acknowledgement, official or otherwise, of his lengthy service as the colony's first Commissioner of Police in Queensland. Yet, on his retirement in 1895, Seymour had taken full credit for organising the Queensland Police.¹²²

Seymour occupied the office of Commissioner for over three decades. During this time, his 'efficiency' attracted comment. His distance from the frontier opened him to criticism from observers who lived in distant towns. Seymour's long hold on office made him an obvious target of critics who looked to government for action. One correspondent referred to him in a Cairns newspaper as 'the fossilised apex at the head of the Police Department'.¹²³ Records show that Seymour only inspected the North Queensland

¹¹⁹ Seymour's alleged dislike for 'political interference' with the Native Police is noted by one writer, Allan Hillier, *If You Leave Me Alone I'll Leave You Alone: Biographical Sketches, Reports and Incidents from the Myall War of the Queensland Native Mounted Police Force, 1860-1885* (unpublished manuscript, University of South Australia Library, 199?).

¹²⁰ Lamond to Commissioner, 20 January 1897, Poingdestre, staff file, A/40323/97/960.

¹²¹ Poingdestre's sister married AC MacMillan, a successful colonial engineer and pioneer sugar-grower. Jane Black, *North Queensland Pioneers* (Townsville: Queensland Country Women's Association, 1932), 71. I am grateful to Bill Kidston for this reference.

¹²² *Queensland Police Gazette* 32 (29 June 1895: 198).

¹²³ 'Police Requirements', *Cairns Post* (8 June 1887: 2).

stations three times in thirty years. In 1871, he went to Cardwell, where he reportedly collected 'vegetation samples'.¹²⁴ He visited Cooktown in 1874, and went there again in 1884 to 'inquire into charges against the sub-inspectors'.¹²⁵ Seymour was suspended as Police Commissioner in 1892 after he lost a lot of money through speculating in Mt Morgan gold mining shares. After a Public Service Board inquiry, he was allowed to retain his position.¹²⁶ When Seymour went to Europe or to other colonies on leave, Inspector Thomas Barron acted in his place. It appears that Seymour's absence gave Barron opportunities to make decisions that Seymour later countermanded. Of these, the re-appointments of Lyndon Poingdestre and Thomas Williams are notable, but others in the Native Police also possibly took advantage of Seymour's absence as well.¹²⁷ For instance, when Seymour went to Ireland in 1872, Frederick Wheeler was clearly so uninterested in telling Barron what he had done with an Aboriginal prisoner, that Colonial Secretary Arthur Palmer was obliged to caution him personally.¹²⁸ From 1892 William Parry-Okeden, the Principal Under Secretary of the Colonial Secretary's Office, relieved Seymour as Head of the Police Force. After Seymour retired in 1895, Parry-Okeden was appointed as Queensland's second Commissioner of Police.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ 'Northern News', The *Queenslander* (18 March 1871: 10).

¹²⁵ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 24 February 1874, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A192/74/399, and 'The Northern Blacks and Our Native Police Force', *Queensland Figaro* (22 November 1884: 655).

¹²⁶ Police Staff File, David Thompson Seymour, A/47922 and insolvency of Commissioner Seymour, 10 March 1892, Executive Council Minute, COL/E139/92/89.

¹²⁷ Roland Garraway was reappointed to the Native Police in 1897 by the new Commissioner, William Parry-Okeden, after Seymour had rejected numerous appeals for his reinstatement since 1888, see Police Staff File, Roland Walter Garraway, A/40212.

¹²⁸ See telegram from Colonial Secretary Palmer to Sub Inspector Wheeler, 16 October 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A170/72/1484.

¹²⁹ *Queensland Police Gazette* 32 (1 July 1895: 204).

In 1865 it was decided that the remote camps and scattered stations of a colony the size of Queensland were probably too much for any one man to supervise on his own. The position of Chief Inspector was introduced in 1866.¹³⁰ The records do not disclose any reason for the creation of this new rank, which simply appears in operational records. The position had initially been offered to Inspector John Marlow, but he declined the promotion, and resigned six years later, after a career spanning fourteen years.¹³¹ George Murray accepted the appointment in 1866, and held his position until 1872. Henry Browne, a former army officer, was appointed Western Chief Inspector in 1867, and retained this office, and that of Travelling Inspector, until his retirement in 1875.¹³²

Seymour, it seems, did not recommend any further appointments at this rank until 1890, when Inspector John Ahern was detailed to ‘minutely inspect’ the Police Force.¹³³ John Stuart was appointed as Chief Inspector in 1896 after a twenty-seven year career that began when he joined as an Acting Sub Inspector in 1869.¹³⁴ When Stuart retired in 1900, Alexander Douglas was promoted. The career of Douglas, which began with his

¹³⁰ *Queensland Government Gazette* 7, 169 (20 December 1866: 1).

¹³¹ While stationed in North Queensland, Marlow suggested that Aboriginal women and children should be confined on offshore islands as a means of controlling and stopping Indigenous resistance. His proposal was supported by local church ministers, but not by the government, see appointment of John Marlow as 2nd Lieutenant, 1 October 1860, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E2/60/45; *Queensland Government Gazette* 7 (20 December 1866: 1).

¹³² Appointment of Henry Browne as Chief Inspector for Southern and Western Districts, 1 January 1867, Executive Council Minute, COL/E1/67/63; *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1870: 17) and *Queensland Police Gazette* 9 (1 September 1872: 77).

¹³³ *Queensland Police Gazette* 27 (1 March 1890:106 and 29 March 1890:133).

¹³⁴ *Queensland Police Gazette* 33 (1 January 1896: 97). Inspector Stuart wrote to Commissioner Seymour, saying ‘Rome was not built in a day’, when questioned about Native Police finances, Stuart to Commissioner, 8 February 1879, Port Douglas Inspector’s Letterbook, POL/12M/G2/79/25.

appointment as an Acting Sub Inspector in 1872, extended over thirty years.¹³⁵ In summary, this rank appears to have been reserved for men believed to have initiative (Marlow) or durability (Douglas and Stuart). After reviewing the surviving historical data on the men in the higher ranks, we have some idea of how this unusual force ‘fitted’ into the policing establishment of Queensland.

What happened to the Native Police officers after they left the force? We cannot reconstruct the fates of all the men in great detail, nor would that be illuminating unless guided by questions about how their subsequent careers or length of time in the Native Police revealed more about the place of this force in the larger society. With good questions and limited, but hard won information, we can discover a great deal about Queensland. We can now ask how many Native Police officers later assumed positions of respectability and power. Did they see the Native Police as a career? We will seek to answer these questions while looking at the Inspectors and Sub Inspectors of the force.

The Inspectors

Inspectors had command over Native Police districts. They exercised ‘constant personal supervision of their different stations’.¹³⁶ They held enquiries into the efficiency, conduct and behaviour of lower-ranked officers, and often made recommendations to the Commissioner about them. Men who held this rank were vital to

¹³⁵ *Queensland Police Gazette* 9 (9 June 1872: 68) and *Queensland Government Gazette* 69, 1 (11 May 1898: 356).

Native Police operations. A closer examination of their origins and an examination of their careers can help us to understand how the Native Police ‘fitted’ into the security agencies of colonial Queensland. Twenty-seven men served as Inspectors in the Native Police, including six who reached the rank of Chief Inspector or higher. Seven individuals began their careers in the ‘regular’ Queensland Police as Constables, and then were promoted to Inspector, and became responsible for the supervision of Native Police detachments. Another fourteen men reached the rank of Inspector after starting their careers in the Native Police as Lieutenants, Cadets, Acting Sub Inspectors, or Sub Inspectors.

For men who began their police career as Constables, it took an average of twenty-three years to reach Inspector, but those who started as Cadets or Acting Sub Inspectors usually achieved the rank in twelve years. The junior officers in the Native Police took less time to reach this rank than those in the ‘ordinary’ police of Queensland. This is an important point, which highlights the ‘specialism’ of the Native Police force. On average, the Inspectors served for twenty-eight years in the Police, with ten serving over thirty years. The longest staff record was that of Hervey Fitzgerald, who stayed in the force for forty years (1865-1905).¹³⁷ Some Inspectors were shifted to the Justice

¹³⁶ Native Police Regulation 47, *Queensland Government Gazette* (10 March 1866).

¹³⁷ Suspended and ‘severely reprimanded’ for publicly whipping an Aboriginal woman, the Executive Council decided that Fitzgerald ‘may serve in some other branch of the Public Service where his duties will not bring him into contact with Aborigines’, and transferred him to the Gold Escort in 1876. He was back in the Native Police by late 1879, and in command of the Cooktown detachments after the death of Mrs Watson at Lizard Island in 1881. Fitzgerald wrote about ‘attacks of scoundrels’ on Native Police officers in 1896, which he thought should be ‘met by an action for criminal libel’. Police Staff File, Hervey Fitzgerald, A/40291, and Resignation of Sub Inspector Fitzgerald, 5 October 1876, Executive Council Minute, COL/E20/76/757. For details of the Lizard Island affair, see John B Haviland with Roger Hart, *Old Man Fog* (Bathurst: Crawford

Department. Four men, Maxwell Armstrong, Aulaire Morisset, John Nutting, and Thomas Thornton were appointed as Police Magistrates while they were serving members of the Police force.¹³⁸ Several Inspectors had blemished careers. Inspectors John Isley and Frederick Murray were each reprimanded at retirement in 1895 for ‘misconduct’ and ‘monetary embarrassments’.¹³⁹ Both had spent thirty years in the Police. The many paths to senior rank in the Native Police suggest that it was not regarded by the government as a force unto itself, as either an irregular force or an elite force. It seems from this angle to have been just another branch of the law and order apparatus.

Of the twenty-one Inspectors, nineteen staff files have survived. They provide good insights into their careers and backgrounds. Only two came from military backgrounds. Aulaire Morisset was the second son of Colonel James Morisset, and Fredrick Urquhart was the son of a British army officer.¹⁴⁰ Urquhart, who had been promised ‘the first vacancy’ in the force by General Fielding, eventually reached the rank of Police Commissioner in 1917, by which time the Native Police had ceased to exist.¹⁴¹ Only one Inspector, David Graham, had previous police experience in the Irish

House, 1998) and Suzanne Falkiner & Alan Oldfield, *Lizard Island: The Journey of Mary Watson* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2000).

¹³⁸ *Queensland Government Gazette* 36, 1 (1 May 1885: 424); *Queensland Government Gazette* 12, 69 (7 July 1871: 1); *Queensland Government Gazette* 12, 94 (22 September 1871: 1); *Queensland Government Gazette* 12, 67 (29 June 1871: 1); and *Queensland Police Gazette* 6 (7 October 1869: 68).

¹³⁹ Reduction of Inspector Isley, 22 May 1895, Executive Council Minute, COL/E177/95/177; and reduction of Inspector Murray, 25 September 1895, Executive Council Minute, COL/E181/95/371.

¹⁴⁰ Police Staff Files, Aulaire Liddiard Morisset, A/40054 and Frederick Charles Urquhart, A/47932; Fielding to Urquhart, 17 January 1882, A/47932.

¹⁴¹ Police Staff File, Urquhart, A/47932.

Constabulary.¹⁴² Of the twenty-one officers in the higher ranks, fourteen retired. Four died while still serving. These were Inspectors John Ahern, Thomas Clohesy, Thomas Judge and Herbert Durham.¹⁴³ The causes of Ahern and Judge's deaths are unknown. Clohesy died after a brief illness, and Durham took his own life after a young Constable laid a charge of sexual misconduct.¹⁴⁴ The Executive Council allowed John Murray, who joined the Native Police in 1852, to resign after charges of drunkenness, general misconduct and maladministration were brought against him in 1870.¹⁴⁵ Frederick Wheeler was dismissed after being charged with murder in 1876.¹⁴⁶

More has been written about Wheeler than any other officer in the force. He has been described as 'cruel and merciless', 'the most callous and brutal officer', and called a 'sadist'.¹⁴⁷ Reconstructing Frederick Wheeler's career in the Native Police is possible – despite the absence of a detailed personnel file – because numbers of his reports and other records about him have survived in the archives. Wheeler's actions could be described as the inevitable creations of a society that sanctioned violence on the frontier. Furthermore, his own family history and experience may have combined to help make

¹⁴² Police Staff File, David Graham, A/40286. Another former member of the Irish Police, George Dyas, joined the Native Police. Other officers, including Percy Galbraith, Duncan McNeil and Otto Paschen, had served with different colonial police forces. For details, see Appendix 1.

¹⁴³ *Queensland Police Gazette* 30 (16 September 1893: 313); 16 (1 January 1879: 36); 29 (8 January 1892: 26); and Police Staff File, Hurbert Rowland Pasley Durham, A/38785.

¹⁴⁴ Inquest into death of Herbert Rowland Pasley Durham at Hughenden, JUS/N365/06/503 and Durham staff file, A/38785.

¹⁴⁵ Report from Commander Heath, Royal Navy on 'certain charges preferred against Inspector John Murray, 13 October 1870, Executive Council Minute, COL/E6/70/265.

¹⁴⁶ Supreme Court Records, SCT/CG7/372.

¹⁴⁷ Bill Rosser, *Up Rode The Troopers* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1990), 93; Hugh MacMaster, *Mostly Murder* (Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press, 1999), 68; and Marie Reid, *Emerald: A Place of Importance* (Emerald: Emerald Shire Council, 2001), 7-8.

him the most notorious character in the Native Police. The son of a London merchant and a Sicilian noblewoman, he was educated at the Westminster School on the northern banks of the Thames.¹⁴⁸ Commandant Morisset recommended his appointment to the Native Police, which the New South Wales Executive Council approved in December 1857.¹⁴⁹ After his detachment deserted at Rockhampton, and a caution was delivered about his ‘inappropriate’ language, Wheeler was ordered to set up a new Native Police camp at Sandgate in 1859.¹⁵⁰

From Sandgate, Wheeler’s detachment patrolled north to Maryborough, south to the Tweed River, and west to the Great Dividing Range. In 1860 he was called to give statements at two separate inquests into the deaths of Aborigines at Fassifern and at Flinders Peak near Ipswich.¹⁵¹ The government decided, despite evidence of his involvement, to gently admonish him that he should ‘for the future, use every exertion to perform his duty with circumspection and humanity’.¹⁵² In 1865 he was sent to Western Queensland and to Central Queensland a year later.¹⁵³ In 1874 he resigned from the Native Police. One Rockhampton paper said Wheeler ‘inspired the aborigines with such a

¹⁴⁸ Lord Edmund Ironside, Frederick Wheeler’s great-grandson, to author, 2001. I am grateful to Lord Ironside for this reference and for other information on the family.

¹⁴⁹ Government Resident at Moreton Bay, JC Wickham, to the New South Wales Colonial Secretary, 3 November 1857, New South Wales Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, A2.39/57/4471.

¹⁵⁰ See Skinner, *Police of the Pastoral Frontier*, 355; New South Wales Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, A2.41; and *McConnel Papers*, John Oxley Library, OM 79.017/18.

¹⁵¹ Inquest into deaths of three Aboriginal men at Fassifern, JUS/N3/61/1 and Inquest into death of Tommy at Mount Flinders, JUS/N2/60/71.

¹⁵² Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 23 October 1861, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/Q1/61/1318.

¹⁵³ Wheeler’s eldest daughter died at sea when the *Fiery Star* caught fire off New Zealand in 1865 while enroute to England, and he appears to have gone completely ‘off the rails’ after this event. See news item ‘Burning of *Fiery Star*, including passenger list showing

wholesome dread' that it was only necessary to mention his name and 'they would go yelling pell-mell into the bush'.¹⁵⁴ One year later, he was reappointed and placed in charge of the Native Police camp at Mistake Creek on Banchory station near Clermont. It was here, in 1876, that the brutal and fatal beating of a young Aboriginal man named Jemmy took place. Wheeler was dismissed, charged with murder and released on bail, but absconded.¹⁵⁵ He died in Java in 1882.¹⁵⁶

Another Inspector, about whom much is also known, was a Scot, James Lamond. Like Wheeler, many of his reports to the Commissioner have survived, and they show he played an important part in the later years of the Native Police. First appointed in 1879, Lamond reached the rank of First Class Inspector in 1904, five years before retirement. He married the daughter of squatter Francis Shadforth in May 1883.¹⁵⁷ Their children, including son HG (Henry) Lamond, lived at Native Police camps in June 1885. Henry Lamond became a successful writer.¹⁵⁸ According to him, his father and Chief Inspector Alexander Douglas 'pulled a couple of strings' to have Douglas appointed as the next

'Second Cabin – Miss Ida Wheeler and servant', *Brisbane Courier* (27 May 1865) and *McConnel Papers*, JOL, OM 79.017/18. I am grateful to Stephanie Ryan for this reference.

¹⁵⁴ 'Rockhampton News', *The Queenslander* (13 February 1875: 10).

¹⁵⁵ Dismissal of Sub Inspector Wheeler, 20 April 1876, Executive Council Minutes, COL/E18/76/556; Governor to Colonial Secretary, 20 June 1876, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A227/76/2698 and Supreme Court Records, SCT/AB105, SCT/CG7/372 and CCT/7/N32.

¹⁵⁶ Personal communication, Lord Ironside. According to journalists Lack and Stafford (probably passed down from Archibald Meston), a *Queenslander* visiting London saw Wheeler several years later, Clem Lack and Harry Stafford, *The Rifle and the Spear* (Brisbane: Fortitude Press, 1965), 132-134. Another 'version' of the Wheeler story, claiming he either went to America or was killed by Aborigines, is mentioned in a recent novel, Peter Watt, *Cry of the Curlew* (Sydney: Macmillan, 1999), 639-640.

¹⁵⁷ Shadforth was the grandson of British army officer, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Shadforth, John Dymock, *Something Deep and Rich* (1993).

Commissioner after Parry-Okeden retired in 1905, but Inspector Frederick Urquhart ‘was better at pressing keys and pulling wires’.¹⁵⁹ Douglas subsequently retired and Lamond was sent back to the Gulf district. Urquhart was appointed as Chief Inspector in 1905, and reached Commissioner in 1917.¹⁶⁰

The men who reached the rank of Inspector are important figures in the history of the Native Police. Their long service meant they helped continue many of the practices adopted by the force in the early years. They were also delegated with the responsibility of implementing big changes to the force during the 1880s and 1890s. Although it is possible to find some details of their backgrounds and careers in the force, we only know a small part of their experiences in, and their thoughts on, the Native Police. Notations on files and occasional sentences in reports to the Commissioner are the only insights we have into their experiences as senior officers in the force.

The Long-term Sub Inspectors

About ninety men served as Sub Inspectors in the Native Police. Almost forty individuals had lengthy careers (that is, more than five years) in the force. Staff files for half (twenty-three) of these men have survived. The average length of service was eleven

¹⁵⁸ Lamond, best known for his ‘outback’ novels, such as *Big Red* (1953) and *Sheep Station* (1959), was a regular contributor to *The Bulletin* and *Walkabout*.

¹⁵⁹ HG Lamond to Sydney May, 21 November 1960, *May Papers*, John Oxley Library, OM 70-46, Box 5, Envelope 55.

¹⁶⁰ Staff File, Urquhart, A/47932.

years, with Henry Gough and John White each serving for twenty-nine years.¹⁶¹ Gough, Stanhope O'Connor and William Armit were the only men with a military background. Gough and O'Connor both belonged to Irish military families. O'Connor led a detachment to Victoria in an unsuccessful attempt to catch Ned Kelly.¹⁶² After Gough's death in 1896, his father asked that gold watches be given to Mr Seymour and Mr Persse 'in remembrance of their kindness to him'.¹⁶³ Belgian-born Armit had been a soldier, and later became a journalist, and was the special correspondent for the Melbourne *Argus* on an expedition to New Guinea in 1883.¹⁶⁴ He became the private secretary of New Guinea administrator William MacGregor in 1893, led a retaliatory party in New Guinea during 1894, and was a Resident Magistrate in New Guinea from 1899.¹⁶⁵ Two long-term Sub Inspectors had previously served in other police forces – George Dyas in Ireland and Percy Galbraith in New Zealand.

Nearly a fifth of this group of forty (seven) died while on active service. Sub Inspector Henry Finch took his own life in 1875; Sub Inspector George Dyas died during

¹⁶¹ Intestate file, Henry Bloomfield Gough, SCT/P330/9419; and Police Staff File, John Warren White, A/40349.

¹⁶² O'Connor's salary was paid by the Victorian Government during the Kelly Gang pursuit in 1879 and 1880, Police Staff File, Stanhope O'Connor, A/40117.

¹⁶³ Squatter Fitzpatrick de Burgh Persse (Seymour's cousin) was the Parliamentary Member for Fassifern, SCT/P330/9419 and DB Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament 1860-1929* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1972), 149.

¹⁶⁴ Armit was also briefly the Secretary of the Cooktown Chamber of Commerce, and wrote asking for a Native Police station to be opened on the Palmer River, Armit to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1891, A/41229/91/6529.

¹⁶⁵ Francis Winter at Thursday Island to Colonial Secretary, 10 September 1894, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A781/94/10801; Police Staff File, William Edington De Margerites Armit, A/38710; HJ Gibbney, 'Armit, William Edington', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 3, edited by Douglas Pike (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 48; and GJ McCarthy, 'Armit, William Edington', *Bright Sparcs* website

an Aboriginal attack in 1881, and the deaths of two others – Sub Inspector Robert Little, 1889; and Sub Inspector George Warby, 1889 – were caused by illness.¹⁶⁶ Three men died from unknown causes: Sub Inspector James Gilmour in 1874, Sub Inspector Mathew Collopy in 1880, and Sub Inspector Robert Sharpe in 1886.¹⁶⁷ Five of the forty Sub Inspectors retired after long careers. Seventeen resigned from the Police, and nine were dismissed. The dismissals and the probability that some resignations followed reprimands, means that the men who occupied this significant supervisory position include a substantial number with problems or troubles or unconventional behaviour. That again raises questions of how men got into the force.

Some individuals used colonial family connections. A few examples will illustrate what we mean. Sub Inspector William Armit was dismissed in 1882 for ‘discipline and financial irregularities’ after he was involved in a bitter personal dispute with Sub Inspector Lyndon Poingdestre.¹⁶⁸ Poingdestre, who admitted that in 1882 that he had ‘co-habited’ with an Aboriginal woman for a number of years, was then placed in command of the Norman River camp. He was implicated in the killing of several Aborigines at Kimberley in 1887.¹⁶⁹ Poingdestre’s connections helped him escape any form of charges.

(History of Australian Science and Technology Bibliography),
www.asap.unimelb.edu.au/bsparcs/bib/P000069p.htm.

¹⁶⁶ Finch – Commissioner of Police, General Orders, 19 July 1875, POL/4/590 and Intestate file, Henry Zouch Finch, SCT/P38/1301; Dyas – Police Staff File, A/38770; and Commissioner of Police, General Orders, 20 January 1881, POL/4/616; Little – Intestate file, Robert Kyle Little, SCT/P172/5628; Warby – Police Staff File, George T Warby, A/40195.

¹⁶⁷ Gilmour – *Queensland Police Gazette* 11 (10 June 1874: 76); Collopy – *Queensland Police Gazette* 17 (2 February 1880: 41); Sharpe – Intestate file, Robert Barrington Sharpe, SCT/P117/4090.

¹⁶⁸ Staff files, Armit, A/38710 and, Poingdestre, A/40323.

¹⁶⁹ Inquest into deaths of Aboriginal men at Kimberley, JUS/N150/87/551, and staff file, Poingdestre, A/40323. For details, see Mark Finnane and Jonathan Richards, ‘You’ll Get

Sub Inspector Charles Blakeney, the nephew of Queensland's Registrar-General, was fired in 1866 for failing to patrol his allotted district.¹⁷⁰ He was reassured that the government would 'endeavour to find other employment' for him.¹⁷¹

Three men were dismissed as a result of their violence towards Aboriginal people. Sub Inspector Edward Wheeler, the younger brother of Frederick Wheeler, was sacked in 1871 after a complaint was made that his detachment had killed several Aboriginal people on the Barcoo River.¹⁷² Sub Inspector Charles Shairp commanded a detachment at the Herbert River in 1872 when an investigation revealed that his troopers had murdered an Aboriginal woman.¹⁷³ The government dismissed him. Sub Inspector William Nichols was charged with murder after the Irvinebank massacre of 1884, and dismissed from the Native Police. The criminal case was dropped.¹⁷⁴

More detail emerges on other individuals. Five men, including Thomas Williams (1875), George Nowlan (1881) and Alfred Smart (1884), were dismissed for drunkenness.¹⁷⁵ Brothers Edwin and George Townsend were both sacked for habitually

Nothing Out of it'? The Inquest, Police and Aboriginal Deaths in Colonial Queensland', *Australian Historical Studies* 35, 123 (2004).

¹⁷⁰ Dismissal of Sub Inspector Blakeney, 29 November 1866, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E14/66/67.

¹⁷¹ 'General conduct of Sub Inspector Blakeney', Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 23 July 1866, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A92/66/2008. No record of Blakeney being given another government job has been found.

¹⁷² Police Commissioner, General Order, 21 June 1871, POL/4/523.

¹⁷³ Inquest into death of unknown Aboriginal woman at Herbert River, JUS/N35/72/218 and Police Commissioner, 31 October 1872, General Order, POL/4/552.

¹⁷⁴ Inquest into deaths of four Aborigines at Irvinebank, JUS/N110/84/511 and dismissal of Sub Inspector Nichols, 5 December 1884, Executive Council Minute, COL/E64/84/416. See also Geof Genever, *Failure of Justice: the story of the Irvinebank Massacre* (Eacham: Eacham Historical Society, 1997).

¹⁷⁵ Police Staff Files, Williams, A/40194; Nowlan, A/40105; and Alfred Smart, A/40154.

‘nipping’ in 1881; Edwin Townsend’s file was also marked ‘refusal to obey orders’.¹⁷⁶

As previously mentioned, Acting Sub Inspector Williams was also found guilty of financial irregularities. Commissioner Seymour noted that Williams had already been dismissed for drunkenness once before.¹⁷⁷

This group, the ‘core’ of Native Police in many ways, included numerous names of men that have most often been mentioned in the published literature. Men such as Poingdestre, Dyas, Armit, Little, and O’Connor are mentioned in a number of secondary sources.¹⁷⁸ The historical transmission of selected names of men in the Native Police can be traced from primary sources to published books via newspaper items, magazine articles and university theses. For example, pioneer drover Gordon Buchanan mentioned ‘Inspector Poindestre taking his faithful boy Jimmy’ as a trooper in his 1934 book *Packhorse and Waterhole*. Hector Holthouse in *Up Rode the Squatter* quotes Buchanan, and Holthouse is listed as a source in Noel Loos’ *Invasion and Resistance*.¹⁷⁹ Anyone ‘chasing’ the Native Police in Queensland history is invariably led to books by popular authors such as Buchanan, Holthouse and others. In a second example, Reginald Spencer

¹⁷⁶ Police Staff Files, Edwin J Townsend, A/40172 and George Robert Townsend, A/40207.

¹⁷⁷ Inspector Frederick Murray to Commissioner, 23 February 1875, staff file, Williams, A/40194.

¹⁷⁸ For example, Dyas – DW de Havelland, *Gold and Ghosts Volume 4: Queensland Northern and Northwestern* (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1989); Armit – MM Bennett, *The Australian Aboriginal as a Human Being* (London: Alston Rivers, 1930); Little – William Linklater and Lynda Tapp, *Gather No Moss* (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1997, originally written 1938-1959); and O’Connor – Charles White, *History of Australian Bushranging* (1890).

¹⁷⁹ Gordon Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934) 43; Hector Holthouse, *Up Rode The Squatter* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1970); and Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*. This incorrect spelling was used by others, including one pastoralist who also said the Native Police ‘were kept simply to shoot blacks’, see *Diary of RM Watson*, Noel Butlin Archives, Australian National University, N31/1(i), 13.

Browne's *Reminiscences of A Journalist* gives the names of a number of officers from the force. Stanhope O'Connor was one. Without knowing his first-name, Browne described O'Connor as 'a very distinguished looking chap, a splendid bushman, and well experienced with the Native Police', and he claimed, 'a relative of the Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy'.¹⁸⁰ Another pioneer referred to O'Connor as 'a cultured Irish gentleman'.¹⁸¹

So, some useful information is available on the men who served for lengthy periods as Sub Inspectors of the Native Police. This group includes the men generally best known in popular literature on the Native Police. They had strong linkages with the rest of colonial society, and some also had connections with other colonies in the British Empire. Their careers are relatively easily followed. The hardest careers to track are those of the men who left the force after short periods of service. It is this group that must now be considered.

The Short-time Sub Inspectors

One important detail that has emerged from the research material is the fact that some men served as Sub Inspectors in the Native Police for periods of less than five years. Nearly fifty individuals, out of a total of about 150, can be identified as 'short-time' members of the force, including six who died while on active duty, and sixteen who

¹⁸⁰ Reginald Spencer Browne, *A Journalist's Memories* (Brisbane: Read Press, 1927), 290.

were dismissed. Three officers in this cluster (Acting Sub Inspector Cecil Hill, Sub Inspector Henry Kaye and Cadet Marcus Beresford) were killed during Aboriginal attacks on their detachments in 1865, 1881 and 1883.¹⁸² In each case, superior officers identified lack of experience as critical.¹⁸³ Three others also died while on duty, Second Lieutenant Charles Phibbs, Second Lieutenant John Darley and Acting Sub Inspector Denis McCarthy.¹⁸⁴ Phibbs drowned when he rode into a lagoon in the dark on the way back to his barracks after drinking heavily in Rockhampton. Darley died of illness after less than a year's service, but details are lacking on McCarthy's death. He had been suspended for unknown reasons six months earlier.¹⁸⁵

Twenty-eight of the short-term members of the force were appointed during the 1860s. The high number suggests many officers discovered the risky and unpleasant character of the work in this early period of colonisation, and preferred other appointments. Another reason for this large number of appointments at that time was the expansion of the force, with little care being taken in the selection of officers. After a period of rapid expansion, the reliable men were 'settled in' by the 1870s.

¹⁸¹ Another writer claimed that O'Connor's cousin, Sir Hercules Robinson, was the Governor of New South Wales, WH Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland, 1862-1899* (Brisbane: AH Frater, 1921), 59 and 64.

¹⁸² *Brisbane Courier* (3 June 1865) and WRO (William) Hill, 'The Death of My Brother Cecil', *Forty-Five Years' Experiences in North Queensland, 1861 to 1905* (Brisbane: H Pole & Co, 1907), 31-33; inquest into death of Henry P Kaye at Woolgar, JUS/N77/81/259; and Police Staff File, Marcus Gervais La Poer Beresford, A/38720.

¹⁸³ According to one version, 'Beresford took a young lubra with him for his own enjoyment', HG Lamond to Sydney May, 25 February 1961, *May Papers*, John Oxley Library, OM 70-46, Box 5, Envelope 55.

¹⁸⁴ Inquest into death of Charles Hamilton Phibbs at Rockhampton, JUS/N3/61/73; salary owed to late Lieutenant Darley, Executive Council Minute, 19 August 1861, EXE/E4/61/35; and *Queensland Police Gazette* 10 (8 December 1872: 8).

¹⁸⁵ Murray to Commissioner, 8 April 1872, Midlands District Inspector's Letterbook, A/36335.

Some of the short-time men came from military or police backgrounds: Rudolph Morisset was the third son of Colonel Morisset, and the brother of Edric and Aulaire Morisset, all of whom have been previously mentioned. Henry Kaye, the son of an Indian army officer, was killed while on patrol five years after joining the force as a Sub Inspector in 1876.¹⁸⁶ Walter Jones, who had ‘many years military service in India’, only lasted four years before his dismissal for drunkenness in 1884 (his death has already been mentioned). According to Sub Inspector Ernest Carr, Jones was ‘not suited for the work’ in the Barron River district as most patrols were on foot and Jones was ‘not a young man’.¹⁸⁷ Marcus La Poer Beresford, descended from an old Anglo-Irish military family, and formerly a member of the New South Wales Police, died on patrol near Cloncurry in 1883.¹⁸⁸ Duncan McNeil, formerly in the New Guinea Police, served for three years from 1889.¹⁸⁹ He married one of Commissioner Seymour’s daughters in 1887, and a year later was appointed as the Governor’s *aide-de-camp*.¹⁹⁰

Dismissals were higher in this group than in other groups we have discussed. Sixteen were removed: two for drunkenness, and two for financial irregularities. In three cases, the position was abolished. Nine dismissals occurred due to indiscipline. These included a case of killing a trooper, incompetence, inefficiency and neglect of duty. Nine men appointed during 1862 either resigned or were dismissed within four years. Six officers appointed in 1865 left the force within four years. Most of the ‘short-time men’

¹⁸⁶ *Queensland Police Gazette* 13 (1 January 1876: 13); Police Staff File, Kaye, A/38864; and Inquest into death of Henry Kaye, JUS/N77/81/259.

¹⁸⁷ Jones to Isley, December 1881, Police Staff File, Walter Jones, A/38846.

¹⁸⁸ Police Staff File, Beresford, A/38720.

¹⁸⁹ Police Staff File, Duncan Alexander McNeil, A/40097.

¹⁹⁰ Queensland Births, Deaths and Marriages records and *Queensland Government Gazette* 45 (27 October 1888: 710).

from the 1860s were dismissed, discharged or dead (Darley and Hill) by the 1870s. Four out of the nine short-timers appointed in the 1870s resigned. Three others were discharged for disciplinary reasons, and two died. During the 1880s, two short-term members resigned, one (Beresford) died, and two were dismissed for drunkenness. Three officers resigned during the 1890s after serving for short terms.

Despite the force's 'unsavoury' reputation, some former officers managed to move across to the colonial Civil Service. Four of the short-time group later held responsible Public Service positions in Queensland: John Baker (Clerk of Petty Sessions and Acting Police Magistrate), Frederick Nantes (District Registrar, Clerk of Petty Sessions, and Land Agent), Alexander Dorsey (Goldfield Warden and Clerk of Petty Sessions), and Lionel Towner (Gold Warden and Acting Police Magistrate).¹⁹¹

Fifteen of the officers who served for short periods in the Native Police were named in the records as being connected with violence against Aboriginal people or troopers.¹⁹² This figure suggests that this was the most 'brutal' group of the officer-class, and thus the most likely to be dismissed for disciplinary reasons or character problems.

¹⁹¹ John Baker - appointed Acting Police Magistrate at Mackay 1864, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1865: 30). Frederick Nantes - appointed District Registrar, Clerk of Petty Sessions, and Land Agent at Mackay; he was dismissed from the Public Service in 1871, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1870), and *Queensland Government Gazette* 12 (19 January 1871: 62). Alexander Dorsey - appointed Sub Commissioner of Goldfields at Charters Towers in 1873, and as Goldfield Warden and Sub Commissioner of Goldfields at Palmer River; then Clerk of Petty Sessions at Clermont, and at Bowen. *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1874: 52-3). Lionel Towner - appointed as Gold Warden at Thornborough in 1877 while still in the Native Police, and as Police Magistrate at Thornborough, and as Acting Police Magistrate at Croydon, *Queensland Government Gazette* 21 (15 November 1877: 1180), 28 (8 April 1881: 977), and 41 (26 May 1887: 200).

¹⁹² These were John Affleck, Myrtil Aubin, Arthur Beevor, John Carroll, William Cave, Maitland Day, Edward Dumaresq, Eugenius Genatas, Joseph Harris, John Hoole, Ralph

This is a particularly important point of historical detail that the research has uncovered. Records show that some short-term Sub Inspectors led detachments that killed Aboriginal people, and several were dismissed because of these events. Other junior officers killed troopers. This is unsurprising, considering the basic function of the force. The historical material clearly shows the place of the Native Police in colonial Queensland. Many contemporaries labelled it a ‘necessary evil’.¹⁹³ ‘They did as they were *told* to do. They did their duty’.¹⁹⁴ A number of examples, in chronological order, provide us not only with evidence of Native Police violence, but also records of government actions after these events were uncovered. The examples conclude this discussion on the ‘short-term’ cluster.

Second Lieutenant Joseph Harris was dismissed in 1863 for allowing his troopers to patrol unsupervised. They killed an Aboriginal man.¹⁹⁵ Later that year, Second Lieutenant Marmaduke Richardson was dismissed after he shot a deserting trooper dead.¹⁹⁶ A trooper died during a ‘fight’ with Aboriginal men in the Warrego district in 1864, and Sub Inspector Ralph Johnson was ‘allowed to resign’.¹⁹⁷ Johnson’s father was the assistant clerk in the Legislative Assembly at the time, which may help to explain

Johnson, John Kyle Little, Rudolph Morisset, Otto Paschen, Marmaduke Richardson, and Edward Seymour.

¹⁹³ Colonial Secretary Robert Herbert, cited in W Ross Johnston, *The Long Blue Line* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1992), 7.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Queensland Native Mounted Police’ by Henry Lamond, *The Bulletin* (1 April 1953).

¹⁹⁵ Dismissal of Lieutenant Harris, 16 May 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E7/63/22.

¹⁹⁶ Dismissal of Lieutenant Richardson, 10 October 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E8/63/41.

¹⁹⁷ Seymour to the Colonial Secretary, 11 November 1864, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A59/63/2727.

why Johnson was allowed to 'resign' rather than be dismissed.¹⁹⁸ After leaving the force, Ralph Johnson was appointed as a government clerk, and as Land Agent at Bowen in 1869.¹⁹⁹ He then became a surveyor, and worked at Townsville and Cooktown.²⁰⁰

In other cases, the removal of men from the force may have been connected with barbarous actions that became public knowledge. It is important to emphasize that what led to dismissal may not have been an act of killing, but the publicity it attracted. Acting Sub Inspector Edward Seymour brutally killed an Aboriginal woman in 1866, and was discharged 'on abolition of his position' two years later.²⁰¹ The Executive Council decided to pay him, and any others whose 'appointments have been suddenly abolished', a sum equal to three months salary.²⁰² Sub Inspector Myrtil Aubin was dismissed after his detachment killed 'quiet Blacks' at Morinish, near Rockhampton, in 1867.²⁰³ There was a full investigation and Inspector George Murray reported:

There is nothing in the evidence to show whether Mr Aubin was justified or not in firing on the blacks but from his own report and taking into consideration the whole of the circumstances, I cannot see that that officer could have acted

¹⁹⁸ Appointment of Ralph Godschall Johnson as Clerk to the Government Resident at Moreton Bay in 1856, RES/A7/56/741; dismissal of Sub Inspector Ralph Cholmondeley Godschall Johnson for 'culpable neglect', 30 September 1864, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E10/64/55; and the notice that Sub Inspector Ralph Cholmondeley Godschall Johnson 'resigned from the Native Police on 31 August 1864 rather than being discharged as advised on 7 December 1864', *Queensland Police Gazette* 2, 1 (11 January 1865: 2). See also Anonymous, *Godschall Johnson Family in Australia*, www.geocities.com/lordrichardcholmondeley/family8.htm

¹⁹⁹ Blue Book, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1870).

²⁰⁰ Anonymous, *Godschall Johnson Family*.

²⁰¹ A witness said he 'left her in the agonies of death'. Seymour told him 'she riled him', Inquest into death of an unknown Aboriginal woman at Banana, JUS/N12/66/87.

²⁰² Compensation for former Sub Inspector Seymour, 4 March 1868, Executive Council Minute, COL/E2/68/60.

²⁰³ Dismissal of Acting Sub Inspector Aubin, 11 July 1867, Executive Council Minute, COL/E1/67/172.

otherwise [as] had he not fired at the time he did the Blacks would have killed some if not all of his party. It was clearly Mr Aubin's duty to disperse that mob of Blacks and it is very much to be regretted that they did not do so quietly.²⁰⁴

The finding condemns him, not for 'unlawful killing', but for indiscretion. News of the killing was already public knowledge in Rockhampton and some colonists were complaining, so the Executive Council directed his immediate dismissal.²⁰⁵ Aubin, who only lasted two years in the Native Police, disappeared from the records.

Some men were removed from the Native Police for 'inefficiency' in 'crushing' resistance. Otto Paschen, formerly in the Victorian police with 'good references', was ostensibly dismissed for 'financial irregularities' in 1867 after two year's service. However, Commissioner Seymour had recently chastised him for 'very much exaggerating' the number of 'collisions' his detachment had experienced with Aboriginal people in the Dawson River district.²⁰⁶ Former Colonial Secretary Herbert said Paschen had been ordered to 'punish the murderers of Acting Sub Inspector Hill', and 'performed to the full satisfaction of the colonists and of the Government', but the Secretary of State for Colonies in England requested further information about reprisals after Hill's death.²⁰⁷ This query apparently led to closer scrutiny of Paschen's actions, and caused Seymour to report 'the collisions in the report of the Native Police Officers, refer in a majority of cases to a few spears thrown, and a few shots fired at a distance with little or

²⁰⁴ Murray to Commissioner, 13 July 1867, Midlands Inspector's Letterbook, A/36335/67/113.

²⁰⁵ Murray to Aubin, 6 August 1867, Midlands Inspector's Letterbook, A/36335/67/112.

²⁰⁶ Dismissal of Sub Inspector Paschen, 30 January 1867, Executive Council Minute, COL/E1/67/31, and Seymour to Governor, 15 June 1866, Governor's Despatches, GOV/25/66/61.

²⁰⁷ Memo from Herbert, former Colonial Secretary, in Despatch from Governor Bowen to Lord Canarvon, 20 June 1866, Governor's Despatches, GOV/25/66/61.

no loss to either side'.²⁰⁸ Paschen was suspended after a forged ration order was discovered. An official inquiry probed his official expenditures. Despite his protestations of innocence, the Executive Council accepted Seymour's recommendation, and dismissed him.²⁰⁹

In other cases there was no doubt about the officer's part in violence towards Aborigines. Acting Sub Inspector John Carroll was allowed to resign after he was charged with the assault and murder of a trooper at Aramac in 1873.²¹⁰ The Police Magistrate who heard the matter, Alfred Compigne, the uncle of Sub Inspector Walter Compigne, dismissed the case.²¹¹ Carroll wrote to newspapers five years later to argue that the Native Police force would be 'a cheap and effective protection to the Australian pioneer for many years to come'. He added 'there are no officially written orders relating to native police duty, those are given verbally by the Inspector who I have understood, receives his orders from the Commissioner'.²¹² Apparently, the perception that there was no control over the force (as mentioned earlier) began with this former officer's letter.²¹³ Carroll's assertion was misleading. Written orders were the main form of communication, and officers were dismissed for breaching orders. Moreover, it has been suggested that Carroll's detachment was responsible for a number of killings during the three years he was with the force. In a diary kept by one pioneer grazier, there is a note

²⁰⁸ Seymour to Governor, 15 June 1866, Governor's Despatches, GOV/25/616/61.

²⁰⁹ Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 31 January 1867, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q4/67/83.

²¹⁰ Dismissal of Sub Inspector Carroll, 10 August 1876, Executive Council Minute, COL/E19/76/679.

²¹¹ Aramac Court Records, A/5117.

²¹² 'Commission of Police Proceedings in the Case of JW Carroll', 29 June 1876, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A320/81/3821, and Carroll's 'Letter to the Editor', *Townsville Herald* (23 July 1881).

saying ‘Inspector Carroll’s Native Police’ from Aramac ‘slaughtered all the males they came across’ at Elderslie station on Western River.²¹⁴

A number of individuals in the force were probably unsuited to the rigours of life on the frontier, particularly as European colonisation expanded into northern Queensland. The demands of the job, particularly with regard to ‘working the troopers’, may have defeated a few men. For example, Acting Sub Inspector Edward Dumaresq was dismissed in 1875.²¹⁵ His detachment had been involved in a number of killings at the Bloomfield River during 1874, while attempting to find a shorter route from the coast to the Palmer River goldfield.²¹⁶ It appears that an inquest deposition brought about his removal from the force. Less than six months before his dismissal, Dumaresq had testified that he was unable to ‘follow up’ the blacks on the Palmer River, because ‘the greater part of his detachment’ had deserted.²¹⁷

Some officers were determined to prove their worth on the northern frontier. Cadet John Affleck resigned in 1889 after shooting trooper Peter dead in 1888.²¹⁸ At the inquest held by Police Magistrate (and former Sub Inspector) Ernest Eglinton, Affleck said that he was on patrol with six ‘boys’ when he found trooper Peter ‘chopping into a tree’. He ordered trooper Peter to stop, but he refused. Affleck then ‘gave him a kick’ and Peter attacked him with a tomahawk. According to Affleck, Peter ‘took his rifle’ and was loading it with a cartridge when Affleck said to him ‘If you cock that rifle you are a dead

²¹³ See previous discussion in Chapter 1, footnotes 218-220.

²¹⁴ *Diary of RM Watson*, 1-2, Noel Butlin Archives Centre, Australian National University, N31/1(i).

²¹⁵ Commissioner of Police, General Orders, 31 January 1875, POL/4/583.

²¹⁶ ‘News from The Palmer’, *The Queenslander* (4 April 1874: 8).

²¹⁷ Inquest into death of Cornelius Hurford at Palmer River, JUS/N41/74/225.

²¹⁸ *Queensland Police Gazette* 27 (25 August 1889: 44).

man'. Peter allegedly said 'You too frightened'. Affleck shot him dead.²¹⁹ One month later, Affleck 'accidentally' shot himself through his wrist. His hand was amputated.²²⁰ He was discharged from the force with a gratuity six months later. According to one of his brother officers, 'if Affleck had had serviceable boys he would not have had his accident and shot himself'.²²¹ There is no way that this odd remark can be understood fully today. However, the writer was an idealist who joined in hopes of protecting Aboriginal people, and he seemed to call attention to Affleck's poor relations with his troopers. Brooke said, when he applied for appointment to the Native Police, that he wanted to help 'protect the aborigines' in the North.²²²

Men who served for short periods in the Native Police generally only reached the rank of Sub Inspector. They led patrols, and were often in sole command of isolated camps throughout Queensland. Three of this group were killed during Aboriginal attacks. Many were dismissed, and a large number were implicated in extremely violent episodes. Several were accused on incompetency, and dismissed from the force after brief careers. Our final cluster, the Constables, was the last group to serve in the Native Police.

²¹⁹ Inquest into death of trooper Peter at Barron River, Police Staff File, John de Linden Affleck, A/38716/89/9119.

²²⁰ Police Staff File, Affleck, A38716/89/9119.

²²¹ Sub Inspector Brooke to Commissioner, 23 April 1889, Police Staff File, Jocelyn Brooke, A/38719/89/5908.

²²² Brooke to Colonial Secretary, 9 May 1881, Police Staff File, Brooke, A/38719/81/2303. Brooke also wrote to Victorian ethnographer AW Howitt saying, 'I find that by being [in the Native Mounted Police] I am better able to protect them and I consider it my duty to both protect and punish them with fairness', Brooke to Howitt, 12 October 1882, *Notes on the Kiabara*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, MS 69.

The Constables

The policy of placing Constables rather than Sub Inspectors in charge of detachments was a late modification, and perhaps reflects attempts in the latter part of the nineteenth century to ‘normalise’ the Native Police by ‘giving’ the force some ‘white’ troopers and a common label. Twenty men who served in the Native Police were appointed as Constables of the Queensland Police Force, and the highest rank they achieved (with one exception) was Sergeant. The only man promoted through the ranks from Constable to Sub Inspector was Michael Portley, who was in charge of the Mossman River Native Police camp from 1887 to 1890.²²³ The last man who had served his entire police career in the Native Police of North Queensland was Sergeant James Whiteford, who retired in 1911. He began his career as a Constable thirty years earlier.²²⁴ When Sub Inspector Portley retired in 1916, he was the last man in the Queensland Police to have served for a lengthy period in a Native Police camp.²²⁵

With an average service of sixteen years, all in North Queensland, the men from this cluster served in the last nine Native Police camps.²²⁶ These outposts included the Mulgrave and Mossman River camps that closed in 1891 and 1893, and the Musgrave camp on Cape York Peninsula, which shut down in 1899. Highbury camp, the last station on the Palmer River, closed in 1903. Three more camps, the ‘Eight Mile’ near Cooktown, Nigger Creek near Herberton, and Turn Off Lagoon near Burketown, were closed in

²²³ Police Staff File, Michael James Portley, A/40521.

²²⁴ Police Staff File, James Whiteford, A/40348.

²²⁵ Police Staff File, Portley, A/40521.

²²⁶ See Appendix 2 for a full list of Native Police camps and stations.

1904. The camps at Laura and Coen became 'ordinary' Queensland Police stations, albeit with several trackers at each, from about 1910.

Records show interesting detail of the careers of some men in this cluster. Police staff files for seventeen Native Police constables are held in the state archives. Senior Constable Alfred Wavell, appointed in 1872, was killed at Lawn Hill station in 1889 when trying to arrest an Aboriginal fugitive named Joe Flick.²²⁷ Wavell had been a campkeeper for Sub Inspector Poingdestre at the Norman River camp, and was actively patrolling the district before his death.²²⁸ Campkeepers sometimes took charge of patrols when other officers were 'busy' or in 'short-supply'. Wavell's death has been the subject of a number of articles and chapters, including mentions in Gordon Buchanan's *Packhorse and Waterhole*, and former Police Commissioner Norm Bauer's 'Tragedy at Lawn Hill'.²²⁹

The careers of some other men were almost as sensational. That of Constable Charles Hansen, the only Danish-born individual in the Native Police, is a good example. He was posted to the Atherton station, and then to the Nigger Creek camp near Herberton. Inspector John Stuart thought Hansen had 'done more in civilizing and getting in the wild aborigines on the Barron waters than the Barron River detachment has done in years'.²³⁰ However, Inspector James Lamond reported that Hansen 'as a Native Police officer had been most indiscreet in taking civilians on patrol with him and in also talking

²²⁷ *Queensland Police Gazette* 26 (27 October 1889: 263).

²²⁸ Police Staff File, Alfred Wavell, A/40191.

²²⁹ Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*; and NW Bauer, 'Tragedy at Lawn Hill', *Sphere* (October 1979: 21-24).

²³⁰ Stuart to Commissioner, 16 May 1889, Police Staff File, Charles Hansen, A/38828.

in a most reckless manner'.²³¹ Perhaps the two views are not inconsistent – one states a 'fact' or outcome from a settler perspective, and the other a concern that the methods used for the outcome would become public. Inspector Lamond recommended his transfer to 'prevent a public scandal' as 'his Danish countrymen threaten all sorts of exposures', and he was sent to the Mossman River Native Police camp.²³² Hansen resigned a year later, but then was reappointed. He died of consumption in 1896.²³³

Three Constables who served at the Native Police station at Turn Off Lagoon near Burketown died between 1900 and 1911. Constable Richard Alford, who had been reduced in rank from Acting Sergeant and charged with 'neglect of duty' at this camp, died of heart disease while on transfer to Bundaberg.²³⁴ Acting Sergeant George Smith died from chronic alcoholism; he had been transferred to the Turn Off Lagoon station from Coen after Inspector Lamond reported 'He is no good as an officer in charge of a Native Police or any other station'.²³⁵ Constable Edward Smith hung himself after receiving notice of a transfer.²³⁶

One other member of this group died tragically after leaving the Native Police. Ex-Constable John Kenny died in 1918 during a cyclone at the Hull River Aboriginal

²³¹ Lamond to Commissioner, 13 December 1890, Police Staff File, Hansen, A/38828.

²³² Lamond to Commissioner, 13 December 1890, Police Staff File, Hansen, A/38828.

²³³ *Queensland Police Gazette* 33, 39 (5 September 1896: 272).

²³⁴ Police Staff File, Richard Henry Alford, A/38791.

²³⁵ Lamond to Commissioner, 13 December 1897, Police Staff File, George Inkerman Smith, AF/40158.

²³⁶ The inquest finding for Edward Smith's death was 'temporary insanity', but his wife said he was nervous after hearing that he was to be transferred from Turn Off Lagoon, see Police Staff File, Edward Patrick Charles Smith, A/40335.

Mission where he was the Superintendent.²³⁷ Kenny, formerly stationed at the Eight Mile camp near Cooktown, was on patrol with four troopers in 1899 when a cyclonic storm surge hit Princess Charlotte Bay and killed several hundred pearlshellers.²³⁸ The Queensland climate was just one of the challenges faced by European members of the Native Police.

Two men with the family name of Whelan caused great sorrow for Aboriginal people and some confusion for historians. Daniel and Edmond Whelan were unrelated, but both attracted their share of complaints. Edmond Whelan, sworn in during 1879, was appointed as the Acting Clerk of Petty Sessions at Cairns in 1884, but complaints of gambling, fraud and drunkenness were made a year later.²³⁹ Whelan was then ordered to take charge of the newly formed Mulgrave River Native Police camp near Cairns, a position he held until 1890.²⁴⁰ According to historian Noel Loos, Whelan, in doing so, as a 'member of the ordinary police was now performing functions of the Native Police'.²⁴¹ How great was the difference between the two forces at this point in time? The easy movement of police like Edmond Whelan from one to the other suggests very little.

²³⁷ Police Staff File, John Martin Kenny; A/38868, Hull River Aboriginal Mission, A/8725; and Constable O'Regan at Cardwell to Police Inspector at Townsville, March 1918, Cardwell Police Letterbook, POL/12F/G1/30/18.

²³⁸ Northern Protector of Aboriginals Walter Roth to Home Secretary, 9 April 1899, HOM/A23/99/5252. See also Harold Outridge, *The pearling disaster 1899: a memorial* (Brisbane: Outridge Printing, 1899).

²³⁹ Appointment of Edmond Whelan as Acting Clerk of Petty Sessions at Cairns, 7 August 1884, Executive Council Minute, COL/E62/84/282; and *Cairns Post* (11 June 1885: 2).

²⁴⁰ Police Staff File, Edmond Whelan, A/40186.

²⁴¹ Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*, 107.

Whelan took to his new duties, aggressively patrolling the Cairns district until demoted for an unknown reason in 1887. He resigned soon after.²⁴²

Daniel Whelan, appointed as a Constable during the 1890s, and initially stationed at Ayton on the Bloomfield River, was the officer in charge of the Palmer River Native Police station from 1902.²⁴³ The Northern Protector of Aboriginals, Walter Roth, reported him to the Commissioner in 1903, claiming he was ‘forcibly recruiting’ for the Native Police on the Mitchell River.²⁴⁴ No further details are known of this particular episode. He was transferred to the Coen camp, where he served until his death in 1911. One senior officer described Whelan as having ‘performed his arduous duties faithfully’.²⁴⁵ Whelan’s death represented the closure of frontier policing in Queensland. By the beginning of the Great War, the Native Police had finally ‘disappeared’.

Conclusion

Archival files concerning the one hundred and fifty European officers in the Native Police reveal much about their backgrounds, their problems, and their careers. The birthplaces of about half the men are known. Over twenty officers died while on active service, including five killed during Aboriginal attacks. Fifteen died from accidents and diseases. Three took their own lives. Records also show us details of disciplinary

²⁴² Police Staff File, Whelan, A/40186.

²⁴³ *Queensland Police Gazette* 34 (10 April 1897: 199); Garraway to Commissioner, 18 June 1902, POL/J21/02/10305.

²⁴⁴ Roth to Home Secretary, 11 August 1903, A/58783.

breaches, and the ‘unlawful killing’ of Aborigines. Both were given as grounds for dismissal, as was drunkenness and not properly keeping financial accounts. Some men went on to responsible positions in the Public Service, while others left in disgrace. Some had long careers in the Native Police, but others only lasted for a few weeks.

The easing out or outright removal of officers for ‘excessive violence’ indicates that the Commissioner or the Government or both had qualms about the conduct of the force. Men were not put on trial, however. Rather the Commissioner – very likely with the knowledge of the government – endeavoured to keep matters quiet. But at times what Seymour told the government did not reflect the actual condition of the force or the degeneration of the officer class. His public statements about the Native Police are essays in denial; privately, he appears to have said even less. Morally weak, the Commissioner may still have felt shame or even repugnance on occasion. His comments in 1876, on learning of Hervey Fitzgerald’s misbehaviour, show his feelings. ‘Your case is hopeless’.²⁴⁶ Yet, Seymour was ultimately powerless to effect any major changes in the policing of frontier culture in Queensland. Caught between the liberal rhetoric of urban politicians and the harsh realities of the Queensland frontier, he could do little about the Native Police but practise expediency, and hope the men under his command would all remember the need for discretion and circumspection on their special duties.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Inspector Malone to Commissioner, 6 January 1911, A/40348/11/810.

²⁴⁶ ‘Your case is hopeless and doubly so since Wheeler’s affair’, Commissioner to Sub Inspector Fitzgerald, 8 April 1876, A/40291.

²⁴⁷ See memo advising that ‘an officer of energy and discretion’ will replace Lieutenant Powell, Colonial Secretary to George Dalrymple, 11 January 1861, A/71730.

Now it is time to see what can be found in the records about the Aboriginal members of the force, the troopers. There is no evidence of any close or affectionate relationships between the European officers and the Indigenous men they commanded in the Queensland Native Police, unlike that which apparently existed in Frederick Walker's original 1848 Corps. Yet all officers were meant to be able to 'control' the Natives on the force, as well as those 'wild Myalls' their detachments encountered. There is ample evidence that some officers were hopeless at gaining the compliance of their troopers, let alone dealing in any sort of civilised fashion with the Aboriginal people the force was dispossessing. As the next chapter shows, the troopers had their own reasons for joining the force and often had their own agendas as well.

Chapter 3: the troopers

‘Barbarians taken from another part of the country’¹



The blacks were at the base of a cliff. Suddenly a body of troopers appeared on top of the cliff and without warning they opened fire on the defenceless party below. Only two were killed, an old man and a gin. Those sheltered under the cliff could hear the talk of the black troopers who really did not want to kill but who tried to impress upon the white officer the big number they had slaughtered.²

The whole question of working Native troopers, for good or bad, is a matter of *leadership, control, discipline*. To condemn the Native Police as unfit to be brought into contact in any way with their fellows, because in the past under some cruel, cowardly, or inefficient officer they have done wrong, is absurd. It is a well-known fact that the only control possible to be obtained at the outset and

¹ ‘Travels in Queensland’ by Charles Ogg, *Moreton Bay Courier* (16 September 1860).

² Harry Perry, *Pioneering: The Life of Honourable RM Collins MLC* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co., 1923), 20, quoting Aboriginal man Johnny Allen (Bullumm).

maintained over wild or uncivilised blacks is by the exercise and exhibition of superior force by people whom they recognise as capable of competing with them in their own tactics, tracking, bush cunning, lore or living, and by whom they know they can be followed and found when 'wanted'.³

The above quotations illustrate the range of comments about, and attitudes towards the Aboriginal troopers of the Native Police. The reference to the troopers as 'barbarians' was made in a long letter by pioneer settler Charles Ogg, who added "I do not, however, seek to disparage the service they render; without them in the interior the country would have to be vacated'. The second, made by a member of the Collins family from the Logan River in Queensland's southeast, was based on the recollections of an Aboriginal elder (Bullumm) who was associated with the family for most of his life. The Collins family enjoyed very good relations with local Aboriginal people. Frederick Wheeler led the Native Police detachment mentioned in this story.

The last quote comes from the report prepared by Queensland's second Commissioner of Police, William Parry-Okeden, in response to Archibald Meston's assessment of relations between the Native Police and the Aboriginal people of North Queensland. While Meston, the government's Special Commissioner on Aborigines, favoured the complete disbanding of the force, Parry-Okeden believed it should continue to exist as 'the friend of the blacks' under the leadership of appropriate officers. These quotations illustrate the complexities of settler attitudes towards the Native Police; some

³ Report by Police Commissioner WE (William) Parry-Okeden, 'North Queensland Aborigines and the Native Police', *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1897: 15).

pastoralists sheltered runaway troopers while others feared them. This chapter examines records and reminiscences relating to the troopers.

How much is known about the Aboriginal troopers, based on the records located thus far? What can we know about the reasons why young men joined the force and participated in the killing and dispossession of other Indigenous groups? Is it possible to determine what they gained from serving in the force? What follows is a general discussion on the use of Indigenous military and police recruits in a range of Australian colonial settings, followed by an examination of the material relating to the troopers found in historical records. The violent methods used by the Native Police are detailed in the next chapter.

Any worthwhile discussion of the troopers must first revisit the question: was the Native Police a military or a civil institution? The issue of Aboriginal agency must also be considered, even if for no other reason than to dispel the tendency of some writers to blame the troopers for the force's violent and sadistic reputation.⁴ Many examples of this attitude exist. Popular historian Glenville Pike, for example, wrote that 'the Native Police got out of hand occasionally. If any atrocities did take place, I think the blackboys themselves were the only ones responsible'.⁵ Writer HG (Henry) Lamond likewise claimed that 'the thin veneer of civilization in the aboriginal troopers was a flimsy thing'.⁶ Keith Windschuttle recently claimed that 'Most colonists were Christians to whom such actions [indiscriminate frontier murders] would have been abhorrent', which

⁴ '[T]he mercilessness of the Troopers was the most decisive factor in excessive punishment of the Aborigines', Narelle Taylor, *The Native Mounted Police of Queensland, 1850-1900* (Honours thesis, James Cook University, 1970).

⁵ Glenville Pike ('Sundowner'), 'Around The Camp Fire', *North Queensland Register* (1 November 1947).

⁶ HG Lamond, 'Native Mounted Police', *Walkabout* (1 November 1949: 32).

seems to absolve the colonising Christians of any blame.⁷ By default, if any unlawful killing of Aborigines did take place (Windschuttle denies they did), then the troopers must have been responsible.

Aboriginal service in the Native Police force was subject to the same conditions and restrictions as in other colonial police and armed forces.⁸ There is no recorded evidence, furthermore, of any trooper ever swearing an oath to uphold the law or carry out any other duties (for example, walking the beat, or appearing in court) usually associated with policing. No trace of a staff file for any Aboriginal member of the Native Police has been found. Aspects of troopers' experiences such as discipline and desertion can be explored to a certain degree, but many important questions remain unanswered.

Yet, in spite of the limits of the archival record, as with most other aspects of the history of the Native Police in Queensland, the myths and legends surrounding the troopers have often been given more credibility than the archival records have. The absence of any form of personnel records for all Aboriginal policemen, including the troopers and trackers, means that evidence must be gleaned from 'alternative' archival sources such as routine correspondence, newspaper accounts and personal letters.

To date, no first-hand account of the actual recruiting process has been located in the records. The reasons why Aboriginal men joined the Native Police are also not recorded and any analysis of personal motivations must, therefore, remain speculative.

⁷ This argument emerges periodically, without any evidence. Windschuttle is the latest proponent, Keith Windschuttle, 'The Historian as Prophet and Redeemer', *Quadrant* (December 2002: 9-10).

⁸ The organisation of the Police force in Ireland was based on a similar premise. 'Being Irish themselves, they know the country and the people well and are able to deal with local problems', Johann Georg Kohl, *Ireland* (London, 1844) cited in Jim Herlihy, *The Royal Irish Constabulary: A Short History and Genealogical Guide* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 46.

However, such speculation is based on the experiences of colonisers around the world, fragments of revelatory evidence in Queensland sources, and an analysis of these two bodies of information. Some useful details about service in the Native Police can be extracted from the archival records. Evidence from similar formations in other colonies (and in other empires) is one way of understanding the motivation of Indigenous men, and the practices of colonial administrators.

There were a number of precedents – both military and civil – for the use of Native troopers as a permanent police force, and each tells us something about Indigenous experience in colonial armed forces. For example, Central Queensland squatter William Archer, while giving evidence to a New South Wales parliamentary inquiry, provided one credible version of the recruiting process.

I know a little of their language, and I would go about talking to them, taking an interest in their manners and customs; and at a convenient time I would propose to them what they were required for, and the country to which I wished them to go. I would take the jackets and trousers with red stripes, to show them, and put them in uniform.⁹

Although we lack details on the recruiting of troopers for the Native Police, Archer's suggestion seems credible, and he was generally a reliable witness.

⁹ William Archer, Report from the Select Committee on Murders by the Aborigines on the Dawson River, *New South Wales Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1858), 869-870.

Native policemen and soldiers

The use of Indigenous soldiers (mostly from subjugated provinces) in armies of invasion and occupation began with the Assyrians, Greeks and Romans. Most imperial systems and empire-builders have used, and continue to use, ethnic or Indigenous recruits as Native auxiliary troops.¹⁰ Generally, Native forces were used in the early stages of campaigns as scouts and later, when territorial conquest had been successfully achieved, as garrison forces. During the next stages of colonisation, they were also used as police. The Native Police troopers of Queensland were used in each of these ways.

Queensland administrators used the Native Police for the same reasons that Indigenous soldiers were used in other colonial settings. Queensland, like many colonies, experienced shortages of appropriately skilled and experienced Europeans. Moreover, Indigenous men were able to operate in difficult conditions such as, for example, tropical swamps and impenetrable scrub generally considered 'impossible' for Europeans. Most Indigenous people also had exceptional tracking abilities. Native forces could also be used for tasks that Europeans 'might feel squeamish about'.¹¹ All these factors meant that Native troops and police were often preferred for frontier defence, rather than Europeans. Governor Bowen spoke of the Native Police as contributing to the defence of the British Empire, saying 'the inland boundary of Queensland is the boundary also of the Empire, which it is necessary to protect from the numerous and hostile savages of this portion of

¹⁰ For one example, see GV Scammell, 'Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in Asia in the Sixteenth Century', *Warfare and Empires: Contact and conflict between European and non-European military and maritime forces and cultures*, edited by Douglas M Peers (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1997).

¹¹ VG Kiernan, *Colonial Empires and Armies, 1815-1960* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 161.

Australia'.¹² Native recruits who had far lower death- and disease-rates than Europeans (especially in the tropics), and who could understand or speak local languages and dialects were favoured in colonial settings because they cost less than Europeans.¹³

Native forces also had a reputation as fearless and determined fighters. One English officer, who served in India, Afghanistan and South Africa, observed that 'irregular [i.e. Indigenous] warriors possess the cunning which their mode of life engenders'. Colonial officials knew that Native soldiers were particularly fierce when they were ordered to fight another Indigenous community.¹⁴ Certain Native groups were identified as 'martial races', and recruited because they were seen as more disciplined and efficient. The recruiting, training and arming of Indigenous soldiers (and police) was only tolerated by White settlers when they were satisfied that such practices offered no threat to their own survival and expansion.

This expectation was sometimes tenuous. When it appeared that the faith of the colonisers was misplaced, a restoration of confidence required occasional well-publicised, dramatic, and severe acts of discipline. For example, Queensland settlers were alarmed when news emerged that a European woman (Fanny Briggs) had been raped and murdered at Rockhampton in November 1860.¹⁵ Many colonists initially believed that local Aboriginal people were responsible for her death, but troopers Toby and Gulliver

¹² 'Imperial Defence', 7 January 1861, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E3/61/1.

¹³ See Philip Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16-18.

¹⁴ Colonel CE Callwell quoted in VG (Victor) Kiernan, *From Conquest to Collapse: European Empires from 1815 to 1960*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 158.

¹⁵ Inquest into death of Fanny Briggs at Rockhampton, JUS/N2/60/61.

were arrested and charged with the murder.¹⁶ Native Police trooper Ballantyne was also charged in December 1860 but later released.¹⁷ Gulliver was shot dead while escaping after he had admitted his part in the murder.¹⁸ Trooper Alma, also implicated but never charged, was shot dead while attempting to escape from Rockhampton Gaol.¹⁹ Toby was dismissed from the force with orders that he be 'removed to a distance from Rockhampton'.²⁰ An alleged deserter who was 'implicated in the murder of Fanny Briggs' (probably Toby), was captured but 'escaped in the bush', and was shot dead by Lieutenant Rudolph Morisset in early 1861.²¹ 'Shot while trying to escape from custody' was a common cause of Indigenous deaths on the Australian frontier. The fears of the European population were only allayed after the troopers suspected of being involved in this episode were removed, in one way or another, from the force.²²

¹⁶ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 24 November 1860, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/B1/60/2200.

¹⁷ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 7 January 1861, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A11/61/84.

¹⁸ See evidence of travelling map salesman Henry Babbitt to the Select Committee on the Native Police, saying he was told 'it was one of those things which ought not to be talked about', *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1861: 33), and Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 7 January 1861, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A11/61/84.

¹⁹ Inquest into death of trooper Alma at Rockhampton, JUS/N3/61/14.

²⁰ Report from the Commandant of the Native Police, 3 December 1860, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E2/60/56, and Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 14 January 1861, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q1/61/46.

²¹ *Moreton Bay Courier* (24 January 1861 and 16 March 1861); also the *Maryborough Chronicle* (31 January 1861 and 4 April 1861).

²² Commandant Morisset gave evidence to the 1861 Select Committee that Toby 'was passed through the district and turned loose'. Rockhampton historian JTS Bird said Toby died in the bush but local historian JE Murphy, who said he found documents from the Briggs case, claimed Toby died in jail. To date, no record has been found of this death. 'Report from the Select Committee on the Native Police Force', *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1861: 143); JTS Bird, *The Early History of Rockhampton*, (Rockhampton: Central Queensland Family History Association, 1999), 92, and JE Murphy, 'Gulliver's Gambols', *The Bulletin* (8 April 1953): 27.

The prospect of Aboriginal troopers turning against their colonial masters was a frontier anxiety. In 1904 Rockhampton historian JTS Bird said the death of Fanny Briggs ‘served only to accentuate the hatred previously entertained for the treacherous natives’. The level of fear felt by colonists on the frontier is a subject worth more analysis. Historian David Denholm’s note that ‘only half a sentence in an official letter to the Queensland Government betrays the panic and fear among the lower orders upon the Aboriginal murder at Rockhampton of a white woman’ points to the panic that resulted in retributive violence.²³ Crown Lands Commissioner Wiseman wrote ‘Morisset wants to have all the Blacks at Stations dismissed, and in this he is supported by the fear and the fervency of hatred in the masses’.²⁴

Recruiting

Archival references to the high rate of desertions by new recruits suggest that many budding troopers quickly realised what their new uniforms and guns meant, and changed their minds about serving with the force. Some probably left the force because of the excessively violent treatment they were forced to endure. By the time Queensland came into existence in 1859, the use of armed Indigenous forces was a well-established colonial practice – not just in the parent colony of New South Wales, but elsewhere in the

²³ Bird, *The Early History of Rockhampton*, 96; David Denholm, *The Colonial Australians* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1979), 42.

²⁴ Wiseman to Archer, 12 November 1860, *Archer Papers*, Mitchell Library, A3882. I am grateful to Richard Buckhorn for this reference.

British Empire. The same issues (recruiting, discipline, and loyalty) that plagued Native formations throughout the various European empires also worried Queensland colonial officials. The records show that concerns with finding sufficient recruits, retaining them, and keeping them supplied with sufficient stores to prevent mass desertions, presented ongoing problems for the officers commanding detachments of Native Police.

Recruitment persisted as a problem from the beginning when Queensland assumed responsibility for the Native Police from New South Wales. Commandant Edric Morisset reported to Colonial Secretary Robert Herbert in 1860, saying the force was not yet at full strength because of the ‘difficulty recruiting men adapted to the service and because it is absolutely necessary to recruit in a district as far as possible from that in which the men have to serve’. Morisset recommended that a recruiting party be sent to the Darling River.²⁵ The recruiting expedition to the Darling River, led by Lieutenant Robert Walker (the brother of the first Commandant of the Native Police, Frederick Walker), managed to ‘secure’ eleven recruits in one week, but as a sign of things to come, they all deserted soon afterwards. Walker’s party tracked the absconders, recaptured them, and proceeded to Queensland.²⁶ The records do not show how long these troopers remained in the force.

Native Police troopers in the northern districts of New South Wales (present day Queensland) were all recruited in the southern colonies before 1860, and until about 1870 many of the troopers came from Victoria and New South Wales. One newspaper story in 1862 claimed that ‘nearly half of the black police’ were ‘men belonging to the tribes of

²⁵ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 24 December 1859, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A4/60/859.

²⁶ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1861, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A16/61/1492.

the Murray district'.²⁷ The 1861 Parliamentary Select Committee into the Native Police recommended that 'recruits should be procured at as great a distance as possible from the districts in which they are stationed'.²⁸ Recruits from different parts of Queensland were supposed to be regularly 'swapped' by officers, but there is no record of this happening. Apart from being a part of the 'divide and rule' tactic, the recruiting of troopers from distant places was likely proposed to reduce desertions. This was also a practice inherited from the Irish Constabulary.

For the first few years of the Queensland force troopers continued to be secured in southern parts of Australia. In 1863 Commandant John Bligh reported:

A large number of recruits [are] required to fill up existing vacancies for the protection of the daily extending frontiers of Queensland. These should be procured, if possible, from the Upper Murray and conveyed to Rockhampton by sea with a view to prevent desertions, which have been frequent of late.²⁹

The troopers from the Murray, Bligh said, were 'smart, intelligent and superior to any other tribes on the continent'.³⁰ Ex-Lieutenant John Murray, he said, possessed the 'qualification', based on his 'long experience principally with Murray River troopers', to recruit them. The men from this distant location had long been the mainstay of the force, but, as the Aboriginal population declined, fewer volunteered to wear the coloniser's blue uniform. The desperate need for troopers compelled local recruiting to continue. Two

²⁷ 'Blackfellows' Ingenuity', *The Courier* (29 July 1862).

²⁸ Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Efficiency and Management and General Working of the Police and Native Police Forces, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1861).

²⁹ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 1 May 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A39/63/944.

³⁰ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 7 November 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2733.

months later Bligh reported that 2nd Lieutenant Wheeler had ‘procured’ thirteen recruits from the Logan and Darling Downs, and Lieutenant Carr had recruited four men. Bligh said more recruits were needed but they could only be ‘procured’ from the Condamine, Logan and Darling Downs ‘and these are always likely to desert’.³¹ The shortage of recruits plagued the force for decades and forced many detachments to operate short-handed. Official statistics often disguised this shortfall, although successive *Annual Reports* noted the ongoing deficiency in trooper numbers. There are discrepancies between the number of troopers listed in official published reports and those mentioned in internal correspondence.

The Queensland Government moved in 1864 to deal with the problem of recruiting by appointing John Murray, who had been a Lieutenant in the Native Police before Separation, as Inspector for Recruits, and sending him to the southern colonies for troopers. The Executive Council noted that ‘the best recruits are to be obtained from the southern districts of New South Wales or border of Victoria and South Australia’, and Murray was ordered to recruit 100 men.³² He returned to Brisbane by sea with twenty men from the Murray River several months later, and went south on a second trip in 1865.³³

A second group of twenty recruits arrived at Brisbane in late 1865, and Murray’s comments were reported in the newspapers.

³¹ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 1 July 1863, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A42/63/1557.

³² Police protection, 9 August 1864, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E10/64/36.

³³ *Brisbane Courier* (23 November 1864) and Native Police Recruiting, 27 May 1865, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E11/65/31.

Those obtained from this neighbourhood last year he states are thoroughly satisfied with their new home, and [he] considers that during the past twelve months they have been the means of saving some £50,000 worth of property, to say nothing of lives which might otherwise have been sacrificed.³⁴

One Queensland paper said the new recruits were ‘fine strong looking men’, and commented that it was hard to imagine that ‘they belong to a race that is fast dying out. It is reasonable to think that troops of similar numbers might be trained to road making, clearing and fencing, and kindred employment’.³⁵ Like colonisers with their ‘projects’ everywhere, Queenslanders complained there was never enough servile labour. The frontier labour shortage was obliquely noted in 1866. ‘If we had known how useful these blackfellows could be, we should not have shot so many of them’.³⁶

Local recruiting continued and outpaced recruitment from the south. Economy, the persistent fact in the force’s history, explains the preference. In 1866 *The Queenslander* remarked ‘this [local recruitment] is certainly a more sensible way than sending recruiting officers to New South Wales and Victoria to entrap the natives there for the service’ – the troopers from the south cost some £20 per head, while local recruits ‘can be had for under £2 a head’.³⁷ Details of the actual recruiting process on the Murray River are obscure. Commissioner Seymour reported to the Governor in 1866 that troopers were recruited ‘at a distance’ and an officer was sent every year to obtain recruits in

³⁴ *Darling Downs Gazette* (23 August 1865).

³⁵ *Darling Downs Gazette* (16 September 1865).

³⁶ From a speech by the Bishop of Sydney sending ‘A Warning to the Destroyer of Aborigines’, *The Queenslander* (15 September 1866: 10)

³⁷ ‘Recruiting at Maryborough’, *The Queenslander* (2 June 1866: 7).

southern New South Wales.³⁸ However, the only recruiting trips found in the records were those led by Robert Walker in 1861, and by John Murray in 1864 and 1865.³⁹

What Commissioner Seymour reported to the Queensland Parliament in Brisbane's quiet streets and ordered corridors was one thing. The realities of frontier policing were another. In practice, Seymour often ordered Native Police officers to recruit troopers while on patrol. He ordered one Sub Inspector from the Barcoo River, in the colony's southwest, to bring five or six recruits back to Brisbane on his annual visit to the Colonial Stores. He instructed him to 'procure them from as low down the western fall of the water as you possibly can', and to 'select young, light, active men'.⁴⁰ He ordered another officer, on his arrival at the Gulf of Carpentaria (in Queensland's northwest), to recruit troopers 'who do not belong to the district'.⁴¹

Certain parts of the colony became known as preferable places to find new Aboriginal volunteers. A newspaper item about Native Police recruiting at Maryborough, published in 1872, reported that a trooper 'acting as a recruiting sergeant' had persuaded eight youths to join the Native Police and 'disperse their countrymen in the Northern swamps and scrubs'. The paper described the recruits as 'evidently proud of their dark

³⁸ Commissioner Seymour to Governor, 15 June 1866, Governor's Despatches, GOV/25/66/61.

³⁹ Report from Lieutenant John Bligh, including journal kept by Lieutenant Robert Walker while recruiting on the Darling River forwarded by Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1861, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A16/61/1492. Appointment of John Murray as Recruiting Inspector, and authority for him to obtain 100 recruits, 9 August 1864, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E10/64/36; and authorising £250 for his expenses, 27 May 1865, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E11/65/31.

⁴⁰ Chief Inspector George Murray to Sub Inspector Aulaire Morisset, 27 May 1867, Midlands Inspector's Letterbook, A/36335/67/84.

⁴¹ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 8 June 1868, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A106/68/1788 and Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 25 June 1868, COL/Q5/68/392.

blue jackets, military caps and striped trousers’, and noted that ‘we have always heard in the West that the Wide Bay boys made very smart and serviceable troopers’.⁴²

Despite the fact that local recruiting continued, Police Commissioner Seymour noted, in his 1872 *Annual Report*, that ‘recruiting within the Colony is not desirable, as the troopers, when tired of service, return to their tribes’. He recommended that ‘Aboriginals be recruited from the Southern Colonies and returned to their country’ after serving ‘a certain period’.⁴³ This recruitment from outside simply was not done. In 1873 the Executive Council began approving remissions of sentences for Aboriginal prisoners who agreed to join the Native Police, a process that continued during the 1880s.⁴⁴ Some had been serving lengthy terms for violent crimes. Many colonial armies had ‘volunteers’ who were given a choice by a local Magistrate – either a jail sentence or joining an armed forces unit.⁴⁵ How many settlers in Queensland knew about this practice? The gap between official rhetoric and frontier practice continued to grow.

In 1874, allegations about the way the Native Police ‘procured’ troopers appeared in the Sydney papers, leading Commissioner Seymour to declare:

⁴² ‘Maryborough News’, *The Queenslander* (2 March 1872: 11).

⁴³ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 15 January 1873, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A188/73/2320.

⁴⁴ Sentence remission approval, 20 December 1873, Executive Council Minute, COL/E12/73/285. Inspector Morisset to Colonial Secretary, 21 June 1882, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A339/82/3366. Acting Superintendent Townley to Colonial Secretary, 14 September 1882, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A345/82/4917. Inspector Morisset to Colonial Secretary, 7 January 1885, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A415/85/1100.

⁴⁵ Many of the garrison soldiers of the British colonies in West Africa were ‘soldier-convicts’, whose sentences were commuted in return for ‘volunteering’, Peter Burroughs, ‘The Human Cost of Imperial Defence in the Early Victorian Age’, *Victorian Studies* 24, 1 (1980): 14.

Regarding the Native Police system, there is nothing in the shape of slavery attached to it. The men are recruited in the usual way, and are discharged and sent back to their own districts when the term of their engagement expires. In some instances, if they have proved themselves good, useful troopers, they have been re-engaged usually for an additional term of years, receiving a small bonus. The pay is £36 per annum, with clothing. Deserters are not hunted down and shot, nor does the work kill the men in six or eight years. There are some men now in the force with fifteen years service.⁴⁶

In May 1875, Aboriginal Commissioners Drew, Gregory and Coxen noted ‘There is no organised system of recruiting the aboriginal Troopers, and no Depot where either officers or troopers can be instructed in their duties prior to being employed on active service’. The report also stated ‘There is no established term of service at the expiration of which the troopers may return to their Tribes; or, if such a rule does exist, it is not in all cases adhered to’. The Commissioners recommended that:

The aboriginal Troopers be engaged for a definite term of service, say three years, at the expiration of which they may re-engage for a similar, or other term, or return to their tribes or the districts from which they enlisted, and that they be provided with means of transit, and protection from hostile tribes on the route home.⁴⁷

There is no evidence of this suggestion being adopted by the Native Police. There is no evidence in the official records of ex-troopers returning to their own country.

Newspapers carried stories about the recruiting of troopers, but none on their discharge. In 1875, papers reported that Reginald Uhr, a former Commandant of the

⁴⁶ Police Commissioner Seymour to Colonial Secretary in reply to memo from Governor Normanby, 31 July 1874, Queensland *Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1875): 625-627.

⁴⁷ Report ‘on Organisation and Discipline in Native Mounted Police Force’ from Aboriginal Commissioners WLG Drew, AC Gregory and Charles Coxen to Colonial Secretary, 6 May 1875, A/40291.

Native Police and Police Magistrate at Taroom, had personally recruited eleven troopers, 'the pick of the tribe', for the force.⁴⁸ In 1879, an article by 'An Ex-Officer' appeared in the *Town and Country Journal*, saying the troopers were 'enlisted for five years'. They came from 'the semi-civilised tribes most renowned for pluck and tracking prowess – the Brisbane River, Dawson, Burnett, Wide Bay, Frazer Island, and Burdekin supplying the chief proportion'.⁴⁹ These areas, and the Darling Downs, certainly appear to have provided the majority of troopers for the force during the 1860s and 1870s.

As colonisation moved further north, the troopers came from other places, but Native Police officers sometimes complained about the northern recruits. Sub Inspector Jocelyn Brooke reported from the Barron River barracks in 1889 that most of his troopers, from the Prince of Wales Island in Torres Strait were 'more used to the sea than land'. They could not track and were 'useless in the bush'. He described them as 'inefficient', and said all – except one – were 'raw recruits [who] could hardly ride'. He was 'ashamed to take them out on patrol', but said he had been told to take them to his camp, despite his having 'too many of the kind here now'.⁵⁰ Soon after Brooke wrote 'rather than ride round the country and not doing work, I prefer to forward my resignation'.⁵¹

⁴⁸ 'Taroom News', *Brisbane Courier* (12 June 1875: 3).

⁴⁹ 'Reminiscences of The Native Mounted Police of Queensland' by 'An Ex-officer', *Town and Country Journal*, 15 March 1879.

⁵⁰ Brooke to Commissioner, 23 April 1889, Police Staff File, Jocelyn Brooke, A/38719/89/5908.

⁵¹ Police Staff File, Brooke, A/38719.

Service

For Aboriginal men, service in the Native Police was dominated by considerations other than patrolling and violence. Rations, pay, and access to Aboriginal women figured prominently.⁵² Pay was a particularly sensitive issue. The troopers were initially paid five pence per day, but in 1862 this was reduced to three pence. The members of the Executive Council reversed their decision after officers fearing desertions complained of dissatisfaction among the troopers.

The Council noted that ‘desertions would not only harm the force, but also ‘will eventually prove a serious evil to the community, as it is a well-ascertained fact that discharged or absconding troopers by their knowledge of firearms and acquaintance with the movements of the force can do much mischief when associated with the wild blacks’.⁵³ Colonial officials saw the issue of runaway troopers as a major problem with serious implications.

The first Commandant of the Native Police (Frederick Walker) stated in 1848 that ‘if properly officered by white persons, the natives of this colony would make as good troops as the natives of India’.⁵⁴ Not all agreed. One newspaper correspondent wrote in 1867 that the troopers ‘are more difficult to manage than trained whites would be’.⁵⁵ William Parry-Okeden, Queensland’s second Commissioner of Police, argued in 1897

⁵² The cost of rations was a vexed issue for the government. See correspondence relating to the supply of rations in the Nogoia district and a warning that a contract will be abandoned unless the price is reduced, see report on price of rations, 10 June 1862, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E5/62/26 and Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 2 June 1862, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A30/62/1519.

⁵³ Troopers pay, 6 August 1862, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E6/63/34.

⁵⁴ ‘Letter to Editor’ by Frederick Walker, *Moreton Bay Courier* (29 June 1850).

⁵⁵ ‘What is to be done with the Blacks?’, *The Queenslander* (23 February 1867: 8).

that the character of individual officers was crucial, saying ‘the whole question of working Native troopers, for good or bad, is a matter of *leadership, control, discipline*’.⁵⁶

The cost of the force was always contentious, and taxpayers constantly damned the Native Police as a drain on the public purse. Public attitudes towards troopers ranged from those who thought they were wasteful and grossly inefficient to others who saw them as treacherous and highly dangerous. A few defended the actions of the Native Police.⁵⁷ Some colonists criticised the force as ‘inefficient’, claiming that the troopers’ only real talent lay in the rapid consumption of expensive rations, and ‘the blacks would fear a small detachment of armed women much more than the aboriginal army of Her Majesty’.⁵⁸ Other settlers agreed, saying, for example, that the force was ‘inefficient in itself as a protection to the settler, but entails even greater risk from the rascality of those half-civilized natives, called by courtesy – policemen. They appear obedient to no command and capable of any atrocity’.⁵⁹

Discipline of troopers was always an important consideration for Native Police officers, and this factor reinforces the military nature of the force in colonial Queensland. In 1861 Lieutenant Frederick Wheeler brought his detachment from Sandgate to Brisbane so they might witness the execution of an Aboriginal man convicted of rape, ‘as a salutary effect will possibly be the result of the witnessing of the extreme penalty of the

⁵⁶ WE Parry-Okeden, ‘Report on North Queensland Aborigines and the Native Police’, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1897).

⁵⁷ See, for example, a letter from Phillip Sellheim, who thought all blacks were dangerous, *Rockhampton Bulletin* (2 February 1861).

⁵⁸ ‘Upper Dawson News’, *Darling Downs Gazette* (29 July 1859).

⁵⁹ ‘The inutility of the Native Police’ by ‘One who has seen too much of the Native Police’, *Moreton Bay Courier* (17 January 1861).

law for an offence of such a nature'.⁶⁰ Officers also used more positive approaches. Commandant John Bligh obtained permission in 1863 for the 'purchase of articles of amusement and recreation, such as cricket bats and balls' using unexpended funds of £7/4/5 previously allocated to wages for troopers who had deserted.⁶¹ According to one writer, Sub Inspector Stanhope O'Connor provided 'money prizes for shooting [competitions] amongst his troopers' from his own private income.⁶² The extremes of witnessing punishment and of providing recreation illustrate how much the Native Police was like a military unit. These sorts of things were part of standard army routine.

Commissioner Seymour's claim that a bonus was paid to some troopers can only be verified for a small number of men during 1866 and 1867.⁶³ A bonus of £2 was paid to a number of Central Queensland troopers who re-enlisted in 1866. Two troopers received £4 after re-enlistment in 1867.⁶⁴ Seymour reported that only 'good and efficient troopers' were paid, and noted in 1867 that the annual cost (in rations, uniforms, and wages) of each trooper was £92/18/6. When a bonus of 'six pence per diem for the current year' was granted to all members of the Police force (below the rank of Sub Inspector) in 1873,

⁶⁰ Colonial Secretary to Wheeler, 29 November 1861, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q1/61/1489.

⁶¹ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 29 October 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2650. Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 11 November 1863, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q2/63/910.

⁶² WH Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland, 1862-1899* (Brisbane: AH Frater, 1921), 64.

⁶³ Inspector George Murray to Commissioner, 22 February 1866, General Correspondence, POL/J37/66/632. Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 8 March 1866, General Correspondence, POL/J37/66/731. Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 6 December 1866, General Correspondence, POL/J37/66/2868, COL/Q4/67/204. Troopers' bonuses, 29 November 1866, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E14/66/67.

⁶⁴ Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 15 March 1867, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q4/67/204.

Seymour specifically noted that this did not include Native Troopers.⁶⁵ In his 1875 *Annual Report*, Seymour noted that troopers were paid £36 each per year.⁶⁶

Not all Native Police officers accepted the prevailing argument that Aboriginal people did not understand the value of money. In 1897, Inspector James Lamond wrote from Cooktown, recommending an increase in Native Police pay. He referred to a memo from the Commissioner 'in which you compare Native Police pay with what good blackboys can earn on stations or other work', saying the current pay was 'a very low rate of wage'. Lamond suggested that increased pay (£1 per month for troopers, and £1/10/- for Corporals) was deserved 'considering the work they do and the many hardships they undergo', but thought it should only be paid to 'old tried boys' and not to 'recruits and short service boys' who would continue to receive 13/6 per month.⁶⁷ His proposal was not adopted. Interestingly, even at this late date in the history of the Native Police, the officers distinguish between the experienced men and short service troopers.

Some were satisfied with the force and commented on its 'success'. In 1882, Catholic scientist and author Julian Tenison-Woods wrote to the newspapers describing his visit to False Bay (near Cairns) with Sub Inspector Carr and six troopers from the Barron River camp (about forty miles from Cairns). Tenison-Woods described the troopers as 'a splendid set of fellows'. When the party landed, the troopers 'divested

⁶⁵ Commissioner to all Inspectors, 25 July 1873, Police Commissioner, General Orders, POL/4/561.

⁶⁶ Commissioner of Police, Annual Report, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1876).

⁶⁷ Lamond to Commissioner, 31 May 1897, Police Commissioner, General Correspondence, POL/J37/97/7084.

themselves of everything except their shirts and foraging caps’, and he said ‘I cannot convey to my readers what a martial and yet wild appearance these men had’.⁶⁸

Much was (and is) made of the personal relationship between the European officers and the Aboriginal troopers of the force, but the evidence is complex and often contradictory. For example, one fictitious account mentioned a ‘stern, merciless’ officer named ‘Tiger Tanner’ and said ‘his men adored him’.⁶⁹ Former Acting Sub Inspector Edward Kennedy described a patrol with ‘a handful of trusty boys’ as ‘truly fascinating’.⁷⁰ Very little evidence exists of any long-standing or affectionate relationships between troopers and their European officers, but ample proof of animosity and distrust survives. According to Henry Lamond, the Native Police was ‘probably the only military unit in the Empire in which the officers did not lead their men’.⁷¹ By that remark he meant they did not ride ahead of their men. The reason for this practice, ‘usually given and generally accepted’, related to distrust.

The thin veneer of civilization in the aboriginal troopers was a flimsy thing, semi-dormant, and the hunting strain which was instinctive in the black could not allow an unarmed and unsuspecting white man to ride in front of him, his back turned, without the hunter taking advantage of it.⁷²

⁶⁸ Reverend Julian Tenison-Woods, ‘A Day with the Myalls’, *Brisbane Courier* (25 February 1882: 7) and *The Queenslander* (25 February 1882: 236-7).

⁶⁹ ‘Palmeria – A Story of North Queensland’ by JA Barry, *The Australasian Pastoralists Review* (16 October 1893: 396).

⁷⁰ Edward Kennedy, *The Black Police of Queensland: Reminiscences of Official Work and Personal Adventures in the Early Days of the Colony* (London: John Murray, 1902), 134.

⁷¹ Lamond, ‘Native Mounted Police’, 32.

⁷² Lamond, ‘Native Mounted Police’, 32.

However, Lamond thought that the officer's prestige in the eyes of his troopers was 'the most vital thing in his armament', and to this end it was 'infinitely easier' to allow the troopers to follow the track first. Still, records show that there were always tensions between officers and troopers. There are other aspects to consider. The peculiar term 'Marmy' (or Mamee or Mahmy) meaning 'Master' as a familiar form of address by the troopers towards their officers, is given as evidence of a close relationship, yet it appears to have been mainly used by writers. 'Mammy' was apparently first used in books such as Charles Eden's *My Wife and I in Queensland*, in AC Grant's *Bush Life in Queensland*, and in Carl Lumholtz's *Among Cannibals*.⁷³ It is only rarely found in archival records and the earliest 'official' use of the term is recorded (as 'Mamy') in 1889.⁷⁴ After being used in Edward Kennedy's 1902 book, *The Black Police of Queensland*, the term has been passed down by writers and historians.⁷⁵

Some colonial writers referred to the Native Police 'hunting' Aborigines in the bush. One episode illustrates the issue of patrol discipline, and the way in which myths about the troopers were invented and circulated. But the other aspect of this story that cannot be ignored is its characterisation of the episode as one of hunting game. According to an 1865 newspaper article:

⁷³ Charles Eden, *My Wife and I in Queensland: An Eight Years' Experience in the above Colony* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1872), 118; AC Grant, *Bush Life in Queensland*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1888), 334, and Carl Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals: Account of Four Years Travels in Australia, and of Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland* (Sussex: Caliban Books, 1979, reprint of 1888 edition).

⁷⁴ Police staff file, Robert Kyle Little, A/40048

⁷⁵ Kennedy, *The Black Police of Queensland*, 113. The term is used by later writers; see 'On Patrol With the Native Police' by JK Little, *The Steering Wheel and Society & Home* (1939): 52; AJ Boyd, *Old Colonials*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), 198.

Smith a well-known and highly valued trooper, having treed a nigger, was invariably in the habit of challenging thus, with gun presented and finger on full-cocked trigger, One, two, three, in the Queen's name come down, and at the word down, a report, and the fall of the unhappy black game, was simultaneous. But our black example is richer still. Charley, as he was called, in the excitement of a Native fray, had dropped his nigger like a bird, without repeating the orthodox pass, when with instant recollection and a triumphant smile, he turned to his officer and calling attention to the prostrate writhing form of his half dead victim, sang out with carbine at the present 'Almost mine been forgot it; in the Queen's name surrender'.⁷⁶

The same story had a second incarnation soon afterwards in Charles Eden's *My Wife and I in Queensland*, although this time it went 'My word, Marmy, close up mine been forgot say "Stop in Queen's Name!"'.⁷⁷ It emerges again in 1877 via the journal of Hugh Massy, a Royal Navy officer on the Australian station in the 1870s, who described the troopers as 'blood thirsty'.

They have instructions to summon the Natives three times to surrender in the name of the Queen before they fire, and I was told a story of a zealous Black Trooper who hailed his victim in these words: "In de name of de Queen surrender – One, Two, Three". Bang, and the poor fellows rolled over dead.⁷⁸

Grazier Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh said the trooper called 'Queen's name three times, by cripes, close up mine been forgotten that fellow'.⁷⁹ Frederick Richmond, who wrote *Queensland in the Seventies*, claimed this story was an example of 'our polish and his savagery, in curious juxtaposition', and said he was told that the man shot dead was a deserter. According to Richmond, the words were 'My word me nearly forget. One, two,

⁷⁶ 'Shooting Without Challenging', *Darling Downs Gazette* (31 May 1865: 3).

⁷⁷ Eden, *My Wife and I in Queensland*, 118.

⁷⁸ Hugh Massy, *Four Years on the Australian Station* (1877), National Library of Australia, MS 8520. I am grateful to Paul Turnbull for this reference.

⁷⁹ Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh, *After Many Days* (Sydney: John Andrew & Co, 1918), 232.

three, stand in the Queen's name'.⁸⁰ In 1945, an article was submitted to the Queensland Police before publication in *Walkabout* magazine, and an 'offending' passage was struck out. The passage read as follows.

An instruction was issued to the 'boys' that when chasing offenders they were to call on them three times to 'stand in the Queen's name'. But the poor devils knew no English and had never heard of Her Majesty. One black trooper, realising the folly of the regulation, suggested to his officer that it would be 'more better shoot him first time, Queen's name three times behind'.⁸¹

There are later versions of this and similar myths, none of which can be supported by archival material. This particular anecdote has been passed down to the present day, and, while it is possible that the original 1865 story was based on actual events, it is clear that the story has been passed down from writer to journalist until it became accepted 'fact'.

Service in the force was supposedly controlled by strict rules, namely those listed in the *Queensland Government Gazette*.⁸² But, there were other rules in the field. In fact, the 1865 story and the much later variations on it suggest that the troopers operated, though possibly quite loosely, under some formal rules of engagement which required them to shout a warning before firing. Other rules also guided the force, including those intended to ensure that the detachments were free from any form of local control. Native Police Regulation 11 stipulated that:

⁸⁰ Frederick Richmond, *Queensland in the Seventies* (Singapore: F Richmond, 1927), 91.

⁸¹ The author submitted an article on a completely different topic to *Walkabout*. Noel Griffiths, 'Constable Bill Jenkins', Historical Inquiries re Queensland Police Force, A/45223.

⁸² See Appendix 5 'Native Police Rules and Regulations'.

The officers are not to allow any person unconnected with the Native Police Force to interfere with or accompany them, or give orders to any of the troopers under their command.⁸³

This rule was designed to prevent the public from knowing about Native Police tactics, and to deter squatters from riding along and giving directions. Some officers flouted this rule with apparent impunity. In 1866 Frederick Wheeler appointed James Merry Gilmour as an Acting Sub Inspector.⁸⁴ Wheeler had no authority to do this. Gilmour took seven troopers on patrol near Roma 'with a view to arresting bushrangers'. Very occasionally, troopers were used to police Europeans.⁸⁵ Possibly, Wheeler's improper action represented his way of dealing with the risk to his career if he let his troopers patrol alone.⁸⁶ Second Lieutenant Joseph Harris and Sub Inspector Ralph Johnson had been sacked for allowing their troopers to patrol unsupervised in 1863 and 1864.⁸⁷

⁸³ Native Police Regulations, *Queensland Government Gazette*, 10 March 1866.

⁸⁴ Seymour initially noted the file, 'It would be unfair to the Acting Sub Inspectors to appoint Gilmore over their heads and he is hardly suited to the appointment of Acting Sub Inspector, but later added 'Appointed as Acting Sub Inspector, Native Police', Gilmour to Colonial Secretary, 25 November 1865, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A76/66/549;

⁸⁵ Troopers assisted in the arrest of bushranger Frank Gardiner in 1864, and Native Police left Bowen in pursuit of three bushrangers later that year. When bushrangers held up the Condamine mail in 1865, Lieutenant Wheeler 'kindly volunteered his assistance' in capturing the culprits by 'surrounding the North Road Hotel with his troopers', *The Courier* (14 March 1864); Police Magistrate at Bowen to the Colonial Secretary, 21 April 1864, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A55/64/1696; *Brisbane Courier* (25 April 1864 and 15 June 1865).

⁸⁶ Wheeler claimed that he was unable to 'stir from the camp' because he had no officer with him, Wheeler to Commissioner, 25 November 1865, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A76/66/549. As noted in Chapter 2, Wheeler, apparently devastated by the death of his daughter, was transferred to Western Queensland in 1865.

⁸⁷ Case of Lieutenant Harris, 16 May 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E7/63/22, and Conduct of Sub Inspector Johnson, 30 September 1864, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E10/64/55.

Another rule required officers to be ‘very careful of the health of their men; not to allow them to wear their jackets in hot weather; not to allow them to put on their newly-washed clothes before they are dry; nor to camp in low spots conducive to fever and ague’; nor to ‘camp upon ground wet from rain’, but ‘cause them to strip bark to put under them’. A few references to the health of troopers surface in the archival records. Officers were also expected ‘Whenever an opportunity occurs, such as a day or two's rest, or a short stage, to practice the troopers in the usual drill and no other’.⁸⁸

The public learned about the force’s peculiarities and practices from hearsay, letters to newspapers and magazine articles. In 1877, ‘Old Chum’ said he often stayed at Native Police camps, and claimed an officer said to him ‘It is very difficult to manage these boys. They must be made to fear you, and they will do anything for you’.⁸⁹ In his second article, the writer said ‘the officers were at the mercy of their troopers’.⁹⁰ One officer (Charles Brown) accused his troopers of ‘leading him astray’, and some people believed the troopers actually controlled the force.⁹¹

One letter-writer claimed, during the infamous newspaper debate of 1880, ‘How We Civilise The Blacks’, that discharged troopers were ‘not the best of station boys’.⁹² The Native Police was not, he said, a good training school for pastoral workers. According to the letter’s author, very few troopers died from wounds and there ‘is an

⁸⁸ Native Police Regulations, *Queensland Government Gazette*, 10 March 1866.

⁸⁹ ‘The Native Police’ by ‘Old Chum’, *Brisbane Courier* (27 January 1877: 3), and *The Queenslander* (27 January 1877: 12).

⁹⁰ ‘The Native Police Officer No II’ by ‘Old Chum’, *Brisbane Courier* (3 February 1877: 3).

⁹¹ ‘Papers relating to the dismissal of Sub Inspector Brown’, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1877: 120).

⁹² ‘How We Civilise’, *The Queenslander* (3 July 1880: 18). See Commandant Morisset’s comments on trooper Toby’s fate in footnote 22.

unwritten rule according to which refractory troopers are disposed of'. It was called 'passed out of the district' – a euphemism for 'taken to a secluded spot and shot', also called 'giving him a run for it' or 'rheumatism'.⁹³ There is evidence in the records to support this claim. Ten troopers are recorded as having been shot dead by Police officers; at least four of these were deserters (see Table 9).

Former Sub Inspector John Carroll wrote to the *Townsville Herald* in 1881, claiming 'there are no instructions as to the punishment for insubordination and breaches of discipline, which evidently must occur amongst a lot of men recruited from savages and trained to the use of arms'.⁹⁴ Yet, the 1866 Native Police Regulations, published in the *Government Gazette*, specifically mentioned in detail the control and discipline of the troopers.⁹⁵ The regulations, under which the force operated during the early 1860s while the Queensland government was still being established, had been issued in 1858. The new rules that were promulgated in 1866 stressed that officers were accountable for the actions of their subordinates. Carroll, who had been dismissed in 1876, was not a reliable witness.

⁹³ *The Queenslander* (3 July 1880: 18).

⁹⁴ John Carroll, 'Native Police Force', *Townsville Herald* (23 July 1881), and Inspector Armstrong to Colonial Secretary, 29 June 1876, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A320/81/3821.

⁹⁵ Despatch No 25 from Governor Cairns to the Earl of Carnarvon regarding the Native Police, 18 April 1876, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A227/76/2698. Correspondence regarding the dismissal of Sub Inspector Carroll, 23 November 1876, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A320/81/3821. Dismissal of Sub Inspector Carroll, 10 August 1876, Executive Council Minute, COL/E19/76/679. Governor Cairns to Colonial Secretary regarding the result of proceedings against Fitzgerald, Wheeler and Carroll, 11 September 1876, Governor's Despatches, GOV/71.

Troopers recorded as being shot dead by police

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date and place</u>	<u>Circumstances</u>
Gulliver	1860, Dee River	Shot dead by Lt Walter Powell while escaping.
Alma	1860, Fitzroy River	Shot dead by Constable Canning while escaping.
Jacky	1863, Tieryboo	Shot dead by Lt Frederick Carr.
Wallace	1863, Yatton	Shot dead by Lt Marmaduke Richardson.
Echo	1875, Mt Cornish	Shot dead by Sub Inspector John Carroll.
Jackey	1877, Clarke River	Shot dead by Sub Inspector Reginald Macneill
Ned	1877, unknown	Shot dead by unknown.
Brandy	1880, Norman River	Shot dead by Constable Hedges by mistake.
Sam	1880, Herbert River	Shot dead by unknown.
Peter	1888, Barron River	Shot dead by Cadet Affleck.

Table 9: Troopers shot dead (Alma, JUS/N3/61/14; Brandy, JUS/N69/80/81; Echo, A/5097; Gulliver, COL/A11/61/84; Jackey, JUS/N52/77/65; Jacky, COL/A38/63/683; Ned, *Brisbane Courier* (3 February 1877); Peter, A/38719/89/9119; Sam, *The Queenslander* (24 July 1880); Wallace, COL/A44/63/2231).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century, newspapers began criticising the tactics used by the force. The troopers were often blamed for the violence and other illegal activities.⁹⁶ An editorial ‘Police Protection in the North’, published in December 1877, said ‘wherever a Native Police camp was formed, the troopers will indiscriminately shoot all the men that cannot get out of range of their sniders quickly enough’. The detachment may catch ‘a terrified baby boy as a present’ but will not try to sell the girls because ‘a transaction of this kind at Cooktown at the beginning of the year caused a scandal’.⁹⁷ No record of this particular event has been found in the archives, but there is significant documentary evidence of a trade in stolen Aboriginal children by police and

⁹⁶ According to one grazier, his father ‘never wanted the native police near the place’, because all the troopers ‘thought about or talked of was the number of niggers they had shot’, Donald Gunn, *Links with the Past* (Brisbane: John Mills, 1937), 42-43.

⁹⁷ Editorial ‘Police Protection in the North’, *The Queenslander* (8 December 1877).

others.⁹⁸ In 1865 grazier Charles Scott wrote [referring to Inspector George Murray] ‘Murray has brought up a black gin for Charlie, rather a nice little one’.⁹⁹ WH Corfield, writing of Cooktown in the 1870s, said O’Connor’s troopers ‘picked up’ a ‘little fellow about six years of age’ when ‘dispersing some blacks’.¹⁰⁰ ‘Knowing I had no blackboy’, O’Connor ‘gave me the little fellow’. In 1874 the Police Magistrate at Normanton, Alfred Henry, reported that the ‘running down and forcible detention of gins and children’ was ‘a recognised custom’ in the district.¹⁰¹ Commissioner Seymour commented on the report. ‘The mere fact of having a black boy or gin as a servant is no offence. The “forcible detention” or “running down” is a very difficult thing to prove’. Apparently nothing was done about the practice. When Inspector Isley reported in 1881 that five Aboriginal children had been brought to Port Douglas by a Native Police patrol, he asked the Commissioner ‘what to do with them’.¹⁰² The government’s response to Isley’s telegram is unknown. One well known case of child abduction was that of the young Aboriginal boy named Oscar who drew sketches of ‘dispersals’; grazier Augustus Glissan of Rocklands station near Camooweal said he ‘got him at Cooktown in 1887’ from the Police.¹⁰³ In 1891 a miner named John Cook wrote to the Colonial Secretary claiming

⁹⁸ See ‘The Right to Live’ by ‘Humanity’, *The Queenslander* (1 May 1880) and *Queensland Parliamentary Debates* (21 October 1880).

⁹⁹ Charles Scott to Walter Scott, 26 September 1865, WJ Scott Papers, Sir James Scott, Hants, England, *Australian Joint Copying Project*, M/2475.

¹⁰⁰ Corfield, *Reminiscences*, 59.

¹⁰¹ Henry, a former-Native Police officer, enclosed a list of cases with his report, Normanton Police Magistrate to Colonial Secretary, 28 October 1874, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A200/74/2424.

¹⁰² Isley to Commissioner, 31 January 1881, General Correspondence, POL/J19/81/472.

¹⁰³ Kim McKenzie and Carol Cooper, ‘Eyewitness?: Drawings by Oscar of Cooktown’, *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, edited by Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook and Andrew Reeves, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Anita Callaway, ‘Balancing the Books: Indigenous Autobiography and Ledger-Book

that Senior Constable Kean of Ravenswood was keeping a thirteen-year old Aboriginal boy from returning to his family at Cooktown. According to Cook, the boy said 'Missa Whitefoot' (probably Native Police Sergeant James Whiteford) took him from Cooktown to Geraldton (Innisfail), and Constable Kean then took him to Ravenswood.¹⁰⁴

Some blamed the government for the sins of the troopers. 'Humanity' wrote to the Cooktown papers in 1880. 'The ravishing of gins, the stealing of children and wholesale slaughter of the savages by these half-civilised demons', are 'indirectly and directly encouraged by white officials and Government patronage'. The writer suggested disbanding half the Native Police 'who are merely hewers of wood, carriers of water, boot-blacks, grooms, and general household servants for Government officials'.¹⁰⁵ Records show that troopers provided a range of servant tasks for various colonial managers.

Demands for the free labour of troopers came from Gold Wardens, Gold Escort police, and postal contractors.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the assistance they may have provided, troopers worked as mining wardens' orderlies, court interpreters, and water police at Thursday Island. In 1878, Sub Inspector Alexander Douglas, with Rule 11 in mind, reported to his superior officer after receiving a request for a trooper to assist the Cairns

Art', *Selves Crossing Cultures: Autobiography and Globalisation*, edited by Rosamund Dalziell (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2002), 121; and Tony Roberts, *Frontier Justice: A History of the Gulf Country to 1900* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁴ John Cook to the Colonial Secretary, 26 August 1891, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A674/91/11522.

¹⁰⁵ Reprinted from the *Cooktown Courier, The Queenslander* (1 May 1880: 562).

¹⁰⁶ Native Police troopers were used for Gold Escort duties at Rockhampton in 1864, and at other places; trooper Johnny 'of the gold escort' was accused of murder in 1879; 'Rockhampton News', *Brisbane Courier* (23 April 1864), and Inquest into death of Marmaduke at Ravenswood, JUS/N63/79/146.

mail contractor looking for three lost bags of mail. 'Native troopers should never be allowed to hold any intercourse if possible with any private individuals, and it is one of the hardest duties of a Native Police officer to keep his troopers from doing so'.¹⁰⁷ Evidently Douglas regarded mail contractors as a different kind of official to mining wardens and other government agents.

During the nineteenth and early parts of the twentieth centuries, much blame for the force's violent reputation was thrown onto the troopers by popular authors and writers. This accusation has endured, with many later writers blaming the troopers for the infamous reputation of the Native Police. Explorer-journalist Ernest Favenc, who was in a position to comment on the frontier after his journeys into the colony's northwest, contributed a widely read assessment of trooper savagery and officer innocence, in his *History of Australian Exploration*.¹⁰⁸

The one vital fault that people constantly overlooked in their condemnation of the use of black troopers was the habit of letting them get out of personal control. Few people, unless, like myself, they have had personal experience, knew anything about black dispersing by the police. The fault was this: when pursuing the blacks in rough, impracticable country (which was, of course, nearly always the case), the boys would be sent on by themselves on foot, while the white officer stopped with the horses. Now, you can never eradicate the savage from an Australian aboriginal. Remove all restraint, and he is primal man once more. That there are plenty of white men the same I know, but it comes easier to a blackfellow.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Sub Inspector Douglas to Inspector Isley, 1 March 1878, Cairns Inspector's Letterbook, POL/12M/G1/78/35.

¹⁰⁸ Favenc had 'first hand knowledge of frontier life', Roberts, *Frontier Justice*, 247.

¹⁰⁹ Undated article in *Favenc Papers*, Mitchell Library, Q 930.1F.

Favenc's description of the officer remaining with the horses suggests he was blameless.¹¹⁰ His account was consistent with the idea that officers didn't lead. Favenc continued:

The boys, with nothing on but a shirt and cartridge belt, used to go on alone, and the white man with them only got the report of what happened from the lips of the black corporal. (In those days the police had quite a semi-military get-up). Of course, when the boys got by themselves they became irresponsible savages at once; the half-disciplined black trooper, with some sort of discipline about him, disappeared like a whiff of smoke. I have known many cases when boys forgot to use their carbines properly, and smashed the stocks up making clubs of them. There were many capital troopers amongst the boys, and as long as they were under the eye of their officer it was all right, but the habit of letting the boys go on by themselves was fatal.¹¹¹

The breaking of weapons may be some form of protest that Favenc failed to recognise. Favenc may have had 'blood in his hands' too. According to one literary historian, the evidence that he participated personally in dispersals is overwhelming.¹¹²

These sorts of Native Police 'stories', dutifully passed down from writer to writer, have eventually entered state lore as truthful and accurate historical accounts. At the very least, they should be compared with other accounts alleging that troopers had little interest in wanton violence. The incident on the Logan River mentioned by Collins at the beginning of this chapter is one example of a witness of troopers' reluctance to kill. Another avoidance occurred on Cape York Peninsula in 1893, when ten troopers wasted all their ammunition rather than attack Aboriginal people. Initial newspaper reports said a

¹¹⁰ It has been noted that Favenc 'denied knowledge of any atrocities committed against the Aboriginal tribes of North Queensland', Cheryl Taylor, *Tales of the Austral Tropics: Ernest Favenc* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1997), xlvii.

¹¹¹ *Favenc Papers*.

¹¹² Cheryl Frost, *Last Explorer: The Life and Work of Ernest Favenc* (Townsville: Foundation for Australian Literary Studies, 1983), 3; and Roberts, *Frontier Justice*, 244.

‘sharp engagement’ was heard to take place, and suggested that the troopers had been ‘completely routed’.¹¹³ One week later it was reported that five troopers had escaped but ‘the other five are presumed to have been killed’.¹¹⁴ When they all emerged unscathed after staging what may have been a sham engagement, the papers said they survived ‘a very rough experience’ and were ‘evidently trustworthy allies’.¹¹⁵

Rule 22 of the Native Police Regulations in 1866 stipulated that ‘under no circumstances are blacks, not being troopers, to be allowed in the police camp’; no communication ‘whatever’ was permitted between the troopers and ‘the aborigines of the district in which they may be stationed, or through which they may be passing’.¹¹⁶ This policy was reversed after Queensland’s second Police Commissioner, William Parry-Okeden, presented his report ‘North Queensland Aborigines and the Native Police’ to Parliament in 1897. This is the document generally credited with bringing an end to the Native Police.¹¹⁷ But it had no such impact. The force continued. As Queensland began to emerge from the frontier period and urban liberal politicians took control of Parliament, there were increasing calls for an end to the force. However, Parry-Okeden’s recommendation for the Native Police to continue operations in northern districts, albeit in a new role, was accepted.

¹¹³ *Torres Straits Pilot* (16 December 1893).

¹¹⁴ *The Queenslander* (23 December 1893: 1235-6).

¹¹⁵ Depositions taken by Government Resident John Douglas, 5 January 1894, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A760/94/131; ‘The Gulf Tragedies’, *The Queenslander* (6 January 1894: 4).

¹¹⁶ Native Police Regulations, *Queensland Government Gazette*, 10 March 1866.

¹¹⁷ Arthur Laurie, ‘The Black War in Queensland’, *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal* 6, 1 (1959: 172); Anonymous, *The Queensland Police Force 100 Years* (Brisbane: Queensland Police Force, 1963), 28; Sergeant A Whittington, ‘The Queensland Native Mounted Police’, *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal* 7, 3 (1964): 520; Anonymous, *The History of the Native Mounted Police* (Brisbane: Queensland Police Department, 1982), 8.

Although the number of detachments had fallen dramatically from the mid-1880s, several stations remained active on Cape York Peninsula until the Great War of 1914. Contrary to popular belief, the force was never officially ‘wound up’ but instead gradually disappeared as Native Police camps were closed. In 1897 Parry-Okeden gave special verbal orders to officers in charge of northern detachments in lieu of certain clauses of the old ‘Instructions’, which had been issued in 1866, and never rescinded. Officers were formerly enjoined to ‘use every exertion to prevent their troopers from having any communication with the aborigines in their districts’ and they were ‘at all times and opportunities to disperse any large assembly of blacks without unnecessary violence’. Now Parry-Okeden ordered them to ‘establish friendly relations between whites and blacks’.¹¹⁸ In fact, troopers – and indeed a number of officers – had enjoyed ‘friendly relations’ with Aboriginal women for decades despite the prohibitions. The changing of the rules was obviously intended to create a new position for the force as Aboriginal Protectors, and to signal the change to a more conciliatory policy through dialogue.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Parry-Okeden, ‘Report on North Queensland Aborigines’.

¹¹⁹ But the Aboriginal Reserves that were an integral part of the ‘Protection’ era were nothing more than prisons without walls; see Rosalind Kidd, *The Way We Civilise* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1997), 46.

Women

One of the major disciplinary issues that officers had to deal with involved troopers' conduct with respect to Aboriginal women usually referred to in the records by the derogatory term 'gins'. Some officers allowed women to accompany troopers on deployment to northern and western parts of Queensland, but a number of government officials condemned the practice as bad for discipline.¹²⁰ By the end of the century, most Native Police troopers and trackers were married, and single troopers were not wanted. Troopers (and some officers) unquestionably abducted, seduced and abandoned women throughout Queensland. Evidence from the records is incomplete, but still highly suggestive. At the 1861 Select Committee hearings, Lieutenant Frederick Wheeler testified that the police were 'not in the habit of taking gins' except with his approval. Generally, he said, 'the gins had to be flogged to stop them following the troopers', and he claimed that 'some of the gins are very much in love with the Police'.¹²¹ Wheeler's comments, in the light of his own record of sexual indiscretion, must be seen as disingenuous half-truths, because while perhaps not in love with the police, some women could have followed for payment.¹²²

¹²⁰ One of the most vocal was George Dalrymple, who complained bitterly about three women who accompanied the troopers on the expedition to establish Port Denison (Bowen) in 1861; see Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 14 March 1861, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A14/61/801 and Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 18 March 1861, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q1/61/318.

¹²¹ Evidence of Frederick Wheeler, 'Report of the Select Committee on the Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally', *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1861: 436-8).

¹²² Frederick Wheeler's daughter, an Aboriginal child, was born in 1860 at Tamrookum south of Brisbane, Pamela Tomes, letter to author, June 1999.

In 1866, the Colonial Secretary gave permission to the Police Commissioner to set aside part of the Native Police troopers' rations allowance to pay for the supply of rations to their wives.¹²³ The subject of troopers' 'gins' was specifically mentioned in the Native Police Regulations: Sub Inspector Reginald Uhr was chastised in 1867 for allowing a trooper to 'have a gin without the necessary authority', contrary to Native Police Regulation 22.¹²⁴

Colonial officials realised that competition over women could cause tension between troopers and local Aboriginal men. Thus, for example, the Executive Council noted in 1867 that several British military officers had recommended that Black troopers could effectively replace the European constables at Somerset on the isolated tip of Cape York Peninsula. The Council disagreed:

It is generally agreed that it would be utterly unsafe to place a detachment of Native troopers at a distance of several hundred miles from the control of a European population. At Cape York, they would probably mutiny or desert, and certainly carry on an internecine war with the neighbouring aborigines for the sake of their women.¹²⁵

¹²³ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 5 May 1865, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A66/65/1044 and Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 16 May 1865, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q3/65/384.

¹²⁴ Chief Inspector George Murray to Inspector Wheeler, 26 November 1867, A/36335/67/192.

¹²⁵ 'Papers Respecting the Removal of the Detachment of the Royal Marines from Cape York', *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1867).

The European constables sent to Somerset resigned en masse in 1867, and were replaced with Native Police troopers in 1868.¹²⁶ Troopers from such isolated outposts, as the Executive Council predicted, did indeed fight with local men over Aboriginal women.¹²⁷

Not surprisingly, the terms negotiated by the women, or by others who had influence over them, never appear in any formal report or informal reminiscence. That negotiations took place seems irrefutable. However, women were sometimes taken against their will too. Daniel Emmerson of Bowen wrote in 1870 saying troopers ‘carried away’ a number of Aboriginal women and gave them articles of police clothing.¹²⁸ He said that a troop camped at his run on their return from the Mackay races, and they took ‘several young gins’ from his run. When Emmerson complained, Inspector John Marlow defended his troopers, saying:

Although it is contrary to the spirit of the Native Police Regulations for an officer to permit his men to have intercourse with blacks allowed in on stations unless it is done at certain times, no information would ever be received by a patrol officer as to the whereabouts of the rest of the tribe and their actions.¹²⁹

There is no evidence in the records of Marlow being reprimanded on this occasion.

¹²⁶ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 6 September 1868, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A111/68/2928; Police at Somerset, 10 September 1868, Executive Council Minute, COL/E2/68/244; Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 10 September 1868, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/Q5/68/604.

¹²⁷ See examples at Sub Inspector Tompson to Commissioner, 31 May 1882, Police Staff File, Lyndon John Agnew Poingdestre, A/40323/82/3234; James Howe to Inspector Murray, 1 August 1883, Police Staff File, Robert Kyle Little, A/40048/83/5666; Sub Inspector Stafford to Inspector Murray, 2 June 1888, Police Staff File, Dominick Heavey, A/38829/88/4226 and Daniel Hart to Colonial Secretary, 14 March 1889, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A579/89/3383.

¹²⁸ ‘The Native Police’ by DR Emmerson, *The Queenslander* (19 November 1870).

¹²⁹ ‘Lieutenant Marlow and the conduct of his black troopers’ by Daniel Emmerson, *The Queenslander* (26 November 1870: 2-3).

Negotiations for sex have not been recorded, but violence could provoke a complaint and thus reports of the relations between Aboriginal women and troopers sometimes became known.¹³⁰ One 1874 letter-writer said the troopers were ‘savages, and are encouraged in ill-using the gins. The latter seems their only delight’; the same correspondent noted that troopers were ‘allowed to keep wives’.¹³¹ Governor William Cairns reported to London in 1875 on charges against the Native Police, including an accusation that the troopers were ‘maltreating [the Aborigines] in the most brutal and barbarous manner, shooting down the males and only sparing the females to submit them to outrage’. In his report, he mentioned that he had asked the Colonial Secretary for an explanation.¹³² Commissioner Seymour denied all charges against the force, saying ‘any officer who permitted his men to behave in the manner described would at any rate be dismissed and if sufficient evidence could be procured would be proceeded against criminally’.¹³³ There is no evidence of disciplinary charges against troopers relating to sexual misbehaviour.

Critics of the force claimed some officers were worse sexual predators than the troopers. In 1876, Alfred Davidson of Brisbane wrote to the Aborigines Protection Society in England saying ‘Inspector Wheeler’ had whipped a quiet Banchory station Black stockboy to death, which was believed to be on account of ‘jealousy of gins

¹³⁰ ‘Circumspection and secrecy have dominated the sexual aspect of ‘contact’’, Gillian Cowlishaw, *Black, White or Brindle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 95. For a recent discussion on the connections between sexual violence and settler-colonialism, see Andrea Smith, ‘Not an Indian Tradition: The Sexual Colonization of Native Peoples’, *Hypatia* 18, 2 (2003).

¹³¹ ‘Native Police’ by ‘Caranga’, *The Queenslander* (23 May 1874: 9).

¹³² Governor Cairns to Colonial Secretary, 5 April 1875, Governor’s Correspondence, GOV/71.

¹³³ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, May 1875, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A209/75/1276.

(Native wives)'. He added 'The allusion to the jealousy about gins is to the commonly believed opinion that both the Native Police and sometimes the officers also possess themselves of Native women for their own use'.¹³⁴ There is sufficient documentary evidence to support this allegation. Two Native Police officers, Archibald Mosman and Lyndon Poingdestre co-habited with Aboriginal women.¹³⁵

The troopers captured some Aboriginal women. Sub Inspector Douglas reported in 1878 that 'his troopers captured a 'half-caste gin, about 14 or 15 years old' while patrolling on the Mossman River and kept her overnight in camp. Douglas released her next morning with a message to her tribe, saying that 'the police had no intention to disturb or interfere with them, so long as they did not spear horses or cattle'.¹³⁶ What cannot be established is how the troopers treated this young woman during her night in camp. White officers kept silent or spun innocuous accounts of relations between the men of all ranks and Aboriginal women. This episode appears to highlight another dimension since it implies that Douglas captured women for hostage purposes, a different rationale from that of the troopers. In 1879, three articles by 'An Ex-officer of the Native Mounted Police' were published in the *Town and Country Journal*. He claimed that the killing of

¹³⁴ Alfred Davidson to Aborigines Protection Society, 7 March 1876, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, *Australian Joint Copying Project*, M/2427.

¹³⁵ As noted in Chapter 2, Inspector James Lamond reported that Sub Inspector Poingdestre was living with three Aboriginal women at Highbury camp in 1897, Police Staff File, Lyndon John Agnew Poingdestre, A/40323. In 1903, former Sub Inspector Mosman, who left the Native Police in 1890, admitted that he had been living with an Aboriginal woman for 'over ten years', Chief Protector's Correspondence, A/58750.

¹³⁶ 'Northern News', *The Queenslander* (12 January 1878).

women was 'repugnant to nine-tenths of the troopers', who chose wives to increase their language skills.¹³⁷

Some of the most distressing records found concern the abduction from Moreton Island of a ten-year old Aboriginal girl called Torloo. Henry Blakesley of Cooktown took her to sea in the schooner *Flirt* 'with a number of her countrymen and relations', who 'all ran away' near Cape Tribulation (North Queensland) and returned home on the *Young Australian*. Torloo did not get away and stayed with Blakesley for five years sailing on various boats until he returned to Cooktown. Unable to pay her passage home, he left her in the care of Mr Weir at the Steam Packet Hotel, Cooktown while he went to Thursday Island.

On his return he found she had 'been decoyed away by the Native Police', but later returned to Weir's where she told Blakesley 'the troopers intended taking her away'. She asked to be sent home. By complaining to the government about how the Native Police had nearly deprived him of a servant, Blakesley precipitated a flurry of correspondence that revealed what could happen when officers and troopers collaborated in taking an Aboriginal woman. 'She was taken away by the troopers about a week ago', had been 'knocked down and beat' when she refused to go with them. Inspector John Isley reported to Commissioner Seymour, saying the girl was found at Sub Inspector Hervey Fitzgerald's house, and ex-trooper Gilbert 'wanted her' as his wife. Isley said Sub Inspector Brabazon Stafford had told him that she had 'turned up' at Oakey Creek after walking forty-five miles to reach his camp. Although this case was mentioned in the

¹³⁷ 'Reminiscences of The Native Mounted Police of Queensland' by 'An Ex-officer, *Town and Country Journal* (22 March 1879).

Brisbane papers during the Native Police debate of 1880, the fate of Torloo is unknown. The file was noted 'No action necessary'.¹³⁸

The seizure of women apparently continued. Sub Inspector Robert Little reported to the Commissioner in 1883 from Southwest Queensland, after a complaint had been made about his having 'interfeared with the station blacks'. Once again, the probable sexual dimension had been covered up by claims of the necessity for acquiring language. Little explained frankly that 'the gin in question was given to me by the former manager at Marion Downs and married to trooper Tallboy'.¹³⁹ Similarly, Inspector Fitzgerald reported in 1884 that Corporal Hero, of the Gold Escort at Cooktown, had taken a gin seven years ago and he now 'speaks the language fluently'.¹⁴⁰

Occasionally, there are signs of positive or protective attitudes towards Aboriginal women in records of the Native Police. Constable Dennis Donovan was suspended in 1880 after he 'interfered with the gins' and struck one named Dinah. Inspector Isley reported 'troopers and gins never complain as a body without some good cause'.¹⁴¹ In 1886 campkeeper Constable John Page, at the Dunrobin barracks near Georgetown complained to Sub Inspector Ernest Carr that he was 'grossly assaulted by one of the Dunrobin gins named Jessy' during the absence of Sub Inspector George Warby. Page said he had reported the matter to Warby, who dismissed the complaint. Page resigned, saying he was 'unaccustomed to being ruled by Blacks'. The context for the 'assault' can

¹³⁸ Isley to Commissioner, 24 September 1879, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A283/79/3470.

¹³⁹ James Howe to Inspector Murray, 1 August 1883, Police Staff File, Robert Kyle Little, A/40048/83/5666.

¹⁴⁰ Fitzgerald to Commissioner, 17 April 1884, A/58851/84/2856.

¹⁴¹ Isley to Commissioner, 2 April 1880, Port Douglas Inspector's Letterbook, POL/12M/G2/80/32.

be understood from Carr's report to the Commissioner. 'I think with Mr Warby that Constable Page exceeded his duty in pulling the bed clothes off the gin Jessie and deserved what the gin gave him'.¹⁴²

Deserting

The greatest difficulty for the Native Police was desertion. Records suggest that, at times, troopers fled the force faster than they could be recruited. Runaway troopers were a perennial theme in the Police Commissioner's *Annual Reports* from 1863 to 1900. The desertion of entire detachments, clearly a serious issue, brought discredit on the officer in command. In 1875, for example, the Executive Council dismissed Acting Sub Inspector Edward Dumaresq after all his troopers ran away.¹⁴³

Desertion was potentially a double-edged danger for settlers. It reduced the strength of detachments deployed to crush Aboriginal resistance, and it could simultaneously enhance the ability of Aboriginal people to resist colonisation. That, at any rate, was a recognised risk that concerned the government.

When one of the natives had learned the white man's ways and the use of his weapons, a rifle in his hand made him a friend, and when he turned against the white man he struck terror into the heart of every pioneer, however brave he was.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Constable Page to Sub Inspector Carr, 29 January 1886, Police Staff File, John Page, A/40120/86/1436.

¹⁴³ Dismissals, 1 January 1875, Police Commissioner, General Orders, POL/4/583.

¹⁴⁴ 'Sundowner' (Glenville Pike), *North Queensland Register* (13 March 1948).

Dissatisfaction amongst troopers after their pay was reduced in 1862 from five pence to three pence per day caused officers to worry about possible desertions, and the Executive Council reversed its decision in order to avoid the risk of runaway troopers joining 'the wild blacks'.¹⁴⁵ 'Old Chum' agreed, saying in 1877, 'the escaped troopers, if not brought back, are more to be dreaded by the settlers than the real myall'.¹⁴⁶ The articles by 'An Ex-Officer', published in 1879, claimed that 'of all marauding aboriginals, the very worst for daring are those who, semi-civilised, have run away from the Native police or station employ'.¹⁴⁷ In a previous article, the writer had described the troopers as 'tame human sleuth hounds', and said they were keen to kill.¹⁴⁸

One example of a former trooper's 'criminal career' is revealed in records relating to the death of a European. Paddy Morris died at Windah station in 1876, but no inquest into his death has been located. The Colonial Secretary was informed that an Aboriginal man named Sandy, a former trooper, had killed Morris.¹⁴⁹ Sandy, who apparently had deserted from Frederick Wheeler, outran his pursuers and escaped. Soon afterwards, Sub Inspector Mathew Collopy of the Rockhampton police advised they had arrested 'Sandy's gin' at Duaringa, and had also found a double-barrelled gun that Sandy took

¹⁴⁵ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 1 July 1862, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A31/62/1823; Troopers' pay, 6 August 1862, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E6/62/34; Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 16 August 1862, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q2/62/613; Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 8 October 1862, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A34/62/2512.

¹⁴⁶ 'The Native Police' by 'Old Chum', *Brisbane Courier* (27 January 1877: 3) and *Queenslander* (27 January 1877: 12).

¹⁴⁷ 'Reminiscences of The Native Mounted Police of Queensland' by 'An Ex-officer', *Town and Country Journal* (22 March 1879).

¹⁴⁸ 'Reminiscences of The Native Mounted Police of Queensland' by 'An Ex-officer', *Town and Country Journal* (15 March 1879).

¹⁴⁹ *The Queenslander* (8 July 1876).

from Morris. They also advised that he was ‘very active, well built’ and ‘more like an Italian brigand than a Queensland Black’. The Police Magistrate at Rockhampton, Theophilus Pugh, asked the Colonial Secretary if a reward could be offered for Sandy’s capture. Pugh said that ‘people living along the railway [were] in a state of terror’, but the Colonial Secretary noted that it did not appear that ‘anything would be gained by a reward being offered’. Sandy was eventually arrested, tried and imprisoned. In 1879, Stephen Egan wrote from Rosewood requesting that Sandy be ‘prevented from returning to the district after he is released from Brisbane Gaol for the murder of Paddy Morris’.¹⁵⁰ Egan asked if Sandy can be sent to the Native Police, to the Palmer, or “disposed of in some way”. The letter was noted by Acting Commissioner Barron ‘The prisoner when discharged from St Helena to be taken in charge by police pending further instructions’.¹⁵¹

There are a number of reasons why Aboriginal men decided to leave the force. Mostly, as the following evidence shows, they seem to have done so soon after joining. Some were encouraged by relatives to return home, while others found their new employment unpleasant and not what they had been promised as recruits. This also prompts the question of whether the troopers from the Murray River and other southern recruits were less prone to desertion, but without detailed personnel records it is impossible to tell. Regardless of the origins of the troopers, officers in Central Queensland had difficulty retaining the full complement of their detachments. Commandant Morisset reported in 1860 that Lieutenant Alfred Patrick’s troopers,

¹⁵⁰ Stephen Egan to Colonial Secretary, 26 April 1879, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A284/79/3513.

¹⁵¹ Stephen Egan to Colonial Secretary, 26 April 1879, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A284/79/3513.

recruited on the Balonne River, deserted after meeting some countrymen at Albinia Downs 400 kilometres away.¹⁵² Six months later, Morisset wrote to inform the Colonial Secretary that several more new recruits had run away from the Palm Tree Creek (Dawson River) barracks.¹⁵³ Six new recruits from the Logan River district deserted within a week of their arrival by steamer at Rockhampton in 1861, and were not recaptured despite an attempted pursuit by Lieutenant Eugenius Genatas.¹⁵⁴

The case of Georgey, who deserted from Rockhampton and walked back to the Darling Downs, became public knowledge in 1863. Grazier WH Coxen of Bendemere protected Georgey from Lieutenant Frederick Carr who threatened to shoot the trooper on sight.¹⁵⁵ Georgey, who was known to the Native Police as ‘Macbeth’, absconded twice but agreed to surrender if he was protected from Carr.¹⁵⁶ The Executive Council decided to release him, not for any humanitarian reason, but because ‘the force is not yet constituted or recognised by law’.¹⁵⁷ The passing of the *Police Act*, later that year, rectified this anomaly.¹⁵⁸

In 1863 seven troopers recruited in the Wide Bay and Maryborough districts deserted from the Upper Burdekin detachment and Commandant Bligh ordered

¹⁵² Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 14 December 1860, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A9/60/2331.

¹⁵³ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1861, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A16/61/1492.

¹⁵⁴ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1861, COL/A16/61/1492.

¹⁵⁵ ‘The Native Police and their Acts’ by WH Coxen, *The Courier* (26 March 1863).

¹⁵⁶ Petition from Georgey to Colonial Secretary, 6 May 1863, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A39/63/934.

¹⁵⁷ Petition of Georgey, 6 May 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E7/63/22.

¹⁵⁸ Assent for *Victoriae Reginae No 11*, ‘An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the Police Force’, *Queensland Government Gazette* 4 (10 October 1863).

Lieutenant Marmaduke Richardson to pursue them.¹⁵⁹ Pursuit failed, and Richardson was himself charged with the murder of deserter Wallace. The Executive Council heard that Richardson had been 'intoxicated while on duty' and shot the trooper who was 'in custody as a deserter from the force'. Richardson was dismissed without having been tried. The Attorney General may have determined that there was insufficient evidence for a successful prosecution, particularly if the only witnesses were Aboriginal.¹⁶⁰

In 1863 Commandant Bligh asked for permission to recruit eighty troopers, although only fifty were required. The extra number was necessary, he thought, to allow for 'possible desertions and discharges of incurable invalids, etc'.¹⁶¹ This is a valuable piece of evidence because it suggests the desertion rate. Bligh recommended that recruits should be obtained from the Upper Murray district of southern New South Wales because the recruits that had been 'procured from the Logan, Clarence, Condamine and Wide Bay districts have proved difficult to keep' and those from the Darling were, he said, 'a very inferior and almost useless race'.¹⁶² It would be almost two years until Bligh's suggestion was acted upon.

In 1863, nine new troopers sent from Sandgate to Rockhampton deserted within three days of their arrival, and Bligh reported that this was the third batch that had run away after their arrival from Brisbane. He said it was 'useless to send any more recruits from the Logan and Clarence rivers unless arrangements are made for shipping them

¹⁵⁹ Commandant to Richardson, 17 June 1863, Justice Department Correspondence, JUS/A4.

¹⁶⁰ Dismissal of Lieutenant Richardson, 26 September 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A44/63/2231 and misconduct of Richardson, 10 October 1863, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E8/63/41.

¹⁶¹ Similar attrition rates were found in other police forces. Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 7 November 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2733.

¹⁶² Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2733.

direct to Port Denison. They might be much less inclined to desert'.¹⁶³ The first detachment taken to Rockingham Bay (Cardwell) in late 1864 deserted en masse, and a second group recruited in Brisbane for the same station abandoned their posts in early 1865.¹⁶⁴ Distance did not necessarily stop desertion. The officer in command, Charles Blakeney, was suspended but later reinstated.¹⁶⁵ Commandant Bligh wanted authority to apprehend and punish deserters, and complained to the Government that squatters who needed Aboriginal labour protected runaway troopers.¹⁶⁶ The Colonial Secretary replied 'When dissatisfaction is found to exist among the troopers of any detachment steps should always be taken to separate the men by drafting them into other detachments which must supply others in their place'.¹⁶⁷ Again, the rhetoric of the quiet corridors in Brisbane was not so easily implemented on the frontier, and there were very few transfers of troopers recorded.

There is evidence of settlers sheltering deserters and other fugitive Aborigines. According to historian Luke Godwin, the Dutton brothers protected Aborigines from

¹⁶³ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 11 November 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2737. This was most probably the first group that walked 1000 kilometres home. Others were to follow, Michael Jones, *Country of Five Rivers: Albert Shire, 1788-1988* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), 33-34.

¹⁶⁴ 'Rockingham Bay News', *Brisbane Courier* (17 December 1864); Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 7 February 1865, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A64/65/557 and 'Cardwell News', *Brisbane Courier* (15 April 1865).

¹⁶⁵ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 3 July 1866, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A92/66/2008.

¹⁶⁶ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 7 November 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2733.

¹⁶⁷ Colonial Secretary to Commandant, 21 January 1864, Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, COL/Q3/64/48.

Native Police in 1861, and one, Henry, reputedly held a revolver to an officer's head.¹⁶⁸ Complaints about squatters who protected runaway troopers continued for years. Bligh asked the Executive Council for authority to enable officers to apprehend deserters, citing the example of squatter Henry Coxen of Bendemere station on the Condamine River. This was the individual, said Bligh, who 'has threatened to resist any attempt, on the part of Lieutenant Carr, to retake a deserter now on Mr Coxen's station'.¹⁶⁹

Six months later, Bligh wrote saying squatters were sheltering deserters to secure labour 'knowing they can do so with impunity'.¹⁷⁰ He anticipated 'further desertions from amongst the oldest and best troopers, unless some regulation or order is speedily put in place'. Inspector George Murray wrote to the Colonial Secretary in 1865 asking what authority he had to 'stop persons from encouraging troopers to desert from the Native Mounted Police and afterwards employing them'.¹⁷¹ When Native Police Regulations finally appeared in 1866, two extra clauses added by the Attorney General were approved by the Executive Council 'to meet the case of persons who may encourage desertion from the force or employ known deserters'.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Luke Godwin, 'The fluid frontier: Central Queensland 1845-63, *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies*, edited by Lynette Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 110.

¹⁶⁹ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 1 May 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A9/63/944.

¹⁷⁰ Commandant to Colonial Secretary, 7 November 1863, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A46/63/2733.

¹⁷¹ Inspector George Murray to Colonial Secretary, 31 August 1865, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A70/65/2390.

¹⁷² Native Police Regulations, 28 October 1865, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E12/65/66.

Recorded mass desertions of troopers

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Native Police camp or barracks.</u>
1860	Six	Albinia Downs, Central Queensland.
1861	Four	Palm Tree Creek, Central Queensland.
1862	Four	Sandgate, Southeast Queensland.
1863	Seven	Mackenzie River, Central Queensland.
1863	Seven	Upper Burdekin, North Queensland.
1863	Nine	Rockhampton, Central Queensland.
1864	Eight	Rockingham Bay, North Queensland.
1866	Six	Rockingham Bay, North Queensland
1870	Four	Marlborough, Central Queensland.
1871	Six	Somerset, Cape York Peninsula.
1872	Five	Marlborough, Central Queensland.
1873	Five	Broadsound, Central Queensland.
1875	Five	Palmerville, North Queensland.
1876	Five	Cape River, North Queensland.
1876	Four	Somerset, Cape York Peninsula.
1878	Four	Belyando River, Central Queensland.
1879	Fourteen	Barron River, North Queensland.
1880	Eight	Upper Laura, Cape York Peninsula.
1881	Four	Barron River, North Queensland.
1882	Six	Norman River, Northwest Queensland.
1884	Six	Normanton, Northwest Queensland.
1904	Four	Cooktown, Cape York Peninsula.

Table 10: Mass desertions of troopers (Sources, COL/A9/60/2331; COL/A16/61/1492; COL/A35/62/2996; COL/A42/63/1557; COL/A46/63/2737; COL/A47/63/2995; COL/A64/65/557; COL/A92/66/2008; A/36335; COL/A163/71/2915; COL/A170/72/1484; *The Queenslander* (25 October 1873); COL/A208/75/1001; *The Queenslander* (27 May 1876); COL/A230/76/3440; A/40173/78/4176; POL/12M/G2/79/88; COL/A296/80/3846; POL/12M/G2/81/83; A/38846; COL/A385/84/2500 and POL/13A/2).

In 1876, Sub Inspector Lionel Towner charged Henry Dutton with ‘interfering and obstructing him in the course of his duty’ by aiding and abetting a deserter named Peter at Tambo station.¹⁷³ Towner claimed that Dutton said ‘if I catch any troopers here I will kick them off the ground; I never knew a good man in the force yet; they are all

¹⁷³ *The Queenslander* (29 January 1876: 6).

crawlers'. According to Towner, the troopers were 'frightened' of Dutton and refused to follow the deserter. The court found Dutton guilty of 'obstruction' and fined him £2. It is impossible to know if squatters were looking to recruit station hands, or if the aid was a humanitarian gesture.

In 1872, the entire Broadsound detachment deserted; a second group of troopers under Sub Inspector Alexander Douglas deserted 'from [sic] no ostensible reason' in 1873.¹⁷⁴ According to newspaper reports, Douglas was 'close on their heels', and it was believed that 'certain people in the district', despite the risk of 'a heavy penalty', were sheltering the deserters.¹⁷⁵

Commissioner Seymour was forced to send an officer to Cooktown with a group of new troopers in 1875 because the 'last lot of recruits, being unaccompanied by an officer, all deserted the day after they arrived'.¹⁷⁶ By the 1870s, the 'procuring' of troopers from distant localities in an unsuccessful attempt to curtail desertions had almost ceased. When four recruits from Maryborough deserted from Central Queensland in 1870, Chief Inspector George Murray ordered Frederick Wheeler to 'keep up the numbers of your different detachments by enlisting boys in your district or other eligible ones [who] can be procured handy'.¹⁷⁷ Soon after, Wheeler sent a telegram to the Commissioner in Brisbane asking 'would you re-enlist deserted runaway troopers; some

¹⁷⁴ Colonial Secretary to Acting Commissioner, 1 November 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A170/72/1484.

¹⁷⁵ 'Northern News', *The Queenslander* (25 October 1873: 10).

¹⁷⁶ Commissioner to Attorney General, 4 December 1875, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A215/75/3095.

¹⁷⁷ Chief Inspector George Murray to Wheeler, 25 October 1870, Midlands Inspector's Letterbook, A/36335.

are running amongst the blacks. How many required?’¹⁷⁸ The Commissioner’s response to his question is not known.

Aboriginal prisoners, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, were used as troopers from the 1870s. Five, who had been serving long sentences for violent robberies, were sent to the remote Somerset settlement on Cape York Peninsula in 1870.¹⁷⁹ In 1871, Frank Jardine reported from Somerset that the troopers had all deserted, taking guns and ammunition. Police later shot one dead when he attempted to rob the settlement’s store, Jardine captured two and the remaining three were reported killed – ‘shot in resisting their arrest’.¹⁸⁰

One month after Jardine’s report was published, a second story appeared in the papers, saying a ship’s captain had found a canoe off the coast of North Queensland. An Aboriginal man in the canoe could ‘speak tolerable English’, and said he originally came from Maryborough. Apparently he was one of the troopers who had absconded from Somerset, and told the ship’s crew he had ‘travelled down the coast with the idea of reaching Maryborough’. The other escapees had died on the way, and the captain took the sole survivor on board. When the ship reached Townsville the runaway trooper ‘bolted into the bush’, and was never seen again.¹⁸¹ It is possible that the three who were reportedly shot had in fact escaped, though two of them were seriously wounded and later

¹⁷⁸ Inspector Wheeler to Commissioner, 9 January 1871, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A170/72/1484.

¹⁷⁹ Prisoners’ pardons and their safe arrival at Somerset, 23 February 1870, Executive Council Minute, COL/E5/70/60; and John Oxley Library, MLC 1791-18/3.

¹⁸⁰ Jardine to Colonial Secretary, 31 March 1871, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A163/71/2915 and ‘Somerset News’, *The Queenslander* (20 May 1871).

¹⁸¹ ‘Northern News’, *The Queenslander* (3 June 1871: 2).

died. Six more convict troopers were released from the St Helena Gaol to serve in the Native Police in 1874.¹⁸²

Runaway troopers upset authorities but spurred settlers into action. Colonists sometimes formed themselves into parties of 'specials' in attempts to capture them. Two ex-troopers killed two stockmen (one European and one Aboriginal) near the Cloncurry River, south of Normanton in 1871, and news from Cloncurry of a band of 'outlaws', including an ex-trooper, reached Brisbane in the same year.¹⁸³ According to press reports, Messrs Uhr, Armstrong, Cox and Halpin 'volunteered to do the duty of 'specials' in restoring security to life and property'. The newspapers reported that the 'posse' did not catch the runaway trooper, but found weapons and homemade ammunition.¹⁸⁴

Sometimes desertions occurred as a result of misunderstandings about the duration of service. It is impossible to know if the misunderstanding owed more to the deceptions of officers when explaining the terms of employment or problems of interpretation. In either case, the recruits may have left when they believed their terms were finished. What is clear is that there were misunderstandings. An entire detachment deserted from Somerset in 1876. When captured four months later, they said they had only enlisted for six months.¹⁸⁵ In 1879 fourteen troopers deserted from the Barron River camp in North Queensland. Inspector John Stuart attributed the desertion of the fourteen

¹⁸² Remission of sentences for prisoners who joined the Native Police, and discharge of seven Aboriginal prisoners from St Helena Gaol, Executive Council Minute, 20 December 1873, Executive Council Minute COL/E12/73/285 and *Queensland Police Gazette* 11 (1 January 1874: 14).

¹⁸³ Inquest into death of Archibald McLeod at Dalgonally near Normanton, JUS/N34/72/112.

¹⁸⁴ 'Warrego News', *The Queenslander* (14 October 1871).

¹⁸⁵ Henry Chester to Colonial Secretary, 4 July 1876, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A230/76/3440 and 'Cooktown News', *The Queenslander* (7 October 1876).

to 'the very injudicious conduct' of Sub Inspector Douglas in 'promising the old troopers their discharge when leaving the district'. Even if they were caught, he thought it would be 'useless keeping the old troopers here', and concluded 'I cannot attach blame to Sub Inspector Carr for it is evident the old troopers had this made up and took the first opportunity when they were all in the camp to bolt'. Commissioner Seymour said 'The old troopers were promised their discharge and should have been let go when the recruits arrived'.¹⁸⁶

Sub Inspector Stafford's entire detachment deserted at Upper Laura in 1880, and one trooper attempted to kill him.¹⁸⁷ Stafford was dismissed after the Executive Council heard he was 'unfit' for command of a Native Police detachment. One year later, Acting Police Commissioner Thomas Barron and miner Ernest Henry supported his appeal for reinstatement. 'Mr Stafford finding that his troopers had mutinous intentions was marching them unarmed to Cooktown on the road when dismounting for the purpose of camping, he was suddenly seized and narrowly escaped with his life'.¹⁸⁸ Stafford was reappointed in 1881, and remained in the force until he was appointed as Police Magistrate at Thargomindah in 1888.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Inspector John Stuart to Commissioner, 7 March 1879, Port Douglas Inspector's Letterbook, POL/12M/G2/79/88.

¹⁸⁷ Inspector Fitzgerald to Commissioner, 2 July 1880, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A296/80/3846.

¹⁸⁸ Dismissal of Sub Inspector Stafford, 22 July 1880, Executive Council Minute, COL/E39/80/245; Police Staff File, Brabazon Richard Stafford, A/40147/80/3010 and A/40147/81/676.

¹⁸⁹ Appointments, *Queensland Police Gazette* 18 (14 February 1881: 33); appointment as Police Magistrate, 25 May 1888, Executive Council Minute COL/E95/88/322 and *Queensland Police Gazette* 25 (25 May 1888: 223).

In 1883, the Police Magistrate at Ingham, Charles Pennefather, wrote to the Colonial Secretary complaining of firearms in the possession of blacks.¹⁹⁰ Pennefather said ‘a number of the blacks in this district are now in possession of arms and ammunition, and as several discharged troopers are amongst them, unless measures are taken to stop the supply of arms and disarm those already in possession of them, serious consequences are likely to ensue’.

The Attorney General responded that ‘There is no law that I am aware of which prohibits blacks to carry firearms. All I can suggest is to take the weapons away from them (by force if necessary) and make them some compensation for the deprivation’. Commissioner Seymour noted ‘It will not be an easy matter to disarm the blacks. Lives will probably be taken. Am I justified in going so far if necessary?’ Colonial Secretary Samuel Griffith replied ‘Life must not be taken or endangered but the arms must be got if possible’.¹⁹¹ This is an important episode, showing the use of force when the law failed, and it would be useful to know more. However, like so many tantalisingly documented incidents that deal with the Native Police, this particular one leaves no further paper trail. But it does reveal the ongoing importance of desertion and the chilling effect the prospect of armed Natives had on settlers.

The desertions, therefore, bring to the surface a tension in the position of the Native Police on Queensland’s frontiers. As we will see in Chapter 4, the rumours of desertions, and of the troopers’ unreliability, served the aggression of squatters. Troopers could put a shiver of fear down the spine of the very people who found it such a

¹⁹⁰ Walter Scott to Charles Pennefather, Police Magistrate at Ingham, 7 August 1883, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A370/83/5223.

¹⁹¹ Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 19 November 1883, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A370/83/5223.

convenient instrument. The fact was that the Native Police was neither perfectly convenient nor a perfect instrument. Its relations with local Aboriginal women and the substantial desertions made it inconvenient, disruptive, and even dangerous at times. With respect to cheapness and bush skills, it was an alluring solution to the colonisers' goals of inexpensively mastering a strange and hostile land.

Case studies

The absence of a rich, single vein of readily mined records has frustrated the efforts of many amateur and professional historians to analyse, with little research effort, the history of the Native Police, an institution intrinsic to Queensland's nineteenth century history. Quick explorations into the extensive collections at the state archives will not, and have not rewarded authors, but tenacious digging and collecting can recover much of the record. We close this chapter with an illustration of that claim. The lives of two troopers can be partially recreated from the archival and newspaper records, partly because they committed crimes and these were recorded. These cases show that sometimes expediency mattered more than ability or trust.

Trooper Bromby, recruited at Bowen in 1875, was stationed at the Herbert River in 1880 where, according to an anonymous complaint, he killed an old man near Cardwell.¹⁹² If true, the case was never acted upon. But Bromby seems a peculiar type of person to retain in a police force. In 1885, Inspector Aulaire Morisset recommended that

¹⁹² 'The Way we Civilise' by 'JC', *The Queenslander*, (7 August 1880).

Bromby be released from Townsville Gaol, where he was imprisoned for ‘absconding from hired service’ and stealing a rifle while under the command of Sub Inspector Stafford.¹⁹³ The Executive Council remitted the remainder of his sentence, and Bromby rejoined the force.¹⁹⁴ Three years later he deserted from the East Normanby camp near Cooktown but was recaptured.¹⁹⁵ His movements for the next years are unknown, but in 1897 he was convicted of manslaughter and served a three-month sentence in Normanton Gaol.¹⁹⁶

The disturbing career of a second trooper, Jackey Norman or Norman Jackey, was even better recorded. At the age of twenty Jackey was given a fifteen-year prison sentence for the murder of his wife at Gatton in 1882.¹⁹⁷ Gatton residents submitted a petition for his release in 1886, and he was sent on remission to serve as a trooper with the water police at Thursday Island in 1887.¹⁹⁸ In 1891 Jackey was convicted of rape and jailed again. A recommendation from the Superintendent of St Helena, suggests that

¹⁹³ *Queensland Police Gazette* (20 June 1885: 170) and Inspector Morisset to Colonial Secretary, 7 January 1885, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A415/85/1100.

¹⁹⁴ Remission of sentence, 27 February 1885, Executive Council Minute, COL/E65/85/60.

¹⁹⁵ Inspector Frederick Murray to Commissioner, Cooktown Inspector’s Letterbook, 20 July 1888, POL/13A/H1.

¹⁹⁶ Committals, Court convictions, Prison discharges, *Queensland Police Gazette* 34 (July, October, December, 1897: 261, 374 and 452).

¹⁹⁷ Prison Admission Register, PRI/1 and *The Week* (1 July 1882: 9).

¹⁹⁸ Petition from Gatton residents to Colonial Secretary, 19 July 1886, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A475/86/5973; Report on Native Police at Thursday Island, 15 July 1890, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A623/90/8096. Duties of Native Police troopers at Thursday Island, 22 September 1887, Executive Council Minute, COL/E87/87/328.

Jackey or Norman would make an excellent Native Tracker. Colonial Secretary Horace Tozer noted in the file ‘Gaol evidently did this man no good – no action’.¹⁹⁹

In late 1894 news reached Brisbane that ex-trooper Norman had killed Constable Edward Lanigan at Montalbion near Herberton.²⁰⁰ Constable John Higgins from Atherton arrested him with the assistance of three troopers and local Aborigines.²⁰¹ Norman was committed for trial and sentenced to life imprisonment rather than hanging because the court found that the police had ‘made an unlawful arrest’.²⁰² A newspaper account of his trial described the prisoner as ‘tall, of slight build, not repulsive looking’.²⁰³ Norman was sent to St Helena Gaol, and the revolver he used to kill Lanigan was sent to the Police Museum in 1895.²⁰⁴ Whilst we have an excellent description of Norman at his admission to the prison, later records about his death or release are missing.²⁰⁵ This is the only case known when a trooper (or in this case an ex-trooper) killed a police officer. These profiles may be exceptional, but there is something disturbing about the government officials employing, and then arming dangerous and violent men, for the alleged purpose of protecting life and property.

¹⁹⁹ Petition from prisoner Jacky Norman, 26 May 1893, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A736/93/6137.

²⁰⁰ Herberton Police to Colonial Secretary, 6 September 1894, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A780/94/10390; and *Brisbane Courier* (7 September 1894).

²⁰¹ Constable Higgins to Inspector Galbraith, 11 September 1894, Police Staff File, Edward Lanigan, A/38878/94/8922.

²⁰² A/38878, A/19930 & *Queensland Police Gazette* 31 (October 1894: 311).

²⁰³ ‘Mareeba News’, *The Queenslander* (13 October 1894: 679).

²⁰⁴ Police Museum Files, A/45277/95/1181.

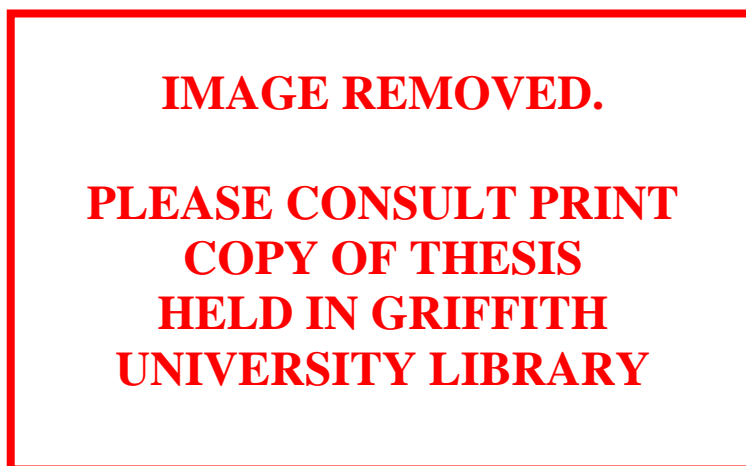
²⁰⁵ Described as ‘a stockman, aged 32, with a height of 5 foot 9 inches and a quarter, dark complexion, black hair, brown eyes, two bullet wounds in the left knee, two bullet wounds in the left thigh, and one bullet wound right calf’. Presumably some of these occurred during his arrest, as none were mentioned during his previous admission in 1882, *Prisoner Description Registers*, PRI 1/4 and PRI 1/6.

Conclusion

Indigenous forces have been consistently used throughout all European colonial empires, because they were cheap and were 'reputed to be' particularly savage towards other Native peoples. Records relating to individual Aboriginal troopers in the Native Police are rare and incomplete, and superficial recollections are biased, but by putting together the flawed pieces of an immense puzzle we can see an outline. Moreover, documents on general policies and practices have survived. What the records reveal is a state habituated into cheap, expedient, risky conduct. Police officers and members of the public often expressed their opinions about the troopers, and some blamed them for the violence attributed to the Native Police. The surviving historical records allow us insights into attitudes towards the employment of Indigenous men in the force, and some of the circumstances that framed their work. Records show that many troopers deserted soon after being recruited, and the force was almost permanently short-handed. Discipline, access to women and desertion were major concerns for most Native Police officers. The question of violence towards Aboriginal people, and the involvement of the troopers in sanctioned killings, is dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Native Police operations

‘preserving order by terror’¹



Introduction

How much do the archival and historical records reveal about Native Police operations and the violence they inflicted? Was the reputation of the force as the greatest destroyer of Aboriginal people in Queensland justified? The discovery of large numbers of documents has revealed a history of violence beyond what was previously known.²

¹ Editorial ‘The Native Police, *The Queenslander* (8 March 1879: 305).

² The material in this chapter is mainly drawn from about 300 items of correspondence to and from the Colonial Secretary, and over 200 articles, editorials and letters to the editors published in the newspapers of Brisbane and other Queensland towns between 1860 and 1900, including the classic frontier report saying ‘the blacks were dispersed by rifle in the usual manner’ from ‘Georgetown News’, *The Queenslander* (28 February 1874: 4). For a general discussion, see Ross Woodrow, ‘Afraid of the dark: The image of the Aborigine in the Queensland popular press 1860-1900’, Glenn R Cooke (editor), *Art Off Centre*, (Brisbane, Griffith University, 1997), 23-34.

However, the incomplete nature of the evidence means we will never know exactly how many people were killed by the Native Police. All that can be found in the archival records and newspapers is the number they reported that they killed, and those they killed that settlers reported. Some Native Police officers exaggerated the number of violent ‘collisions’ with Indigenous groups, just as some newspapers increased settlers’ fears by erroneously reporting deaths that never occurred.³

These ‘clerical errors’ compounded a frontier culture based on secrecy, discretion and suspicion, masking the true extent of the violence. The combination of all these factors means the task of accurately calculating the impact of the force’s violent tactics is impossible, but there are sufficient documented massacres in the archival records and newspapers to confirm the reputation of the Native Police as the major agent in the destruction of Aboriginal people in Queensland. It is possible that squatters were more destructive but there are virtually no records of ‘private’ killings and reprisals.⁴ As Richard Glover notes, Queensland correspondents for EM Curr’s investigation of Aboriginal population decline invariably mentioned ‘the quite unmysterious activities of the Native Police’.⁵

³ Examples of erroneous or exaggerated reports are easily found. Alleged deaths and subsequent retractions are listed in Appendix 4 ‘Rumours’ – false reports of frontier deaths.

⁴ ‘Our own people were the fundamental problem’, Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: a history. Volume two: Democracy* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004), 330.

⁵ Richard Glover, ‘Scientific Racism and the Australian Aboriginal’, *Maps, Dreams, History*, edited by J Kociumbas (Sydney: Sydney University, 1998), 83; and EM Curr, *The Australian Race: its origins, languages, and customs* (Melbourne, 1886-87). See also correspondence regarding Aboriginal vocabulary forms, to be ‘filled out by police and forwarded to Edward Curr, Office of the Chief Inspector of Stock in Melbourne’, 24 November 1874, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A200/74/2500.

Selected excerpts from newspapers and archival records show the historical context that enveloped and encouraged the Native Police in Queensland. It was well understood that even though most settlers did support the aggression that was shown towards the 'original owners of Australia', not all did.⁶ There were also some who believed in showing no compassion whatsoever. So we find a situation where a few are callous and a few compassionate, but the majority are, apparently, indifferent to race relations on the frontier. That apathy did not arise from ignorance. There can be no doubt that the histories of colonisation and Aboriginal affairs were vigorously and publicly debated in the Queensland press until the early decades of the twentieth century. Far from keeping it a secret, many settlers openly endorsed the killing of Aboriginal people, and some happily admitted to their part in the violence of the frontier. Not least were the four former Native Police officers who wrote books and manuscripts, and another six who contributed articles and letters to the editors of various Queensland newspapers.⁷

There are three aspects that must be considered before a comprehensive account of Native Police operations can be compiled, and a credible assessment of the force's impact on Indigenous populations can be attempted. Firstly, the historical context: how brutal were most colonial Queenslanders, especially with regard to interracial violence? What do the surviving records tell us about frontier violence, and what can be deduced

⁶ There is no shortage of material offering insights into public perceptions of the Native Police in colonial Queensland. See Henry Reynolds, *With the White People: The Crucial Role of Aborigines in the Exploration and Development of Australia* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1990), and Appendix 6 'A good reliable pamphlet'.

⁷ Native Police officers Eglinton, Hill, Johnstone and Kennedy wrote lengthy works (*Pioneering in the North-West; Forty-Five Years' Experiences in North Queensland; Spinifex and Wattle: Reminiscences of Pioneering in North Queensland*; and *The Black Police of Queensland: Reminiscences of Official Work and Personal Adventures in the*

from those one-sided accounts of a virtual ‘war of extermination’? Are claims about colonial genocide in Queensland justified?⁸ Is it possible to gain any sort of insight into frontier deaths, and if so, what does an exercise like this reveal about the force, and its place in Queensland history?

Context, count and comparison

Queensland, like most former settler-colonies, lacks a substantial assessment of colonial and frontier racial violence. When historian Henry Reynolds first wrote about frontier violence, he noted that none of the books available in the early 1970s referred to racial violence in Queensland and the Northern Territory, ‘areas with large indigenous populations which saw what was undoubtedly the worst racial violence in our history’.⁹ Historian Glen Lewis, in an article primarily devoted to discussion of violence between European groups in Queensland, noted that ‘the battle with the aborigines to expropriate their land was particularly intense in Queensland’.¹⁰ The best research to date on frontier violence is found in the collected works of Raymond Evans, and *Invasion and Resistance* by Noel Loos. But even Loos explicitly stated that his list of fatalities did not include

Early Days of the Colony), while Armit, Urquhart, Carroll, Douglas, JK Little and Scriven contributed shorter pieces. For details, see bibliography.

⁸ Alison Palmer, *Colonial Genocide*, (Adelaide, Crawford Publishing, 2000).

⁹ Henry Reynolds, ‘Violence, the Aborigines, and the Australian Historian’, *Meanjin* 31, 4 (1972): 473.

¹⁰ Glen Lewis, ‘Violence in Australian History: The Queensland Experience’, *Meanjin* 33, 3 (1974): 314.

Aboriginal people who died resisting European invasion.¹¹ Indigenous resistance to invasion was, as historian Mark Finnane points out, a critical factor in the development of policing in Australia in general, and in the creation of the Native Police in particular.¹² Frantz Fanon's comment 'the frontiers of the colonial world are shown by barracks and police stations' applies to nineteenth-century Queensland.¹³ It is therefore a most important topic to consider. How did the Native Police affect and change Queensland history?

The number of frontier deaths is an important topic, which needs careful consideration.¹⁴ Since so few accurate records have survived, attempts to enumerate comprehensively colonial violence are always incomplete. Attempts to calculate 'kill-ratios' risk becoming perverted academic exercises serving no useful purpose. The incidents of brutality and inhumanity recounted in the frontier records are very distressing, and difficult for anyone to approach objectively. John Wood's argument that violence is virtually impossible to reconstruct, so 'what we have are stories', is pertinent and relevant.¹⁵ As Richard Broome argues, Australia, like nearly all other former

¹¹ Noel Loos, *Invasion and Resistance* (Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1982), 190.

¹² Mark Finnane, *Police and Government: Histories of Policing in Australia* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1994), 25.

¹³ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1968), 29.

¹⁴ Deaths from violence should ideally be distinguished from those caused by disease, starvation and other causes to actually determine the true extent of racial violence on the frontier. See Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and Other Diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780-1880* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ John Carter Wood, 'It's a small world after all? Reflections on violence in comparative perspectives', *Comparative Histories of Crime*, edited by Barry S Godfrey, Clive Emsley and Graeme Dunstall (Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2003), 46.

European colonies, is ‘founded on violence’.¹⁶ Chris Cuneen’s note that ‘there was a direct link between the legal recognition of the land grab by squatters and the development of specific forms of policing’ – particularly those aspects of policing that affected Indigenous people, is relevant to the Queensland situation.¹⁷

Colonialism is inherently violent, and settler societies are invariably ‘born’ through systematic violence.¹⁸ On the frontiers of Empire, ‘Colonisers put themselves at risk, encountered heroic, organised, protracted resistance from indigenous peoples, and participated in “the slaughter of tribesmen and the subjugation of the survivors”’.¹⁹ The reason for the killing was recognised by some of the colonisers. Control of land and other resources was the object of colonialism, and, as Charles Darwin noted, the Natives could not be allowed to stand in the way of civilisation and industry. ‘Wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal’.²⁰

While this chapter provides an ideological context in nineteenth century Queensland racism for the brutality of the Native Police, recent writing on scientific racism offers a broader context. Although much of the evidence used in this chapter deals with what might be described as the ‘practical racism’ of ‘ordinary people’ on the

¹⁶ Richard Broome, ‘Aboriginal Victims and Voyagers, Confronting Frontier Myths’, *Journal of Australian Studies* 42 (1994): 74.

¹⁷ Chris Cuneen, *Conflict, Politics and Crime: Aboriginal Communities and the Police* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2001), 47.

¹⁸ For further discussion on this vital nexus, see Rob Linn, *Battling the Land: 200 Years of Rural Australia* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1999), 42; Ross Gibson, *Seven Versions of an Australian Badland* (Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 2002), 53; and John C Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1659-1900* (Montreal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 60.

¹⁹ Weaver, *The Great Land Rush*, 73.

²⁰ Quoted in Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (London, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861), 541.

frontier, it is important to note the quasi-scientific notions that justified their actions.²¹ Debates about ‘managing the natives’ are part of a context of changing attitudes towards Indigenous policy that mollified the impact of frontier violence in the Nineteenth century. A closer examination of attitudes towards frontier violence in Queensland is useful before any assessment of Native Police operational tactics is compiled and presented.

Context

Was colonial Queensland such a violent place? Did the frontier, as some historians have contended, ‘bristle with guns’?²² How many firearms did the Native Police have, and what kind were they? In recent years some historians have claimed that ‘genocidal moments’ occurred in colonial Queensland. Was genocide – the attempted complete extermination of Aboriginal people – a standard colonial practice in Queensland? Henry Reynolds said the continued existence of the Native Police was

²¹ See Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1982) and later works; also Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destiny: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997) and David Hollinsworth, *Race and Racism in Australia* (Sydney: Social Science Press, 1998).

²² Reynolds, ‘Violence, the Aboriginals, and the Australian Historian’, 474. See also Henry Reynolds, ‘Violence in Australian History’, *Australian violence: contemporary perspectives* edited by Duncan Chappell, Peter Grabosky and Heather Strang (Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1991); Henry Reynolds, ‘The Unrecorded Battlefields of Queensland’, *Race Relations in North Queensland* (Townsville: James Cook University, 1993), 52; Henry Reynolds, ‘The Aboriginals in Colonial Society, 1840-1897’, *Regional Report of Inquiry in Queensland* (Canberra: Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, 1991); and Raymond Evans ‘Across the Queensland Frontier’, *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Bain Attwood and SG Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003).

‘tangible proof of official concern about Aboriginal resistance’, and ‘[A]s fear ran like fire, otherwise humane men came to condone butchery and finally to imbue their own hands in the blood of the dispossessed tribes’.²³ Henry Reynolds and Dawn May say ‘a high degree of tolerance of violence and atrocity prevailed in colonial Queensland’, but does the historical material support this assertion, and if so, what part did the Native Police play?²⁴

How many guns were there? Archival documents and newspapers do not usually contain many references to guns and other weapons, apart from weekly sporting notes.²⁵ After looking at a large number of records, I think there were probably more locksmiths than gunsmiths in nineteenth-century Queensland. According to Michael Bellesiles, something similar happened in the United States before the Civil War.²⁶ Rifles, revolvers and other firearms were not often mentioned in the historical material until the 1870s, suggesting that Australia was ‘catching up’ with the dramatically increased production of weapons in the United States. ‘Ordinary’ police did not carry firearms on duty, but the Native Police always did, and were issued with Terry breech-loading rifles in 1861 to replace the muzzle-loading carbines they had used previously.²⁷ However, one correspondent claimed fifteen years later that some detachments were still equipped with

²³ Reynolds, ‘Unrecorded Battlefields’, 61.

²⁴ Henry Reynolds and Dawn May, ‘Queensland’, *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, edited by Ann McGrath (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1995), 174.

²⁵ See for instance, Archibald Meston’s series ‘Fifteen Years Shooting in Australia’, and his similar series ‘Ramrod’ in *The Queenslander, Brisbane Courier* (7 August 1875: 6)

²⁶ ‘Most communities lacked gunsmiths and had to rely on blacksmiths to make the necessary repairs to guns’ until 1860, Michael A Bellesiles, ‘The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States, 1760-1865’, *The Journal of American History* 83, 2 (1996: 425-55).

²⁷ Order for 200 rifles and ammunition approved, 13 August 1860, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E2/60/37.

‘antiquated double-barrelled muzzle loaders’.²⁸ Snider rifles were issued to police in 1874, and then replaced with Martini-Henry rifles in 1884.²⁹ The Martini-Henrys were only issued to the stations of the ‘ordinary’ police. However, many of these deadly weapons soon found their way into Native Police camps, suggesting an informal ‘trade’ in government-supplied weapons.³⁰ An order for 38,000 rounds of Snider ammunition was approved in 1882.³¹ Native Police units continued to use this particular firearm until the late 1890s.³² Both rifles were modern, efficient, lethal tools that could kill at great distances.³³ Their developments pointed to the tremendous advances made in firearm design and manufacture during the latter half of the nineteenth century.³⁴

Of course, the references to firearms would not specifically mention frontier violence, but spoke of hunting and sporting uses. There is more evidence in the records of reluctance by many colonists to carry guns. In 1863, an attack on a station prompted one writer to say ‘if the men will only carry firearms, they would be safer up here than

²⁸ ‘Northern Views No III’ by ‘A Northern Man’, *The Queenslander* (28 February 1874: 3).

²⁹ Order for 250 Snider rifles and order for 100 Martini-Henry rifles and 50 carbines, 24 January 1873, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A76/73/492 and 16 June 1883, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A363/83/3063. See also JS Robinson, *Arms in the Service of Queensland* (Brisbane, 1997).

³⁰ Chief Clerk William Finucane to Inspector Fitzgerald, 27 February 1894, Commissioner of Police, General Correspondence, POL/J11.

³¹ Order for 38,000 rounds of Snider ammunition approved, 19 July 1882, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A342/82/4134.

³² ‘A Snider carbine for each [tracker] would be sufficient’, Inspector Graham to Commissioner, 24 June 1896, Commissioner of Police, General Correspondence, POL/J11.

³³ Philip D Curtin, *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.

³⁴ See ‘The Weapons That Won an Empire’, Donald Featherstone, *Colonial Small Wars, 1837-1901* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1973), 22 and Daniel R Headrick, *The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979): 231-63.

walking the streets of Brisbane'.³⁵ A number of similar statements have been located in the data. There are records, however, of some settlers advocating the use of extreme violence against Aboriginal people. They had guns and it is against this backdrop that the record of the Native Police must be carefully assessed.

Apart from the police, other government officials and their employees also killed Aboriginal people 'in self-defence', and some records of these deaths have survived. Geologist Robert Logan Jack led two prospecting expeditions to Cape York Peninsula in 1879 and 1880; on the first, his two 'blackboys' shot two men dead near Coen, prompting Logan to say 'I regret the circumstance'. However, he added 'I could not blame the boys for doing what I should have done myself had I been attacked'.³⁶ On the second journey, Jack's Aboriginal assistant wanted them to 'simultaneously fire' at a 'blackfellow to make sure of him, but I declined the sport, to Charlie's intense disgust and amazement'.³⁷ Jack noted in his diary 'I have been blamed in some quarters for a want of firmness in not having shot some of the blacks', but said he hoped to avoid 'the despicable savage warfare' that invariably followed such actions.³⁸

Surveyor Ernest Waraker kept a diary while working in the Johnstone River district of North Queensland; in it, he noted 'niggers' were watching his camp, and said 'the wretches are too treacherous to make friends with'.³⁹ After a night raid on his camp, Waraker wrote 'the only thing troubling me is that I wasn't awake to give them a proper welcome, and assist them to a few ounces of lead in their diaphragms'. Soon after, he

³⁵ Letter to *The Courier* (15 August 1863).

³⁶ Robert Logan Jack, 'Report on Explorations in Cape York Peninsula, 1879-80', *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* 2 (1881: 234).

³⁷ Jack, 'Report on Explorations', 267.

³⁸ Jack, 'Report on Explorations', 268.

called Sub Inspector Douglas to ‘straighten them’.⁴⁰ Customs Department officers, Royal Navy mariners and other public servants are known to have shot at, and in some instances, killed Indigenous people.⁴¹

Self-defence

The colonial newspapers occasionally discussed the question of what the squatters had done to protect themselves before the Native Police existed. Most agreed with the force’s first Commandant, Frederick Walker, who thought the squatters’ action in ‘taking up arms in their own defence’, was justified and inevitable.⁴² Killing was well known.⁴³

An early editorial on the force discussed the disadvantages of self-defence:

How did the squatters manage, before a Native Policeman was dreamt of? The answer is simple, they protected themselves. But at what a cost! At the sacrifice of

³⁹ *Waraker Diary*, John Oxley Library, OM69-5/1.

⁴⁰ *Waraker Diary*.

⁴¹ One Aboriginal man was killed at the Woody Island quarantine camp near Maryborough in 1865; crew from HMS *Basilisk*, although ‘disgusted’, witnessed killings after the wreck of the *Maria* near Cardwell in 1872; and ‘a number of blacks’ were shot at Sweer’s Island in 1873 by staff of the Normanton Customs station. See Police Magistrate to Colonial Secretary, 10 November 1865, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A72/65/2996; Captain John Moresby, *Discoveries & Surveys in New Guinea and the D’Entrecasteaux Islands* (London: John Murray, 1876) and *Diary of Arthur Neame*, RB Joyce Papers, National Library of Australia, Box 147; Police Magistrate to Colonial Secretary, 25 January 1873, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A182/73/849.

⁴² Letter from Native Police Commandant Frederick Walker, *Sydney Morning Herald* (16 June 1852).

⁴³ See, for example, grazier William Archer’s testimony to the 1858 New South Wales Select Committee into the Native Police, saying if the Native Police did not exist, squatters would ‘take the law into their own hands’ and ‘very soon exterminate the blacks’; *New South Wales Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1858: 873).

many valuable lives, and an occasional raid upon the aborigines, who, driven to desperation by the gradual disappearance of those of a fierce nature upon which they depended for food, took to eating the squatter's cattle and sheep, and murdering the whites whom they looked upon as the aggressors. It was a war of cruel extermination on one hand, and of dire retaliation on the other.⁴⁴

Did the government and the settlers view the Native Police as 'self-defence'? Examples from the archives show how the Native Police operated as an integral part of the colonial apparatus of law and order, and how citizens of fledgling townships turned to the force for help. Townspeople also subscribed to the doctrine of 'forward defence', and Rockhampton residents wanted to form a 'dispersal' party when large numbers of Aboriginal people arrived in the town to escape Native Police retribution after the Cullin-la-ringo killing of 1861.⁴⁵ Police Magistrate John Jardine advised the Colonial Secretary that he had refused the resident's request. Instead he went with Lieutenant Patrick and three troopers to search their camp, and then 'dispersed them peaceably'.⁴⁶ However, attitudes hardened in Central Queensland after the death of Acting Sub Inspector Cecil Hill in 1865.⁴⁷ One writer said, soon afterwards, 'these incorrigible rogues are becoming unbearable, and require a regular dressing down. Ordinary morality can only be driven into their obtuse skulls by leaden lessons'. The correspondent also said if squatters 'have

⁴⁴ Editorial, *Darling Downs Gazette* (8 March 1861: 3).

⁴⁵ Nineteen members of the Wills party were killed at Cullin-la-ringo station on the Nogoia River on 17 October 1861.

⁴⁶ Jardine to Colonial Secretary, November 1861, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A22/61/2898.

⁴⁷ Acting Sub Inspector Cecil Hill joined the force in 1865 and was killed by Aborigines three months later, *Queensland Police Gazette* 2, 3 (28 February 1865: 10) and WRO Hill, *Forty-Five Years' Experiences in North Queensland, 1861 to 1905* (Brisbane: H Pole & Co, 1907).

taken matters into their own hands', it would, 'in face of the terrible atrocities remaining unavenged', not be seen as a 'disfavor'.⁴⁸ Not all agreed. Ebenezer Thorne wrote in 1876:

While some squatters acted as Christian gentlemen, others, goaded to acts of reprisal and, as they perhaps put it, in self-preservation for themselves and property, surrounded by swarms of natives, committed acts which were simply scandalous.⁴⁹

Some Native Police officers used self-defence as an excuse as well. Frederick Wheeler reported in 1862 that while on patrol he found:

A large assemblage of aborigines have been driving and killing cattle. They consisted of Ubi Ubi, Durundur and Brisbane blacks. I called upon them to disperse and go back to their own country but they surrounded us and would not move away, at last I was obliged to fire upon them in self-defence.⁵⁰

Some people argued that the settlers should continue to take care of their own defence, rather than rely on the Native Police. Newspaper correspondents believed 'mob rule' was justified and inevitable, with one report asking 'How can it be wondered at if bushmen take the law into their own hands, and pursue and shoot them down without mercy?'⁵¹ An editorial in the *Brisbane Courier* on the 'Native Question' stated:

⁴⁸ 'Rockhampton News', *Brisbane Courier* (3 June 1865).

⁴⁹ Ebenezer Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies or Queensland As I knew It by An Eight Years' Resident* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1876), 341.

⁵⁰ Wheeler to Colonial Secretary, 1 July 1862, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A31/62/1897.

⁵¹ 'Rockhampton News' from the *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin*, *The Courier* (8 April 1864).

Clearly the duty of the Government is to keep up the Native Police force in a state of efficiency, otherwise, the settlers must be allowed to take their own course for the protection of their lives and property.⁵²

Similar attitudes to ‘self-defence’, almost like contemporary justification for individuals to break the law in repelling ‘home invasion’, were expressed in newspaper columns for decades to come. Of course, Aboriginal self-defence was always seen as an ‘outrage’, so many explorers, miners and pioneers went armed and prepared for conflict.

The short-handed and unpredictable Native Police could never really guarantee protection. Commissioner Seymour often noted in his *Annual Reports* that there were not enough Native Police detachments to answer every request for protection.⁵³ Just as predicted, violence increased after the opening of the Palmer River goldfield in 1873.⁵⁴ This ‘monumental population movement into an area far beyond previous European settlement’ inspired one correspondent.⁵⁵

The miners must protect themselves, and treat the aborigines like other destructive inhabitants of the bush. A breech-loading rifle should form an item in every northern-bound digger’s outfit, for revolvers, although useful in close quarters,

⁵² Editorial, *Brisbane Courier* (8 December 1864).

⁵³ For example, in his first *Annual Report*, Seymour said ‘the constantly increasing occupation of hitherto waste country renders it necessary that this force should be considerably augmented’. In his 1878 *Annual Report* he noted ‘more detachments were needed’ as the ‘complaints of cattle-killing and hut-robbing by the blacks’ from Cairns to Cooktown were ‘never ending, and will never cease as long as there are blacks there’. In 1885, he reported ‘owing to the want of men I have been unable to accede to other requests equally as urgent as those which I was enabled to attend to’.

⁵⁴ ‘Recommend send out an officer of Native Police with at least six troopers as I feel certain there will be great danger of serious disturbances’, Gold Commissioner WESM Charters to Colonial Secretary, 13 September 1873, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A189/73/2483.

⁵⁵ Peter Bell, ‘Essay on North Queensland Mining Settlement’, *Readings in North Queensland Mining History 2*, edited by KH Kennedy (Townsville: James Cook University, 1982), 1.

are not efficient at the long ranges from which boomerangs and spears are thrown by dexterous savages.⁵⁶

Newspaper correspondents weren't the only ones warning colonial adventurers about the hazards of the north. After a death near Cooktown, Police Commissioner Seymour noted that his 1876 *Annual Report* had drawn attention to 'the want of ordinary precautions on the part of the diggers and packers in this district'.⁵⁷ One veteran prospector warned would-be miners 'it is very foolish for small parties to go outside unprepared. They must be well prepared with firearms and a good dog is useful'.⁵⁸ Some settlers evidently heeded these sorts of warnings, and took precautionary action. Sub Inspector Douglas reported in 1878 that four men had 'destroyed' a camp near Cairns, and said 'I consider the public have to a great extent relieved the Native Police by taking the law into their own hands and it was certainly no good my patrolling where others had only the previous day been dispersing'.⁵⁹

Settlers who didn't protect themselves attracted criticism. At an 1861 inquest into the deaths of two seamen, Rockhampton Police Magistrate John Jardine said that he had 'never heard of a case of such wilful rashness on the part of the murdered men'; the two men, armed only with revolvers, had pursued a group of Aboriginal people.⁶⁰ A stockman was killed on the Palmer River in 1888, and Native Police Sub Inspector Brabazon Stafford gave evidence at the inquest. 'There is no doubt in my mind' he said,

⁵⁶ 'Palmer News', *The Queenslander* (20 February 1875: 10).

⁵⁷ Police Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 14 February 1877, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A250/77/5882.

⁵⁸ 'Letter to Editor' by James Mulligan, *The Queenslander* (14 March 1878: 8).

⁵⁹ Douglas to Police Commissioner, 1 March 1878, Port Douglas Inspector's Letterbook, POL/12M/G1/78/36.

that had the deceased and his mates ‘stood and faced the blacks’, they could ‘easily have fought their way to the tent where their weapons were and so saved their lives’.⁶¹ Self-defence was expected on the frontier.

As far as many, if not most, settlers were concerned, the ‘advance of settlement’ could not be reversed, and if the Aborigines resisted, the settlers would be justified in taking the law into their own hands.⁶² One newspaper item in 1885 noted the danger of persons ‘travelling without firearms’.

No man should travel anywhere in the north without effective firearms ready for immediate use, for no one knows the day nor the hour when the festive myall will waltz in on him with a carefully selected bundle of black palm spears.⁶³

It is references such as this that give us useful insights into the world of the Native Police.

One particular episode set the tone of the debate about self-protection on the Queensland frontier for many decades – the killings at Cullin-la-ringo in 1861. The consensus of many newspaper correspondents and officials, including Governor Bowen, was that squatter Horatio Wills was to blame for the deaths of nineteen settlers. Wills had ignored good advice, trusted the local Blacks and failed to issue firearms to his men.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Inquest into deaths of Henry Irving and Nicholas Miller at Rockhampton, JUS/N3/61/65.

⁶¹ Inquest into the death of Alfred Wright at Maytown, JUS/N152/88/93.

⁶² ‘Aboriginal Punishment’, *Darling Downs Gazette* (21 January 1885: 2).

⁶³ ‘Blacks in the North’ from the *Cairns Chronicle*, *Darling Downs Gazette* (4 April 1885).

⁶⁴ Despatch from Governor Bowen to the Secretary of State for Colonies, 16 December 1861, Governor’s Despatches, GOV/23/61/74. See also numerous later references, including Henry Lamond’s claim that ‘many men’ remembered that ‘the Willses demanded kindness to the blacks. No firearms were allowed’, ‘Queensland Native Mounted Police’ by Henry Lamond, *The Bulletin* (1 April 1953): 39.

Not all writers have accepted this argument about a lack of guns.⁶⁵ There was, according to one relative, ‘an excellent supply of firearms’ and Wills ‘frequently offered them to the men’, but they refused, obviously feeling quite safe with Aboriginal people.⁶⁶ After the sudden attack, revenge parties operated in Central Queensland for months afterwards. There is a considerable amount of writing on the Cullin-la-ringo killings, with over fifty primary sources, and more than sixty books and articles mentioning this particular violent event. Many suggest European actions played no part in the deaths of twenty settlers. This blinkered attitude still exists in some minds today.⁶⁷ Aboriginal resistance to European invasion was not considered valid and appropriate action, but the armed defence of settlers’ assets was seen as lawful and justifiable homicide. Writers often used Cullin-la-ringo, like Hornetbank, as an example, because it provided ‘reliable’ evidence of Indigenous ‘savagery’ and ‘treachery’.

Two early influential works on the Cullin-la-ringo killing were Oscar De Satgé’s *Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter* and JTS Bird’s *The Early History of Rockhampton*. De Satgé wrote ‘this terrible killing acted as a warning to many not to trust or admit the blacks’; Bird repeated this assessment by describing the event as ‘an especially atrocious outrage which showed everyone that the blacks were not to be

⁶⁵ ‘The tent occupied by the squatter was a well-stocked armory’ and ‘his own tent was a well-stocked arsenal’, JE Murphy ‘Operation Massacre’, *Life* (July 1952:6) and ‘The Massacre at Cullin-la-Ringo’, *Walkabout* 32, 6 (June 1966: 20)

⁶⁶ TS Wills Cooke, *The Currency Lad: A Biography of Horatio Spencer Howe Wills and the Story of His Immediate Family* (1997), 111.

⁶⁷ Eight articles and two books specifically on the Cullin-la-ringo killing have been located, and the historical evolution of the retelling of this particular ‘frontier clash’ is possibly one of the most fascinating aspects of Queensland colonial history. See Cooke, *The Currency Lad* (1997); Martin Flanagan, *The Call* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1998); and Les Perrin, *Cullin-la-ringo: The Triumph and Tragedy of Tommy Wills*, (Brisbane, 1998).

trusted'.⁶⁸ Historian Ross Johnston says simply 'nineteen people were murdered by Aborigines'. He made no mention of the clear evidence of European provocation.⁶⁹ A report was published soon after saying the attack was caused by the abduction of two boys by three 'New South Wales gentlemen' who refused to release them despite being followed by sixty men for a 'considerable distance'.⁷⁰

In other times and places, the frontier attitude of 'shoot it if it moves' persisted. Twenty years after Cullin-la-ringo, miners and settlers were still confident they could shoot Aboriginal people with impunity. Native Police operations must be seen against this backdrop. Ex-Sub Inspector Stanhope O'Connor wrote to the papers in 1880, saying he had 'peacefully interviewed' tribes north of Cooktown who told him 'a white man always shot at a blackfellow when he had a chance'.⁷¹

Justifying the violence

Several generations later, people still justified the slaughter by the Native Police. Writer Henry Lamond, the son of an officer, argued 'we cannot turn back the clock'. He admitted that the violence on the frontier was ferocious, but called it a necessity.⁷²

⁶⁸ Oscar De Satgé, *Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter* (Hurst and Blackett, London, 1901), 154, and JTS Bird, *The Early History of Rockhampton* (Rockhampton, 1904), 96. Both are widely quoted by later writers.

⁶⁹ W Ross Johnston, *The Long Blue Line* (Boolarong, Brisbane, 1992), 7.

⁷⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 December 1861).

⁷¹ 'Black v. White' by Stanhope O'Connor, *The Queenslander* (18 December 1880: 786).

⁷² Henry G Lamond, 'Queensland Native Mounted Police', *The Bulletin* (28 January 1953): 27.

Lamond has been quoted widely as a reliable source on Native Police frontier violence.⁷³

Settlers believed in simple solutions to problems in the complex colonial world. As recently as 1959, this was still the conventional history of the Queensland frontier.

In war, one suppresses excuses for the enemy: fear makes fury relentless, and the squatters met ferocity with ferocity, in terror for their wives and children. They found, they thought, an effective answer to the native warriors in the Native Mounted Police. They claimed, with reason, that they had no alternative.⁷⁴

Henry Lamond was more interested in defending the reputation of the Native Police and that of his father, Inspector James Lamond, than objectively describing frontier history. He was also interested in mounting a moral defence for violence as an act of settlement. Archival records show that James Lamond expressed the usual frontier attitudes, including a classic statement in 1897, 'When the blacks begin to know their own strength they may then become a serious trouble again'.⁷⁵ Evidence of attitudes similar to Lamond's can be found in many books and articles celebrating the pioneer experience.⁷⁶

⁷³ See for example the four semi-official histories of the Native Police in Queensland, which are often word-for-word paraphrases of Lamond's writings. These are Sergeant A Whittington, of the Queensland Police Public Relations Unit, 'The Queensland Native Mounted Police', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 7, 3 (1964: 508-520); A. Whittington, 'A History of Queensland's Native Mounted Police', *Insurance Lines* (1965: 12-17 & 4-8); Anonymous, 'The history of the Native Mounted Police', *Generation* 10, 1 (1987: 7-12); and Anonymous, 'History of the Queensland Native Mounted Police', *Police History* 2, 1 (1988: 8-11). Writers still use the same approach; see Phil Hocken, 'Queensland Native Police', *Queensland Police Union Journal* (December 2000: 25).

⁷⁴ Sir Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack, 'The Aborigines', *Triumph in the Tropics* (Brisbane: Smith & Paterson, 1959), 186.

⁷⁵ Report from Insp Lamond at Cooktown to Commissioner, 4 July 1897, General Correspondence, POL/J14/97/8526.

⁷⁶ See, for example, 'Conflicts with Blacks: Dreadful Plights of Pioneers' by 'Baralga', *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine* (June 1946: 17-29); 'Pioneering Days: "We Fought with the Black and We Blazed the Track"' by Unknown, *North Australian*

Frontier violence affected all levels of colonial society.⁷⁷ There may have been Members of the Queensland Parliament who had killed Aboriginal people. An inquest, held at Maryborough into the death of an Aboriginal woman in 1864, found George Curtis, who later became a Parliamentarian, had shot her.⁷⁸ There is also evidence that Queensland's first Labor Premier (Anderson Dawson) was involved in a frontier retaliatory massacre while prospecting in the Kimberley region of Western Australia in 1886.⁷⁹

Those who criticised the violence employed by the Native Police and settlers attracted contempt. A news item on the colony's northern districts included an invitation to 'let those who have put these articles in the Sydney papers, about killing the aboriginals, come up here for a short time'.⁸⁰ After Cullin-la-ringo, Tom Wills criticised the 'Brisbane saints' who, he said, 'will probably cry':

"Oh pity the poor inoffensive blacks". They should come to this district and see the place while the babies of the murdered men are above the ground. If that sight would not turn their hypocritical cry, they ought to be put at the bottom of a well to get cool, and give them time to reflect.⁸¹

Monthly (April 1955): 26-27; and Robert Arthur Johnstone, *Spinifex and Wattle: Reminiscences of Pioneering in North Queensland*, edited by and compiled by JW Johnstone-Need (Brisbane, 1985, originally published in *The Queenslander*, 1903-05).

⁷⁷ Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1998).

⁷⁸ See 'Maryborough News', *Brisbane Courier* (24 September 1864) and Maryborough Circuit Court Records, CCT/3B/N7.

⁷⁹ See Raymond Evans, 'The Politics of Leprosy: Race, Disease and the Rise of Labor,' *The World's First Labor Government*, edited by Joanne Scott and Kay Saunders (Brisbane: Royal Historical Society of Queensland, 2001), 48.

⁸⁰ 'Country Intelligence from the North', *The Courier* (4 October 1862).

⁸¹ Letter 'The Nogo District' from Thomas Wills, *Darling Downs Gazette* (22 October 1863: 3). Eventually Tom Wills' attitude towards Aboriginal people mellowed, and he became the coach of the first Aboriginal cricket team before finally killing himself while in an alcoholic daze; see Les Perrin, *Cullin la Ringo*, and Greg M de Moore, 'The suicide of Thomas Wentworth Wills', *Medical Journal of Australia* 171, 6/20 (1999: 656-8).

Other settlers expressed similar attitudes in the debate over what to do with the Natives. Social anxieties and fears, mixed with bravado and brutality, caused one editor to declare ‘very few people have even the remotest idea of the dangers faced by the pioneer squatters of Queensland’.⁸² This was not an isolated outburst. A particularly scathing letter from one frontier resident, published in 1865, claimed too many people were giving the Blacks ‘special treatment’. If settlers were killed ‘not much would be said or done’, but if an Aborigine was killed, ‘the folks inside and the mock philanthropists [would] raise a cry immediately, send writs, [and] send up their officers, attended by a body of cavalry’.⁸³ Statements like these avoided admitting the true situation on the frontier. The Native Police functioned, purely and simply, as a retaliatory force.

Revenge

The Native Police was a retaliatory force, not a preventive one. Revenge may have prompted some of the worst killings. Squatters and other settlers may have killed more in reprisal raids than the Native Police did. It is against this background of hatred and distrust that the role of the Native Police must be considered.

There is reliable evidence of ‘revenge’ parties operating in colonial Queensland. The most infamous of these ‘death squads’, known as ‘The Browns’, was convened after

⁸² Editorial ‘Civilising the Aborigine’, *Brisbane Courier* (18 December 1890: 4).

the killing of the Fraser family at Hornetbank in 1857.⁸⁴ For several months afterwards, native police and armed parties of squatters with their employees tried to kill almost every Aboriginal person they found.⁸⁵ One Upper Dawson squatter, George Serocold, wrote to his brother in England, saying ‘Whatever you do be careful as I do not wish anybody to be able to read what I have written’.

Twelve of us turned out and taking rations with us we patrolled the country for 100 miles round for three weeks and spared none of the grownup blacks which we could find.⁸⁶

He added, ‘In dealing with savages you must make yourself feared’.

The only surviving members of the Fraser family – Sylvester (West) and William, shared this approach. When grazier Andrew Murray met William Fraser in Central Queensland three years after Hornetbank, Fraser reportedly said that he had shot ‘seventy blacks to date’.⁸⁷ Known to many Aboriginal people as ‘Nemesis’ and ‘Debbil Debbil’, Fraser killed so many that a rumour began to spread in the nineteenth century that he had

⁸³ ‘Subdivision of the Colony’ by Karl Choetun at Charleville, *Brisbane Courier* (6 May 1865).

⁸⁴ Eleven settlers, including eight members of the Fraser family and other employees, were killed at Hornetbank station on the Upper Dawson River on 27 October 1857. Ernest Davies was one of the party, and later named the rest of the ‘reprisal’ team; see EC Davies, ‘Some Reminiscences of Early Queensland’, *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal* 6, 1 (1958) 36-9.

⁸⁵ See report saying ‘a great many of the Aborigines had come down from the Upper Dawson for the purpose of escaping from the Native Police and the whites who were pursuing them’, Wiseman to Colonial Secretary, 19 May 1858, Crown Land Commissioner Wiseman’s Letterbook, CCL 3/G2.

⁸⁶ Letter from George Serocold to Charles Serocold, 31 December 1857, *Serocold Papers*, John Oxley Library, Queensland Historical Retrieval Project 5-7. See also Gordon Reid, *Nest of Hornets* (Canberra: Oxford University Press, 1982).

⁸⁷ *Andrew Murray’s Diaries*, AUS-NQ List, <http://members.hn.ozemail.com.au/fhang/ausnq/murray.html>

a 'licence to kill'. Popular writers in the twentieth century helped establish this particular 'frontier myth', the 'license to kill', as an accepted historical fact.⁸⁸ One letter-writer said that the Police 'shut their eyes to happenings not easy to stop', but when Fraser 'could not stay his own hand', he went 'within an ace of having to face a murder charge'.⁸⁹ There are records suggesting William Fraser served for a brief period as an Acting Sub Inspector in the Native Police.⁹⁰ His employment in the force reminds us that hatred of Aboriginal people was no impediment to a Police appointment. Apart from assisting the Native Police in identifying and killing Aboriginal people, the Fraser brothers executed their own private vendetta.⁹¹

A similar (and also incorrect) rumour survives that Macintyre River grazier James Marks also had been granted 'unofficial permission to shoot any native on sight for six months' after the death of his son.⁹² Marks was described by one contemporary as 'a hater of all aboriginals'.⁹³ Edgar Foreman wrote in 1928 that 'special licenses were

⁸⁸ For the reference to 'Nemesis' see 'Travels in the Maranoa and Leichhardt Districts' by 'Nomad', *Western Star* (11 September 1875); the term 'Debbil Debbil' is mentioned by Clem Lack and Harry Stafford, *The Rifle and the Spear* (Brisbane: Fortitude Press, 1965), 26. Claims that William Fraser had a permit to shoot Aborigines were made in 'Queensland Tragedies' by 'Tramp' (CA Jenkinson), *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine* (January 1939) and Arthur Laurie, 'Hornet Bank Killing', *Journal of the Historical Society of Queensland* 5, 5 (1957).

⁸⁹ 'Queensland Native Mounted Police' by 'R', *The Bulletin* (11 March 1953): 30.

⁹⁰ *Queensland Police Gazette* 4 (25 February 1867: 24)

⁹¹ Fraser went out with Native Police detachments to identify and to help kill Blacks from Hornet Bank, Walker to Murray, 30 December 1857, cited in David Denholm, *Some Aspects of Squatting in New South Wales and Queensland, 1847-1864* (Doctoral thesis, Australian National University, 1972) 350-351.

⁹² One example of this 'frontier myth', claiming Marks killed fifteen men, is included in DW de Havelland, *Gold and Ghosts Volume 3: Queensland Central and Southern Districts* (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1987), 57.

⁹³ See Mark Copland, 'The Native Police at Callandoon: A Blueprint for Forced Assimilation', *Policing the Lucky Country*, edited by Mike Enders and Benoît Dupont (Sydney, Hawkins Press, 2001), 85-6.

granted certain people' to punish tribes that murderers belonged to, which suggests that the myth was well established by the early decades of the twentieth century.⁹⁴ Beliefs, incorporating elements of the Fraser story, claiming permits were issued to kill Aborigines survive in pioneer historiography.⁹⁵

William Fraser – 'Debbil Debbil' – was, however, the best known of the 'vengeful' men in colonial Queensland. If he did serve in the Native Police, he was, by all accounts, in his element. According to two correspondents who claimed to have interviewed him, no permit to kill Aboriginal people was ever granted, although Fraser did allegedly admit to one correspondent 'I carried out my work of revenge'.⁹⁶ Whenever there was a public debate on frontier violence in the press, someone invariably mentioned the deaths at Hornetbank and Fraser's vengeance. Writers often claimed that Fraser's revenge was perfectly justifiable and, by extension, so would other killings be acceptable.⁹⁷ In a chilling way, the exceptional act of vengeance became, through the legend of William Fraser, legitimised for a substantial number of people, even though it remained illegal. A persistent rumour survives that William Fraser shot an Aboriginal woman in a town simply because she was wearing a dress just like one of his mother's.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Edgar Foreman, *The History and Adventures of a Queensland Pioneer* (Brisbane: Exchange Printing Co, 1928), 20.

⁹⁵ Cited in Max Kamien, *The Dark People of Bourke: A study of planned social change* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1978), 15 and Gillian Cowlishaw, *Black, White or Brindle: Race in rural Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 28.

⁹⁶ See 'The Black Protectorate' by 'Aboriginal', *The Queenslander* (26 December 1896: 1221); and 'Glimpses of Early Ipswich', *Queensland Times* (7 May 1909).

⁹⁷ 'History records no just cause for the committal of the tragedy'. This attitude was still entrenched in living memory, Roy S Farley, 'Fraser Memorial "Hornet Bank" Massacre by Aborigines', *Queensland Geographical Journal* (1957: 23)

⁹⁸ Apparently first mentioned in Bird, *The Early History of Rockhampton*, 201, it also appeared in Harry Perry, 'Memories of the Native Police', in *The Steering Wheel and*

Evidence of popular legitimacy of vengeance is plentiful. After the Cullin-laringo killing in 1861, survivor Tom Wills wrote to his family, saying he wanted ‘good resolute men that will shoot every black they see’.⁹⁹ His attitude was endorsed by Colonial Secretary Herbert who wrote to neighbouring squatters saying ‘the thanks of the Government are due in the first instance to yourselves for so promptly coming forward to avenge the killed’.¹⁰⁰ After the Cullin-la-ringo killing, Governor Bowen reported to England that ‘an uncontrollable desire for vengeance took possession of every heart’ of the neighbouring squatters, and ‘about thirty of the tribe of murderers are said to have fallen in the deadly struggle which ensued when the eleven English avengers stormed their camp’.¹⁰¹ According to one recent publication, over seventy squatters rallied to ‘seek out those responsible’, and ‘local legends recount many graphic tales of encounters and dispersals’.¹⁰² It was later reported that about seventy Aborigines had been killed in retaliation.¹⁰³

Others also had reasons to hate Indigenous people, and were appointed to the force. Pioneer settler John Uhr was killed during an Aboriginal attack in 1845, and his

Society & Home (1 June 1935: 53-55); then in Michael Cannon, *Life in the Country* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1973), 72; and Glenville Pike, *Queensland Frontier*, (Mareeba: Pinevale Press, 1973), 61. For a detailed discussion of the Hornetbank killing and its aftermath (and the Fraser brothers), see Reid, *A Nest of Hornets*, 100.

⁹⁹ TW Wills to HCA Harrison, 24 October 1861, National Library of Australia, MS 1468.

¹⁰⁰ Colonial Secretary to Messrs Gregson, McIntosh and others at Rainworth, 11 November 1861, Colonial Secretary’s Letterbook, COL/R2/61/893.

¹⁰¹ Despatch from Governor Bowen to Secretary of State for Colonies, 16 December 1861, Governor’s Despatches, GOV/23/61/74.

¹⁰² Grahame Walsh, *Carnarvon and Beyond* (Tarakka Nowan Kas Publications, 1999), 87.

¹⁰³ ‘Queensland News’ from the *Rockhampton Bulletin* saying the police ‘overtook a tribe of natives, shot down sixty or seventy, and ceased firing when their ammunition was expended’, *Sydney Morning Herald* (11 December 1861).

two nephews (Reginald and Wentworth D'Arcy Uhr) served in the Native Police.¹⁰⁴ Revenge parties existed in many parts of Queensland. According to one 1866 news item, after a traveller was found murdered most of the neighbours assembled and 'set off to chastise the murderers, and succeeded to a sickening degree – having so thoroughly whipped some thirty of the depredators that they will never again ask to smell gunpowder'.¹⁰⁵ Travellers on the road from the Flinders River to the Norman township in the Gulf district believed 'there were no blacks alive within a radius of twenty miles' after retributive raids following the death of one settler in 1874.¹⁰⁶

Understandably, first hand accounts of a vengeance party are rare. One credible account of a killing, perpetrated by squatters and their employees, is found in the reminiscences of Edward Hobkirk, an employee at Dowling's station on the Bulloo River.¹⁰⁷ According to Hobkirk, grazier John ('Jack') Dowling was killed in 1864 by his 'pet blackboy' and Dowling's brother Vincent wrote to the nearest Native Police (probably Bungil Creek near Roma) about the murder. Hobkirk said Dowling was told to 'take what measures he thought best to revenge the murder', so 'all the men in the

¹⁰⁴ John Uhr, the uncle of Reginald and Wentworth D'Arcy Uhr, was killed during an Aboriginal attack at Wivenhoe in the Brisbane Valley in 1845. See *McConnel Papers*, John Oxley Library, OM 79.017/31 and John Steele, *The Petersons and the Uhrs: An Australian Family Since 1825* (Brisbane: Queensland Historical Facsimiles, 1980), 27. Appointment of Reginald Uhr as Cadet, 23 December 1862, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E6/62/52; appointment of Wentworth D'Arcy Uhr as Acting Sub Inspector, *Queensland Police Gazette* 2 (17 October 1865: 67).

¹⁰⁵ 'North Queensland News', *The Queenslander* (7 July 1866: 9).

¹⁰⁶ 'In the Gulf Country' by John Yeneer, *The Queenslander* (14 February 1874: 9).

¹⁰⁷ EO Hobkirk, *Original Reminiscences of South West Queensland*, National Library of Australia, MS 3460, Volume 2. It is unclear when Hobkirk actually wrote this account, but the other records in the file cover the period from 1870 to 1923. Hobkirk gave his manuscript to William Gall at the Home Secretary's Office in 1922.

neighbourhood' were assembled and 'armed with revolvers and rifles' before the local Aboriginal people were mustered.¹⁰⁸ Hobkirk admitted he helped bury the bodies that Dowling and others shot at several camps.¹⁰⁹

The most chilling examples of frontier attitudes are those, like Hobkirk's, which are contained in private records. As Richard Broome notes, looking at the private letters of settlers helps us to 'fully understand the frontier and its violent face'.¹¹⁰ However, the fact is that exhaustive research has turned up few accounts and most are brief. They are no less disturbing because of their brevity. In fact, the terseness and almost mundane character of the remarks is troubling, because it implies how easily frontiersmen dismissed the lives of Aborigines. Writer George Carrington related in his book *Colonial Adventures and Experiences* how he saw piles of bodies.¹¹¹ A journal entry by prospector James Mulligan stated 'Mr Firth's people are gone out after the blacks.'¹¹² Station

¹⁰⁸ Hobkirk, *Original Reminiscences*. The Dowling brothers were the nephews of Sir James Dowling, a New South Wales judge, and related to other leading squatter families. See a family tree of the Dowling family in David Denholm, *The Colonial Australians* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1979), 177, and a list of their relatives (including James Morisset) in Anthony Dowling (editor), *Reminiscences of a Colonial Judge: James Sheen Dowling* (Sydney: The Federation Press, 1996), 202. John Dowling's death was confirmed in the *Brisbane Courier* (4 June 1864), and the repercussions are mentioned in Bobbie Hardy, *Lament for the Barkindji: the vanished tribes of the Darling River Region* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1976), 116.

¹⁰⁹ One source says Vincent Dowling 'subsequently became a terror to the blacks', Charles F Maxwell, *Australian Men of Mark 1788-1888 1* (Sydney: Charles F Maxwell, no date), 385.

¹¹⁰ Richard Broome, 'The Statistics of Frontier Conflict', *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Bain Attwood and SG Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003).

¹¹¹ George Carrington, *Colonial Adventures and Experiences* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1871).

¹¹² 'Expedition in Search of Gold and Other Minerals in the Palmer Districts, by Mulligan and Party', in *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* 3 (1876): 403-4.

manager Blagden Chambers described the finding of twenty-five bodies after a Native Police action on the Warrego River in the early 1860s.¹¹³

There are many newspaper items about frontier violence and conflict. Some reports were false and others were repetitions of previous news items or relayed news from other newspapers, often months out of date. These delayed tales, hardly news, seem deliberately calculated to justify acts of vengeance. One example of this late coverage is the news item about the murder of the 'Strau' (Straher) family, on the road from Cooktown to the Palmer River, and the subsequent Native Police action. The *Northern Territory Times* reported in April 1875 that 'a day or so after the murders were committed', Sub Inspectors Coward, Townsend and Douglas 'came upon the black vagabonds, and 'quietly dispersed' them.¹¹⁴ The Police had first recorded these deaths in October 1874, some five months earlier.¹¹⁵ Evidently, the story was considered sufficiently newsworthy for settlers on other frontiers to be kept informed of developments, regardless of the time lag. Former Native Police Cadet, and retired Chief Clerk of the Agriculture Department, Ernest Scriven, wrote a particularly gruesome account of the killing of the 'Strau' family fifty years after the event. Scriven's version of events was apparently based on a book published several years earlier.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Blagden Chambers, *Black and White* (Melbourne: Methuen, 1988)

¹¹⁴ *Northern Territory Times* (April 1875). I am grateful to Tony Roberts for this reference.

¹¹⁵ The family had been warned not to camp at that particular spot; see Inquest into the deaths of John, Bridget and Annie Straher at Cooktown, 21 October 1874, JUS/N41/74/274.

¹¹⁶ See WH Corfield, *Reminiscences of North Queensland, 1862-1899* (Brisbane: AH Frater, 1921), 57-58; and Ernest SE Scriven, 'Cooktown including the story of Mrs

Exterminating troublemakers: A colonial debate

Some colonists wanted to go beyond vengeance and called for the complete extermination of Aboriginal people. What is really disturbing is the way in which a great many people, from station hands to British visitors, from clergymen to newspaper editors, could discuss (cold bloodedly) the efficacy (even the ethics) of killing (locally or widely) other people. This complex, multi-dimensional continuing discussion can only be understood in an atmosphere of vengeance, racism (or racial arrogance), and greed.

The truth is that, in any rate in pastoral countries, there is a never ceasing war between the settler and the native but it is not by regular war that aboriginal races can be exterminated. The settler finds means surer and more inglorious. He imbibes a hatred for the whole native race, and learns to treat them as wild beasts, to be hunted down wherever found - as vermin to be exterminated without mercy whenever caught. He employs them in a task congenial to the taste of savages - the destruction of each other.¹¹⁷

How important and dangerous were these demands? In order to comprehend how some Queenslanders could have no respect for the lives of Aboriginal people and euphemistically describe their slaughter as mere 'dispersals', we need to, as best we can, explore the colonial mind on the subject of land and racial supremacy. As historian Barry Morris has noted, 'much of the evidence of the killing of Aborigines is found at the level

Watson, and the Hans Strau family murder by blacks', *North Queensland Pioneers*, compiled by Jane Black (Townsville: Queensland Country Women's Association, 1932).

¹¹⁷ 'Aborigines Protection Societies' (from *The Times*), *Brisbane Courier* (25 March 1865).

of local history published in the accounts of local squatters'.¹¹⁸ In fact, many local histories contain references to the killing of Aborigines.¹¹⁹ Several features are astonishing - the frank brutality of some statements, and the extensive range of opinions about the efficacy of killing.¹²⁰ The *Darling Downs Gazette* in 1861 provided a succinct statement on attitudes that cheapened Aboriginal lives, and made them unworthy.

The country does not belong to the black man; it is God's country. If He put the black man first upon the land, it must also be allowed that it is through His providence that the white man has come to dispossess that black man of that country which the latter has failed to apply to the purposes of its designed utility.¹²¹

There is a wealth of literature on the racial prejudice that settlers brought with them.¹²² The idea of vengeance, when fused with racism, produced flashes of extremism, as in, for example, the calls for extermination. Here we can see, as on other frontiers, the impatience of the colonists. The combination of racism, vengeance, and impatience produced 'dispersals'. What is important to the discussion of violence in Queensland is how racial prejudice, really racial arrogance, led to a shocking devaluation of human life.

¹¹⁸ Barry Morris, 'Frontier Colonialism as a Culture of Terror', *Power, Knowledge and the Aborigines*, edited by Bain Attwood (1992), 86.

¹¹⁹ See Tom Griffith's pertinent comment that local histories 'were always more alert to the Aboriginal past than were academic historians', Tom Griffiths, 'The Frontier Fallen', *Eureka Street* (2002).

¹²⁰ See Ray Evans, Kay Saunders & Kathryn Cronin, *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1975); Bill Thorpe, *Colonial Queensland* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1996); and Ros Kidd, *The Way We Civilise* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1997).

¹²¹ *Darling Downs Gazette* (21 November 1861: 3).

¹²² See, for example, a discussion of cannibalism in Gustav Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient roots of modern prejudice in western culture* (London, Routledge, 1999).

After the Native Police ‘gave a large number of Aboriginal people sharp reasons to move their quarters’ away from Cooktown, one correspondent said:

Desperate diseases call for strong remedies, and while we would regret a war of extermination, we cannot but admit that there exists a stern, though maybe a cruel necessity for it.¹²³

Some settlers insisted that miners and others should carry weapons not just for defence, but to actively participate in the decimation of Aboriginal people, which was (one said) ‘the one, the only remedy and redress’.¹²⁴

How did the extremists who promoted the elimination of Aborigines relate to or evaluate the Native Police? In the estimation of some, the force was a hindrance. A Roma correspondent wrote about Parliamentary debate on the Native Police in 1867.

It is, that all the old settlers dexterously avoid allusion to the wholesale ‘drives’ made by squatters in days of yore. They, old foxes, *know* that the moment pioneer settlers are left to protect themselves, a war of extermination commences. In fact, the native police do not get rid of the darkies quick enough for these sly old hypocrites; and if the native police is done away with, Lord help the blacks!¹²⁵

Journalist Arthur Vogan claimed that some settlers hunted Aborigines with dogs; one writer, calling himself ‘An Ex-Officer’ of the Native Police, said ‘a pack of hounds had

¹²³ ‘Cooktown News’ (from the *Cooktown Herald*), *Dalby Herald* (13 November 1875: 3).

¹²⁴ Letter ‘The Black Protectorate’ by ‘Shanahan’, *The Queenslander* (12 December 1896: 1126).

¹²⁵ *Dalby Herald* (2 November 1867: 3).

been trained to only attack wild blacks'.¹²⁶ There is no archival evidence to support these claims. Some settlers did, however, keep dogs to warn them when Aboriginal people approached at night.¹²⁷ The extent of brutal raids remains, unfortunately, unknown. What is important here is another element in a rationalisation for raids, quite apart from vengeance and simple racist attacks; extermination raids were justified as setting the tone, so that more kindly ways could follow! One newspaper item suggested that the country must be held by 'main force':

In occupying the country, it is necessary to subjugate the blacks, and the most merciful way of doing this, in the long run, is to treat them with severity at first. If they attempt to kill the whites, or to wage war against us, they must be shot down.¹²⁸

Others partly agreed; one writer in the 1870s claimed 'firearms have the effect of making the most savage blacks perfectly quiet'. Another said later 'we are all perfectly aware that the blacks must be kept in check, and that the only way to do so is to shoot pretty freely now and then'.¹²⁹ While hardly extermination, this advocate for 'occasional violence' drew support from the same frontier attitude, and fitted perfectly with the Native Police's *raison d'être*.

¹²⁶ Arthur J Vogan, *The Black Police: A Story of Modern Australia* (London: Hutchinson, 1890), 228; and 'Reminiscences of The Native Mounted Police of Queensland' by 'An Ex-officer', *Town and Country Journal* (29 March 1879: 607).

¹²⁷ For example, Lorna Davis, 'The Collins Family of Kirrama', *The Historical Society of Cairns Bulletin* 345 (1989).

¹²⁸ *Darling Downs Gazette* (21 November 1861: 3).

¹²⁹ 'What the Blacks are Good for' by 'A Wandering Philosopher' (from *The Australasian*), *The Queenslander* (17 January 1874); 'Lower Herbert News', *The Queenslander* (31 March 1877).

Many settlers argued that they had no alternative to violence, and believed the two races could not share the same country. Letters saying the Black resistance must be crushed or the colony abandoned are plentiful. An example gives an idea of their content: 'A war of extermination is the only policy to pursue, the alternative being an abandonment of the country, which no sane man will advocate for an instant'.¹³⁰

Sport

One particularly inexplicable form of brutality, associated with Native Police operations, was the practice of 'nigger-hunting'.¹³¹ When an Aboriginal man was killed near Maryborough in 1863, Lieutenant J Donald Harris of the Native Police was charged with murder, and dismissed from the force.¹³² The editor of *The Courier* said, in a scathing editorial on the affair, that Harris was 'not an exception' but an example 'selected from a class of gentlemen, who unable to obtain a living in an ordinary way, use the influence of friends to get them appointed to cadetships in the Native Police force'. According to the paper, 'Shooting blacks is, by them, considered good sport'. 'There is a certain amount of excitement no doubt in hunting down blackfellows'. Harris 'may have been wandering back to his old hunting days at home'. The paper 'congratulated the

¹³⁰ *The Queenslander* (31 March 1866: 7).

¹³¹ One author referred to 'Nigger Hunting' as 'a most unpleasant task', but one that 'had to be done if the white man was to make good as a stock producer', GJC McDonald, *Beyond Boundary Fences* (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1996), 82. The book is a collection of articles written by McDonald between 1937 and 1958.

colony upon being rid of a man who, according to evidence, proved himself to be perfectly careless of the life of a fellow-creature'.¹³³ The Court found no defence to the charge against Harris was necessary as there were no European witnesses, and promptly dismissed the charge.¹³⁴ Something similar happened on the North American frontier where Indians were 'stalked and killed as if they were animals' or killed by Whites 'just to try out their pistols'.¹³⁵

We know the Native Police 'hunted' Aborigines, but there is no way of knowing how many stations engaged in hunting down and shooting Aboriginal people. There is no way of knowing for how many years such actions occurred in particular districts, but there are clues to its almost mundane incorporation into station life. In a note in a diary kept at 'Shamrock Vale' near Mackay in 1871, there is a reference to 'Harry and Lance' being 'out on the prowl after niggers' but 'found none'. The day's entry included a poem called 'Scald Saga'.

Forth from the Hollow, gaily we sailed;
Each with his carbine, blackfellows after;
Home in the twilight, silent returned we;
Sad and dejected; niggers there were none.¹³⁶

¹³² Dismissal of Lieutenant Harris, 16 May 1863, Executive Council Minutes, EXE/E7/63/22.

¹³³ Editorial, *The Courier* (17 August 1863: 2).

¹³⁴ 'Maryborough News', *The Courier* (17 August 1863).

¹³⁵ Richard White, "*It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*": *A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 337 and David T Courtwright, *Violent Land: Single Men and Social Disorder from the Frontier to the Inner City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 114.

¹³⁶ One month later, Sub Inspector Armstrong and four troopers 'came up and stayed', *Rawson Papers*, John Oxley Library, MS 2967.

In some parts of Queensland hunting and killing Aboriginal people was considered by some settlers to be a form of acceptable action. By the 1880s, however, one colonist wrote ‘the shootings season is over in Queensland and the ‘Black Game’ is protected now by more humane laws than formerly’.¹³⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, change had begun on the Queensland frontier. In 1876 three Native Police officers – Hervey Fitzgerald, Frederick Wheeler and John Carroll – were charged with killing or injuring Aboriginal people. After Wheeler absconded while on bail and facing a charge of murder, newspapers throughout Queensland condemned the ‘diabolical murder’ he committed ‘in cold blood’:

This is how our colony is made to stink in the nostrils of all civilised people, either in Australia or England. The Northern digger, or the Western squatter who takes up his rifle in self-defence against the attacks of hostile blacks, is ignorantly classed by people at a distance with these fiends in human shape, who actually find amusement in murdering poor black wretches, who, they well know, are too weak to resist, and too friendless to seek redress.¹³⁸

A correspondent named ‘Outis’, writing in *The Queenslander* in 1880, argues for the truth to be revealed. ‘If as a colony we should indulge in wholesale murder of the race we are dispossessing, let us have the courage of our opinions and murder openly and deliberately – calling it *murder*, not ‘dispersal’’.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Australian Museum Curator Edward Ramsay to New Zealand Museum Director James Hector, 28 August 1882, National Museum of New Zealand Archives. I am grateful to Paul Turnbull for this reference.

¹³⁸ *Cooktown Courier* (18 October 1876: 3).

¹³⁹ ‘White versus Black’ by ‘Outis’, *The Queenslander* (15 May 1880: 627); see also Ros Kidd, *The Way We Civilise*, and Henry Reynolds, ‘The Crusade of *The Queenslander*, 1880-90’, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, 108-37.

These excerpts from archival records situate the Native Police in the debates in Queensland on exterminating Aboriginal people that extended from Separation until the 1890s. Given that the Native Police operated within this violent frontier context, what evidence is there that government ever attempted to control the force's 'excesses'? There is, as the records of violence show, very little sign of official restraint.¹⁴⁰

Native Police Operations

If one word could describe the operations of the Native Police, and its impact on Aboriginal people, it would be terror. As Chris Cuneen notes, our understanding of the colonial process has been broadened by the work of Taussig, who argues for 'the importance of the role of terror in maintaining a colonial hegemony, while 'officialdom' attempts to create a reality which denies the extent of terror'.¹⁴¹ In Australia, as elsewhere, conquerors (including many 'Christian' nations) used fear and brutalities as legitimate tactics for internal and external security.¹⁴² Europeans were 'enveloped' with violence.¹⁴³ There is abundant evidence that the commanders of the force deliberately sought to terrify and intimidate Indigenous people as much as they actively visited violence upon them. There are many more references in the literature to retaliation than

¹⁴⁰ '[N]othing effective was done to curtail the Native Police', Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 332.

¹⁴¹ Cuneen, *Conflict, Politics and Crime*, 107.

¹⁴² See Andrew Sinclair, *An Anatomy of Terrorism: A History of Terrorism* (London: Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁴³ Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 330.

any other action, and it can be assumed that retribution was a more practical tactic than prevention. What can be learned about the operations of the force from the historical material? A brief survey is revealing.

The Native Police operated, chiefly, in response to reports of Aboriginal attacks.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes colonial officials tried to justify the force as both preventive and retaliatory. When Colonial Secretary Sir Arthur Palmer made a speech in Parliament on the ‘Treatment of the Blacks’ in 1872, he referred to various critical articles in the *Courier*, *Pastoral Register* and *Central Australasian*¹⁴⁵. According to Palmer, the Queensland Government ‘had never followed a policy of extermination in dealing with the blacks. Their policy had been one of repression’; the Native Police force, he said, ‘vigorously patrolled in order to repress and prevent crime’.¹⁴⁶ The evidence shows differently. A careful cross-indexing of official records and other archival material reveals much about the activities of the force, despite the lack of specific records. By collating the police staff files, and the inquest files, with general correspondence and newspaper items, a reasonably good idea of how the Native Police operated in Queensland can be formed.

Many of the reports made by Commissioner Seymour and his subordinates argued that the tactics used by the force were fully justified, and argued that they had no choice against such ferocious and determined fighters. Nevertheless, the pretence of English justice was occasionally mentioned, and, in 1867, a memo was sent to all Inspectors from the Commissioner.

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix 6 ‘A Good Reliable Pamphlet’

¹⁴⁵ *The Queenslander* (22 June 1872: 9).

¹⁴⁶ *The Queenslander* (22 June 1872: 9).

When forwarding monthly duty reports, officers in command of Native Police are instructed to carefully insert on the back of each report the date of all outrages reported to have been committed by the Blacks, on whom, by whom reported, with particulars of outrages and supposed cause thereof, also date and full particulars of every “collision”. Officers of Native Mounted Police are cautioned to be careful when acting without Warrants.¹⁴⁷

There is little evidence in the surviving records of Seymour’s orders about this practice being carried out.

Sometimes the inquests give us insights beyond expectations into Native Police operations. Despite a general understanding that the force was only to be used against Aboriginal people, on a few occasions, it was used to police other races. In 1864, a detachment under Lieutenant Brown helped arrest notorious bushranger Frank Gardiner at Apis Creek.¹⁴⁸ Sub Inspector Frederick Murray reported in 1868 that his detachment went from their barracks at Conroy in pursuit of three or four Polynesians who were suspected of having killed two Europeans.¹⁴⁹ They ‘came up with them’, returned fire when shot at, and later found the body of one. The death of this man, Murray said, ‘was caused by a gunshot wound received in the affray with the troopers’.

Native Police detachments responded quickly to reports of Aboriginal ambushes. In late 1868, carrier Richard Gill found the body of a man in the scrub on the Logan Downs run near Clermont. The body had multiple wounds and according to the statement of fellow carrier Patrick Martin, there were ‘plenty of tracks of blacks’ nearby.¹⁵⁰ Martin had ‘no doubt the deceased was murdered by blacks’ while walking along the road.

¹⁴⁷ Commissioner of Police, General Orders, 14 May 1867, POL/4/249

¹⁴⁸ *The Courier* (14 March 1864), and *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 July 1864).

¹⁴⁹ Inquest into the death of Lahalowe (a South Sea Islander) at Bowen, JUS/N19/68/173.

Police Sub Inspector Maxwell Armstrong said that his trackers ‘got the tracks of two blacks’, and followed them until they joined the tracks of a mob of blacks ‘numbering eighty or ninety’. He did not ‘entertain the slightest doubt but that the man was murdered by blacks’. Judith Wright, in *The Cry for the Dead*, noted savage reprisals in this area after Cullin-la-ringo.¹⁵¹

After an inspection tour of northern districts, Seymour submitted a report to the Colonial Secretary in 1868.¹⁵² The coast between Townsville and Mackay was, he said, ‘inhabited by blacks of the most hostile character’ so he was ‘unable, as intended, to remove the Native Police from those districts’. Instead two ‘flying detachments, having no settled camp or barracks, would patrol constantly’ from Townsville to Mackay.¹⁵³ There are no reports on operations in the coastal area between Mackay and Bowen, and few inquests into Aboriginal deaths in that area, but it is clear that large-scale violence occurred there. The Leap, near Mackay, is named after a particularly brutal massacre involving the forcing of Aboriginal people over a cliff face. Clive Moore says the violence of the story ‘encapsulates Aboriginal-European relations around Mackay in the 1860s’.¹⁵⁴

There are better records for the Rockhampton area. In 1871, Frederick Wheeler sent a telegram to the Commissioner, saying he had ‘just returned from dispersing blacks

¹⁵⁰ Inquest into the death of unknown digger at Logan Downs, JUS/N23/69/A28.

¹⁵¹ Judith Wright, *Cry for the Dead* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981), 152.

¹⁵² *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1868).

¹⁵³ *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1868).

¹⁵⁴ See Thea Astley, *A kindness cup* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1974); Nicola Tareha, *The Legend of the Leap* (Townsville: James Cook University, 1986); and Clive Moore, ‘Blackgin’s Leap: A Window into Aboriginal-European Relations in the Pioneer Valley, Queensland in the 1860s’, *Aboriginal History* 14, 1-2 (1990): 61-79.

at Gracemere, Calinyul and seacoast'.¹⁵⁵ No more information was supplied by Inspector Wheeler or requested by Commissioner Seymour. A letter from "A Lover of Justice", published in the *Rockhampton Bulletin* soon after, claimed that Aborigines only stayed in Rockhampton to save their lives as they were hunted back by the Native Police if they went fifty miles from town.¹⁵⁶ The writer said 'the main cause of the trouble is the Native Police officers not allowing them a chance of living away from the haunts of whites'. "A Lover of Justice" claimed that 'An officer of the Native Police had recently boasted that he could shoot as many as he liked without interference'. This was undoubtedly a reference to Frederick Wheeler who was stationed in the Rockhampton district from the late 1860s until 1876. Oral history from a nearby area tells of several massacres by the Native Police, including one 'probably in the 1870s' at a mountain called Pyri Pyri ('big slaughter').¹⁵⁷

Inquests show that some deaths were attributed to the failure of the force to patrol. George Cessford, a recently arrived migrant from England, was working as a farm labourer at Mount Dryander near Bowen in December 1871. His employer, Charles Bradley, said that his wife informed him that 'the blacks came to my place and threatened the people there'.¹⁵⁸ Bradley said he was 'continually apprehensive of an attack from the blacks' and wrote several times to the Native Police for assistance but they 'have not

¹⁵⁵ Wheeler to Commissioner, 9 January 1871, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A170/72/1484

¹⁵⁶ *Rockhampton Bulletin* (17 January 1871).

¹⁵⁷ Paul Memmott, *Aboriginal Social History & Land Affiliations in the Rockhampton-Shoalwater Bay Region* (Canberra: Commonwealth Commission of Inquiry, Shoalwater Bay, Capricornia Coast, Queensland, 1993), 28; and Betty Cosgrove, *Shoalwater Bay: Settlers in a Queensland Wilderness* (Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press, 1996), 18.

¹⁵⁸ Inquest into the death of George Cessford at Mount Dryander, JUS/N32/72/19.

been near my place since March 1871'. He believed that the blacks were 'more dangerous and daring' as a result of the absence of the Native Police. Bradley said that when he last saw Cessford alive, he told him 'if he was afraid of the blacks to get his horse and come home'. Apparently Cessford 'did not appear to be afraid' but the next time Bradley went to the landing, he found that his worker was missing. After an initial search, Bradley went to Crystal Brook station for help, but was unable to get any assistance. Eventually the body was found and Bradley stated at the inquest that he believed the body 'had the appearance of having been killed by blacks'. No record of a Native Police response has been found.

When Acting Commissioner Barron submitted the 1871 *Annual Report*, he said that an additional detachment of Native Police had been stationed at Bowen Downs 'on account of the aboriginals having become troublesome and dangerous'.¹⁵⁹ It was also argued that the detachment at Nebo needed strengthening as the Aborigines were 'continually threatening the settlers and spearing cattle'. According to the report 'several murders' had occurred in this district but it was noted that some were 'acts of revenge on account of settlers carrying off gins and small boys to be made servants'.¹⁶⁰ The same thing happened on Commando raids by Boers in the Cape Colony. No further details of these abductions have been located in the archival material.

In 1872 Aborigines killed Dick Welford at Isis Downs on the Lower Barcoo. According to parliamentarian Lumley Hill, eight persons had been murdered in the district in the last sixteen months, and the inefficiency of the Native Police patrols in the

¹⁵⁹ *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1872).

¹⁶⁰ *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1872).

area was blamed for the outrages.¹⁶¹ Hill went to the closest Native Police barracks at Tambo to report the murder and returned with Insp Maxwell Armstrong and four troopers. No further records relating to Native Police activities after this event have been found to date. Records have been found of five deaths from frontier violence in the Lower Barcoo district during the previous two years.¹⁶² Hill had said 'I can now only attribute his death to the inefficiency of the patrolling officer of Native Police in this district'. Acting Sub Inspector Nicholson, the officer referred to, was suspended and dismissed.¹⁶³ However, one correspondent connected the shooting of blacks by 'a young gentleman gaining colonial experience' with the death of Richard Welford, who, the writer claimed, was killed by blacks in revenge for Native Police killings.¹⁶⁴

On other occasions, officers reported that they had no alternative but to kill. Frontier violence continued for years in parts of Central Queensland, and some colonists 'took no prisoners'. Shepherd Frederick Maier was found lying dead at a camp near Aramac in 1872.¹⁶⁵ An Aboriginal named Tambo was suspected because a gun was missing and 'there was no trace of him or his gin and the camp was deserted'. Sub

¹⁶¹ Report on the death of Richard Welford at the Barcoo River, May 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A168/72/806. Edward Harries later gave an account of the murders of Welford and stockman Henry Hall, and subsequent reprisals, in the *Croydon Record* (date unknown).

¹⁶² Inquest into the death of Ah Foo at Bowen Downs, JUS/N28/71/49; Chief Inspector Murray to Commissioner, reporting on the death of Herbert Davis and blackboy at Marion Downs, Midlands Inspector's Letterbook, A/36335/71/142; and Lumley Hill to Colonial Secretary, 6 May 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A168/72/806.

¹⁶³ Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A168/72/806

¹⁶⁴ 'How we Civilise the Blacks IV', quoting the *Western Champion* of 26 May 1880, *The Queenslander* (12 June 1880: 754). One local history claims Welford was 'bludgeoned from behind' while drinking, but no records have been found to confirm or deny this. See Margaret Reeves, *A Strange Bird on the Lagoon* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1985), 27.

Inspector John Dunne said that he went to the scene with five troopers and searched the vicinity, but found no tracks. Dunne followed Tambo's tracks and 'came up' with him next morning. When the Native Police tried to arrest Tambo, he 'was so violent' that they were 'unable to do so'. Dunne was 'obliged to shoot him to prevent his escape'.

A similar incident was reported in 1872, when the Police Magistrate at Cloncurry, Aulaire Morisset, held an inquest. John Cook was camped about 160 kilometres from the Norman River.¹⁶⁶ Robert Gome, who witnessed the attack, said that he was woken during the night by a cry of "Oh God I am speared". Gome said that he saw three blackfellows close to deceased and 'two spears standing up and sticking on the deceased'. He fired a shot after the blacks and went to Cook, who was 'rolling on the ground'. Later Gome, Acting Sub Inspector Alexander Salmond and five troopers went to the 'scene of the outrage'. Then, Salmond said, he followed the tracks and 'came up' with the blacks and 'dispersed them', but 'found nothing with them' that would connect them with 'the outrage'. He was confident that the troopers had 'followed the same tracks' from the Norman River.

After Cullin-la-Ringo, the most important 'collision' on the Queensland frontier took place after the wreck of the *Maria* near Cardwell in 1872. Stories about the alleged murder of part of the crew, and the ruthless actions of several reprisal parties, were published in the colonial press.¹⁶⁷ This event, and the subsequent barbarous and largely unjustified retaliation, have been the subject of several books. It is also mentioned in a

¹⁶⁵ Inquest into the death of Frederick Maier at Aramac, JUS/N34/72/187.

¹⁶⁶ Inquest into the death of John Cook at Cloncurry, JUS/N35/72/271.

¹⁶⁷ *Brisbane Courier* (4 April 1872), and reports on the wreck of the *Maria*, July 1872, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A172/72/1812; see also 'Loss of the Brig "Maria" by Fitzroy', http://www.tarrier.net/events/maria_1.html.

number of articles.¹⁶⁸ Cardwell residents and Royal Navy sailors joined an expedition arranged to go 'in search of rafts and punish the Blacks for murdering the Captain and crew'. Sub Inspector Johnstone and his troopers, along with a second detachment, sailed up the coast, and attacked a 'black's camp' at daylight. According to one source, the Royal Navy officers were 'disgusted' by the 'unrestrained ferocity' of the troopers.¹⁶⁹ There can be no doubt that the Native Police, on this occasion, operated in a retaliatory fashion rather than in a preventive manner. Large numbers of Aboriginal people were killed on the coast north of Cardwell, including some who had helped European shipwreck survivors.

As the colonial frontier moved further north, Native Police operations shifted too. By the mid 1870s, open and savage warfare existed at the Palmer River goldfield. Records show how clashes developed and the consequences of violence. According to the evidence given at one inquest, a group of miners saw 'blacks in great numbers', who appeared 'very hostile'.¹⁷⁰ The miners were 'all armed' but the blacks 'surrounded them' and threw spears at them. The miners fired shots, which 'kept them off for a little' but they were attacked again soon after. As they retreated, one man was speared in the side. He cried "Oh" and pulled the spear out, then fell dead. Police arrived one day later but the body could not be found. Sub Inspector Edward Dumaresq testified that 'the greater

¹⁶⁸ See WT Forster, *Wreck of the Maria or Adventure of the New Guinea Prospecting Association* (Sydney: J Reading & Co, 1872); JW Collinson, 'Wreck of the Brig "Maria"', *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine* (May 1944: 5); and Peter Maiden, *Shipwreck of the New Guinea Gold Explorers* (Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press, 2000).

¹⁶⁹ Captain John Moresby, *Discoveries & Surveys in New Guinea and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands* (London: John Murray, 1876), 42.

¹⁷⁰ Inquest into the death of Cornelius Hurford at Palmer River, July 1874, JUS/N41/74/225.

part of his detachment' had deserted so he 'was able to take only one boy with him'. He said he saw a camp recently occupied by 'a body of blacks', but no trace of the deceased. Dumaresq concluded 'I am certain that the blacks had removed the body and it is my opinion from my experience of the habits of the blacks in this part of Queensland that they eat it'. Dumaresq was dismissed soon afterwards.¹⁷¹

The killing of the Straher family (John, Bridget and Annie) has already been mentioned. It was one of the few instances of the death of a non-Aboriginal woman or a child on the northern frontier. Alfred Court, a publican at Palmerville, was travelling from the Palmer to Cooktown with miner Charles Standen when they saw that 'blacks had thrown logs across the road' and 'heard them yabbering'.¹⁷² When the blacks saw the horsemen, they 'started to run' and Court 'galloped after them towards the Normanby River'. Standen called out to him, and they then saw a dray with the bodies of a man, a woman and a child lying nearby. Standen stated that all three bodies had 'tomahawk wounds about the head'. Court said that 'as they had only a revolver with two charges in it', and the 'scrub was quite close', they 'did not think it safe to remain at that hour in the evening'. They proceeded along the road until they reached a large camp of bullock drivers, where they stayed the night. Next morning 'a large party, well armed' went to bury the bodies. One of the bullock drivers, named Martin Greene, said that he had met the Straher family on the previous day and warned them not to camp at the lagoon because 'I thought there were blacks about there'. A note was sent to Sub Inspector

¹⁷¹ Dumaresq was dismissed for an unspecified reason, but the desertion of his troopers was mentioned in the inquest deposition, and appeared in *The Queenslander* soon after. See inquest JUS/N41/74/225; 'Palmer News', *The Queenslander* (15 August 1874); POL/4/583 & *Queensland Police Gazette* 12 (31 January 1875: 64)

¹⁷² JUS/N41/74/274.

Douglas about the killing, advising him that they had seen ‘about 40 blacks, all male and armed with bundles of spears’. The bodies were buried and the family’s surviving horses were handed over to the police.

The colonial press reported this particularly violent episode as an outrage. Newspaper reports from the Palmer said the ‘Stroh murders’ were reported by Mr Court, who ‘hunted the blacks to the river’ where several ‘gave signs of distress by jumping into the air’.¹⁷³ Court, the papers said, found their bodies, but was almost out of ammunition so left them unburied and went to a teamster’s camp nearby; a ‘well-armed party’ went in pursuit while Court advised Sub Inspector Douglas at the Puckley Creek (Palmer River) barracks.¹⁷⁴ Later, Sub Inspectors Coward, Townshend and Douglas, with troopers, ‘came upon the black vagabonds and “quietly dispersed” them. Apart from the inquest, there are no other official records of this killing, or of the Native Police response to it.

The only other time when North Queensland Aborigines killed a European woman took place near Cardwell in 1875. The murders of William and Elizabeth Conn were talked about for years and written about for decades.¹⁷⁵ The only witness to give a statement at the inquest into the deaths was Sub Inspector Robert Johnstone, who said that he went with his troopers to Conn’s place, where they found Conn’s dismembered body in the garden.¹⁷⁶ Conn, he said, had been speared, and his arms and legs were

¹⁷³ ‘Palmer News’, *The Queenslander* (7 November 1874: 6).

¹⁷⁴ Fifteen years later, the Herberton mail contractor wrote that he ‘was the first to find the bodies’ and said he reported the deaths to police, JC Hogflesh to Chief Secretary, 8 October 1889, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A595/89/9567.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, Glenville Pike, ‘Early Days on the Lower Herbert’, *Cummins & Campbell’s Monthly Magazine* (August 1954: 5 & 40); and Clem Lack, ‘Black Police Avenged an Aboriginal Raid’, *North Australian Monthly* (January 1955): 3 & 48.

¹⁷⁶ Inquests into the deaths of William and Elizabeth Conn at Cardwell, JUS/N45/75/244 and 246.

apparently ‘hacked with a tomahawk’. Tracks of blacks were found near the body, and Johnstone said ‘I am convinced that he was murdered by blacks’. The tracks of Mrs Conn were found and followed, but Johnstone collapsed with a fever attack. He decided that ‘I was only hampering the boys rapid movements’ and ‘as everything depended on the speed in overtaking the blacks’, decided to ‘send the troopers on by themselves’. Mrs Conn’s body was later found in the bush.¹⁷⁷

The Police Magistrate at Cardwell, Brinsley Sheridan, informed the Colonial Secretary of the murders, and said that the troopers were searching for Mrs Conn, who had been ‘taken away’ by the blacks.¹⁷⁸ Sheridan wired next day that he had held an enquiry and had ordered Conn’s body to be buried. He said that it was ‘shockingly mutilated’. A newspaper report from Cardwell said Sheridan, Johnstone, several men from the town and two troopers went to Conn’s homestead by boat, while other townsmen were proceeding overland and a detachment of troopers had arrived from Cashmere to help.¹⁷⁹ The *Queenslander* later noted that Johnstone had used ‘every exertion’ to persuade the Conns to move without success.¹⁸⁰ Despite the fact that the Conns had been warned not to stay in such an isolated spot that was known to be a major Aboriginal pathway, most writers persisted in blaming Aboriginal people for this attack. Johnstone’s admission that he had allowed his troopers to proceed without him evidently attracted no attention from the authorities.

¹⁷⁷ JUS/N45/75/246.

¹⁷⁸ Sheridan, Police Magistrate at Cardwell, to Colonial Secretary, 8 April 1875, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A215/75/3243

¹⁷⁹ ‘Cardwell News’, *The Queenslander* (17 April 1875: 4).

¹⁸⁰ ‘The Blacks on the Lower Herbert’ by WC Millar, *The Queenslander* (5 May 1877).

Sometimes, as the inquest files show, Native Police operations were defeated by a lack of stores. Sub Inspector Hugh Galbraith said his detachment left Bynoe Native Police camp in October 1874 after receiving a report of a man ‘supposed to be insane’ wandering about on the Leichhardt River.¹⁸¹ The patrol arrived at Floraville and began to search the area. They were told, at an Aboriginal camp, that ‘a white man was speared, and they found a ‘newly made grave’. The grave was opened and the body of a white man ‘cut or broken into several pieces’ was found inside. Apparently the smell was ‘very offensive’ and the troopers ‘refused to touch the body’. Galbraith returned the body to the grave and marked a tree nearby with ‘Native Police’. He said at the inquest ‘I believed the man was murdered by the blacks’, but he was unable to ‘follow up the blacks’ because the patrol was ‘out of rations and short of ammunition’.

On other occasions, the legendary tracking skills of the troopers weren’t good enough. When Aborigines killed a Chinese man near Burketown in early 1876, Sub Inspector Maitland Day and his detachment from the Hughenden Native Police camp went to the scene, and ‘proceeded in pursuit of the murderers’. According to the inquest record (which is almost unreadable) ‘about two hundred blacks’ were accused of the murder.¹⁸² The Native Police followed the tracks until they reached the Saxby River, where Day said ‘the blacks dispersed in all directions’ and could not be followed any further. The detachment returned to the murder scene but was unable to examine it because it was flooded.

¹⁸¹ Inquest into the death of William Scanlan, Burke district, JUS/N43/75/78.

¹⁸² Inquest into the death of Ah Shong, Burke district, JUS/N48/76/58.

In 1884, an inquest was held at Cloncurry into the death of grazier James Powell.¹⁸³ Witness Alexander Kennedy said that he and Sub Inspector Urquhart with a detachment of troopers went to the murder scene and identified the body. He said that there were ‘marks of violence’ on the body, there were ‘blacks’ tracks about the scene’ and he went with the police to follow the ‘tracks of the murderers’. They ‘came up with them’. Sub Inspector Frederick Urquhart testified that the ‘murderers were very numerous’, and ‘endeavoured to evade and resist arrest’, so were ‘fired upon and dispersed by my troopers’.¹⁸⁴ Soon after the inquest, an article “Native Police” was published, claiming an item titled “Powell’s Revenge” (from the *Carpentaria Times*) was allegedly ‘written by a Native Police officer’.¹⁸⁵ The author of ‘Native Police’ said ‘it is bad enough to know that such a cursed stain on the country exists as a Native Police force; but it is diabolical to have its unhallowed work chronicled in idiotic rhyme’ that ‘clothe brutality and cowardice with a mantle of glory and heroism’. The writer also noted that the Native Police ‘wilfully murdered eight blackfellows and several gins’ about a year ago who ‘were of the same tribe that murdered Powell’, and concluded ‘it is high time the Native Police were done away with, or, at least, sent to the very outside country’.

Occasionally, Native Police officers gave evidence at inquests that some people ‘asked for trouble’. There are suggestions that this was the case at the Straher and Conn

¹⁸³ Inquest into the death of James Powell at Mistake Creek, JUS/N108/84/415

¹⁸⁴ See also telegram from Uhr, Police Magistrate at Cloncurry, saying ‘Information just to hand Mr Powell of Powell and Kennedy Carlton Hills and Parkside murdered by blacks blackboy badly speared’, 21 July 1884, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A395/84/5070. The killing was reported in *The Queenslander* (16 August 1884).

¹⁸⁵ *Queensland Figaro* (15 November 1884).

killings.¹⁸⁶ A report from Sub Inspector Ernest Carr on the murder of John Conway said that four blacks had murdered him.¹⁸⁷ Carr said that ‘from all appearances the deceased had been killed with stones’ which were found ‘broken all round his body’. After making enquiries ‘through the quiet blacks’, Carr wrote that Conway had ‘tried to take one of the Aboriginal women with him’ which ‘caused the owner of the gin’ to throw a rock at him. The other three then helped to ‘stone him to death’. Conway was, according to Carr, ‘solely to blame for his untimely end’. The suspects ‘cleared out for the mountains’ and Carr found it ‘impossible to come up with them’.

Other reports were quite candid in their admissions about the short-handed force. In December 1884, Seymour reported to the Colonial Secretary about ‘certain charges’ against Sub Inspector Marrett made by settlers at Lower Laura.¹⁸⁸ Seymour wrote ‘they expect too much from the Native Police’. Marrett’s detachment consisted of one officer and six troopers to patrol a ‘considerable area’, and it would be ‘impossible’ for Marrett to do more than visit them three times a year. He also said that the complainants ‘appear to have an idea’ that ‘it is the duty of the Native Police to instantly pursue and shoot down offenders’, but pointed out that the police regulations stated that ‘the same law applies to blacks as to whites and if the officers go beyond the law they do so at their own risk’. While Seymour may have been simply protecting his own reputation with these

¹⁸⁶ See evidence that the Straher (Strau) family had been warned not to camp where they did, and a news item saying Sub Inspector Johnstone tried ‘without success’ to persuade the Conn family to move; JUS/N41/74/274 and *The Queenslander* (5 May 1877).

¹⁸⁷ Inquest into the death of John Conway at Russell River, November 1884, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A406/84/7964

¹⁸⁸ Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 20 December 1884, Police Staff File, Charles Beauchamp Marrett, A/40310/84/9064.

sorts of statements, he might also have detected a change in government attitudes towards frontier violence, and the part that the Native Police played in prolonging it.

Magistrates continued to hold inquests and record details of Native Police operations. In 1888 a house owned by a Chinese man burnt down near Cooktown. One inquest witness said he found the burnt body of the deceased in the garden.¹⁸⁹ According to the witness, the deceased 'was very excitable when annoyed'. He 'had some trouble with little boys going into his garden'. Witnesses said that several firearms, known to be at the deceased's house, had not been seen since.¹⁹⁰ Senior Constable James Geraghty from the Eight Mile Native Police camp investigated the matter, and said that he 'could find no marks on the body'. He said that Inspector Murray instructed him to 'search for traces of blacks', and the troopers 'picked up the blacks' tracks' in the range near the garden. Then he 'sent word' to Sub Inspector Brookes at the East Normanby Native Police camp, searched up Trooper's Creek and found 'tracks of three blackfellows' on top of the range. Sub Inspector Brookes joined him and they followed the tracks into Cooktown. Constable Michael Murray testified that he, Constable Murphy, and tracker Jimmy went to an Aboriginal camp near Cooktown, where they took possession of two guns believed to have been stolen from Sow Young's house. No further details of this episode have been found.

One inquest, and the Native Police activity associated with it, attracted the attention of a respected Presbyterian minister, Professor John Rentoul. The body of selector George Hobson was found at Myola on the Barron River near Cairns and an

¹⁸⁹ Inquest into the death of Sow Young at Normanby, JUS/N159/88/446.

¹⁹⁰ According to the inquest depositions, there were eight guns in the house.

inquest into his death was held at Cairns in August 1890.¹⁹¹ Hobson's neighbour John Driscoll stated when he found him there was a wound on Hobson's forehead. Suspicion was directed at three Aboriginal employees of Hobson named Bismark, Darkey and William. Driscoll said 'I never heard the blacks threaten deceased'. Apparently a spear had been thrown at Hobson some time before, after he refused to reinstate an Aboriginal man, and would not lend his rifle to another. A tomahawk and a scrub knife were found near Hobson's hut and, according to witness John Walton, there was 'fresh blood and hair' on both. Walton and Constable William Sweeney said they saw 'barefoot tracks' nearby; Sweeney also said that Hobson's throat was 'cut right across' and there were many other wounds on the body. A note was attached to the inquest file, stating that 'two aboriginals were arrested' in connection with the death.¹⁹²

A letter "The Queensland Blacks" by Professor Rentoul was published soon after.¹⁹³ Rentoul, who had arrived in Cairns shortly before, referred to a report by Reverend John Gribble about the murder of Hobson by the Barron River tribe. Rentoul said that 'the inevitable "white policeman and black trackers" from a hostile tribe were out after the murderer', but claimed that the Barron tribe had 'nothing to do with Hobson's death'. 'A black named Bismark shot him'. The published account, according to Rentoul, was this.

¹⁹¹ Inquest into the death of George Hobson at Myola, JUS/N179/90/380.

¹⁹² Records show that Constable Hansen from the Native Police camp at Nigger Creek was given a reward for 'arresting the murderers of George Hobson', Police Staff File, Charles Hansen, A/38828.

¹⁹³ 'The Queensland Blacks' by Prof Rentoul, *The Queenslander* (19 September 1891: 572-3).

The policeman and black trackers went and “returned, not having made an arrest”. This is told you with a smile. The rule as to “dispersing the blacks” is that no report is rendered. The other account, whispered in private all round Cairns, is that the “black camp” of the Barron tribe, towards which Bismark’s steps were traced, was surrounded; and without warning, the cordon of rifles fired into the camp and left eight aboriginals dead.¹⁹⁴

He concluded ‘this kind of story – this startling difference between the things told on the spot and the bare sentences given in the newspapers as to “dispersing the blacks” – is the most striking of one’s experience in North Queensland. The quite ruthless and matter-of-fact way in which the “dispersing of the blacks” is described to you is a distinct and ugly fact’.

Another outsider’s perspective on the Native Police was recorded in 1892. *Missing Friends* by Thorvald Weitemeyer gave an account of a Dane’s experiences in colonial Queensland. After visiting the Herbert River Native Police camp, he said it was the duty of the officer and his troopers to ‘fill the aborigines with terror, and to use such means to that end as his own judgement may dictate’. Weitemeyer mentioned that he often saw the troopers on patrol ‘like regular bloodhounds, quite naked, with their rifle in their hand and a belt around their waist containing ammunition and a large scrub knife’.¹⁹⁵ This appears to be a standard description of the troopers’ ‘bush garb’.

One last example, from the official files, gives us a brief glimpse of the force after the turn of the century. When the lugger *Annie* was stolen in 1902 by a number of her Aboriginal crew, Sergeant James Whiteford and his troopers went to Knight Island (near Cape Flattery, north of Cooktown) to arrest them. The *Johara*, which was sent to pick up

¹⁹⁴ *The Queenslander* (19 September 1891: 573).

Whiteford and his prisoners, was wrecked at Port Stewart near Coen and the police waited on the island for six weeks. Eventually the government launch *Melbidir* under the command of Northern Aboriginal Protector Walter Roth picked up the prisoners and took them to Cooktown.¹⁹⁶ This episode was mentioned in Whiteford's obituary, but according to that version, Whiteford paddled a "dugout" canoe to the mainland and walked 150 miles down the coast, leading his prisoners.¹⁹⁷ Whiteford was, apparently, one of the few men who served in the Native Police without killing Aboriginal people.

The deaths

If general estimates and general reports are unreliable, can we find numbers of Native Police killings in scattered reports and newspaper stories that corroborate each other? From the records, how many settlers did Aboriginal people kill? The interest in this part of Australian history arises from the absence of records, and the unreliability of those one-sided accounts that have survived.¹⁹⁸ Estimates of Aboriginal deaths during colonisation have been estimated as multiples of presumed white deaths. The controversy

¹⁹⁵ Thorvald Weitemeyer, *Missing Friends: Being the Adventures of a Danish Emigrant in Queensland, 1871-1880* (London: T Fisher Unwin, 1892), 140-142. I am grateful to Robert Ørsted Jensen for this reference.

¹⁹⁶ Sergeant Whiteford to Inspector Marrett, January 1902, Police Staff File, James Whiteford, A/40348/02/1755

¹⁹⁷ Obituary for James Whiteford, *The Queenslander* (18 October 1928: 61).

¹⁹⁸ A recent manifestation of this interest was the 'Forum on Frontier Conflict' held at the National Museum of Australia in 2002, and the subsequent book, *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Bain Attwood and SG Foster (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003).

arises from the fact that the official data is unreliable. In 1972 Henry Reynolds said 5,000 Aboriginal deaths on the frontier 'would be a conservative estimate; by 1975 he noted 'for Queensland as a whole the figure must be doubled'.¹⁹⁹ Ten years later, Noel Loos stated 'to suggest that at least 4,000 Aborigines died as a result of frontier resistance in North Queensland between 1861 and 1896 is probably so conservative as to be misleading'.²⁰⁰ Using figures from Loos, Reynolds later estimated that there were about 800 to 850 European deaths on the Queensland frontier from 1841 to 1897, and estimated Aboriginal deaths by assuming a ratio of ten Aboriginal people for each European. On this basis, he claimed 10,000 Aboriginal deaths in frontier Queensland.²⁰¹

The figures quoted by Loos, and by Reynolds, include deaths that were recorded in some official documents and those which were only reported in the newspapers. Richard Broome, who says 'violence was a marker of the Australian frontier', estimates that fewer than 1500 Europeans but over 20,000 Aborigines died throughout the frontiers of colonial Australia.²⁰² Broome warned readers about the exaggeration of massacres and the unquestioning acceptance of colonial gossip, which both boosted numbers.²⁰³ This is a vital point, as many deaths noted in the newspapers are completely unsupported by any

¹⁹⁹ Henry Reynolds, 'Violence, the Aborigines and the Australian Historian', *Meanjin* 31, 4 (1972: 475); Henry Reynolds, 'Racial Violence in North Queensland', *Lectures on North Queensland History Second Series*, edited by BJ Dalton (Townsville: James Cook University, 1975), 22. Reynolds' calculations were criticised by Keith Windschuttle as 'unsubstantiated guesswork' and 'worthless', Keith Windschuttle, 'The Myths of Frontier Massacres in Australian History. Part II: The Fabrication of the Aboriginal Death Toll', *Quadrant* 44, 11 (2000): 20. Windschuttle offers no substantive research to support his own allegations.

²⁰⁰ Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*, 190.

²⁰¹ Henry Reynolds, 'The Unrecorded Battlefields of Queensland', *Race Relations in North Queensland*, edited by Henry Reynolds (Townsville: James Cook University, 1993), 41.

²⁰² Broome, 'The Statistics of Frontier Conflict'.

form of corroboration, or official records such as inquests, etc. According to annual statistics published by Queensland's Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 203 settlers were 'killed by Natives' between 1860 and 1896.²⁰⁴

However, the statistics provided by the Registrar-General are not as useful as they could be, because, although the tables are broken down by nationality for the total number of deceased, this data is not correlated for cause of death. In other words, we do not know who was 'killed by Natives', only the total number of White frontier deaths. Furthermore, archival references to 327 European deaths from frontier 'skirmishes' between 1834 and 1900 have been located during the course of the current research. Even though some deaths are not fully corroborated by inquests, this figure is probably a more accurate measure of European deaths resulting from frontier violence in Queensland.²⁰⁵

The colonial inquest series is generally a good historical source. References to one hundred inquests into frontier violence, including the deaths of settlers and their allies (Chinese, South Sea Islanders, and 'tame' blacks) have been found for the period 1860 to 1905. However, the realities of frontier record keeping were as imperfect as the difficulties of colonial policing. Almost two hundred fatal attacks on colonists by Aborigines were recorded, resulting in over three hundred deaths. Colonial authorities held eighty separate inquests into these deaths. Over one hundred incidents of attacks on Aboriginal people were recorded, causing at least one thousand deaths. Thirty-five

²⁰³ Broome, 'The Statistics of Frontier Conflict'.

²⁰⁴ Annual Reports, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings*, 1860-1902.

²⁰⁵ See Appendix 3 'Frontier Deaths'.

inquiries were held into Police killings of Aborigines.²⁰⁶ Of these, twenty-five involved the Native Police. The following discussion, drawn from a comprehensive and extensive survey of archival material held at the Queensland State Archives, reveals much about Native Police operations.

No official inquiry into violence on the Queensland frontier was ever held, apart from two Parliamentary investigations into killings by Aborigines.²⁰⁷ In some cases, inquests, by ‘decent’ Magistrates like Henry Challinor, describe how the police disposed of the dead bodies and other incriminating evidence. CD Rowley said he ‘wished to know more’ about Ipswich doctor, and later parliamentarian, Henry Challinor. As far as records show, he was one of the few government officials who demonstrated any compassion for Indigenous people.²⁰⁸ It would appear, from the archival records and oral history, that many of the bodies of Aboriginal people were burnt.²⁰⁹ The destruction of evidence was, evidently, one hallmark of the Native Police.

Sometimes the reasons given to justify Native Police killings are quite disturbing. In 1866 an inquest was held at Banana in Central Queensland after Acting Sub Inspector

²⁰⁶ See Table 1 in Mark Finnane and Jonathan Richards, ‘You’ll Get Nothing Out of It’? The Inquest, Police and Aboriginal Deaths in Colonial Queensland, *Australian Historical Studies*, No 123, 2004.

²⁰⁷ The 1858 Select Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly 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, *New South Wales Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1858); and the Select Committee of the Queensland Parliament appointed to ‘enquire into the efficiency and management and general working of the Police and Native Police Forces’, *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings* (1861).

²⁰⁸ CD Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978), 166.

²⁰⁹ For a recent discussion of fire as a potent symbol of ‘secrecy, frustration and disappearance’, see Gibson, *Seven Versions*, 69.

Edward Seymour (no relation to the Commissioner) shot dead an Aboriginal woman.²¹⁰ According to the only European witness, Seymour shot her because she ‘riled’ him, and he also allegedly said that he was ‘taking revenge for the death of Mr Hill, an officer in the force who had been sometime previously killed by the Blacks’. Two years later, a trooper killed a woman during a domestic dispute, later expressing his regret (‘But me could not help it; me very sorry; me no want to hurt’), and was released.²¹¹ It would appear the trooper was afraid of his officer and of another trooper (possibly the husband of the deceased), saying ‘me very sorry but me want to run away; me tell Mammy and Billy when he come home’, but the real story behind this particular killing remains unknown. Although not technically a ‘frontier’ incident, this murder shows us that sometimes killers and victims knew each other.²¹² Many more examples of these sorts of deaths survive.

Four instances of Native Police deadly attacks on Aborigines are well documented. In the first, an inquest was held into the death of an Aboriginal woman named Kassey, who was killed at the Herbert River in 1872. She was the partner of a runaway trooper named Alick who unsuccessfully appealed to a local settler for help in giving himself up to the Police Magistrate at Cardwell. Despite Alick’s attempts, Kassey was shot dead by troopers under the command of Acting Sub Inspector Charles Shairp. Her body was then burnt.²¹³ One officer testified at the inquest that two troopers helped

²¹⁰ Inquest into the death of an unknown Aboriginal woman at Banana, JUS/N12/66/87.

²¹¹ Inquest into the death of Eliza at Fort Cooper, JUS/N19/68/186.

²¹² For evidence of ‘intimacy’ in similar cases in Victoria and New South Wales, see Jan Critchett, *A Distant Field of Murder: Western District Frontiers 1834-1848* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1990), 133; and Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 159.

²¹³ Inquest into the death of an unknown Aboriginal woman at Gairlock, JUS/N35/72/218.

look for the remains. One said to him ‘some fellow been roast him poor fellow’.²¹⁴ This particular killing was fully investigated, Shairp was dismissed, and the details were widely known.²¹⁵ It is hardly a case of extermination or ‘dispersal’, but a graphic example of death and violence among parties who knew one another.

The second case implicated Frederick Wheeler, and the precautions that were taken to ensure no European witness ever saw a killing.²¹⁶ When Frederick Wheeler’s detachment killed several people at Fassifern in 1860, there were written complaints from Ipswich clergyman, coroner and surgeon Henry Challinor. Records show that Colonial Secretary Herbert wrote to Commandant Bligh saying Wheeler was to be ‘reprimanded’ and would in future ‘use every exertion to perform his duty with circumspection and humanity’.²¹⁷ Wheeler apparently remembered the language of this order, and when a subordinate officer was chastised after the summary execution of an Aboriginal man named Dickey near St Lawrence ten years later, wrote in a memo ‘Acting Sub Inspector Douglas seems as yet not to have learnt circumspection’.²¹⁸ This was the second time Alexander Douglas had been caught ‘red-handed’ killing Aboriginal people, but neither affair obviously harmed his career. Douglas was reprimanded after an inquest into the deaths of several Aboriginal men near Gladstone in 1872. He reached the rank of Chief

²¹⁴ JUS/N35/72/218.

²¹⁵ See *Queensland Parliamentary Debates* 32 (1880: 671); also Police Magistrate at Cardwell to Colonial Secretary, 15 October 1872, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A175/72/2337; and ‘Murder of woman at Palm Tree Gully, near Cardwell’, 15 October 1872, Colonial Secretary’s Inwards Correspondence, COL/A168/72/2344.

²¹⁶ See Gibson, *Seven Versions*, 54-6, 64-7, and 74-6.

²¹⁷ Colonial Secretary to Wheeler, 11 January 1861, A/71730.

²¹⁸ Wheeler to Commissioner, 16 September 1873, Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, COL/A187/73/2122.

Inspector in 1900 and Acting Commissioner of Police in 1903.²¹⁹ Wheeler's note ended up in the archive files.

At the St Lawrence inquest, several European witnesses gave incriminating evidence against Douglas. One swore that native police with a European officer took Dickie from his house and handcuffed him to the trooper's saddle.²²⁰ A second European stated a black was tied to one of the troopers passing his house. A third said he met a European in the bush who told him to 'go in another direction'. On looking he saw native police near the waterhole, and several testified they heard shots soon after. The body was found tied to a sapling by a leather strap, with two bullet holes in the head, crucified like those in the drawings by Oscar.²²¹ No charges were laid against Douglas. One of the witnesses described the European and a second 'saw the person in charge of the Black Police. I heard him addressed as Mr Douglas'. An opinion was sought from the Attorney-General, who wrote back to say: 'I consider the finding in the hearing correct and that the black was shot by the Native Police but there is nothing in these papers to show under what circumstances and unless the police are in possession of or can obtain further

²¹⁹ Inquest into the death of Harry at Calliope, JUS/N35/72/223, and appointment of Inspector AD Douglas as Acting Commissioner, 3 October 1903, Executive Council Minute, COL/E238/03/429.

²²⁰ Inquest into the death of Dickey at St Lawrence, JUS/N37/73/190.

²²¹ Kim McKenzie and Carol Hooper, 'Eyewitness? Drawings by Oscar of Cooktown', *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, edited by Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook and Andrew Reeves (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Plate 9.6. In 1890, the naked body of an Aboriginal girl aged '12 to 14 years' was found in the Albert River near Burketown. She had been 'tied to a bar of iron with a wire rope at ankles, knees, waist, neck, and wrists; two iron bullock-bows were through the arms'; according to one source, ex-Sub Inspector William Armit was found to have 'used crucified captives for target practice' in New Guinea; *Queensland Police Gazette* 27 (1890: 141) and Hank Nelson, *Black, White & Gold: Goldmining in Papua New Guinea 1878-1930* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976), 163.

information nothing can be done'.²²² In his defence, Douglas presented a note from a grazier asking him to 'pay a visit' with his troopers, and the file was marked 'Away – with other Douglas papers with care'.²²³ Possibly this caution was an attempt to keep the details of Native Police activities on behalf of graziers from becoming general knowledge.

The third example of Native Police operations also shows that the colonial justice system did not protect Aborigines. In 1885 a detachment commanded by Sub Inspector William Nichols and Cadet Roland Garraway killed six Aboriginal people at Irvinebank. Geof Genever's work on the killings is, to date, one of the few detailed studies of frontier violence in Queensland.²²⁴ He says the Native Police virtually represented 'the sum total of Colonial Queensland's policy towards its indigenous people', and concluded, 'it was unarguably a policy primarily based on collective punishment without trial: one that was not only illegal, but morally bankrupt'.²²⁵ One European witness at the inquest said he saw black troopers riding about and 'the blacks scattered in all directions'. He then saw a blackfellow handcuffed and fastened to a fence, who 'was screaming out loud. Shortly after that the troopers led him away fastened between two horses'. According to one newspaper, 'over fifty persons had seen the bodies' at a camp near the town.²²⁶ Several residents said the Native Police had burnt the bodies. Mine-owner John Moffat, a most reputable witness, testified: 'I found the remains of a large fire that had been made on the

²²² Wheeler to Commissioner, 16 September 1873, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A187/73/2122.

²²³ COL/A187/73/2122.

²²⁴ Inquest into deaths of four Aborigines at Irvinebank, 23 October 1884, JUS/N110/84/511; Geof Genever, *Failure of Justice* (Eacham: Eacham Historical Society, 1996).

²²⁵ Genever, *Failure of Justice*, 16.

spot where the bodies formerly lay'.²²⁷ Nichols was dismissed from the force and charged with murder, but the Crown did not proceed with the case. One police officer remarked before the preliminary hearing that local prejudice would obstruct further proceedings in the matter. 'If tried in Cooktown justice might be defeated owing to hatred of aboriginals'.²²⁸

A fourth case implicated an officer – Lyndon Poingdestre – who was as notorious as his contemporary Frederick Wheeler. In 1887, the Police Magistrate at Normanton held an inquest into the death of six Aborigines. The Normanton Native Police detachment commanded by Inspector Poingdestre was blamed, and the Colonial Secretary was informed the Magistrate had 'no doubt the murder was committed by troopers and the bodies removed'.²²⁹ Again the bodies were burnt, and all evidence destroyed after European witnesses had viewed them. The evidence was clear, but it was only evidence to satisfy an historian, not a court under the rule of reasonable doubt, i.e., had there been any eyewitnesses to the actual shooting? Native Police troopers had obviously participated in the killings, but there is a difference between historical and legal evidence. No conviction could be recorded when there was no physical evidence and no eyewitnesses. The government chose not to lay any disciplinary charges, and lightly chastised Poingdestre, saying he 'acted contrary to regulations in allowing his

²²⁶ 'Alleged Slaughter of Aborigines', *Brisbane Courier* (14 November 1884: 5).

²²⁷ JUS/N110/84/511.

²²⁸ Detective John Barry to Officer In Command of Detectives, 17 January 1885, Police Staff File, William Austin Nichols, A/40104.

²²⁹ Inquest into deaths of 'certain Aborigines' at Normanton, 24 November 1887, JUS/N150/87/551 and Crown Law Office to Colonial Secretary, 5 January 1888, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, COL/A531/88/105; Finnane and Richards, 'You'll Get Nothing Out of It'?

troopers to go without him'.²³⁰ Once again, the government recognised the futility of a prosecution when settlers likely approved of the attack.

In the absence of reliable data, and with only limited investigations into Native Police killings, we can look at Aboriginal oral history projects. We should not expect to find exact numbers here, but there are references to attacks that should be taken seriously because they are often our only way of gaining access to the traumatic experiences on the 'other side of the frontier'. Further, Aboriginal accounts have always been presented in oral forms.²³¹ For example, a number of unreported massacre sites were located in the Cardwell area as part of the Jirrbal cultural heritage project.²³² The large numbers of archival records for the Native Police in this district suggest there were probably a lot more killings than reported in government records.²³³ Oral accounts of the punitive raids on the coast north of Cooktown after the Lizard Island 'affair', say 'troopers didn't pick up "real Aborigines". They would just shoot them outright'.²³⁴ At Mapoon, the Reverend Nicholas Hey recorded in 1892 the adoption of a young orphan Aboriginal boy after learning that 'both his parents were shot by the police with a number of others of his tribe'.²³⁵ An oral account of a massacre on the Atherton Tableland, about 1880, is

²³⁰ COL/A531/88/105.

²³¹ Another good reason for listening to oral evidence is, as Tom Griffith reminds us, the fact that oral sources of history are often regarded by residents as 'the pre-eminent means of access to the local past' in many rural communities, Griffiths, 'The Frontier Fallen'.

²³² Anne Duke and Shane Collins, *Jirrbal Heritage and History Project Cultural Mapping* (Cairns: Jiddabul Aboriginal Corporation, 1994), 78-9.

²³³ There were at least five Native Police camps in the Cardwell area between 1864 and 1896. See Appendix 2 for details.

²³⁴ John B Haviland with Roger Hart, *Old Man Fog* (Bathurst: Crawford House, 1998), 172.

²³⁵ Nicholas Hey, 'Quarterly letter from Mapoon', *The Austral Star: the Organ of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland* 7, 9 (4 April 1903: 4), cited in Geoff Wharton, 'The Pennefather River: Place of Australian National Heritage', *Gulf of Carpentaria Scientific*

included in a website devoted to the Ngadjonji people.²³⁶ Although not relating to a Native Police killing, Aboriginal people from the Mitchell River on Cape York Peninsula still vividly recall the extreme violence shown towards their relatives by the Jardine Brothers in 1865.²³⁷ Oral evidence of frontier aggression has been collected in other parts of Queensland and Australia.²³⁸

The last investigation into a Native Police killing took place in 1902 after a patrol killed several Aboriginal men at the Ducie River on Cape York Peninsula.²³⁹ The bodies of the Aboriginal people were partly burnt in an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the evidence. This time the Commissioner of Police investigated. Again, the principles of ‘due legal process’ were followed as in other cases too, but following the process does not assure perfect justice. It is clear from this case, and so many others, that there was reluctance by crown officers to accept Indigenous evidence in instances like these, although it was admissible in Queensland after 1876. The young Constable in charge, John Hoole, testified that ‘all the troopers were armed’ and at first said ‘I do not allow my troopers to load their rifles without my permission’. He then admitted ‘they could load whether I liked or not’. He also stated:

Study Report, edited by Lyn Comben (Brisbane: The Royal Geographical Society of Queensland, Inc, 2005, in press). I am grateful to Geoff Wharton for this reference.

²³⁶ www.koori.usyd.edu.au/ngadjonji/Today/massacre.html

²³⁷ Personal communication with author, Tania Major, 2001.

²³⁸ See, for example, *This is what happened: Historical narratives by Aborigines*, edited by Luise Hercus and Peter Sutton (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1986); Peter and Jay Read, *Long Time, Olden Time: Aboriginal Accounts of Northern Territory History* (Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development Publications, 1991) and Tony Roberts, *Frontier Justice: A History of the Gulf Country to 1900* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005).

²³⁹ See Jonathan Richards, ‘Moreton Telegraph Station 1902: The Native Police on Cape York Peninsula’, *Policing the Lucky Country*, edited by Mike Enders and Benoît Dupont (Sydney, Hawkins Press, 2001), 96-106.

I never had occasion to shoot over the heads of blacks. It is not my custom to shoot over the heads of blacks nor is it the custom of the Troopers so far as I know to shoot over the heads of blacks to make them stop. They must have got excited when they fired over their heads.²⁴⁰

Hoole, a very inexperienced officer, was placed in command of the 'flying detachment' because 'no more suitable man with longer service' was available.²⁴¹ At the inquiry Inspector Marrett said he could not recall Hoole ever arresting an Aboriginal person. Whilst Hoole's evidence is unreliable, it does not incriminate himself or anyone else. His evidence only shows that his men loaded without permission, they didn't usually fire at all, and they fired this time but were so excited and poorly trained they killed people. Despite the Native Police having likely committed murder, Hoole was allowed to resign and the troopers were 'transferred to other districts'.²⁴² These steps in themselves suggest evidence of guilt, in some form at least.

Comparison

Were other colonial police as murderously violent? How did the Native Police compare with other armed forces? The formations, such as the Malay Corps and the Cape

²⁴⁰ Police Staff File, John Hoole, A/38841.

²⁴¹ Marrett to Commissioner, 4 July 1902, A/49713/02/10390.

²⁴² Meston complained in 1902 that, 'doubtless for some special reason', three ex-troopers 'supposed to be concerned in some recent trouble in the North' were sent down to the Fraser Island Aboriginal Reserve by the Commissioner, Southern Protector of Aboriginals to Home Secretary, 24 September 1902, COL/143/02/16277.

Regiment, mentioned by colonial officials and the public, were in similar positions as security-providers to colonisers. Europeans, and their Indigenous allies, killed Native people wherever they established colonies. By seeing the Native populations as sub-human, settlers could justify their actions to themselves and others. For example, the British justified the use of lethal ‘Dum-Dum’ bullets in colonial warfare against ‘natives and barbarians’ because ‘the savage will go on fighting even when desperately wounded’.²⁴³ As writer Mark Cocker notes, ‘European colonists used their civilisation as a powerful shield for their actions’.²⁴⁴ We know some of what violent colonists believed, especially about their justifications. It is likely that they saw their actions as part of progress, part of the laws of nature, not as religiously inspired or as an indication of national values. As earlier citations have shown, especially those when the Bible was quoted, historical evidence of racial inequalities was used as an excuse for violence. Escalations, and the savage conduct of the ‘war’, required rationalisations that portrayed the ‘other side’ as deserving of special attention.

According to historian HL Wesseling, the French general Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, who conquered Algeria in 1844, was the ‘father of the doctrine of the colonial war’.²⁴⁵ For Fanon, ‘colonial brutality’ was Bugeaud’s ‘doubtful glory’.²⁴⁶ Bugeaud advocated a strategy of ‘restless pursuit, attack, pursuit again’ to defeat Native resistance. The principles employed by Bugeaud to reach and subdue ‘hostile’ populations ‘through their crops, their flocks and their property’ were adopted by Colonel CE Callwell of the

²⁴³ Edward M Spiers, ‘The Use of the Dum Dum Bullet in Colonial Warfare’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 6, 1 (1975): 7.

²⁴⁴ Mark Cocker, *Rivers of Blood, Rivers of Gold* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1998), 361.

²⁴⁵ HL Wesseling, *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997), 20.

British Army, and subsequently used in military campaigns in Africa and India. Irregular forces on the northwest frontier of India used similar tactics. 'This is not civilised warfare'.²⁴⁷ Many of the strategies mentioned by Callwell were those that had been used by the Native Police, and also by colonial (not British troops) in New Zealand at the end of the Maori Wars. When Britain withdrew her troops, the New Zealand government developed tactics that took the war to the enemy.²⁴⁸ For example, Callwell advocated the destruction of homes and crops as a means of defeating enemy tribes and argued that mobile 'flying columns' were the key to success. Mounted forces, he said, defeated the 'Red Indians' of the United States. He argued 'it is of utmost importance that the marauding party should not have time to disperse'. One American officer is quoted as saying the key to victory was 'permitting the Indians no rest'.²⁴⁹ 'Severity', Calwell contended, was 'sometimes necessary' as 'uncivilised races attribute leniency to timidity'. Savages must be 'thoroughly brought to book or they will rise again'.²⁵⁰ Colonists throughout Queensland believed the same thing and expressed similar ideas.

Other parts of Australia, in which Native Police forces operated, can be compared with Queensland. In Victoria, recent estimates place the number of Aboriginal deaths from frontier violence in the region of 1,000 people.²⁵¹ Hundreds, if not thousands, were

²⁴⁶ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 23.

²⁴⁷ Sir Richard Temple (1855) cited in TR Moreman, *The Army in India and the Development of Frontier Warfare, 1849-1947* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 9.

²⁴⁸ See James Belich, *The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict: The Maori, the British, and the New Zealand Wars* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

²⁴⁹ Cited in White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 107.

²⁵⁰ Colonel CE Callwell, *Small Wars: A Tactical Textbook for Imperial Soldiers*, (London: Greenhill Books, 1990 facsimile of 1906 edition), 130-1, 135-6, 148.

²⁵¹ Broome, 'The Statistics of Frontier Conflict', 5.

killed in northern Australia.²⁵² Richard Kimber estimates that over 650 Aboriginal people were killed by police in Central Australia from 1881 to 1891, a total that he contrasts, on the basis of oral evidence, with the official figure of 44 deaths.²⁵³ Police and squatters in Western Australia were responsible for the killing and imprisonment of hundreds of Aboriginal men.²⁵⁴ Their imprisonment on Rottneest Island meant that not all managed to return to the northern parts of the colony.²⁵⁵ At first, discharged Aboriginal prisoners were given a few days' rations and released to find their own way home. Later orders were given for them to be escorted home, but 'such well-intentioned instructions were not always adhered to'.²⁵⁶

What about other parts of the British Empire, particularly those places where formations that Governor Bowen specifically compared with the Native Police – the Sepoy Regiments in India, the Hottentot Corps at the Cape Colony, and the Malay Regiment at Ceylon – existed? Extreme violence was routinely used in each of these British colonies, but the number of deaths went unrecorded. The combined use of native allies and extreme violence characterised the European colonisation of the Indian subcontinent and parts of Africa. In Nigeria, 'police violence was widespread and

²⁵² Roberts in *Frontier Justice* details hundreds of deaths in Borrooloola district of the Northern Territory.

²⁵³ Richard Kimber, 'Genocide or Not? The Situation in Central Australia, 1860-1895', *Genocide Perspectives I*, edited by Colin Tatz (Sydney: Macquarie University, 1997), 62.

²⁵⁴ Andrew Gill, 'Aborigines, Settlers and Police in the Kimberleys 1887-1905', *Studies in Western Australian History* 1 (Perth: University of Western Australia, 1977).

²⁵⁵ See map showing areas from which Aboriginal prisoners were transferred to Rottneest Island in Neville Green, *Far From Home: Aboriginal Prisoners of Rottneest Island 1838-1931* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1997), 13.

²⁵⁶ Green, *Far From Home*, 55.

institutionalised during colonial rule'.²⁵⁷ British forces at the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 practised a form of total war by destroying Zulu cattle and houses, and 'carried out a policy of refusing to take prisoners and massacring the wounded'.²⁵⁸

In Ceylon (Sri Lanka) the soldiers of the Malay Regiment had a reputation as 'brave and ferocious' troops. The Indigenous population particularly feared the African troops in the Kaffir Corps. One British officer reported that the 'very name' of these mercenaries ('Caffre troops') 'struck terror into the minds of the inhabitants'.²⁵⁹ The similarities between this body and the Native Police in Queensland are particularly noticeable, including its deployment in detachments that acted as 'shock troops' as the British grabbed control of the lucrative spice business. No figures for total Cingalese deaths are available, but may well have been in the thousands.²⁶⁰

Across the Tasman, settlers in New Zealand were fighting their own colonial war. According to one observer, the settlers and the colonial government were responsible for the 'fighting and devastation' because 'they had no intention of observing native rights'.²⁶¹ Governor Bowen observed, in relation to the Aborigines, that their collisions with Europeans 'do not occupy that place in the annals of Australia which is filled by the Maoris in the annals of New Zealand, and by the semi-civilized Mexicans and Peruvians

²⁵⁷ Etannibi EO Alemika and Innocent C Chukwuma, *Police-Community Violence in Nigeria* (Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education, 2000), 19.

²⁵⁸ Michael Lieven, 'Butchering the Brutes All Over the Place: Total War and Massacre in Zululand, 1879', *History* (1999), 614.

²⁵⁹ Colonel Frederick Maitland, cited in Geoffrey Powell, *The Kandyan Wars: The British Army in Ceylon, 1803-1818* (London: Leo Cooper, 1973), 147.

²⁶⁰ Another comparable situation occurred much later in Burma when Indian troops under British officers 'dispersed' Indigenous people, burned villages and shot large numbers of dissidents in 1885, see Mary P Callahan, 'State Formation in the Shadow of the Raj: Violence, Warfare and Politics in Colonial Burma', *Southeast Asian Studies* (2002: 517).

– or even by the Red Indians – in the history of America’.²⁶² Historian CD Rowley said ‘The Maori was respected as a warrior; the Aboriginal was despised as a rural pest’.²⁶³

The Executive Council referred to Maori in 1865:

It will be recollected that the hostile Aborigines in the interior of Queensland are more numerous in most points in proportion to the few scattered settlers than are the Maoris in proportion to the British population of New Zealand.²⁶⁴

By 1860 the Pakeha (Europeans) in New Zealand outnumbered Maori, and given the low density of European population in the interior of Queensland, that predominance must have come very late if at all. Aborigines were still more numerous than Europeans in northern parts of Queensland for many decades.

In 1866, the Executive Council noted that 10,000 British and colonial troops were serving in New Zealand against 40,000 Maori with ‘2,000 in arms’. At the same time, there were ‘at least 15,000 Aborigines in Queensland’, including ‘2,000 fighting men hostile to the whites’. While noting ‘it is true that the Australian Blacks are not nearly as formidable or so well armed as the Maoris’, the Council, as a loyal institution of the British Empire, stated emphatically that ‘hostile natives’ were to be ‘chiefly found in the Northern half of Queensland’, where ‘mortality among English troops’ would ‘nearly

²⁶¹ Dom Felice Vaggioli, *History of New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, translated by John Crockett (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), 175.

²⁶² Despatch from Governor Bowen to Duke of Newcastle, 12 April 1860, Governor’s Despatches, GOV/22/60/34.

²⁶³ Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, 15-16.

²⁶⁴ Colonial defence, 10 May 1865, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E11/65/26.

equal what it is in India'.²⁶⁵ Since there were no wars in India at that time, it must be assumed that this claim refers to deaths from heat, disease and accident. Total Maori casualties during the Anglo-Maori Wars are unknown, but certainly extended into the thousands.²⁶⁶ It is unclear what this discussion hoped to achieve. If it were the deployment of British troops, the Executive Council would have had a hard time convincing anyone the Aborigines threatened Queensland in ways Maori jeopardised parts of New Zealand. It may have been linked to Governor Bowen's efforts to make Native Affairs an Imperial problem.

The Native Police was not much of a force in military terms, but it got the dirty job done, as squatters might concede. In New Zealand, thousands of troops were needed. Aborigines might be hostile, but were also seriously fragmented, and not practiced in military operations the way Maori had been even before contact with the British.

In Jamaica, about 500 people were killed when soldiers of the West India Regiment and Maroon irregular forces were used to suppress an overthrow of civil government in 1865.²⁶⁷ According to eyewitnesses, the Maroons treated the country as if it was 'an enemy's country in time of war' and 'aroused sheer terror' among the inhabitants.²⁶⁸ Humanitarian groups, politicians and newspapers in Britain were outraged and an official inquiry was convened in 1866. Governor Edward J Eyre defended his

²⁶⁵ 'Enquiries on Native Police' in Governor's Despatch No 18, from Secretary of State for Colonies (Edward Cardwell), 7 November 1866, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E14/66/64.

²⁶⁶ James Belich found references to over 2,000 deaths in the records of the Maori Wars. By comparison he estimated that 20,000 Maori and very few Europeans died during the earlier so-called 'Musket Wars' between various tribes, James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 157 & 170.

²⁶⁷ See Gad Heuman, *'The Killing Time': The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1994).

encouragement of a violent suppression, and went on to explain ‘excesses must always take place under martial law, and especially when black troops, who are often wholly beyond the control of their officers, are employed’.²⁶⁹ Eyre’s explanation – the uncontrollable excitement of native troops – was exactly that used as late as 1902 in Queensland when Constable John Hoole explained how his men came to kill Aborigines at the Ducie River.

Others saw ‘copy cat’ killings in Europe. An editorial in *The Queenslander* during 1877 compared the ‘dispersal’ process of the Native Police with recent ‘atrocities’ in Bulgaria.²⁷⁰ Irregular troops, called ‘Bashi-Bazouks’, were armed and maintained by the government, and acted as gendarmerie in various parts of the Turkish Empire. They massacred Christians and destroyed villages in Bulgaria until exposed by an American journalist.²⁷¹ Several years later, ‘Bulgarian atrocities’ were mentioned again. The ‘imitation of our Native Police system by the Turks’ caused the problem.²⁷² In case readers might think that in Native Police massacres women and children were ‘unmolested’, the writer gave ‘a few incidents’ to ‘show how the matter stands’.

The shooting of two women ‘in the North-west’ committed ‘not by Circassians or Bashi Bazouks, acting under the order of a Moslem ruler, but by a force maintained, equipped, and paid for by the church-going Christian people of Brisbane and Queensland.’²⁷³

²⁶⁸ Heuman, *The Killing Time*, 128 and Chapter Nine.

²⁶⁹ Cited in Geoffrey Dutton, *The Hero as Murderer* (London: Collins Cheshire, 1967), 321.

²⁷⁰ Editorial ‘Police Protection in the North’, *The Queenslander* (8 December 1877).

²⁷¹ Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers, 1804-1999* (New York: Viking, 2000), 126.

²⁷² ‘How We Civilise the Blacks III’, *The Queenslander* (5 June 1880: 722).

A settler at the Herbert River agreed, and said ‘there are things done to blacks and black women by some of the police which equal the Bulgarian atrocities’.²⁷⁴ The only newspaper writer making this parallel between Queensland and Bulgaria was Danish-born Carl Feilberg. He made this comparison ‘several times, from the *Cooktown Courier* in 1876 and 1877, to *The Patriot* in late 1878 and finally during the 1880 campaign in the *Queenslander*’.²⁷⁵

More recently, historians have compared the Native Police in Queensland with the German forces in Southwest Africa and New Guinea. The Native Police in German New Guinea, first established in 1896, were linked to local revolts, murder and rape. Troopers were responsible for the worst documented massacre carried out in New Guinea under German rule. In 1901, the Native Police killed at least eighty inhabitants of the island of St Mathias north of New Ireland after the death of explorer Bruno Mencke.²⁷⁶ Reasonably good records of the German force have survived, and recent work indicates many similarities between the two Native Police corps.²⁷⁷ Total numbers of deaths due to Native Police action in German New Guinea are unknown. After the First World War

²⁷³ ‘How We Civilise the Blacks III’, *The Queenslander* (5 June 1880: 722).

²⁷⁴ ‘Black v. White’ by James Cassidy at Fairview, Lower Herbert, *The Queenslander* (2 October 1880: 433-4).

²⁷⁵ Robert Ørsted Jensen, letter to author, March 2005, from Jensen, *The Right To Live’: The Troubled Conscience of An Australian Journalist* (forthcoming).

²⁷⁶ Peter Hemenstall, ‘The Neglected Empire: The Superstructure of the Colonial State in German Melanesia’, *Germans in the Tropics*, edited by Arthur J Knoll and Lewis H Gann (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 104.

²⁷⁷ Peter Sack, *Phantom History, The Rule of Law and the Colonial State: The Case of German New Guinea* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2000).

began, Australian military forces took charge of the Native Police in German New Guinea, and used them for 'punitive expeditions' from 1915.²⁷⁸

Other native forces under the command of the colonisers, using very similar tactics, operated in South America. In Guyana slave patrols composed of free Coloured and Indigenous men were used to control large slave populations and to catch 'runaway' slaves.²⁷⁹ If slaves could not be captured, the patrols were encouraged to return with a severed arm or hand, for which they were paid half the reward normally granted for a 'live' prisoner. After one expedition in 1795, seventy arms were produced. A Negro Corps, called the 'South American Rangers', was formed in 1796 to continue this work. After a rebellion in 1823, hundreds of slaves were shot by planters, militia and the slave patrols, and the heads were stuck on staves in public places.²⁸⁰ This highlights one obvious difference. The Native Police burned the bodies, suspecting, correctly, their actions were not fully sanctioned and it was best to cover evidence.

Colombian and Peruvian rubber barons employed blacks from Barbados to control their Indian labour force in Amazonia during the early years of the twentieth century. The violence the rubber companies used and the terror they enforced on the Putumayo Indians was so extreme it became the subject of an English parliamentary enquiry.²⁸¹ Barbadians, who have been described as the 'martial race of the West Indies',

²⁷⁸ CD Rowley, *The Australians in German New Guinea 1914-1921* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1958), 196.

²⁷⁹ Joan R Mars, *Deadly Force, Colonialism, and the Rule of Law* (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 68.

²⁸⁰ Mars, *Deadly Force*, 69.

²⁸¹ Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 22-60. See also John H Bodley, 'Victims of Progress', *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader*, edited by Alexander Laban Hinton (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 156-7.

served in colonial police forces across the Caribbean.²⁸² Diplomat Sir Roger Casement, who had exposed similar brutality in the rubber plantations of Belgian Congo, inspected the region in 1910 and estimated that about 30,000 Indians had been murdered or deliberately starved to death in the ten years since 1900. Anthropologist Michael Taussig says the Barbadians were ‘in effect indebted peons who were not only used to torture and hunt down Indians but were themselves subject to torture’.²⁸³ Murders were also committed by the ‘muchachos’ or ‘muchachos de confianza’ – armed Indians working for the rubber companies.²⁸⁴ These men were ‘armed with the weapon of greatest repute, the infamous Winchester rifle’ and were ‘recruited and trained at an early age to bully other Indians into gathering rubber – usually Indians ‘from tribes hostile to which the boys belonged’ according to one observer’.²⁸⁵

The Genocide Question

Did genocide take place in colonial Queensland, and in other parts of Australia? In recent years, increasing numbers of writers have stated that genocidal extermination took place, but there is debate over the term genocide and its applicability to situations

²⁸² Howard Johnson, ‘Patterns of Policing in the Post-Emancipation British Caribbean, 1835-95’, *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830-1940*, edited by David M Anderson and David Killingray (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 86.

²⁸³ Taussig, *Shamanism*, p43

²⁸⁴ Michael Stanfield, *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees: Violence, Slavery, and Empire in Northwest Amazonia, 1850-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 139.

where Indigenous people were murdered and their manner of living was assaulted by colonisers.²⁸⁶ The difficulty with using genocide in a technically correct way arises because there must be evidence of government intention.²⁸⁷ Aboriginal people in Queensland and other Australian colonies were killed for their land, but there were no official orders for this action.

There are references in the primary sources to activities with genocidal outcomes in other places. Some settlers in Queensland remarked upon violence in other Australian colonies. Even the Executive Council noted this, reporting ‘blacks were shot down’ in Tasmania, and ‘almost exterminated in the settled districts of New South Wales and Victoria – often by wholesale massacres’.²⁸⁸ Pioneer North Queensland grazier Edward Palmer agreed, saying the history of North Queensland in connection with the blacks was similar to that of New South Wales, Tasmania and Victoria and ‘perhaps if the truth were spoken the means of getting rid of them are similar too’.²⁸⁹

The use of the term genocide is clouded by the United Nations declaration, which specifies that intent is important. It is, at this point in time, quite difficult for many citizens of former settler-colonies to recognise that their societies are built on the violent theft of Indigenous land and other resources.²⁹⁰ Until that historical injustice is

²⁸⁵ Taussig, 1987, p47

²⁸⁶ Henry Reynolds, *An Indelible Stain?: The Question of Genocide in Australia's History* (Melbourne: Viking, 2001).

²⁸⁷ See Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate all the Brutes: One Man's Odyssey into the Heart of Darkness and the Origin's of European Genocide* (London, Granta Books, 1998).

²⁸⁸ ‘Native Police’, 7 November 1866, Executive Council Minute, EXE/E14/66/64.

²⁸⁹ ‘Shooting Blacks’ by Edward Palmer, *The Queenslander* (25 July 1874: 9).

²⁹⁰ This of course includes the United States, where Native Americans were killed in large numbers. For an overview see Gideon Maxwell Polya, *Jane Austen and the Black Hole of British History: Colonial rapacity, holocaust denial and the crisis in biological sustainability* (Melbourne, 1998).

acknowledged, colonial formations such as the Native Police, and the important part they played in the colonisation process, will continue to be misunderstood. Quite simply, without the use of armed force and the co-operation of Indigenous people, colonisation would not have succeeded in many parts of the world. The true history of the Native Police cannot be separated from an admission of the violence that underwrote Queensland's occupation by European squatters and miners. The Native Police was not the only dirty tool. A number of squatters organised their own murdering parties.

According to genocide scholar Colin Tatz, 'almost all historians of the Aboriginal experience avoid the word genocide', and he argues that this reluctance stems from 'the place of morality in Australian politics'.²⁹¹ Historian Dirk Moses, using the work of Alison Palmer and Henry Reynolds, says the Native Police was a form of government-sponsored genocide.²⁹² Evidence cannot be found to conclusively prove that the Queensland government was directing or even condoning the killings of the Native Police. What this really means is that we need some other words to express dramatically and honestly what some agents of colonisation and their hirelings did to Aboriginal people. And we need language to describe a government that did not go on record as intending to exterminate Aborigines, but certainly was relieved when the men of the Native Police escaped murder charges. Like the man who could not be brought to trial for want of evidence, the government escapes a decisive historical verdict. Morally though,

²⁹¹ Colin Tatz, *Genocide In Australia* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 1999), 2. He reiterated these points in 'Confronting Australian genocide', *Aboriginal History* 25 (2001: 18 and 33). See also Ann Curthoys, 'Cultural History and the Nation', *Cultural History in Australia*, edited by in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003), 35-6.

²⁹² A Dirk Moses, 'An antipodean genocide? The origins of the genocidal moment in the colonization of Australia', *Journal of Genocide Research* 2, 1 (2000: 102).

successive Queensland governments conducted themselves with a repugnant disregard for the lives of Aboriginal people.

Alison Palmer's book, *Colonial Genocide*, claims that genocide took place in colonial Queensland. Palmer qualifies this claim by saying the genocide was 'piecemeal' without 'an overtly defined policy', but she argues that through the Native Police the government was 'complicitly involved in a policy of recurrent, piecemeal massacres of Aborigines'.²⁹³ Her use of dubious secondary sources to support this assertion means that some of her conclusions are suspect.²⁹⁴ In particular, her thesis, based on the work of Mulvaney, Reynolds, Loos, and others, that 'the Native Police Corps files are missing from the historical archives' which 'cements the secrecy of the Native Police Corps' activities', suggests that she never actually looked at records in the Queensland State Archives.²⁹⁵ If she had, she would have discovered, for example, that the term 'Corps' was only used briefly in Queensland during the early 1860s, and not at any other time. Carelessness does not help Australians or Queenslanders to confront their past, because poor research only leaves a door open to those who deny that there is anything to confront. Claims based on unsubstantiated evidence do not constitute reputable scholarship.

²⁹³ Alison Palmer, *Colonial Genocide* (Adelaide: Crawford House, 2000), 49.

²⁹⁴ Apart from other works, Palmer quotes from the following unreliable sources: Susan Barnett, *A Study of the Queensland Native Mounted Police in the 1870s* (Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1975); Ross Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland from the Dreaming to 1915* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1982); and Carl Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals* (London: Murray, 1889). None of these books are accurate accounts of frontier history or Native Police operations because they are not based on official records.

²⁹⁵ Mulvaney cited in Palmer, *Colonial Genocide*, 56; John Mulvaney, *Encounters in Place* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 171; Reynolds, *With the White People*, 50; and Loos, *Invasion and Resistance*, 289.

The ‘momentum for extermination’ came from the periphery. There were people at the centre (Brisbane) who agreed, but the historical evidence shows that there were far more people in the metropolis who didn’t support the killing, and who wouldn’t kill Aboriginal people. The frontier is a different (but not unconnected) realm. Genocide is a ‘dead-end’ word, and the United Nations declaration too narrow, and will never allow the term to ‘stick’. Raymond Evans’ approach is more appropriate and accurate:

Private individuals illegally accomplished more genocidal outcomes than did the state via its military, police and native police forces, but the state was complicit, via its failure to prosecute Europeans for the killing, kidnapping or injuring of Aborigines.²⁹⁶

This perspective more accurately reflects the body of archival material, and also acknowledges that genocidal outcomes took place. We can say this firmly without having recourse to conspiracy theories about missing records. It is no longer acceptable to allege that there are no Native Police records, and no longer acceptable to write history without research.

Conclusion

Colonialism and violence are inextricably linked in the operations of the Native Police in Queensland. Herman Merivale noted the link between colonisation and violence in 1838. ‘[T]he history of European settlement presents a wide and sweeping destruction

of native races by the uncontrolled violence of individuals, if not colonial authorities'.²⁹⁷ Unrelenting aggression was the means by which colonial settlers normally advanced and seized new territories and resources. Murderous 'moments', when violence overcame civilising urges, were common in Queensland, as they were in other colonial settings. The violence used by the Native Police was not unique, unusual or uncommon. Similar formations used identical tactics to crush Indigenous resistance.

Archival and historical records reveal much about Native Police violence. The force was a major cause of Aboriginal deaths by European violence in colonial Queensland. However, the full extent of frontier violence will never be known, and neither will the Native Police's share. Officers in the Native Police reported many Indigenous deaths, and settlers told of many more, but we have to rely also on archival records and newspapers of doubtful veracity. Just as some Native Police officers exaggerated the number of violent 'collisions' with Indigenous groups, many newspaper correspondents submitted exaggerated or mistaken reports on the deaths of colonists.²⁹⁸ This is a vital point that has been overlooked by many historians, and demonstrated in this thesis. The culture that developed on the Queensland frontier, with regard to racial violence, was fostered by secrecy that often masked the true extent of the violence. Fear, anxiety and rumour in stressful situations are the subjects of a large modern historiography, and important factors in the story of the Native Police in Queensland.

Assessing the real impact of the Native Police is a difficult and distressing task. Squatters and miners killed many Aborigines, but they acted only for themselves, used

²⁹⁶ Raymond Evans, 'Australia's killing fields', *Courier Mail* (4 June 2001).

²⁹⁷ Cited in Lindquist, *Exterminate all the Brutes*, 123.

²⁹⁸ See Appendix 4 'Rumours'.

their own firearms and horses, and concerned themselves only with the regions they occupied. The Native Police was, despite the government's loose supervision, ultimately a state agency. The European members of the force were often connected with administrators and politicians; it used government equipment; it was a police force established by executive decision and mandated by parliamentary budget decisions. Thus, as a government entity, its murderous activities merit special attention.

Official investigations into Native Police violence reveal that racial violence was largely accepted and widely practised on the Queensland frontier. Many settlers supported the killing of Aboriginal people, and admitted they had killed out of fear, hatred and distrust. Against this background, the Native Police can be seen as a product of its time. Thus, the government didn't have to hide or destroy records. The European members of the force generally knew – as did squatters and miners – that they had to cover their actions. The excerpts from newspapers and archival records discussed above show that some settlers did not agree with the violence shown towards the 'original owners of Australia'. However, it is also from the official records that the most damning evidence against the Native Police and their fellow settlers can be gleaned. Finding the history of Native Police operations in Queensland was, after all, a case of going to the State Archives, looking in the right places, and not giving up on the search for evidence, thus showing that the history of the Native Police differs little from other historical problems with their similar gaps in evidence.

Conclusion

The topic of this dissertation is a narrow one, and might be thought to fall within the field of Queensland history, parochially defined. On the contrary, this thesis shows that detailed archival research refines the terms in which the history of Australia has been written. On the Queensland frontier in the nineteenth century, Aboriginal policemen under the command of European officers killed large numbers of Indigenous men, women and children. The Queensland government retained the Native Police, first created by the New South Wales government, as an effective means of crushing Indigenous resistance. The thesis, based on extensive archival research, represents a revision of frontier history in Queensland. It looks at some unanswered questions in the light of new data on racial violence in colonial Australia.

In this dissertation, I have argued that the differences between police and military actions in colonial Queensland were extremely blurred. Archival records show that the Native Police acted mostly as a military force. Many surviving records of Native Police operations have been located during the research for this dissertation, and this new evidence reveals much about Native Police operations in Queensland. The records show that the force was, at the time, a standard form of colonial law enforcement apparatus.

For a long time, Queenslanders and Australians have needed a good history of the Native Police. Despite the arguments of many writers and historians who claimed that the records of the force had been destroyed, many important documents are held in the State Archives. Records show that the Native Police force was a legally constituted arm of government. However, not all primary records are accurate. Similarly, many secondary

sources cannot be trusted, because they are often based on recycled gossip, opinion, and hearsay. The best way to approach the history of the force is to corroborate and compare records.

I have compiled a searchable database containing all the references I found. The first entries were the inquests into Native Police killings. Then I added notes about the force from diaries, journals, manuscripts and personal papers. Queensland newspapers, especially The *Queenslander* and the *Brisbane Courier*, were good sources of frontier violence reports. Reminiscences by a few former Native Police officers were found. Over 400 historical records relating to the policing of Aboriginal people in Queensland were located in the Colonial Secretary's Inwards Correspondence series.

Other archival series revealed more documents. In fact, records about the Native Police are to be found in almost every provenance at the Queensland State Archives. About eighty Police Staff Files give career details for some Europeans who served with the force. There will be more references in other police records. The bundles of Executive Council Minutes contain over three hundred references to the force, including appointments and dismissals. Queensland Governors sent Despatches to London on the subject of the Native Police, and responded to requests for information on the force. The Justice Department's inquest series is one of the richest sources, with over one hundred investigations of interracial killings on the colonial frontier. There are more records to look at in this provenance. Hundreds of references to the Native Police can be found in the *Queensland Government Gazette*, along with hundreds more in the *Queensland Police Gazette*. Appointments, promotions, disciplinary action, and dismissals are

revealed. Court records and inquest files allow insights into Native Police history. All the records help us understand how the force worked in colonial Queensland.

A detailed summary of each primary source found to date has been entered into the searchable database. This means keyword searches are particularly effective. The compilation of this master-file has enabled the creation of a nominal roll of European members of the force. The Native Police used almost one hundred different stations and camps across the colony, and these are now listed. The districts that the Native Police operated in, and the individuals who led troopers, are now known. Some of the tactics that the force used are now known as well. Records show conclusively that the most senior government leaders in colonial Queensland – the Colonial Secretaries, Executive Councils, and Governors – knew about the violence on the frontier, and the Native Police, and did little to stop the violence or restrain the Native Police. Government was complicit in the killing of Indigenous people.

One of the key questions I sought to answer was the date and manner of the force's end. To date, no record of an official 'winding up' order has been found. This suggests the force was ended by attrition as camps were closed and officers retired. Although many troopers were retrenched at the end of the nineteenth century, small Native Police units existed on Cape York Peninsula until the First World War. By that stage, troopers had largely become unarmed trackers whose main function was the escort of Aboriginal people on removal orders to reserves and missions. The era of dispersal had finally ended.

This dissertation has only opened up essential avenues of research. Further research on frontier racial relations in Queensland should be undertaken to build on the

material found to date. Tracker files, tracing the employment of Aboriginal men and women by the Queensland Police Force during the twentieth century, would be worth examining for further references to the Native Police. Similarly, our understanding of the 'Policemen' of Torres Strait, and the 'Reserve Police' on Aboriginal Reserves and Settlements, would benefit from further research.

Records about frontier violence also need to be further investigated. Every judicial series contains references to Indigenous people and their treatment by the State. This is a rich topic well worth further research. The number of frontier deaths is an important topic, which needs a lot more consideration. Ideally, deaths from violence should be distinguished from those caused by disease, starvation and other causes to determine the true extent of racial violence on the frontier. But records of death, even when co-related with correspondence files and newspaper reports, will only ever reveal how many settlers died on the Queensland frontier. Indigenous death records are much harder to find. Had we the same easy access to written records from 'the other side of the frontier', the Native Police of Queensland would be part of a completely different story.

Appendices

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Appendix 1: An Interim Nominal Roll of the European members of the Native Police

Abbreviations

ADB = *Australian Dictionary of Biography*

AHRR = Australian Heritage Records Register database

CPS = Clerk of Petty Sessions

NSW BDM = New South Wales Births, Deaths and Marriages

PM = Police Magistrate

QBDM = Queensland Births, Deaths and Marriages

QGG = *Queensland Government Gazette*

QPG = *Queensland Police Gazette*

QVP = *Queensland Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings*

RC = Royal Commission

Affleck, John de Linden

Born Unknown

Appointed Cadet, 1886 (A/38716)

Discharged With gratuity, 1889 (QPG, Vol 27: 44)

Died Unknown

Staff file AF/73 (A/38716)

Notes Shot trooper Peter dead near Barron River, 1888 (JUS/N163/88/628); accidentally shot himself in the arm, which was amputated, 1889 (A/38716)

Ahern, John

Born Unknown

Appointed Constable

Promoted Sergeant

Promoted Senior Sergeant

Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1877 (QGG, Vol 21, 4: 1)

Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1881 (COL/E46/81/374)

Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1886 (COL/E76/86/319)

Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1900 (QPG, Vol 27: 120)

Promoted Travelling Inspector, 1890 (QPG, Vol 27: 133)

Died 1893 (QPG, Vol 30: 313)

Staff file AF/2949

Notes Held inquiry into the conduct of Sub Inspector Smart (1883), and of Sub Inspector Urquhart (1884); referred to in a 1888 newspaper article as “Jacky-Jacky” (*The Queenslander*, 14/4/88: 585-6).

Alford, Richard Henry

Born	Queensland, 1861 (A/38791)
Appointed	Constable, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 73)
Promoted	First Class Constable, 1898 (A/38791)
Promoted	Acting Sergeant, 1898 (QPG, Vol 35: 436)
Reduced	Constable, 1900 (A/38791)
Died	Illness, on board ship, 1901 (A/38791)
Staff file	AF/536 (A/38791)
Notes	Stationed at Turn Off Lagoon (1896-1900), and the object of extreme criticism by Inspector James Lamond in 1899. Alford's wife Mary Ann (nee Carelton, married 1887) died in 1898, and their three children went to live with Constable Joyce, and his wife (who was Mrs Alford's sister). They were later allowed to live at the Turn Off Lagoon station by special permission of Police Commissioner Parry Okeden (A/38791/98/5948). Alford was charged with neglect of duty in 1900, reduced in rank, and transferred to Croydon, Burketown and Bundaberg. He died of heart disease whilst on transfer to Normanton (A/38791/01/2146) After Alford's death, a gratuity of £130 was paid to his children, with the last payment in 1916 (A/38791).

Armit, William Eddington De Margerites

Born	Belgium, 1848 (ADB, Vol 3: 48)
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (QPG, Vol 9: 59)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1873
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1876 (QPG, Vol 13: 49)
Dismissed	Discipline, 1880 (POL/4/614)
Reappointed	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1881 (QPG, Vol 18: 4)
Dismissed	Discipline and financial irregularities 1882 (QPG, Vol 19: 114)
Died	New Guinea, 1901 (ADB, Vol 3: 48)
Staff file	AF/23 (A/38710)
Notes	Ex-soldier, arrived Australia 1870; married Marion Barton, 1871, and they had nine children, with two dying young, (QBDM); in command of detachment at Creen Creek killing, 1876; wrote to papers (as "A Queensland Police Officer") after dismissal in 1880 saying he was 'forbidden to publish any information which would give the public even the slightest glimpse into the doings of the Native Police' (<i>The Queenslander</i> , 4/9/80: 306); drunk at Thursday Island, 1881; involved in bitter argument with Poingdestre and dismissed, 1882. Became journalist and was special correspondent for <i>Argus</i> while on expedition in New Guinea, 1883. Bankrupt at Cooktown and applied for reappointment to Native Police in 1884. Member of Cooktown School Committee, 1886, and Secretary of Cooktown Chamber of Commerce, 1891. Private secretary to New Guinea administrator William MacGregor, 1893, and led retaliatory party in New Guinea, 1894 (COL/A781/94/10801). Resident magistrate in New Guinea from 1899

Armstrong, Maxwell

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (QGG, Vol 3: 749)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1864 (EXE/E10/64/63)
Promoted Acting Inspector, 1871 (QPG, Vol 8: 61)
Retired On pension, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 156)
Died Ireland, 1905 (A/38708)
Staff file AF/11 (A/38708)
Notes Appointed Police Magistrate at Blackall, 1871; granted 15 months leave in 1874 to see his father in Europe

Aubin, Myrtil

Born France, 1842
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 5:24)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/158)
Dismissed Discipline, 1867 (COL/E1/67/172)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Naturalised 14 April 1866 at age of 24; in command of detachment at Morinish killing, 1867 (QVP, 1867:983), suspended and dismissed (QPG, Vol 4:59)

Baker, John Tanner

Born Unknown
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1858 (NSW)
Promoted 1st Lieutenant, 1862 (EXE/E5/62/6 & QGG, Vol 3: 105)
Resigned 1862 (COL/A36/63/40)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1960
Notes Appointed CPS at Pioneer River (Mackay), 1864 (COL/Q2/64/111); appointed Acting Police Magistrate at Mackay 1/1/64 (QVP, 1865:30)

Barron, Thomas Henry Bowman

Born Unknown
Appointed Inspector, 1865 (QGG, Vol 6: 1343 & QPG, Vol 3: 1)
Retained Inspector, 1869 (COL/E3/69/199)
Appointed Chief Clerk and Accountant, 1869 (QVP, 1870: 13)
Promoted Acting Commissioner, 1866, 1871 & 1880 (QGG, Vol 7: 35, QVP, 1872: 15 & COL/E41/80/391)
Resigned Financial irregularities, 1881 (COL/E45/81/343 & 352)
Died London, 1882 (SCT/P75/2669)

Staff file Unknown
Notes Appointed Police Magistrate at Warrego, 1864 (COL/Q3/64/621 & QGG, Vol 5: 1011); Police Magistrate at Charleville, 1865 (QGG, Vol 6: 461); married Mary Manning, 1866 (she died 1866) & Ellen Blakeney, 1871; acted in place of Seymour 1871-72, 1874-75, 1877-78, 1879-80

Bayley, Wallace Paget

Born NSW, 1838 (*Pioneer Families of Australia*)
Appointed Cadet, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/6 & QGG, Vol 4: 142)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/24 & QGG, Vol 4: 381)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2 & QGG, Vol 5: 575)
Resigned 1865 (QPG, Vol 2: 75)
Died 1878 (*Pioneer Families of Australia*)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Son of an army officer. Family name sometimes recorded as Bailey or Bayly, and relative Nicholas Paget Bayly at Mudgee, NSW. WP Bayley lived in North Queensland after leaving police

Bayley, William Henry

Born Liverpool, NSW 1834 (*Pioneer Families of Australia*)
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E4/61/52 & QGG, Vol 3: 129)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1862 (EXE/E5/62/15 & QGG, Vol 3: 179)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5, No 18: 1)
Resigned Unknown
Died Parramatta, NSW 1864 (*Pioneer Families of Australia*)
Staff file Unknown
Notes From Taroom; family from NSW, family name sometimes recorded as Bailey or Bayly; mother and father were both children of army officers

Beevor, Arthur

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E5/62/6 & QGG, Vol 3: 106)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1862 (EXE/E6/62/50 & QGG, Vol 3: 749)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
Resigned 1866 (EXE/E14/66/50)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes From Warwick; in command of detachment at Calliope killing, 1865 (COL/A73/65/3225)

Beresford, Marcus Gervais

Born Ireland?

Appointed Cadet, 1882 (POL/4/617)
 Died On patrol at Fullarton River, 1883 (QPG, Vol 20: 61)
 Staff file AF/104 (A/38720)
 Notes Descended from Anglo-Irish military families of Waterford (Beresford, and Power or de La Poer, including Lord Charles William De La Poer Beresford, Baron Beresford, etc) and son of George De La Poer Beresford and Mary Nesbitt; previously in New South Wales Police; killed during attack on patrol at Mackinlay Ranges near Cloncurry; gratuity paid to his widow (A/38720)

Blakeney, Charles John

Born Unknown
 Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1860 (EXE/E2/60/45)
 Resigned 1862 (COL/A33/62/2336)
 Reappointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (EXE/E10/64/41)
 Dismissed Discipline, financial issues and neglect of duty, 1866 (EXE/E14/66/67)
 Died 1892 (QBDM)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Brother (WT Blakeney) became Registrar-General; married Mary Ann Cameron, 1862, and they had ten children (one died young) (QBDM); two whole detachments deserted from Blakeney at Cardwell in 1865 (COL/A92/66/2008); dismissed for failing to patrol Fort Cooper district, 1867 (COL/A92/67/1549); solicitor at Dalby, 1869; bankrupt 1883 and applied for discharge of bankruptcy when living at Cooktown in 1886. Son (Frank Charles Blakeney) also joined the Native Police in 1898

Bligh, John O'Connell

Born England, 1834
 Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1853 (QVP, 1864: 33)
 Promoted Acting Commandant, 1861 (QGG, Vol 2: 340)
 Promoted Commandant, 1861 (QGG, Vol 2: 506)
 Resigned 1864 (QVP, 1865: 29 & 32)
 Died Probable suicide after death of wife, Gympie, 1880 (ADB, Vol 1: 66)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Relative of William Bligh, son of Richard and Elizabeth Bligh and nephew of parliamentarian Sir Maurice O'Connell; his parents were cousins and related to Nutting family. Entered NSW public service as Assistant CPS 1853; in command of detachment at Maryborough killing, 1860 (JUS/N1/60/6a). Took up land near Cooloolah, 1860; given sword by residents, 1861; appointed Police Magistrate at Gayndah, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5: 1), as PM at Maryborough (QGG, Vol 8: 719) and as PM at Gympie from 1869 (QGG, Vol 10: 762); married Charlotte Eliza Dick, 1863, she died in 1876 giving birth to their sixth child but the baby (Lily) lived

Breene, Martin

Born 1840, Ireland (A/40255)
Appointed Constable, 1868 (A/40255)
Promoted Senior Constable, 1875 (A/40255)
Promoted Sergeant, 1877 (A/40255)
Promoted Senior Sergeant, 1888 (A/40255)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1894 (QPG, 31/310)
Retired On pension, 1905 (A/40255)
Died South Brisbane, 1928 (A/40255)
Staff file AF/2126 (A/40255)
Notes Married Catherine Sullivan 1871; owned land at Mackay, 1881 (QGG, Vol 28: 43)

Britton, William Thomas

Born Northern Ireland, 1835
Appointed Sergeant, 1862 (A/40255)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1878 (QVP, 1879)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1881 (COL/E46/81/374)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1887 (COL/E81/87/104)
Retired 1895 (A/40255)
Died London, 1923 (A/40255)
Staff file AF/2125 (A/40255)
Notes Married Emily Swetton, who died with their only child at Bowen; left estate to various Queensland hospitals

Brooke, Jocelyn

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1881 (COL/A342/81/4120)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1882 (POL/4 & QGG, Vol 31: 484)
Resigned Ill-health and discipline, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 422)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/96 (A/38719)
Notes Worked with George Bridgman at Mackay Aboriginal Reserve before appointment; sent to Cooktown after being appointed and investigated Aboriginal Reserve at Georgetown, 1888. Submitted resignation after being charged with insubordination, withdrew his notice and then resigned six months later (A/38719)

Brown, Unknown

Born Unknown
Appointed Constable
Promoted Sergeant

Dismissed Discipline, 1864
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes In command of detachment at Eureka killings, 1864 (JUS/N8/64/147), and dismissed after the bodies of two Aboriginal men were found.

Brown, Charles Frederick

Born Unknown
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1874 (QVP, 1875)
Discharged Discipline, 1877 (QVP, 1877)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Trained by Wheeler, who told him there were no 'standing orders, rules or regulations' (QVP, 1877: 119)

Browne, Henry John

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1863 (QGG, Vol 4: 323)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (QGG, Vol 4: 381)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5, No 18: 1)
Promoted Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 7: 37 & QGG, Vol 6: 517)
Promoted Western Chief Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/63 & QGG, Vol 8: 188)
Promoted Travelling Inspector, 1872 (QPG, Vol 9: 77)
Retired 1875 (QPG, Vol 12: 64)
Died Roma, 1878 (SCT/P45/1600)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Formerly in 19th Prince of Wales Regiment; married Elizabeth Constance Harding, 1872

Carney, Owen

Born Unknown
Appointed Sergeant, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1: 2)
Dismissed Neglect of duty, 1865 (A/40222)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1977 (A/40222)
Notes Dismissed after losing horses at Burdekin, 1865.

Carr, Ernest Henry T

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 3: 10)
Resigned 1867 (QPG, Vol 4: 3)
Reappointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1871 (POL/4/525)

Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1879 (COL/E30/79/37 & QGG, Vol 24: 279)
 Retired On super, 1894 (COL/E175/95/76)
 Died Sydney, 1923 (A/40261)
 Staff file AF/2139 (A/40261)
 Notes Married Fanny Constance Beardmore (from Marlborough), 1875, and they had three children; one son named Ernest Edward Blakeney Carr and another (Ernest Powell Carr) died in 1883 aged three. EH Carr served in the Cairns/Port Douglas area from 1879 to 1885, and tried to shoot his wife at Milton, 1899 (A/40291)

Carr, Frederick William

Born Unknown
 Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1857 (NSW)
 Promoted 1st Lieutenant, 1861 (EXE/E3/61/26)
 Appointed Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
 Discharged Ill health, 1866 (EXE/E13/66/11)
 Died Unknown
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes In command of detachments at Bendemere killing, 1860 (COL/A3/60/381) and at Tieryboo killing, 1863 (JUS/N5/63/22). Appointed as Magistrate, 1861 (QGG, Vol 2: 351); granted three months sick leave, 1862 (COL/Q2/62/536). Complaint from Henry Coxen about seizing of trooper Macbeth alias Georgey at Bendemere, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/22); suspended for appointing (his relation) as campkeeper, 1864 (EXE/E12/65/41), then on sick leave from 1865 until resignation. Married Maria Carter about 1868 (QBDM)

Carroll, John William

Born Ireland, 1841
 Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1873 (QPG, Vol 10: 18)
 Dismissed Murder of trooper, 1876 (COL/E19/76/679)
 Died Townsville, 1892 (A/16753/93/4 & QBDM)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes In command of detachment at Aramac killing, 1873; charged with murder of trooper and flogging of gin, but case was dismissed by AW Compigne, Police Magistrate (A/5117); married Mary Eugenie Gorman, 1878. Wrote to *The Townsville Herald* in 1881 saying there were 'no instructions' but he thought the Native Police force would be 'a cheap and effective protection to the Australian pioneer for many years to come' (COL/A320/81/3821).

Cave, William

Born Unknown

Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1861 (EXE/E4/61/32 & QGG, Vol 2: 753)
 Resigned 1863 (COL/A38/63/511)
 Died 1900 (QBDM)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes In command of detachment at reprisals after Cullin-la-ringo, 1861 (GOV/23/61/74); appointed CPS at Princhester, 1863. Unsuccessfully charged Richard Miller with obstruction in arresting (Aboriginal) man, 1863. Married Harriet Susannah Lucas, 1864; served as CPS at Clermont (QGG, Vol 12: 714), and at Taroom and Banana (1864-79). Suspended after jewellery disappeared at Taroom, 1869; services 'dispensed with' in 1879 (COL/E35/79/487); middle name may be Spencer

Cheeke, Walter Frederick

Born Unknown
 Appointed Sub Inspector, 1876 (POL/4/595)
 Resigned 1879
 Reappointed 1879
 Discharged Reduction of force, 1880 (COL/E35/79/503)
 Died Dunwich, 1928? (A/52897)
 Staff file AF/343 (A/38756)
 Notes Appointed as Govt Agent for Pacific Islander recruiting, 1884; appointed as Brewery Insp, 1887 (QGG, Vol 42: 1324), and retrenched from Customs Dept, 1889. Married Lucy Priddy, 1889; appointed Customs Officer at Hungerford, 1895 (QGG, Vol 63: 848) and officer in charge of brewery, 1898 (QGG, Vol 69: 585); had an interview in 1910 with Commissioner Cahill about Barron having abused his powers and his dismissal for embezzlement; Cheeke sent to Dunwich, 1917 (A/38756)

Clerk, Frederick M

Born New South Wales, 1855
 Appointed Constable, 1880 (POL/12M/G2/80/67)
 Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1881 (QVP, 1882)
 Dismissed Drunkenness, 1884 (POL/4)
 Died Unknown
 Staff file AF/257 (A/38742)
 Notes Trained under Sub Inspector Carr at Barron River, and campkeeper at Georgetown and Cloncurry. Suspended and reprimanded for drinking, 1882, and had dispute with Sub Inspector Alfred Smart, 1883; both were dismissed 1884.

Clohesy, Thomas

Born Unknown
 Appointed Constable, 1863 (QVP, 1864: 31)

Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1864 (QVP, 1865: 29 & 32)
Resigned	1866 (QPG, Vol 4: 3)
Reappointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1867 (QGG, Vol 8: 1019)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/300)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1874 (QPG, Vol 11: 122 & QGG, Vol 15: 2007))
Died	Illness, Rockhampton, 1879 (QBDM)
Staff file	AF/226 (A/38739)
Notes	First appointed at Gayndah, and served in North Queensland from 1867 to 1878. Married Kate Murphy, 1872, and they had three children; she was given a gratuity of £431 after his death (COL/E32/79/193); and wrote again in 1925 asking for more money, which was refused (A/38739)

Collopy, Mathew

Born	Unknown
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1871 (QPG, Vol 8: 43)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1874 (QPG, Vol 11: 122 & QGG, Vol 15: 2007)
Died	Illness, 1880 (QPG, Vol 17: 41)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	One child died young; nothing more found

Compigne, Walter

Born	England, 1841 (FamilySearch)
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 7: 36)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/158)
Resigned	Unknown
Died	1884, Gympie
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Appointed CPS at Gympie, 1868 (COL/E2/68/52 & QGG, Vol 9: 142); appointed as Warden and as a Magistrate at Gayndah, 1875 (QGG, Vol 16: 1 & 733); married Mary Ann McCowan, 1884 (QBDM)

Cooper, William

Born	Unknown
Appointed	Cadet, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 263)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1893 (COL/E158/93/310 & QGG, Vol 60: 350)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1899 (QGG, Vol 72: 1640)
Resigned	1900 (A/38752 & QGG, Vol 73: 1185)
Died	Unknown
Staff file	AF/320 (A/38752)
Notes	Appointed Protector of Aborigines for Cook district, 1898 and 1899 (QGG, Vol 69: 902 & Vol 71: 224), and cancelled, 1899 (QGG, Vol 72: 400 & 451). Inquiry held in 1899 by Commissioner into the sending of two Aboriginal women from Cooktown to Townsville by Cooper

(A/38752), demoted to 2nd Class Sub Inspector, and transferred to the Gulf.

Coward, Thomas (Tom)

Born England, 1834
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1864 (QVP, 1878, Vol 2: 297)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1865 (POL/4/151 & QGG, Vol 6: 517)
Transfer To Mines Dept, 1874 (POL/4/577, QPG, Vol 12: 50 & QGG, Vol 15: 2318)
Reappointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1879 (COL/E31/79/95)
Resigned 1880?
Died Adelaide, 1920
Staff file AF/1971 (A/40221)
Notes Previously in South Australian Police; explorer in Central Australia, 1857 (AHRR); placed in charge of all police in Burke district, 1868 (COL/A106/68/1788) and clashed with Sub Inspector WD Uhr. Suspended at Burketown in 1870, but resumed duties afterwards; enquiry into discipline charges held by Inspector Marlow at Cashmere in 1871 (A/40221) and transferred to Cardwell. Transferred to Mines Dept in 1874 as Warden and Goldfield Commissioner at Palmer River (QGG, Vol 15: 2318) and took part in reprisals after Straher family killing, 1875. Resigned as Goldfields Warden in 1877 (QGG, Vol 21: 1340) and requested transfer back to Native Police in 1877. Married Millicent Deagon (1879), had three children (including Rambler Norman Coward) and probably became a publican in Adelaide (QBDM & AHRR)

Crompton, Richard Radcliff

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1870 (QVP, 1871)
Resigned Unknown
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Described as 'unable to cope' and 'incompetent' (COL/A170/72/1346)

Darley, John

Born Unknown
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1860 (QGG, Vol 1: 66)
Died Illness, 1861 (EXE/E4/61/135)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Sent to get 'clothing patterns & equipment' (rifles) at Sydney, 1860; on sick leave and died, 1861; nothing more found

Day, Maitland Tyrrell

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1873 (QVP, 1874)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1874 (QVP, 1875)
Resigned Unknown
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes In command of detachment at Tam O'Shanter Point killings, 1877 (COL/A249/77/5567)

Deevy, Michael

Born Unknown
Appointed Constable, 1897 (A/38768)
Resigned 1908 (A/38768)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/537 (A/38768)
Notes Campkeeper at Cooktown and Coen; accused by Roth of killing man at Mapoon, 1900 (A/58927/00/19949); order from Commissioner Parry Okeden in 1902, that Deevy 'will not be sent into the bush in charge of patrols' (A/49713/02/10390)

Dicken, Charles Shortt

Born 1844
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 57)
Resigned 1867 (QPG, Vol 4: 82)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Appointed CPS at Springsure, 1867, and appointed Police Magistrate at Springsure, 1872 (QGG, Vol 13: 1045); served as PM at Millchester and Charters Towers, 1872 (QGG, Vol 16: 995), and at Townsville, 1879 (QGG, Vol 24: 10); appointed Queensland Agent General 1880; was Lieutenant in 87th Regt, and appointed Captain in Defence Force, 1889

Doherty, Cornelius

Born Ireland, 1847 (A/38774)
Appointed Constable, 1881 (A/38774)
Dismissed Drunkenness, 1891 (QPG, Vol 28: 429)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/461 (A/38774)
Notes Campkeeper at Barron River, Glendhu, Coen, Cooktown, Normanby. In command of detachment at Springvale killing, 1891 (A/38774/91/8776)

Dorsey, Alexander

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 83)
Resigned Unknown
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Appointed Sub Commissioner of Goldfields at Charters Towers, 1873 (QVP, 1873); appointed Goldfield Warden and Sub Commissioner of Goldfields at Palmer River, 1874 (QVP, 1874) and served until 1876; CPS at Clermont, 1879 (QGG, Vol 24: 1136) and at Bowen (1885-88)

Douglas, Alexander Douglas

Born Channel Islands, 1843
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (QPG, Vol 9: 68)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1876 (QPG, Vol 13: 49)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1884 (QPG, Vol 21: 266)
Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1893 (COL/E158/93/310 & QGG, Vol 60: 230)
Promoted Northern Senior Inspector, 1898 (QGG, Vol 69: 1356)
Promoted Chief Inspector, 1900 (QGG, Vol 74: 1908)
Promoted Acting Commissioner, 1903 (COL/E238/03/429)
Retired 1905
Died England, 1914
Staff file Unknown
Notes Son of army officer and previously in Royal Navy at China. Was in command of detachments at Gladstone and St Lawrence killings, 1872 & 1873 (JUS/N35/72/223 & JUS/N37/73/190). Sent to Cooktown, 1874; charged with murder and investigated after Miriam Vale killings, 1875 (COL/A306/80/296). Married Lucy Street, 1884, and she died 1905; wrote letter "How the Blacks Might be Civilised" in 1892.

Dumaresq, Edward John

Born Tasmania, 1836
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1868 (QPG, Vol 5: 77)
Resigned 1870 (QPG, Vol 7: 6)
Reappointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (POL/4/553)
Dismissed Discipline, 1875 (POL/4/583)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes In command of detachment at Bloomfield River killings, 1874; most of his troopers deserted soon after (JUS/N41/74/225)

Dunne, John McKay

Born Canada?

Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 67 & QGG, Vol 13: 436)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1872 (POL/4/528)
Resigned	Unknown
Died	Illness, Fort Burke (NSW), 1877 (POL/4/602 & SCT/P58/2024)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Only child, and father (John <u>Dunn</u>) was Reverend in Church of England at New Brunswick. JM Dunne possibly held a commission in the Indian Navy, before joining the Native Police. Appointed as Acting CPS at Cunnamulla (QGG, Vol 11, No 144: 1) and as District Registrar at Paroo, 1875 (QVP, 1875). Died from 'softening of the brain', i.e. mental illness (Watson, 1969:19). Never married, his parents died before 1877, and next of kin was (his Aunt) Julia Whitlock, widow of James Whitlock, Customs Collector at St Andrews (SCT/P58/2024)

Durham, Herbert Rowland Pasley

Born	Unknown
Appointed	Cadet, 1884 (QPG, Vol 21: 117)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1885 (COL/E67/85/189 & QGG, Vol 36: 1906)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1894 (COL/E171/94/430 & QGG, Vol 42: 1013)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1904 (A/38785)
Reduced	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1906 (A/38785 & QGG, Vol 87: 273)
Died	Suicide at Hughenden, 1906 (A/38785 and JUS/N365/06/503)
Staff file	AF/502 (A/38785)
Notes	Married Mary Ann Morse, 1887; at Thargomindah, 1894; appointed Transport Officer for Fourth Contingent to Boer War, 1900 (QGG, Vol 73: 1379); appointment cancelled, 1901 (QGG, Vol 76: 540); served at Boer War 1900-01 (NAA) and awarded Queen's Medal with clasp.

Dyas, George

Born	Ireland
Appointed	Constable, 1864 (A/38770)
Promoted	Sergeant, 1869?
Promoted	Acting Sub Inspector, 1871 (QPG, Vol 8: 43)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1877 (POL/4/599)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1877 (QGG, Vol 21: 97)
Died	Killed, near Normanton, 1881 (POL/4/616)
Staff file	AF/420 (A/38770)
Notes	Previously Irish Constabulary and posted to Gilbert River goldfield. Investigated after Inspector Clohesy laid a 'serious charge' in 1874, but no further details found. He married Sarah Moore in 1875, and was killed, possibly by Blacks, in the bush while on transfer to Normanton; a gratuity of £347 for his widow was approved (COL/E42/81/48)

Earl, Edward Campbell

Born Bowen, 1874 (Provenance unknown)
Appointed Constable, 1896 (A/38803)
Resigned 1897 (A/38803)
Died Leura, NSW, 1930 (Provenance unknown)
Staff file AF/598 (A/38803)
Notes Eldest son of grazier James Earl of Butcher's Hill near Cooktown; recommended by Inspector Hervey Fitzgerald (A/38803). Was the campkeeper at Kirtleton (Cardwell) Native Police camp, but resigned after twelve month's service, prompting Commissioner Parry Okeden to note 'so much for Fitzgerald's paragon' (A/38803/97/3656); became canefarmer, butcher & grazier at Balaclava (Cairns), and Mayor of Cairns in 1906

Eglinton, Ernest

Born Great Britain
Appointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1878 (QVP, 1879)
Resigned Unknown
Died Brisbane, 1921
Staff file AF/602 (A/38804)
Notes Arrived in Queensland with his family in 1870; appointed Police Magistrate at Boulia, 1884 (COL/E60/84/99 & QGG, Vol 34: 895); married Anna Maria Alice Bell, 1884; served as Police Magistrate at Birdsville, Port Douglas, and Winton (1884-1918); sister (Blanche) married George Essex Evans; wrote *Pioneering in the North-west* mentioning Beresford, Kaye, Urquhart, Murray, Hill

Finch, Henry Zouch

Born 1841 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 19/7/1875)
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2: 75)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1869 (COL/E4, POL/4/456 & QGG, Vol 10: 1361)
Died Suicide, at Gray's station on the Flinders, 1875 (POL/4/590 & SCT/P38/1301)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Eldest son of Charles Wray and Elizabeth Finch of Sydney. Suspended and reinstated after unknown offence in 1872. Wanted to leave in 1873, but was allowed to withdraw his resignation by Colonial Secretary Palmer (COL/E11/73/97). In command of detachment at Gilberton killings, 1874. Never married, and his brother (Edward Finch) was a bank manager at Townsville (SCT/P38/1301)

Fitzgerald, Hervey

Born Canada, 1844 (A/40291)

Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2: 75)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1871 (A/40291)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1881 (QPG, Vol 18: 164 & QGG, Vol 29: 1190)
Promoted	1 st Class Inspector, 1892 (QPG, Vol 29: 328 & QGG, Vol 42: 70)
Retired	1905 (A/40291)
Died	Clayfield, 1922 (A/40291)
Staff file	AF/2203 (A/40291)
Notes	Married Clara Laura Maria Gorton, 1874; suspended for whipping an Aboriginal woman, 'severely reprimanded' and transferred to Gold Escort, 1876 (COL/E20/76/757); manager of Enoggera Mine, 1877; back in Native Police by late 1879, and in command of Cooktown detachments after death of Mrs Watson at Lizard Island in 1881; remained in North until 1898; wrote to Commissioner in 1896 about 'attacks of scoundrels' on Native Police officers, which he thought should be 'met by an action for criminal libel'

Freudenthal, Rudolph

Born	Austria, 1816
Appointed	Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E6/62/50 & QGG, Vol 3: 749)
Promoted	2 nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/3)
Appointed	Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
Discharged	On pension, 1879 (COL/E34/79/400)
Died	Mackay? 1892
Staff file	AF/527 (A/38789)
Notes	Married Anna Maria Doyle, 1861. Wrote to Attorney General in 1866, saying the Native Police force was 'driving him to suicide' (JUS/A7)

Galbraith, Percy Dumas Fead

Born	Unknown
Appointed	Cadet
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1884 (QGG, Vol 34: 1316)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1900 (QGG, Vol 74: 1672)
Promoted	1 st Class Inspector, 1909 (QGG, Vol 74: 957)
Resigned	1910 (A/40283)
Died	Unknown
Staff file	AF/2183 (A/40283)
Notes	Formerly in New Zealand Police; witness at RC into CIB 1899. In command of detachment searching for "the Breelong Blacks" (the Governors) in NSW, 1900. Served at Normanton from 1901 to 1904, and was appointed Aboriginal Protector there, 1901.

Garraway, Roland Walter

Born	England, 1859 (A/40212)
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Appointed	Cadet, 1884 (A/40212)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1885 (COL/E67/85/189 & QGG, Vol 36: 1906)
Resigned	Discipline, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 228)
Reappointed	Constable, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 183)
Promoted	3 rd Class Sub Inspector, 1898 (QPG, Vol 35: 49 & QGG, Vol 69: 65)
Resigned	1906 (A/40212 & QGG, Vol 87: 951)
Reappointed	Sub Inspector, 1907 (A/58994/08/2783 & QGG, Vol 88: 1377)
Resigned	As 3 rd Class Inspector, 1910 (A/40212 & QGG, Vol 95: 1536)
Died	1942 (QBDM)
Staff file	AF/1936 (A/40212)
Notes	Recommended by Fraser at Barron River and trained by Sub Inspector Ernest H Carr. In command of detachment at Irvinebank killing, 1884, and was the main witness in (defeating) murder charges against Sub Inspector Nichols. Requested (unsuccessfully) a transfer to Queensland Police in 1886, and resigned in 1888 after an Enquiry held into his employment of Senior Constable Michael Portley as a bailiff on land owned by Mr Breen of Port Douglas. Applied for reappointment to Native Police 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894, 1895 and 1897. Married Jane Mary Thoms, 1890, who went to live at Stanthorpe (A/40212); he became a livery-stable keeper and was bankrupt at Cairns, 1890. Reappointed by Commissioner (1897) and posted to Cairns (1898), and other North Queensland stations from then till 1906. Appointed as Aboriginal Protector at Highbury Native Police camp, 1898 (QPG, Vol 35: 157) and relived of this duty in 1900 (COL/E221/00/566). Later became publican of Grand Hotel at Mackay 1911-13, and at Townsville 1921 (A/44850/21/935).

Genatas, Eugenius or Eugene

Born	Greece
Appointed	Cadet, 1860 (EXE/E2/60/46)
Promoted	2 nd Lieutenant, 1861 (EXE/E3/61/15)
Resigned	1862 (EXE/E5/62/26)
Died	Unknown
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	At reprisals after Cullin-la-ringo, 1861 (RES/10)

Geraghty, James

Born	Ireland, 1857 (A/40508)
Appointed	Constable, 1877 (A/40508)
Promoted	Senior Constable, 1883 (A/40508)
Promoted	Sergeant, 1889 (A/40508)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1894 (A/40508 & QGG, Vol 62: 1013)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1904 (QGG, Vol 82: 307)
Promoted	1 st Class Inspector, 1910 (A/40508 & QGG, Vol 94: 1124)
Promoted	Senior Inspector, 1916 (A/40508)

Retired	On pension, 1916 (A/40508)
Died	Unknown
Staff file	AF/2906 (A/40508)
Notes	Campkeeper at Eight Mile; transferred to ordinary police in 1890.

Gilmour, James Merry

Born	Scotland?
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 3: 22 & QGG, Vol 9: 270)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/158)
Died	Blackall, 1874 (QPG, Vol 11: 76)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Previously station manager at Bindango, Maranoa district (McManus, 1969:11). Appointed by Inspector Wheeler to patrol roads near Roma with seven troopers 'with a view to arresting bushrangers' (COL/A76/66/549). Conducted search for Leichhardt remains at Cooper Creek, 1871 (COL/A157/71/1547); involved in dispute with campkeeper Herbert, 1873. Commissioner Seymour noted he 'should have been suspended' (A/38830); the cause of his death ten months later is unknown.

Gough, Henry Bloomfield

Born	Ireland 1844 (SCT/P330/9419)
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 57)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1873 (COL/E11/73/19 & QGG, Vol 19: 56)
Resigned	On super, 1895 (COL/E179/95/245)
Died	Brisbane, 1896 (SCT/P330/9419)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Military family, brother Benjamin Bloomfield Gough was Recording Clerk at Burketown, 1867; HB Gough never married; appointed CPS at Byerstown, 1877 (QVP, 1878); Police Magistrate at Isisford, 1880 (QPG, Vol 17: 41 & QGG, Vol 26: 167 & 207); served as Police Magistrate at Ingham, Rockhampton, and at Warwick, 1893 (QGG, Vol 63: 442); after his death, father (Percy Gough of Salisbury House, Clonmel County, Tipperary, Ireland) asked that gold watches be given to Mr Seymour and Mr Perse 'in remembrance of their kindness to him'

Graham, David

Born	Ireland, 1840 (A/40286)
Appointed	Constable, 1865 (A/40286)
Promoted	Sergeant, 1869 (A/40286)
Promoted	Senior Sergeant, 1874 (A/40286)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1885 (COL/E67/85/189)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1887 (COL/E81/87/104)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1892 (QPG, Vol 29: 328)

Retired On super, 1904 (A/40286)
Died Wynnum, 1933 (A/40286)
Staff file AF/2192 (A/40286)
Notes Previously in Irish Constabulary

Hansen, Carl Stephen Christian aka Charles

Born Copenhagen, Denmark, 1853
Appointed Constable (A/38828)
Resigned 1892 (QPG, Vol 29: 320)
Reappointed Constable, 1894 (QPG, Vol 31: 212)
Died Consumption, 1896 (QPG, Vol 33: 272)
Staff file AF/747 (A/38828)
Notes Stationed at Atherton, Nigger Creek; investigated for discipline and transferred to Mossman River Native Police camp, 1891 (A/38828). Accused by Inspector Lamond of 'taking civilians on patrol with him' and 'talking in a most reckless manner' (A/38828)

Harris, Joseph Donald

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E6/62/40 & QGG, Vol 3: 549)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/3)
Dismissed Neglect of duty, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/22)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes In command of detachment at Gayndah killing, 1863 (JUS/N5/63/58), suspended and dismissed for allowing his troopers out of his control (QVP, 1863: 122-129); appointed as line repairer 1874 (QGG, Vol 15: 1117 & QVP, 1875)

Hasenkamp, Henry (Harry)

Born Queensland, 1857
Appointed Constable, 1881 (A/40559)
Promoted 1st Class Constable, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 169)
Promoted Acting Sergeant, 1898 (QPG, Vol 35: 436)
Promoted Sergeant
Retired 1918 (A/40559)
Died 1931 (A/40559)
Staff file AF/3079 (A/40559)
Notes Former stockman; married Mary Jane Desmond, 1879; appointed CPS at Cooktown, 1902 (A/40559); wife predeceased him; six daughters

Heenan, J

Born Unknown
Appointed Constable
Resigned Unknown
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Campkeeper at Nigger Creek; in command of detachment at Barron River, Wooroora, and Mt Garnet killings, 1898-1903 (A/38047/98/81)

Henry, Alfred

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (EXE/E13/66/5)
Resigned Unknown
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Married Emily Caroline Bell, 1869; appointed Police Magistrate at Tambo, 1872 (QVP, 1873); served as Police Magistrate at Normanton, Clermont, Townsville, Tambo (1878-90)

Higgins, John Gilmore

Born 1861 (A/40290)
Appointed Constable, 1885 (A/40290)
Promoted 1st Class Constable, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 199)
Retired On pension, 1900 (A/40290)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/2201 (A/40290)
Notes Constable at Atherton, married Catherine Hynes (1890) and officer in charge of Nigger Creek camp in 1898; in command of detachment at Smithfield killing, 1898 (A/38047/98/49). Discharged due to illness, and not expected to survive (A/40290/00/15322)

Hill, Cecil Fulford

Born England
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 3: 10)
Died Killed, near Rannes, May 1865
Staff file Unknown
Notes No inquest into death held, and his brother William claimed, in his book *Forty-Five Years Experiences in North Queensland* (1907), that 'as far as the Government cared, he would have been left forgotten, and his death and even the locality unrecorded'; brother Stanley (Clerk in Police Commissioner's Office at time) told the family and erected a fence round the grave.

Hill, William Richard Onslow

Born Channel Islands, 1844 (JOL, OM91-75)
Appointed Cadet, 1863
Promoted Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (POL/4/211)
Discharged 'Loss of Office', 1867 (COL/E2/68/75)
Died 1923
Staff file Unknown
Notes In command of detachment at Paroo River killing, 1867, suspended, and subject of Parliamentary debate. Appointed CPS at Cape River, 1868 (QVP, 1870); CPS at Ravenswood, 1870 (QVP, 1872); married Emily Wilson, 1871; Police Magistrate at Ravenswood, 1879 (COL/E33/79/308); served as Police Magistrate at Georgetown, Cairns, Springvale, Charleville, Clermont (1882-95); Relieving Magistrate, 1894 (QVP, 1895/38). Wrote *Forty-Five Years Experiences in North Queensland* (1907).

Hoole, John

Born 1870, New South Wales (A/38841)
Appointed Constable, 1899 (A/38841)
Resigned 1902 (A/38841)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/834 (A/38841)
Notes In command of detachment at the Ducie River (Cape York Peninsula) killing, 1902 (A/49713), and resigned later that year (A/38841)

Isley, John Bacey

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QVP, 1866)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1870 (COL/E5/70/152 & QGG, Vol 11: 767)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1875 (QPG, Vol 13: 13 & QGG, Vol 18: 103)
Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 223 & QGG, Vol 94: 352)
Reduced 2nd Class Inspector, discipline, 1895 (COL/E177/95/177)
Retired 1895 (QPG, Vol 32: 174)
Died 1916 (A/40294)
Staff file AF/2208 (A/40294)
Notes Married Sarah Jane McTaggart, 1872, she died in 1881 at Port Douglas, so he raised their children alone; served in North Queensland from 1877 until 1886; suspended and reprimanded for 'want of judgement' in 1879 (COL/E30/79/78); reduced at retirement in 1895 for 'misconduct'

Jardine, Frank Lascalles

Born Unknown
Appointed Inspector, 1868 (QGG, Vol 9: 334 & QVP, 1870)

Resigned	Unknown
Died	Unknown
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Father (John) was appointed CPS and Police Magistrate at Somerset, 1868 (QVP, 1870). Frank appointed as CPS, Police Magistrate and Inspector at Somerset, 1868 (QVP, 1870:13-17). Reported he had shot four troopers in 1871, but three were found in a canoe at sea trying to escape one month later (COL/A163/71/2915). Married Sana Solia, and their sons were involved in a violent clash, 1905 (A/58927/05/13941 & 20551)

Johnson, Ralph Cholmondeley Godschall

Born	London, 1838 (Prov. unknown)
Appointed	Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E4/61/41 & QGG, Vol 3: 179)
Promoted	2 nd Lieutenant, 1862 (COL/Q2/62/367 & QGG, Vol 3: 179)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
Resigned	Discipline, 1864 (EXE/E10/64/55)
Died	Illness, Woogaroo, 1884 (SCT/P95/3323)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Father was assistant clerk in Legislative Assembly from 1860 until 1876; in command of detachment at Dawson River killing, 1862, and subject to complaint by Frederick Walker (COL/A39/62/991, COL/A39/63/993 & JUS/A4/63/1/4). Allowed to “resign” after a trooper was killed during a ‘fight’ near Mr Tom’s station in the Warrego district, 1864, without an officer being present (COL/A59/63/2727). Appointed as Recording Clerk in 1865, and as Land Agent at Bowen 1869 (QVP, 1870); became surveyor and surveyed Townsville & Cooktown. Married <u>Lady</u> Margarey Dill Reid, at Bowen in 1870: she was the sister of newspaper owner JS Reid. Bankrupt at Bowen (1871 & 1876); served one month in prison for being of unsound mind, 1882, and was admitted to Woogaroo Asylum, 1884 with dementia (JUS/N102/84/109)

Johnstone, Robert Arthur

Born	Tasmania, 1843 (ADB, Vol 4: 486)
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1867 (QPG, Vol 4: 24)
Resigned	1869 (QPG, Vol 6: 33)
Reappointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1871 (QVP, 1873)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1873 (COL/E11/73/97 & QGG, Vol 14: 838)
Resigned	1880 (A/40069)
Died	Toowong, 1906 (ADB, Vol 4: 487)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Educated in Scotland; became manager of Apis Downs; married Maria Ann Gibson, 1867; became manager of Bellenden Plains sugar plantation in 1868. Presented with testimonial by Cardwell residents after <i>Maria</i> search and reprisals; in charge of detachment at Herbert River killings,

1872, 1874 & 1876 (COL/A170/72/1296, COL/A202/74/2615 & JUS/A17). Appointed Police Magistrate at Winton, 1881 (QGG, Vol 28: 385); served as Police Magistrate at Ingham, Bundaberg, Howard & Tiaro (1882-87); author of "Spinifex and Wattle" published in *The Queenslander* from 1903 to 1905

Jones, Walter

Born England, 1841 (JUS/N214/93/340)
Appointed Cadet, 1880 (A/38846)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1882 (COL/E50/82/33 & QGG, Vol 31: 1882)
Dismissed Drunkenness, 1884 (COL/E60/84/129)
Died Suicide, Sandgate, 1893 (JUS/N214/93/340 and A/38846)
Staff file AF/848 (A/38846)
Notes Former soldier in Indian army, and campkeeper at Barron River, Dunrobin, and Norman River. Became Customs Clerk at Brisbane, friend of George Essex Evans, and committed suicide by drowning at Sandgate (A/38846)

Judge, Thomas

Born Great Britain?
Appointed Constable, 1863 (A/38845)
Promoted Senior Sergeant (A/38845)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1874 (QVP, 1875)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1876 (QGG, Vol 18: 690)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1891 (QPG, Vol 28: 145 & Vol 52: 882)
Died Winton, 1892 (QPG, Vol 29: 26)
Staff file AF/844 (A/38845)
Notes Gratuity of £350 paid to widow Margaret (COL/E139/92/100)

Kaye, Henry P

Born England, c.1843 (JUS/N77/81/259)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1876 (QPG, Vol 13: 13)
Died Killed on patrol at Woolgar, 1881 (A/38864 & JUS/N77/81/259)
Staff file AF/955 (A/38864)
Notes Son of officer in Indian Army; wrote to AW Howitt re Aboriginal message sticks, 1881 (A/38864); headstone organised by 'old schoolfellow' (and surveyor) CT Bedford in 1882 (A/38864)

Kennedy, Edward Briggs

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 3: 10)
Resigned 1865 (QPG, Vol 3: 10)

Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Author of *Four Years in Queensland* (1870), *Blacks and Bushrangers: adventures in Queensland* (1892), *Out of the groove: a romance of Australian life* (1892) and *The Black Police of Queensland* (1902)

Kenny, John Martin

Born New South Wales (A/38868)
Appointed Constable, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 2)
Resigned 1905 (A/38868)
Died Hull River Mission, 1918 (A/38868)
Staff file AF/976 (A/38868)
Notes In charge of Native Police camps at Eight Mile (near Cooktown) and Coen. Survived cyclonic storm surge at Princess Charlotte Bay in 1899. Appointed Superintendent at Hull River Aboriginal Mission, 1914 (QGG, Vol 102:548), and died there during a cyclone, 1918 (A/38868)

Lamond, James Reid

Born Scotland, 1849 (ADB)
Appointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1879 (QPG, Vol 16: 36)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1885 (QGG, Vol 36: 881)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1893 (QPG, Vol 30: 327 & QGG, Vol 60: 350)
Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1904 (QGG, Vol 82: 307)
Retired 1909 (A/40303)
Died Sydney, 1925 (A/40303)
Staff file AF/2225 (A/40303)
Notes Married (grazier's daughter) Amy Brook Shadforth, 1883 (A/40303), who died 1898; married Amie Huey Edkins, 1902 (ADB). Son (writer) Henry G Lamond born at Carl Creek in 1885. Posted to Cooktown in 1896, and to Normanton in 1899; relieved of duties as Aboriginal Protector, 1905 (QGG, Vol 84: 134). After retirement, JRL bought farm on Moggill Road, Brisbane before moving to Randwick, NSW

Little, John Kyle

Born Queensland, 1875 (A/40052)
Appointed Constable, 1899 (A/40052)
Resigned 1901 (A/40052/01/2554)
Reappointed Constable, 1902 (A/40052)
Resigned 1904 (A/40052)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1067 (A/40052)
Notes Previously a stockman, and recommended by Inspector Lamond for appointment at Turn Off Lagoon, 1899 (A/38791/99/9769). His (late)

father was Sub Inspector at Palmer River and Eyre's Creek, and JK Little was 'reared in a Native Police camp'; his brother Sydney Little also served in the police. Served at Boer War (1901-02); married Nora May Tracey 1902 (QBDM). Accused (by Protector Walter Roth in 1902) of flogging Aboriginal people at Lawn Hill before his departure (A/40052/02/1104 & 12786); Roth then withdrew his complaint (A/40052/02/16045); stationed at Coen and Eight Mile (1902-4). His article, "On Patrol with the Native Police", was published in 1939 and he was writing to *The Bulletin* in 1953.

Little, Robert Kyle

Born Ireland, 1841 (A/40048)
 Appointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1875 (A/40048)
 Discharged Reduction in force, 1879 (A/40048)
 Reappointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1882 (QPG, Vol 19: 20)
 Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1884 (QGG, Vol 35: 756)
 Died Sunstroke, at Birdsville, 1889 (SCT/P172/5628)
 Staff file AF/1050 (A/40048)
 Notes Previously captain in 97th and 22nd Regiments; suspended (1878) and reinstated; dismissed in 1879 for 'financial irregularities' involving Acting Commissioner Barron (A/40048). Applied for reappointment in Native Police, 1879, 1880 and 1881, and his wife Dora (nee Irwin) also wrote. Reappointed (1882), and in command of detachment at Blackall killings, 1885 (COL/A457/85/1598). Died in middle of 'very hot' January 1889.

Lorigan, Daniel

Born Unknown
 Appointed Constable, 1879 (A/40306)
 Retired 1899 (A/40306)
 Died Cooktown, 1924 (A/40306)
 Staff file AF/2230 (A/40306)
 Notes Campkeeper at Dunrobin, Georgetown, Carl Creek, Normanton, Patterson, Mossman and Coen. In command of detachment at Kimberley killing, 1887 (COL/A531/88/105); nothing more found.

Margetts, Frederick George

Born London, 1841?
 Appointed Cadet, 1882 (A/40056)
 Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1883 (QPG, Vol 21: 66)
 Resigned Personal reasons, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 302)
 Died Warrnambool (Victoria), 1929 (A/40056)
 Staff file AF/1104 (A/40056)
 Notes Recommended by Archdeacon Matthews. Spared in leg at Coen, 1888. Wrote to government in 1894 offering his views on the Aborigines and the

Native Police (COL/139/94/13850). Became a canegrower at Ayr, and was a witness at the Sugar RC, 1916

Marlow, John

Born Unknown
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1860 (EXE/E2/60/45)
Promoted 1st Lieutenant, 1863 (QGG, Vol 4: 142)
Appointed Inspector, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5, No 18: 1)
Promoted Chief Inspector, 1866 (QGG, Vol 7: 1301)
Resigned 1874 (COL/E13/74/101)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Appointed as Magistrate, 1863 (QGG, Vol 4: 155); married Martha Phoebe Bonter (date unknown); declined promotion as Western Chief Inspector, 1866 (COL/E1/67/63); proposed island detention centres for Aboriginal women and children in 1867; retired to Brisbane and unsuccessfully asked to be reappointed to the Public Service in 1881

Marrett, Charles Beauchamp

Born Madras, India (A/40310)
Appointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1877 (QPG, Vol 14: 50)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1885 (QGG, Vol 36: 881)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1898 (QPG, Vol 35: 96)
Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1907 (QGG, Vol 88: 1334)
Retired 1910 (A/40310)
Died Sydney, 1936 (A/40310)
Staff file AF/2239 (A/40310)
Notes Appointed at Herbert River; married Eugenie Margaret Felise Haymet at Cooktown, 1881 (A/40310); served at Cooktown from 1884 until 1898; his comments on the Native Police in 1896 were that 'the system of Constables in charge of Native Police stations has seen the efficiency & the tone of the Force steadily diminish' (HOM/J22/07/967)

Matveieff, Alexey Froloff

Born Russia, 1833?
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1860 (EXE/D25/60/2 & QGG, Vol 1: 22 & 26)
Resigned 1861 (EXE/E3/61/26)
Died 1895 (QBDM)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Resigned from Native Police in hope of appointment as Stationmaster at Warwick; married Anna Maria West, 1861, she died 1863, and he married Elizabeth Pring, 1865; appointed Telegraph Station Master at Ipswich, 1863 (QGG, Vol 4: 227); after serving as Chief Station Master at

Brisbane, appointed Assistant Supt of Telegraphs, 1869 (QGG, Vol 10: 518); appointed as JP, 1870 (A/4834/455); witness at Colonial Stores RC 1888; appointed Supt of Electric Telegraphs, 1880 (QGG, Vol 27: 1210) and retired from Public Service, 1892

McCarthy, Denis

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1870 (QVP, 1871)
Died 1872 (QPG, Vol 10: 8)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Suspended and reinstated for unknown charges, 1872; the cause of his death (six months later) is unknown.

McNeil, Duncan Alexander

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1889 (QPG, Vol 27: 32)
Promoted Sub Inspector
Resigned 1892 (QPG, Vol 29: 26)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1331 (A/40097)
Notes Formerly in New Guinea Police, and possibly related Commissioner Seymour; married Seymour's daughter (Margaret) in 1887. Appointed as Lieutenant in Defence Force (1888) and as Governor's aide-de-camp, 1888 (QGG, Vol 45: 710 & 847; granted twelve months sick leave (malaria) in 1891

Macneill, Reginald

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1873 (QPG, Vol 11: 23)
Resigned 1879 (POL/4/612)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Entire detachment deserted at Cape River, 1876; shot trooper Jackey dead, 1877 (JUS/N52/77/65); nothing more found.

Moorhead, William

Born Ireland
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1857 (NSW)
Resigned 1863 (COL/Q2/63/479)
Died Roma, 1865 (SCT/P7/305)
Staff file Unknown

Notes In command of detachment at Fairfield killings, 1861 (COL/A24/62/69) and at reprisals after Cullin-la-ringo in 1862 (COL/A26/62/823); granted three months sick leave after fall from horse, 1863; appointed CPS at Roma, 1863 (QGG, Vol 4, No 51: 1) and Registrar of Western District Court, 1865 (QGG, Vol 6: 1150); married Mary Ann Cochrane

Moran, Robert Wilfred

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (QPG, Vol 9: 77)
Discharged Reduction of force, 1879 (A/40069)
Reappointed Sub Inspector, 1880 (A/40069)
Resigned Unknown
Died Normanton, 1911 (A/40069)
Staff file AF/1174 (A/40069)
Notes Appointed Police Magistrate at Cloncurry, 1882 (QGG, Vol 30: 1383 & QVP, 1883); served as Police Magistrate at Hughenden, Winton, Tambo, Ingham and Normanton (1883-1911); services 'dispensed with', 1893 and 1902 (QGG, Vol 59: 932 & Vol 78: 1381)

Morisset, Aulaire Liddiard

Born Bathurst, 1841 (NSW BDM)
Appointed Cadet, 1863 (EXE/E8/63/37 & QGG, Vol 4: 611)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E8/63/41 & QGG, Vol 4: 829)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
Promoted Inspector, 1871 (QPG, Vol 8: 35)
Retired On super, 1893 (A/40054)
Died Townsville, 1909 (A/40054)
Staff file AF/1074 (A/40054)
Notes Son of Lt Col JT Morisset of the 48th Regiment; in command of detachment at Normanby killing, 1874 (COL/A194/74/701); appointed Inspector and Police Magistrate at Burketown, 1871 (QPG, Vol 8: 35); served as Police Magistrate at Cloncurry (1871-73). Submitted resignation (financial & electoral roll irregularities, and striking Inspector Isley) in 1874, but resignation withdrawn due to 'length of service and extenuating circumstances' (A/40054); married Ann Macarthur, 1877; granted six months leave to work as Crown Lands Commissioner, 1883 (COL/E56/83/136); charged with financial irregularities and other offences at Rockhampton in 1889, and transferred to Roma(A/40054)

Morisset, Edric Norfolk Vaux

Born Norfolk Island, 1830 (NSW BDM)
Appointed Lt, 1853?
Promoted Commandant, 1857 (NSWGG)

Appointed	Inspector General, 1860 (QGG, Vol 1: 26)
Resigned	1861 (EXE/E3/61/26)
Died	NSW, 1887 (NSW BDM)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Eldest son of James Morisset, Supt at Norfolk Island (1829-34) and Lt Col of the 48 th Regiment and Emily Vaux; married Eliza Lawson at Parramatta, 1860; sister Laura married grazier Philip Sellheim; appointed Supt of Police at Bathurst, NSW

Morisset, Rudolph Roxburgh

Born	Bathurst, 1838 (NSW BDM)
Appointed	2 nd Lieutenant, 1860 (QGG, Vol 1: 259)
Promoted	1 st Lieutenant, 1862 (QGG, Vol 3: 740)
Appointed	Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1: 2)
Resigned	1864 (EXE/E10/64/35)
Died	Deniliquin, 1887 (NSW BDM)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Son of Lieutenant Colonel JT Morisset of the 48 th Regiment; married Margaret Clarke at NSW, 1857; in command of detachment at Manumbar killings, 1861 (COL/R1/61/199); punch-up with newspaper editor, 1863; at Floraville in 1870; appointed PM at Hill End, NSW 1881 (QGG, Vol 28: 64)

Mosman, Archibald Frederick

Born	Sydney?
Appointed	Cadet, 1884 (A/40056)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1884 (COL/E62/84/261)
Resigned	1890 (QPG, Vol 27: 247)
Died	Unknown
Staff file	AF/1093 (A/40056)
Notes	Asked for appointment to the Native Police in 1883, giving details of his Western Queensland experience and naming Inspector Murray at Blackall as a referee (A/40056). Asked, unsuccessfully, to withdraw his resignation in 1890 (A/40056); said in 1903 he had been living with an Aboriginal woman for 'over ten years' and they had three children (A/58750)

Murray, Frederick J

Born	Unknown
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 5: 24)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 22)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1874 (QPG, Vol 11: 122 & QGG, Vol 15: 2007)
Promoted	1 st Class Inspector, 1887 (COL/E81/87/104 & QGG, Vol 40: 987)
Reduced	2 nd Class Inspector, bankrupt, 1895 (COL/E181/95/371)

Retired On pension, 1895 (QPG, Vol 32: 294)
 Died Sydney, 1915 (A/40311)
 Staff file AF/2242 (A/40311)
 Notes Served in North Queensland from 1886 until 1891; found guilty of landing tobacco at Cooktown without paying excise, 1891 (A/40311); suspended and reduced for 'monetary embarrassments' at retirement in 1895

Murray, George Poultney Malcolm

Born Unknown
 Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1857 (NSW)
 Promoted 1st Lieutenant (EXE/E5/62/2 & QGG, Vol 3: 42)
 Appointed Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
 Promoted Northern Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 1, No 6: 31 & QGG, Vol 6: 87)
 Promoted Chief Inspector, 1866 (QGG, Vol 7: 1301)
 Resigned 1877?
 Died 1910
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Appointed to 'discharge the duties of Police Magistrate at Springsure', 1867 (QGG, Vol 8: 963); married Jane Jardine; served as Police Magistrate at Clermont & Copperfield, Warwick, Toowoomba, South Brisbane, Brisbane (1872-98); Senior Police Magistrate, 1898-?; witness at Liquor RC 1901

Murray, John

Born Scotland, 1827 (Provenance unknown)
 Appointed Lieutenant, 1852 (New South Wales, 52/1297)
 Resigned 1854 (New South Wales, 54/8218)
 Reappointed Lieutenant, 1855
 Resigned 1862 (COL/A25/62/295)
 Reappointed Recruiting Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1: 10)
 Resigned 1870 (QPG, Vol 7: 103)
 Died Kirtleton, 1876 (Provenance unknown)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Son of grazier James and Wilhelmina Murray of Mt Lambie, NSW; married Rachel Little (daughter of John Little of Rosedale station, Wide Bay), 1858 (ADB, p131); two sons and five daughters (one married Walsh, another Collins and another Unsworth); forced to resign on account of drinking, 1862; travelled to Southern NSW and Victoria recruiting in 1864-65; to North Queensland 1865; allowed to resign in 1870 after 'certain charges' were laid against him; family returned to Rosedale after his death

Murray, Robert

Born Scotland, 1850 (A/40314)
Appointed Constable, 1889 (A/40314)
Resigned 1904 (A/40314)
Died Sydney, 1918 (A/40314)
Staff file AF/2251 (A/40314)
Notes Recommended by GPM Murray (A/40314); campkeeper at Highbury, Lynd, Maytown, Eight Mile, Musgrave, Coen, Laura and Palmer River; in charge of Highbury Native Police camp and patrols (1897-1900)

Nantes, Frederick S

Born 1840?
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (POL/4/180)
Discharged Services dispensed with, 1867
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Appointed District Registrar at Mackay (1866), and as Acting CPS at Banana 1868 (QGG, Vol 9: 370) and at Mackay 1868 (QGG, Vol 9: 508), and as Land Agent at Mackay 1869 (QVP, 1870). Dismissed from Public Service, 1871 (QGG, Vol 12: 62).

Nichols, William Austin

Born London, 1850?
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1875 (QPG, Vol 13: 13)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1882 (COL/E50/82/33 & QGG, Vol 31: 83)
Dismissed 1884 (COL/E64/84/416)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1367 (A/40104)
Notes In command of detachment at Woolgar killings (after death of Sub Inspector Kaye), 1881 (JUS/N77/81/259). Dismissed and charged with murder after Irvinebank killings, 1884 (JUS/N110/84/511), but the case was dropped. Nichols applied (unsuccessfully) for reappointment to the Native Police in 1885 (COL/A419/85/2331). He was arrested for false pretences in 1892 (QPG, Vol 29: 274 & 360), and applied for a pension in 1921 (A/40104)

Nicholson, Henry John

Born England
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1869 (QPG, Vol 6: 68)
Dismissed Inefficiency, 1872 (COL/A168/72/806)
Died Nebo, 1880 (SCT/P65/2256)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Married, wife predeceased him (SCT/P65/2256); nothing more found

Nowlan, George Denis Bowman

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1868 (POL/4/348)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1876 (QPG, Vol 13: 49 & QGG, Vol 18: 690)
Dismissed Drunkenness, 1882 (COL/E47/82/2 & QGG, Vol 30: 9)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1375 (A/40105)
Notes Married Margaret Mary Kelly. Appointed as Acting CPS at Cunnamulla, 1869 (COL/E4/69/258). In command of detachment at reprisals after the *Louisa Maria* shipwreck in North Queensland, 1878, and at Mossman River killings, 1879 (and others). Transferred to Birdsville, 1880, after reported as physically unfit for “walking” duties in the North.

Nutting, Charles Marshall

Born England, 1850?
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (COL/E10/72/208)
Resigned 1873 (QPG, Vol 10: 90)
Died Amby near Roma, 1874 (SCT/P32/1115)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Son of George Nutting and Mary Bligh; appointed PM at Cunnamulla, 1873 (QPG, Vol 10: 90); bachelor (SCT/P32/1115); nothing more found

Nutting, John Bligh

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E6/62/42 & QGG, Vol 3: 567)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E8/63/29 & QGG, Vol 4: 458)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1: 2)
Promoted Acting Inspector, 1865
Promoted Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/300 & QGG, Vol 8: 1019)
Retired On pension, 1878 (COL/E28/78/419)
Died Harrisville, 1927 (A/40326)
Staff file AF/2275 (A/40326)
Notes Appointed Acting Police Magistrate at Cunnamulla, 1871 (QGG, Vol 12: 947); became grazier at Normanby station, Fassifern; witness at Railway RC 1895 and at Meat RC 1913; married Charlotte Lucy O’Connell

O’Connor, Stanhope

Born Ireland, 1850 (A/40117)
Appointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1875 (POL/4/581)
Resigned 1880 (QPG, Vol 17: 176)
Died Melbourne, 1908 (A/40117)

Staff file AF/1449 (A/40117)
Notes Son of British Army officer (A/40117). In command of detachment at killing near Cooktown, 1879; paid by Victorian Government during Kelly Gang pursuit, 1879-80 (A/40117); discharged from bankruptcy at Lower Laura 1881 after selling all his property (QGG, Vol 28: 91)

Ordish, Lionel William Charles

Born Victoria, 1865 (A/40212)
Appointed Constable, 1890 (A/40212)
Promoted First Class Constable, 1904
Promoted Acting Sergeant, 1913 (A/40414)
Retired Unknown
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/2562 (A/40212)
Notes Served for four years in Victorian Artillery Corps; officer in charge at Turn Off Lagoon in 1899 (QS, 39/2, file 278S, box 202); Acting CPS at Cardwell, 1913 (QGG, Vol 100: 1538)

Owen, Bedell Stanford

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/9)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/24 & QGG, Vol 4: 381)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5, No 18: 1)
Resigned Ill health, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 12)
Died 1885
Staff file Unknown
Notes Unsuccessfully requested a transfer from Native Police to be a CPS, 1864 (COL/A57/64/2081); appointed as Alderman at Roma, 1870 (QGG, Vol 11: 459)

Parry-Okeden, William E

Born Snowy River, 1840 (ADB, p147)
Appointed Inspector of Border Patrol
Appointed Under Colonial Secretary, 1889 (COL/E109/89/344 & QGG, Vol 97: 1016)
Appointed Acting Commissioner, 1892 (COL/E137/92/21 & QGG, Vol 105: 224)
Appointed Commissioner, 1895 (COL/E178/95/222 & QGG, Vol 113: 1530)
Appointed Protector of Aborigines for Colony, 1898 (QGG, Vol 69: 66)
Retired 1905 (A/45223)
Died Brisbane, 1926 (ADB, p148)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Father David was owner of Mt Debatable station, Gayndah, 1867; Police Magistrate at Cunnamulla (1872-75), Charleville (1873-81) and Gayndah

(1881-86); appointed as Immigration Agent, 1886; appointed principal under secretary of Colonial Secretary's Office, 1889; appointed district magistrate for Flinders during 1894 strike. Wrote major report *North Queensland Aborigines and the Native Police* in 1896-97; witness at several Royal Commissions between 1889 and 1901; in 1899 extended the period of service before marriage allowed to four years, for those appointed after 1st January 1897 (A/45259/99/681); held Enquiry into Moreton killings, 1902; married Elizabeth Wall, 1873

Paschen, Otto Oscar

Born	Germany, 1835?
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (POL/4/151 & QGG, Vol 6: 517)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 7: 37)
Dismissed	Financial irregularities, 1867 (COL/E1/67/31)
Died	Unknown
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Formerly in Victorian police and 'had good references (GOV/25/66/61). In command of detachment at 'numerous collisions' in Dawson district, 1865, but Commissioner Seymour believed Paschen had 'very much exaggerated the number'. Former Colonial Secretary Herbert said Paschen had been ordered to 'punish the murderers of Hill' and 'performed to the full satisfaction of the colonists and of the Government' (GOV/25)

Patrick, Alfred March Gorsed

Born	Unknown
Appointed	2 nd Lieutenant, 1860 (QGG, Vol 1: 259)
Resigned	Ill health, 1862 (EXE/E6/62/30)
Died	1870 (QBDM)
Staff file	Unknown
Notes	Subject of complaint by Frederick Walker after Planet Creek killings, 1861 (QVP, 1861). Went to Rockhampton for 'medical help' after Cullin-la-ringo (COL/A22/61/2790) and granted sick leave soon after. Apparently injured by a shotgun 'while on duty', he was appointed as a supernumerary in the Customs Office in 1862 (which he said was 'irksome') and as a 2 nd Class Clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office, 1863 (COL/R2/63/92). In 1864, a complaint was laid that he had benefited from the will of Joseph Fleming and he resigned from the Public Service, but was appointed as CPS at Woogaroo in 1866 (QGG, Vol 7: 298 & QVP, 1870:14). He is said to have run a 'bachelor's quarters' at "Clayton" at Patrick Lane, Milton (which was later owned by JB Dixon and JS Scott), but his will showed he owned a farm & cottage at Six Mile Bridge on Ipswich Road (left to Joseph Dixon) and a cottage at Petrie Bight (QGG, Vol 11: 762)

Phibbs, Charles Hamilton

Born Ireland (SCT/P3/169)
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1857 (NSW)
Died Drowning, at Rockhampton, 1861 (JUS/N3/61/73)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Bachelor; previously employed by Sandeman at Wide Bay; recommended by Commandant Morisset; nothing more found

Poingdestre, Lyndon John Agnew

Born Channel Islands, 1840 (A/40323 & *North Queensland Pioneers*: 71)
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 7: 36)
Discharged Services dispensed with, 1868 (A/40323)
Reappointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1875 (QPG, Vol 12: 87)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1882 (COL/E47/82/61 & QGG, Vol 30: 429)
Retired On super, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 267)
Died South Brisbane, 1924 (A/40323)
Staff file AF/2267 (A/40323)
Notes Possibly related to Dumaresq family; recommended by his brother-in-law Clarendon Stuart and 'well known' to Inspector John Marlow (A/40323). Trained by Wheeler, reappointed by Barron (in Seymour's absence,) in 1875 (POL/4/590), and in command of detachment at Creen Creek killing, 1876. Involved in a bitter dispute with Sub Inspector Armit, and admitted that he had 'co-habited' with an Aboriginal woman, 1882, before being placed in command of Norman River camp (A/40323). At Norman River killing in 1885, and in command of detachment at Kimberley killing, 1887 (JUS/N150/87/551). Reported by Inspector Lamond as living with three Aboriginal women at Highbury camp in 1897, one for fourteen years and another for ten years, and a number of his (possibly four) children (A/40323). Charlie Poingdestre was an Aboriginal tracker at Cooktown in 1909 (A/44852/09/3483). Sister Laura married AC Macmillan in 1867.

Portley, Michael

Born 1857 (ADB, p185)
Appointed Constable, 1881 (A/40521)
Resigned 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 229)
Reappointed Constable, 1888 (A/40521)
Promoted Senior Constable, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 228)
Promoted Sergeant, 1897 (A/40521)
Promoted Senior Sergeant, 1906 (A/40521)
Promoted 3rd Class Sub Inspector, 1910 (A/40521 & QGG, Vol 95: 1612)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1914 (A/40521 & QGG, Vol 103: 1959)
Retired On pension, 1916 (A/40521)
Died Brisbane, 1927 (A/40521)

Staff file AF/2944 (A/40521)
Notes In charge of Mossman River Native Police camp (1887-90); appointed CPS at Blackall, 1895 (QPG, Vol 32: 81 & QGG, Vol 63: 365)

Powell, Frederick Taylor

Born Unknown
Appointed 2nd Lt, 1856 (NSW)
Promoted 1st Lieutenant, 1860 (EXE/E2/60/45)
Discharged 1861 (COL/Q1/61/1316)
Reappointed 1861 (EXE/E4/61/52)
Resigned 1862 (EXE/E6/62/52)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes At Port Denison with Dalrymple, 1860. Later appointed as coxswain.

Price, George F

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E5/62/22 & QGG, Vol 3: 255)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1863 (EXE/E7/63/24 & QGG, Vol 4: 381)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
Resigned 1867?
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Ordered to be trained by Wheeler at Sandgate, but joined at Port Denison. Married Jane Strain, 1866, and complained about 'arduous service'; was appointed CPS at Nebo, 1868 (QGG, Vol 9: 320 & QVP, 1870)

Richardson, Marmaduke N

Born Armagh, Ireland?
Appointed Cadet, 1862 (EXE/E5/62/6 & QGG, Vol 3: 105)
Promoted 2nd Lieutenant, 1862 (EXE/E6/62/50 & QGG, Vol 3: 749)
Dismissed Discipline, 1863 (EXE/E8/63/41)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes From Wide Bay. In command of detachment at Yatton killing, 1863 (COL/A44/63/2231) and dismissed for shooting a trooper while drunk.

Salmond, Alexander H

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1870 (QPG, Vol 7: 3)
Resigned 1870 (POL/4/475)
Reappointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1871 (POL/4/521)

Resigned 1876 (POL/4/593)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes In command of detachment at Cloncurry killing, 1872 (JUS/N35/72/271);
licensed as a surveyor, 1878 (QGG, Vol 22: 712)

Savage, Charles Douglas

Born Scotland, 1855 (A/40327)
Appointed Constable, 1876 (A/40327)
Promoted Senior Constable, 1883 (QPG, Vol 20: 195)
Promoted Sergeant, 1885 (A/40327)
Promoted Acting Sub Inspector, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 100)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1891 (COL/E126/91/63 & QGG, Vol 102: 592)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1899 (QVP, 1900, Vol 4: 44)
Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1905 (A/40327 & QGG, Vol 135: 57 & 106)
Retired On pension, 1910 (A/40327)
Died Clayfield, 1931 (A/40327)
Staff file AF/2277 (A/40327)
Notes Married Kate Elizabeth Willis, 1880; appointed Acting CPS at Thursday
Island, 1885 and in charge of Water Police at Thursday Island from 1889
(A/40327); witness at Liquor RC 1901; at Roma, 1905

Scott, James Hamilton

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1868 (QVP, 1870: 15)
Resigned 1870 (QPG, Vol 7: 78)
Died Townsville, 1891 (SCT/P221/6871)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Married Emily Helena Glissan, 1871; Police Magistrate at Thargomindah,
1883 (QGG, Vol 33: 942), Muttaborra (1886-88), St George, 1888 (QGG,
Vol 44: 942) and Townsville (1891); owned "Clayton" at Patrick Lane,
Toowong; no more found

Scriven, Ernest George Edward

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1881
Resigned 1882 (POL/4/620)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/4018 (A/40884)
Notes Applied (unsuccessfully) for reappointment to Native Police in 1883, and
was appointed Clerk in Agriculture Dept, 1888 (QGG, Vol 43: 101), and
Chief Clerk of the Agriculture Dept in 1889 (QGG, Vol 48: 870). Was a

witness at Works Dept RC 1900, and wrote on Straher murders in Black (1930) *North Queensland Pioneers*

Seymour, David Thompson

Born Ireland, 1831 (Burke's Peerage, 1904 & A/47922)
Appointed Acting private Secretary and aide-de-camp to Governor, 1861 (QGG, Vol 2: 285)
Appointed Acting Commissioner, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5: 1)
Appointed Commissioner, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1: 2 & QGG, Vol 5: 424)
Retired 1895 (QPG, Vol 32: 204)
Died London, 1916 (A/47922)
Staff file AF/2291 (A/47922)
Notes Related to Sheridan, Lawrence, Persse and Joyce families, and educated at Ennis College, Clare. Served as Lieutenant in 12th (Suffolk) Regiment and, passionate horse racing and turf club supporter. Married Caroline Matilda Brown (daughter of Sheriff Anthony Brown) in 1864, and they had two sons (both died young) and four daughters before Caroline died in 1884. Their oldest daughter Margaret married (ex-Sub Inspector) Duncan McNeil in 1887 after her sister Eleanor married (the future) General Sir Charles Hamilton Des Voeux one week before, and a third sister (Laura Barron) married Boyd Morehead, MLA in 1895. After four years as a widower, David Seymour married his second wife (Sara Stevenson of Melbourne) in 1888, and their son (David de Burgh) was born in 1889, but he died in 1898; youngest daughter Violet's engagement to Percy Dobson of Hobart was announced in the same year. Seymour was bankrupt (Mt Morgan mining shares) in 1892, and had shares in a North Queensland rubber plantation in the 1890's. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the first Senate election in 1901. He remained in Queensland for at least ten years after retirement, and his hobby was railway "gadget" inventions.

Seymour, Edward B

Born Unknown
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 5: 24)
Discharged Abolition of position, 1868 (COL/E2/68/60)
Died 1894? (QBDM)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Not related to Commissioner Seymour. Killed an Aboriginal woman at Banana, 1866 (JUS/N12/66/87); nothing more found

Shairp, Charles Norman

Born England, 1848 (SCT/P121/4201)
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (POL/4/169)
Resigned 1869 (POL/4/435)

Reappointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (POL/4/547)
 Dismissed 1872 (POL/4/552)
 Died Townsville, 1884 (SCT/P121/4201)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes In command of detachment at Herbert River killing, 1872 (JUS/N35/72/218); became banker's clerk at Townsville; bachelor

Sharpe, Robert Barrington

Born Unknown
 Appointed Acting Sub Inspector
 Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1876 (QVP, 1877)
 Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1883 (QPG, Vol 21: 66)
 Died Illness?, at Eyres Creek (Birdsville), 1886 (SCT/P117/4090)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Bachelor; only relative was (uncle) Henry Campbell, surveyor of Bundaberg (SCT/P177/4090); nothing more found

Sharpe, William

Born Unknown
 Appointed Cadet, 1862 (QGG, Vol 3: 105)
 Resigned 1863 (COL/A28/63/511)
 Died Unknown
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Resigned after one year's service in the Dawson and Port Curtis districts.

Smart, Alfred

Born Unknown
 Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1873 (POL/4/561)
 Resigned 1877 (QPG, Vol 14: 74)
 Reappointed 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1883 (QGG, Vol 32: 1446)
 Discharged Services dispensed with, 1884 (COL/E61/84/161)
 Died 1890 (A/40154)
 Staff file AF/1690 (A/40154)
 Notes In command of detachment at Cooloolah killing, 1883 (A/40154) and had dispute with campkeeper Frederick Clerk, 1883 (A/38742). Discharged for drunkenness, and went to live at Dalgonally station, near Cloncurry. Applied for appointment as 'campkeeper, rabbit inspector or anything' in 1888, saying he had cured himself of "nipping" (A/40154/88/3200).

Smith, Edward Patrick Charles

Born Ireland, 1864 (A/40335)
 Appointed Constable, 1888 (A/40335)

Promoted 1st Class Constable
 Reduced Constable, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 426)
 Died Suicide, Turn Off Lagoon, 1911 (A/40335)
 Staff file AF/2303 (A/40335)
 Notes Married Norah Donnelly, 1886; reduced in rank for drinking and fighting, 1900. In charge of Native Police at Turn Off Lagoon station from 1905 to 1911; committed suicide at Turn Off Lagoon in 1911 after being advised of his impending transfer (A/40335/11/25001)

Smith, George Inkerman

Born Unknown
 Appointed Constable, 1884 (A/40158)
 Promoted Senior Constable, 1894 (QPG, Vol 31: 151)
 Promoted Acting Sergeant
 Died Illness, Egilabria Station, 1901 (A/40158)
 Staff file AF/1699 (A/40158)
 Notes Formerly Goldfield Warden's constable at Maytown; in charge of Coen Native Police camp 1894-1901; then transferred to Cardwell (1898) and appointed as Acting CPS (QGG, Vol 69: 902); then to Turn Off Lagoon station in 1901 (A/40158)

Stafford, Brabazon Richard

Born Buckinghamshire, 1844 (A/40147)
 Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1873 (QPG, Vol 11: 23)
 Dismissed Discipline, 1880 (COL/E39/80/245)
 Reappointed Sub Inspector, 1881 (QPG, Vol 18: 33)
 Resigned 1888 (COL/E95/88/322)
 Died Unknown
 Staff file AF/1624 (A/40147)
 Notes Married Adria Mary Dun (daughter of British Army officer) at Thargomindah, 1875; sons born at Native Police camps (1883 & 1885). Suspended and dismissed after whole detachment deserted at Laura, 1880. Appointed Police Magistrate at Thargomindah, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 223 & QGG, Vol 44), and served as Police Magistrate at Dalby, Blackall, Cairns, Charleville (1894-1914); forfeited land at Ingham, 1889 (QGG, Vol 46: 1218); retired from Public Service, 1914 (QGG, Vol 102: 1549)

Stuart, John

Born Unknown
 Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1869 (QPG, Vol 6: 48)
 Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1876 (QPG, Vol 13: 13)
 Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1879 (COL/E30/79/9 & QGG, Vol 24: 131)
 Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1890 (COL/E118/90/307 & QGG, Vol 50: 570)

Promoted	Travelling Inspector, 1893 (COL/E158/93/310 & QGG, Vol 60: 350)
Promoted	Chief Inspector, 1896 (QPG, Vol 33: 97 & QGG, Vol 65: 438)
Retired	1900 (A/40331)
Died	Mosman, NSW, 1914 (A/40332)
Staff file	AF/2289 (A/40331)
Notes	Sent to Port Douglas, and reported he had already made changes and saved money, adding 'Rome was not built in a day'; also said in 1879 'I regret to say that I find half measures of no use and that there is but one way of putting a stop to these outrages and the sooner and more effectually it is done the better' (POL/12M/G2/79/221). Granted twelve months leave on half pay, 1883. Described by Rockhampton residents in 1888 'a very humane man'; said, in 1896, that trackers should be selected from Southern tribes', 'Native Police should be abolished and substituted with Police patrols' & 'Sub Inspectors in charge of detachments should be first humane and secondly firm' (HOM/J22/07/967)

Thornton, Thomas Isaac

Born	Unknown
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2, No 6: 31)
Promoted	2 nd Class Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 91)
Promoted	1 st Class Sub Inspector, 1869 (QGG, Vol 10: 1615)
Promoted	Inspector, 1872 (COL/E10/72/208)
Retired	On pension, 1886 (COL/E77/86/354)
Died	Charleville, 1887 (SCT/P142/4754)
Staff file	AF/1783 (A/40174)
Notes	Appointed Police Magistrate at St George, 1869 (QPG, Vol 6: 68 & QGG, Vol 10: 1300); bachelor; left his entire estate to Kate and Mabel Miller (the daughters of Capt Miller), Harvey Fitzgerald and WE Parry Okeden (SCT/P142/4754)

Tompson, Ferdinand Macquarie

Born	New South Wales, 1825 (A/40341)
Appointed	Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 57)
Promoted	Sub Inspector, 1871 (COL/E8/71/250 & QGG, Vol 12: 1516)
Promoted	2 nd Class Inspector, 1884 (QPG, Vol 21: 66 & QGG, Vol 34: 895)
Retired	On pension, 1886 (COL/E73/86/191)
Died	1908 (QBDM)
Staff file	AF/2328 (A/40341)
Notes	Recommended by Marlow, and descended from an established NSW pastoral family. His father (Frederick Anslow Tompson) was part owner of North Wagga Wagga station and the first magistrate & postmaster at Wagga Wagga. FM Tompson was appointed at Bowen (A/40341), and led the 1873 Northeast Coastal Expedition (COL/E12/73/191)

Towner, Lionel Edward Dyne

Born Tasmania, 1855 (Provenance unknown)
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1873 (POL/4/563)
Promoted Sub Inspector, 1874 (QVP, 1875)
Resigned Unknown
Died Charters Towers, 1916 (Provenance unknown)
Staff file Unknown
Notes Appointed Magistrate and Gold Warden, 1877 (QGG, Vol 21: 1180 & 1224); appointed PM at Thornborough 1881 (QGG, Vol 28: 977); appointed Acting PM at Croydon, 1887 (QGG, Vol 41: 200); married Susan Cooper, 1890. Resigned from Public Service, 1901 (QGG, Vol 76: 1064); became Commission Agent; witness at Mining RC 1911; no more found

Townsend, Edwin J

Born Unknown
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1874 (POL/4/574)
Resigned 1881 (POL/4/617)
Died Coen, 1895
Staff file AF/1762 (A/40172)
Notes Suspended for drunkenness and refusal to obey orders, 1881 (A/40172); unsuccessfully asked to be reappointed 1881 & 1889

Townsend, George Robert

Born Unknown
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1875 (QPG, Vol 12: 135)
Discharged Drunkenness, 1881 (A/40207)
Died 1886 (QPG, Vol 23: 99)
Staff file AF/1909 (A/40207)
Notes Reprimanded for furious riding in streets of Cairns, 1878; married Jessie Jane Sinclair, 1881 (QBDM). Asked for reappointment in 1882 & 1883; appointed as Clerk in Immigration Dept, 1884 (QGG, Vol 35: 1168 & QVP, 1888: 20)

Uhr, Reginald Charles Heber

Born Wivenhoe, 1844
Appointed Cadet, 1863 (EXE/E6/62/52 & QGG, Vol 4: 35)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (EXE/E10/64/50)
Resigned 1869 (POL/4/466)
Died Blackall, 1888 (QBDM)
Staff file Unknown

Notes Father was appointed Sergeant at Arms for the Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1864 (QGG, Vol 5: 851); uncle (George Uhr) married Elizabeth Morisset; appointed Police Magistrate at St George, 1869 (COL/E4/69/305 & QGG, Vol 10: 1501); served as Police Magistrate at Taroom, Hughenden & Cloncurry, Cloncurry, Blackall (1874-88); married Mary Katherine Tuach, 1874 (QBDM)

Uhr, Wentworth D'Arcy

Born Wivenhoe, 1845 (ADB, 1976, p321)
 Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1865 (QPG, Vol 2: 67)
 Promoted Sub Inspector, 1867 (COL/E1/67/321 & QGG, Vol 8: 1165)
 Reduced Discipline, Acting Sub Inspector, 1868 (COL/E3/69/38)
 Resigned 1869 (QPG, Vol 6: 48)
 Died Kalgoorlie, 1907 (ADB, 1976, p321)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Father (EB Uhr) was appointed Sergeant at Arms for the Queensland Legislative Assembly in 1864 (QGG, Vol 5: 851). Granted expenses for pursuit of horse stealers from Gulf to NSW border (COL/E1/67/125) and placed in charge of all police in Burke district, 1867 (COL/E1/67/278). After leaving the Native Police, WD Uhr became embroiled in disputes with Sub Inspector Tom Coward, Police Magistrate William Landsborough, and Crown Lands Commissioner Scarr. Uhr was charged with numerous crimes in 1870 and 1871, including assault, fraud, obscene language, and the murder of Aboriginal people, and sometimes convicted (COL/A152/70/3098 and COL/A160/71/2032). Then he became a drover and took cattle to Darwin in 1872. Returned to Queensland, and married Jane Hayes at Normanton, 1872. WD Uhr was "dispersing" at the Palmer River in 1875, and organised a reprisal party in 1883. He became a hotelier at Darwin, 1885, married Esther (Essie) Myra Thompson, and went to Western Australia. They had four sons but all died in infancy

Urquhart, Frederick Charles

Born England, 1858 (A/47932)
 Appointed Cadet, 1882 (QPG, Vol 19: 77)
 Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1882 (QPG, Vol 19: 132 & QGG, Vol 31: 83)
 Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1893 (A/47932 & QGG, Vol 60: 350)
 Promoted 2nd Class Inspector, 1897 (QPG, Vol 34: 172 & QGG, Vol 67: 1090)
 Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1904 (COL/E158/93/310 & QGG, Vol 82: 307)
 Promoted Chief Inspector, 1905 (A/47932 & QGG, Vol 84: 1781)
 Promoted Commissioner, 1917 (A/45223, A/47932 & QGG, Vol 108: 86)
 Retired 1921 (A/47932)
 Died Brisbane, 1935 (A/47932)
 Staff file AF/3377 (A/47932)

Notes Son of British army officer; served as merchant marine sailor; was telegraph linesman; appointed at Normanton, and served in North from 1882 to 1896. In charge of detachments at Mistake Creek killing, 1884 (JUS/N108/84/415) and at Mein killings, 1889 (A/47932). Transferred to Queensland Police, 1889; placed in charge of Criminal Investigation Branch at Brisbane, 1904 (QGG, Vol 82: 307). Wrote poetry; appointed Administrator of Northern Territory, 1921

Walker, Robert George

Born Unknown
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1853 (NSW)
Resigned Ill health, 1861 (EXE/E3/61/26)
Reappointed 1st Lieutenant, 1861 (EXE/E4/61/41 & QGG, Vol 2: 734)
Resigned 1861 (EXE/E5/62/2)
Died Unknown
Staff file Unknown
Notes Brother of first Commandant Frederick Walker; possibly related to Uhr family (LWO/A2/62/877)

Warby, George T

Born New South Wales, 1857 (A/40195)
Appointed Cadet, 1884 (QPG, Vol 21: 117)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1885 (COL/E67/85/189 & QGG, Vol 36: 1906)
Died Illness, at Dunrobin, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 66)
Staff file AF/1867 (A/40195)
Notes Recommended by PF MacDonald of Yaamba, and sent to the Gulf; served almost five years before dying from 'a throat complaint' (A/40195)

Watterston, Thomas Broadwood

Born Scotland, 1834
Appointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 48)
Dismissed Financial irregularities, 1866 (QPG, Vol 3: 91)
Died Sydney, 1918
Staff file Unknown
Notes Joined the Native Police after his wife Margaret died at Dalby in 1866, and sent his children to Sydney; Commissioner Seymour recommended his dismissal after discovering he had three separate orders for the same pay to cover a cash advance (COL/A85/66/3127 & 3221)

Wavell, Alfred

Born Unknown
Appointed Constable, 1872 (A/40191)

Dismissed Discipline, 1874 (A/40191)
 Reappointed Constable, 1882 (A/40191)
 Promoted Senior Constable, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 359)
 Died Killed, while attempting to arrest (Aboriginal) Joe Flick, at Lawn Hill, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 422)
 Staff file AF/1841 (A/40191)
 Notes Married Elizabeth Head in 1874, and was dismissed for 'marrying a well-known prostitute' (A/40191). Appointed as campkeeper for Poingdestre at the Norman River camp, and actively patrolling 1889 (A/41523/89/1018).

Wheeler, Edward

Born Genoa or Leipzig, 1841
 Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (EXE/E10/64/28)
 Dismissed 1871 (POL/4/523)
 Died England, 1892
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Son of London merchant Henry Wheeler and Sicilian noblewoman Portia Gaudiano; in command of detachment at Barcoo killing, 1870 (COL/A198/74/1714)

Wheeler, Frederick

Born London, 1830 (Ironsides)
 Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1857 (New South Wales Government Gazette, 11/2283)
 Promoted 1st Lieutenant, 1858 (QVP, 1864)
 Appointed Inspector, 1864 (QVP, 1865)
 Resigned 1874 (QPG, Vol 12: 12)
 Reappointed Sub Inspector, 1875 (QPG, Vol 12: 135)
 Dismissed 1876 (QPG, Vol 13: 49)
 Died Java, 1882 (Ironsides)
 Staff file Unknown
 Notes Son of London merchant Henry Wheeler and Sicilian noblewoman Portia Gaudiano. Married officer's daughter Edith Knox, 1856. In command of detachment at Fassifern and Mt Flinders killings, 1860 (JUS/N1/60/8, JUS/N2/60/71 & JUS/N3/61/1); charged with murder at Banchory, 1876 (SCT/CG7/372)

Whelan, Daniel

Born Unknown
 Appointed Constable
 Promoted 1st Class Constable, 1897 (QPG, Vol 33: 234)
 Promoted Acting Sergeant, 1900
 Died 1911 (QBDM)
 Staff file Unknown

Notes Appointed as CPS at Ayton, 1896; reported by Protector Roth in 1903 for 'forcibly recruiting' for the Native Police (A/58783); appointed as Acting CPS at Boulia, 1905 (QGG, Vol 84: 363); stationed at Coen (1905-11), and actively patrolling on Cape York Peninsula

Whelan, Edmond

Born Ireland, 1847 (A/40186)
Appointed Constable, 1879 (A/40186)
Promoted Senior Constable, 1884 (QPG, Vol 21: 170)
Promoted Sergeant, 1889 (QPG, Vol 26: 379)
Resigned 1891 (A/40186)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1813 (A/40186)
Notes Appointed Acting CPS at Cairns, 1884 (COL/E62/84/282 & QGG, Vol 35: 618); complaints of gambling, fraud and drunkenness (1885). Officer in charge of Mulgrave River camp (1885-9); promoted and appointed CPS at Urandangie, 1890 (QPG, Vol 27: 350) but resigned from the Police just over one year later (QGG, Vol 53: 917), and returned to Cairns.

White, John Warren

Born Unknown
Appointed Cadet, 1882 (POL/4/620)
Promoted 2nd Class Sub Inspector, 1884 (QPG, Vol 21: 66 & QGG, Vol 34: 895)
Promoted 1st Class Sub Inspector, 1894 (COL/E171/94/430 & QGG, Vol 62: 1013)
Promoted 1st Class Inspector, 1907 (QGG, Vol 88: 1334)
Retired 1911 (A/40349)
Died South Brisbane, 1947 (A/40349)
Staff file AF/2347 (A/40349)
Notes Served at various Cape York Peninsula camps (1882-89) and captured the "Bunya Blackfellow" (a Melanesian man) in 1889. Married Elizabeth (Ruby) Barker in 1892 (QBDM) and his brother (CBB White) applied unsuccessfully to join the Native Police in 1897. Sub Inspector John White was a witness at the CIB RC in 1899, after the Gatton Murders

Whiteford, James

Born Victoria, 1854 (Provenance unknown)
Appointed Constable, 1881 (A/40348)
Promoted Senior Constable, 1888 (QPG, Vol 25: 73)
Promoted Sergeant, 1896 (A/40348)
Promoted Senior Sergeant, 1905 (A/40348)
Retired On super, 1911 (A/40348)
Died Woolloowin, 1928 (A/40348)
Staff file AF/2346 (A/40348)

Notes Son of Capt Whiteford of Campbelltown, Scotland; was station worker; married Annie Helena Smythe, 1883 (A/40348). Served at Cooktown and at Laura (1881-89), and in charge of Coen Native Police camp (1889-91), Musgrave (1891-9) and Coen (1899-1911). Died six months after his son.

Williams, Thomas Spence

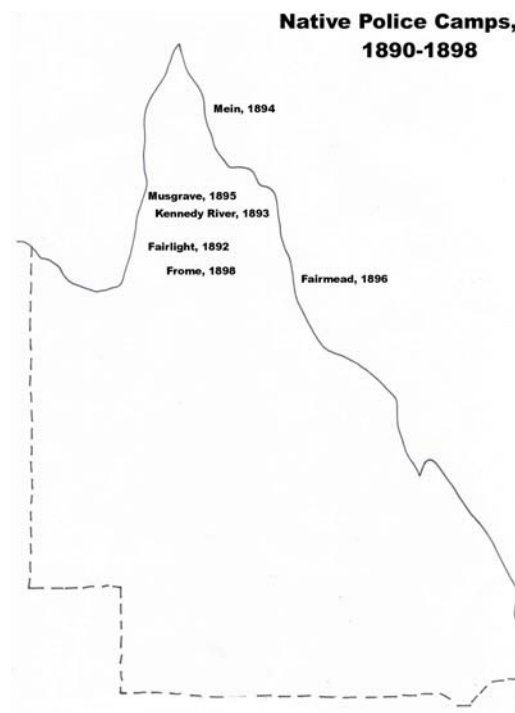
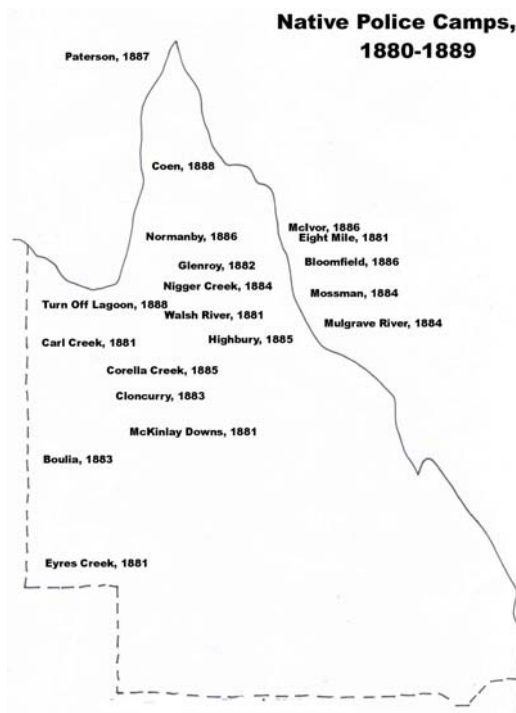
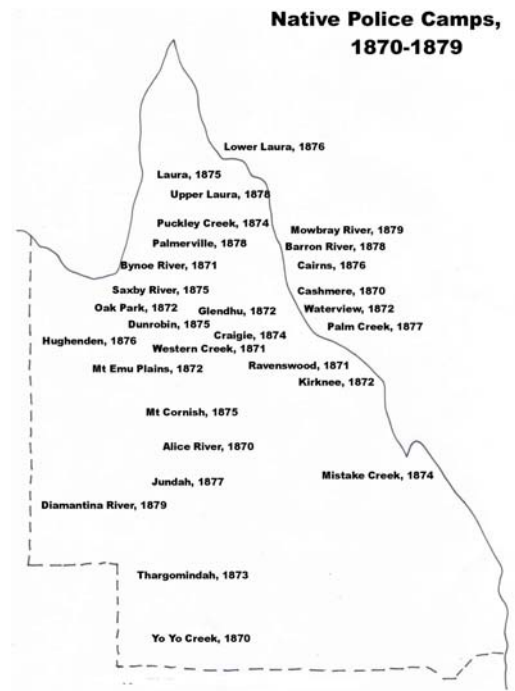
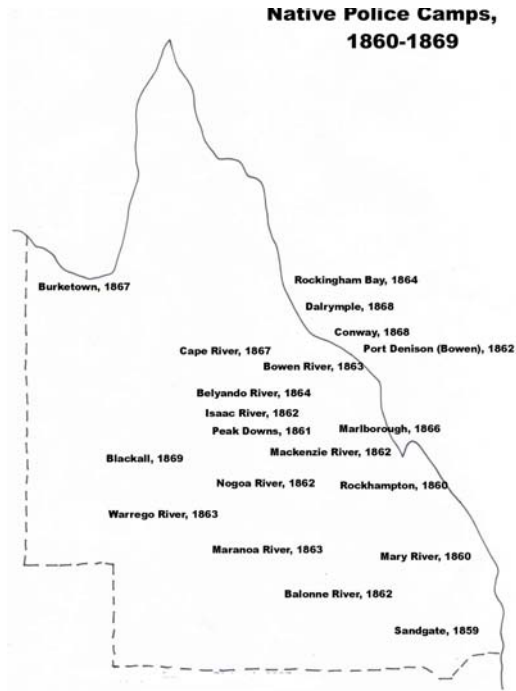
Born Unknown
Appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 1861 (EXE/E4/61/32)
Appointed Sub Inspector, 1864 (QPG, Vol 1, No 1: 2)
Resigned 1865 (EXE/E11/65/34)
Reappointed Acting Sub Inspector, 1872 (QPG, Vol 9: 59)
Dismissed Financial irregularities and drunkenness, 1875 (QPG, Vol 12: 64)
Died Unknown
Staff file AF/1865 (A/40194)
Notes In command of detachment at Tambo killings, 1872 (JUS/N36/73/64a); suspended and dismissed, with Commissioner Seymour noting he was 'reappointed during my absence' and previously dismissed for drunkenness in 1865; married Nancy Beamish

Appendix 2: Native Police camps and stations by date of opening

Camp	Opened	Closed	Pastoral District	Catchment	Locality and notes
Sandgate	1859	1865	Moreton	Brisbane River	Brisbane
Coopers Plains	1860	1865	Wide Bay	Mary River	Maryborough
Euleutha	1860	1864	Leichhardt	Dawson River	
Rockhampton	1860	1861	Port Curtis	Fitzroy River	
Peak Downs	1861	1862	Leichhardt	Nogoa River	
Robinsons Creek	1861	1863	Leichhardt	Dawson River	Moved from Palm Tree Creek
Bungil Creek	1862	1864	Maranoa	Balonne River	Roma
Mackenzie River	1862	1868	Leichhardt	Mackenzie River	
North Creek	1862	1865	Leichhardt	Isaac River	
Port Denison	1862	1867	North Kennedy	Don River	Bowen
Spring Creek	1862	1869	Leichhardt	Nogoa River	
Bowen River	1863	1867	North Kennedy	Don River	
Maranoa River	1863	1865	Maranoa	Maranoa River	
Warrego	1863	1864	Warrego	Warrego River	Moved from Bungil Creek
Belyando River	1864	1878	South Kennedy	Belyando River	
Rockingham Bay	1864	1867	North Kennedy	coastal streams	Cardwell
Suttor River	1865	1868	South Kennedy	Suttor River	
Marlborough	1866	1876	Port Curtis	coastal streams	Moved from Princhester
Burketown	1867	1883	Burke	Albert River	
Cape River	1867	1876	North Kennedy	Cape River	
Bloomsbury	1868	1879	North Kennedy	coastal streams	Moved from Nebo
Conway	1868	1879	North Kennedy	coastal streams	
Dalrymple	1868	1872	North Kennedy	Burdekin River	
Fort Cooper	1868	1879	Leichhardt	Connors River	
Blackall	1869	1879	Mitchell	Barcoo River	
Cashmere	1870	1875	North Kennedy	Herbert River	Destroyed by flood
Yo Yo Creek	1870	1879	Warrego	Warrego River	Cunnamulla
Alice River	1871	1872	Mitchell	Barcoo River	
Bynoe River	1871	1882	Burke	Norman River	
Norman River	1871	1890	Burke	Norman River	
Ravenswood	1871	1872	North Kennedy	Burdekin River	Merri Merri Wah
Western Creek	1871	1874	Cook	Etheridge River	Georgetown
Glendhu	1872	1884	North Kennedy	Burdekin River	
Kirknee Creek	1872	1879	North Kennedy	Burdekin River	Bogie River
Mt Emu Plains	1872	1872	Burke	Flinders River	
Oak Park	1872	1882	Cook	Gilbert River	
Stainburn	1872	1872	Mitchell	Thompson River	Aramac
Waterview	1872	1877	North Kennedy	Herbert River	Lower Herbert River
Bulloo River	1873	1875	Warrego	Bulloo River	Thargomindah
Craigie	1874	1879	North Kennedy	Clarke River	

Mistake Creek	1874	1876	South Kennedy	Belyando River	Banchory
Puckley Creek	1874	1875	Cook	Palmer River	
Dunrobin	1875	1890	Cook	Etheridge River	Georgetown
Laura	1875	1907	Cook	Laura River	
Laura River	1875	1882	Cook	Laura River	
Mt Cornish	1875	1876	Mitchell	Thompson River	Aramac
Saxby River	1875	1879	Burke	Flinders River	
Cairns	1876	1877	Cook	Barron River	
Hughenden	1876	1879	Burke	Flinders River	
Lower Laura	1876	1882	Cook	Laura River	
Jundah	1877	1879	Mitchell	Barcoo River	
Palm Creek	1877	1877	North Kennedy	Herbert River	
Barron River	1878	1891	Cook	Barron River	Biboohra
Palmerville	1878	1888	Cook	Palmer River	
Riversleigh	1878	1888	Burke	Gregory River	Seymour River
Upper Laura	1878	1880	Cook	Laura River	
Diamantina River	1879	1883	North Gregory	Channel Country	
Mowbray River	1879	1889	Cook	coastal streams	
Carl Creek	1881	1890	Burke	Gregory River	
Eight Mile	1881	1899	Cook	Endeavour River	
Eyres Creek	1881	1889	South Gregory	Channel Country	Birdsville
McKinlay Downs	1881	1886	Burke	Flinders River	
Walsh River	1881	1883	Cook	Walsh River	
Glenroy Creek	1882	1887	Cook	Palmer River	Near Palmerville
Boulia	1883	1892	North Gregory	Channel Country	Burke River
Cloncurry	1883	1889	Burke	Cloncurry River	
Mossman	1884	1891	Cook	Mossman River	
Mulgrave River	1884	1887	Cook	Mulgrave River	Cairns
Nigger Creek	1884	1904	North Kennedy	Herbert River	Herberton
Corella Creek	1885	1888	Burke	Cloncurry River	Moved from Cloncurry
Highbury	1885	1896	Cook	Einasley River	The Lynd
Bloomfield	1886	1887	Cook	Bloomfield River	
McIvor	1886	1894	Cook	Endeavour River	
Normanby	1886	1892	Cook	Normanby River	
Patterson	1887	1890	Cook	Cape York Peninsula	
Coen	1888	1929	Cook	Coen River	
Turn Off Lagoon	1888	1908	Burke	Nicholson River	
Stewart's Creek	1890	1898	Cook	Johnstone River	
Fairlight	1892	1893	Cook	Palmer River	Moved to Kennedy River
Kennedy River	1893	1892	Cook	Palmer River	
Mein	1894	1895	Cook	Cape York Peninsula	
Musgrave	1895	1899	Cook	Cape York Peninsula	
Fairmead	1896	1896	North Kennedy	coastal streams	Kirtleton, near Cardwell
Mein (Clayhole)	1897	1897	Cook	Cape York Peninsula	
Frome	1898	1904	Cook	Palmer River	

The 'Moving Frontier' as shown by opening of Native Police camps



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Appendix 3: Recorded frontier deaths 1827-1904

Records of the deaths of Europeans and their allies are reasonably easy to determine. Accurate figures for Aboriginal deaths on the frontier are another thing altogether. They are extremely difficult to find, and this appendix reflects those found in the historical material to date. As we know, the records of Indigenous deaths are grossly inaccurate and insufficient but they should be counted anyway. Rather than estimate Aboriginal deaths, I have entered a figure of '1' for each credible reference. Therefore, the numbers of Aboriginal deaths shown as 'B' ('Black') are extremely conservative. On the other hand, every reliable account of the death of a settler has been included, making the total 'W' ('White', 'Chinese', and 'South Sea Islander') figures close to complete. The total number of recorded 'White' deaths is 327. The total for Black deaths is 960.

Format is Year/Month/Day/Pastoral District/Event/References/Numbers of deaths

Year	Mon	Day	Pastoral District	Event	Reference1	Ref2	Ref3	B	W
1827	1	1	Moreton	Convicts	NSW, COL, A2.2/100				3
1859	1	1	All districts	NP killed unknown 1849-59	various records			102	
1859	1	1	All districts	Blacks killed whites 1834-59	NSWA, M/2921				49
1860	1	1	Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	COL/A2/60/79			8	
1860	3	1	Maranao	NP killed unknown	COL/A3/60/381			15	
1860	3	10	Wide Bay	NP killed Darcy	JUS/N1/60/6a			1	
1860	6	20	Leichardt	Fraser brothers killing	Murray diaries			70	
1860	12	24	Moreton	NP killed Tommy & unknown	JUS/N2/60/71			2	
1861	1	3	Moreton	NP killed old men	JUS/N3/61/1			3	
1861	1	7	Port Curtis	Troopers killed Fanny Briggs	JUS/N2/60/61			3	1
1861	1	11	Port Curtis	Police shot trooper Alma	JUS/N3/61/14			1	
1861	1	31	Port Curtis	Police shot trooper Gulliver	Maryborough Chronicle, 31/1/61			1	
1861	2	1	Wide Bay	NP killed old man	Moreton Bay Courier, 25/4/61			1	
1861	2	1	Wide Bay	NP killed Snatchem	Moreton Bay Courier, 25/4/61			1	
1861	2	10	Burnett	NP killed unknown	Moreton Bay Courier, 16/3/61			5	
1861	4	16	Warrego	NP killed unknown	COL/A14/61/880			1	
1861	4	16	Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	Moreton Bay Courier, 16/4/61			35	
1861	4	28	North Kennedy	Dalrymple killed unknown	COL/A16/61/1262			1	
1861	4	30	Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	North Australian, 30/4/61			5	
1861	7	10	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/A18/61/1909			1	
1861	7	10	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	The Argus, 10/7/61			1	
1861	8	7	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/A18/61/1889			5	
1861	9	23	North Kennedy	Blacks killed Irving & Miller	JUS/N3/61/65				2
1861	10	17	Leichardt	Blacks killed Willis party	COL/A23/61/3266				19
1861	11	28	Maranao	NP killed unknown	Darling Downs Gazette, 28/11/61			12	
1861	12	11	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	Sydney Morning Herald			70	
1861	12	20	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/A24/61/69			1	
1861	12	20	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/A24/62/144			1	
1862	1	16	Moreton	NP killed unknown	COL/A26/62/823			9	
1862	3	3	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/A30/62/1517			2	
1862	3	5	Leichardt	Squatters killed unknown	COL/A30/62/149				
1862	6	14	North Kennedy	Blacks killed Roberts	JUS/N4/62/149				
1862	6	14	North Kennedy	Blacks killed unknown	JUS/N4/62/1897				
1862	7	31	Moreton	NP killed unknown	COL/A31/62/1897			1	
1862	8	4	Maranao	Blacks killed shepherd	COL/Q2/62/575				1
1862	9	1	Moreton	NP killed unknown	The Courier, 1/9/62			9	
1862	9	6	Leichardt	Blacks killed Sykes	JUS/N4/62/171				1
1862	9	7	Maranao	Blacks killed shepherd	COL/A32/62/2239			1	1

1862	12	9	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	JUS/A4/63/14			1	
1863	1	21	Maranoa	NP killed Tallboy	JUS/N5/63/22		The Courier, 26/3/63	1	
1863	2	13	Port Curtis	Blacks killed Cameron	JUS/N5/63/16			1	
1863	2	27	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/A38/63/511			1	
1863	4	20	Burnett	NP killed Jemmy	JUS/N5/63/58			1	
1863	9	17	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	COL/R3/63/693			1	
1863	11	9	Leichardt	Blacks killed shepherd	The Courier, 9/11/63			1	
1863	11	14	North Kennedy	Squatters killed unknown	The Courier, 14/11/63			25	
1863	12	1	Moreton	NP killed unknown	COL/A47/63/2889			1	
1864	1	9	Leichardt	Blacks killed McCord	COL/A49/64/160		The Courier, 14/3/64	1	1
1864	4	1	Wide Bay	Blacks killed Yankee Jack	COL/A54/64/1275		Brisbane Courier, 18/6/64	1	
1864	4	14	Burke	Walker killed unknown	The Argus, 14/4/64			12	
1864	6	2	Warrego	Blacks killed Dowling	Darling Downs Gazette, 2/6/64		Brisbane Courier, 4/6/64	1	
1864	9	24	Burnett	NP killed Governor & Billy	JUS/N8/64/147		JUS/N8/64/148	2	
1864	10	25	North Kennedy	Blacks killed shepherd	COL/A61/64/3283		Brisbane Courier, 8/12/64	2	
1864	12	1	North Kennedy	Blacks killed shepherd	COL/A62/64/3412		Brisbane Courier, 8/12/64	2	
1864	12	26	North Kennedy	Blacks killed German	COL/A63/65/157		COL/Q3/65/80	30	1
1865	1	7	South Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Port Denison Times, 7/1/65			1	
1865	1	13	Burke	Blacks killed Meredith & unknown	COL/A70/65/1603		COL/A70/65/2227	2	
1865	1	13	North Kennedy	Blacks killed shepherd	Brisbane Courier, 13/1/65		Brisbane Courier, 14/1/65	1	1
1865	3	31	Port Curtis	Blacks killed McCarthy	JUS/N10/65/182		Darling Downs Gazette, 15/4/65	1	
1865	5	20	Port Curtis	Blacks killed Hill	QVP, 1865:66		Rockhampton Bulletin, 6/7/65	1	
1865	7	26	Port Curtis	Blacks killed Shackleton & Kay	QPG, 26/7/65		QPG, 9/8/65	2	
1865	11	3	Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	COL/A73/65/3225			1	
1865	11	10	Wide Bay	Customs killed unknown	COL/A72/65/2996			1	
1866	3	3	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 3/3/66			1	
1866	3	10	Leichardt	Blacks killed Farquharson	Queenslander, 10/3/66			1	
1866	4	1	Maranoa	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 18/8/66			3	
1866	5	22	Leichardt	NP killed unknown	JUS/N12/66/87			1	
1866	7	1	North Kennedy	Blacks killed shepherd	A/40323/66/10			7	1
1866	7	6	Leichardt	Blacks killed shepherd	COL/A92/66/1996		Darling Downs Gazette, 22/12/66	2	
1866	7	6	Leichardt	Blacks killed shepherd	Darling Downs Gazette, 11/12/66		Darling Downs Gazette, 22/12/66	1	
1866	7	6	Leichardt	Blacks killed shepherd	Darling Downs Gazette, 21/7/66			1	
1866	7	21	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Port Denison Times, 21/7/66			1	
1866	11	3	South Kennedy	Blacks killed Clark	Queenslander, 3/11/66		Darling Downs Gazette, 13/11/66	1	1
1866	12	22	Leichardt	Blacks killed shepherd	Darling Downs Gazette, 22/12/66		Queenslander, 19/1/67	1	
1867	2	16	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 16/2/67			1	
1867	2	16	South Kennedy	Blacks killed shepherd	Queenslander, 16/2/67			1	1

1867	2	18 Cook	Blacks killed soldier	QVP, 1867				1	1
1867	5	31 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Shepherd	Queenslander, 21/9/67				1	1
1867	6	22 Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 22/6/67		Queenslander, 20/7/67		6	1
1867	9	1 South Gregory	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 23/5/68				8	1
1867	9	6 Burke	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A97/67/2846				1	1
1867	10	25 Mitchell	Blacks killed Fanning	JUS/N17/67/233				1	1
1867	11	9 Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 9/11/67				5	1
1867	11	28 Leichardt	Blacks killed Noll	JUS/N17/67/213				1	1
1868	4	6 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Whiteman	JUS/N19/68/119				1	1
1868	4	18 Burke	Blacks killed Hands	COL/A106/68/1720				1	1
1868	5	8 Warrego	Blacks killed Curlewis & McCullagh					2	2
1868	6	8 Burke	Blacks killed Cannon & Manson	COL/A106/68/1788		Queenslander, 13/6/68		2	2
1868	6	8 Burke	Blacks killed Woodgate	COL/A106/68/1788		GOV/10/69/48		1	1
1868	6	13 Burke	Blacks killed Cameron	Queenslander, 13/6/68		Port Denison Times, 4/7/68		30	1
1868	6	31 Cook	Blacks killed Eulack	COL/E2/68/234		COL/A111/68/2874		1	1
1868	7	14 North Kennedy	NP killed two SSI men	JUS/N19/68/157		JUS/N19/68/173		2	1
1868	12	7 Leichardt	Blacks killed unknown	JUS/N23/69/A28				1	1
1869	1	19 Leichardt	Blacks killed Collins	JUS/N23/69/A38		Darling Downs Gazette, 13/6/68		1	1
1869	7	9 Burke	Blacks killed Wilson	JUS/N21/69/92				1	1
1869	9	21 Leichardt	Blacks killed Maher	JUS/N21/69/78				1	1
1870	11	8 Leichardt	Blacks killed Probert	JUS/N27/70/189		QPG, 4/11/70		1	1
1870	11	21 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Thompson	JUS/N27/70/208				1	1
1870	12	21 Mitchell	NP killed Charlie	COL/A198/74/1714				1	1
1871	1	9 Port Curtis	NP killed unknown	COL/A170/72/1484				1	1
1871	2	17 Mitchell	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N28/71/49				1	1
1871	3	19 Burke	Blacks killed Burrows	JUS/N30/71/104				1	1
1871	6	4 Cook	Blacks killed Corbett	JUS/N30/71/106		COL/A158/71/1899		1	1
1871	6	18 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Langfield & Lambton	JUS/N30/71/108		QPG, 16/6/71		2	2
1871	7	1 Burke	Blacks killed McLeod & Ned	JUS/N34/72/112				2	2
1871	7	15 Cook	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 15/7/71				17	1
1871	10	16 Mitchell	Blacks killed Davis & Bob	A/36335/71/142		A/36335/71/172		4	2
1871	12	16 Leichardt	NP killed unknown	A/36335/71/170				4	2
1872	1	1 North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 24/7/80				6	1
1872	1	16 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Cessford	JUS/N32/72/19		QPG, 27/12/71		1	1
1872	1	17 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Smith & Clements	JUS/N32/72/22		COL/A166/72/254		2	2
1872	2	14 Port Curtis	Blacks killed Andrews	JUS/N32/72/32				1	1
1872	2	29 Burke	Blacks killed Huey, Murdoch & Va	JUS/N34/72/113		QPG, 29/2/72		3	3

1872	3	11 Cook	Blacks killed Maria survivors	Neame diary	COLA1717/21713	15	10
1872	5	6 Mitchell	Blacks killed Welford & Hall	COLA1687/2/806	COLA1687/2/806		2
1872	8	2 Cook	Blacks killed Ryan	JUS/N34/7/2164	QPG, 9/8/72		1
1872	8	12 North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	COLA1707/2/1289	Queenslander, 17/8/72	10	
1872	8	28 Mitchell	Blacks killed Maier	JUS/N34/7/2187		1	1
1872	9	14 Port Curtis	NP killed Billy, Harry & Tommy	JUS/N35/7/2223	Queenslander, 1/3/73	3	
1872	9	27 Burke	Blacks killed Cook	JUS/N35/7/2271		1	1
1872	10	1 North Kennedy	NP killed Cassey	JUS/N35/7/2218		1	
1872	10	18 Port Curtis	NP killed Fowler	COLA1707/2/1484		1	
1872	10	30 Mitchell	NP killed Billy & Chow Chow	JUS/N36/7/3/64a	COLA407/84/8140	2	
1872	11	19 Cook	Blacks killed Chinese miners	JUS/N35/7/2230	JUS/N35/7/2242		5
1872	11	26 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	QVP, 1874			1
1873	1	25 Burke	Customs killed unknown	COLA1827/3/849		1	
1873	3	25 Leichardt	Blacks killed Maxwell	JUS/N36/7/3/71	QPG, 21/3/73		1
1873	7	24 South Gregory	Blacks killed Maloney	QPG, 24/7/74		1	1
1873	7	28 Cook	Blacks killed Finlay, Mercer, Reev	JUS/N37/7/3/174	QPG, 10/7/73		4
1873	8	18 Cook	Blacks killed Williams & Blackall	JUS/N37/7/3/182	JUS/N37/7/3/183		2
1873	9	1 North Gregory	NP killed unknown	Watson Papers		1	
1873	9	16 Port Curtis	NP killed Dickey & Charley	JUS/N37/7/3/190	COLA1877/3/2122	1	
1873	11	11 Cook	Blacks killed Atkins	COLA1877/3/2194		1	1
1873	11	20 Cook	Blacks killed Chinese miners	QPG, 20/11/73			2
1873	11	22 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Chinese men	JUS/N38/7/3/252	JUS/N38/7/3/253		2
1873	18	4 Cook	Blacks killed Rose & unknown	JUS/N36/7/3/92	QPG, 12/4/73		2
1874	1	2 Cook	Blacks killed Alfred & Wright	JUS/N39/7/4/90	QPG, 11/1/74		2
1874	1	3 Cook	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 3/1/74		9	
1874	1	20 Cook	Miners killed unknown	COLA1947/4/701	Brisbane Courier, 20/1/74	6	
1874	2	7 North Kennedy	Squatters killed unknown	COLA2027/4/2755	QPG, 7/2/74	2	
1874	2	8 Cook	Blacks killed Dickman	COLA1927/4/347			1
1874	2	14 Burke	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 14/2/74		1	
1874	2	26 Cook	Blacks killed Sowter	JUS/N39/7/4/95		1	1
1874	3	19 Cook	Blacks killed Doblitz	JUS/N39/7/4/100	QPG, 14/3/74		1
1874	4	2 South Kennedy	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N40/7/4/141	QPG, 31/3/74		1
1874	4	4 Cook	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 4/4/74		4	
1874	6	1 Cook	Miners killed unknown	Queenslander, 8/4/76		1	
1874	6	6 Burke	NP killed unknown	Bowly Papers		2	
1874	7	25 Cook	Miners killed unknown	Queenslander, 25/7/74		2	
1874	7	30 Cook	Blacks killed Hurford	JUS/N41/7/4/225	QPG, 22/7/74		1

1874	8	31	South Kennedy	Blacks killed Holland	QPG, 31/8/74	Queenslander, 19/9/74		1
1874	9	12	Cook	Miners killed unknown	Queenslander, 12/9/74		2	1
1874	10	1	Burke	Blacks killed Chatfield	Bowly Papers			1
1874	10	17	Cook	Miners killed unknown	Queenslander, 17/10/74		2	
1874	10	21	Cook	Blacks killed Straher family	JUS/N417/4/274	COL/A595/89/9567		3
1874	11	1	North Kennedy	NP killed trooper	COL/A202/74/2615		1	
1874	11	21	Cook	Miners killed unknown	Queenslander, 21/11/74		20	
1874	12	19	North Kennedy	Squatters killed unknown	Queenslander, 19/12/74		4	
1875	1	1	Burke	Blacks killed Scanlan	JUS/N43/75/58			1
1875	1	21	Cook	Blacks killed Blair	JUS/N43/75/32			1
1875	2	20	Cook	Blacks killed Mann	JUS/N43/75/61			1
1875	2	20	Cook	Blacks killed Mann	JUS/N43/75/61	Bowly Papers		1
1875	4	9	North Kennedy	Blacks killed Conn family	JUS/N45/75/244	JUS/N45/75/246		2
1875	4	13	South Kennedy	Blacks killed Toll	JUS/N44/75/176			1
1875	5	8	North Kennedy	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A217/76/57			1
1875	6	1	South Kennedy	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N45/75/231			1
1875	6	16	South Kennedy	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N45/75/259	Brisbane Courier, 17/7/75		1
1875	6	26	Cook	Miners killed unknown	Telegraph, 26/6/75			1
1875	9	28	Cook	Blacks killed Ned	JUS/N46/75/356			1
1875	10	22	Cook	Blacks killed Collins	JUS/N47/75/421			1
1875	12	11	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Town & County Journal, 11/12/75			1
1876	1	1	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 7/8/80			2
1876	1	17	Burke	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N48/76/58			1
1876	3	11	South Kennedy	NP killed Jemmy	SCT/CG7/372	COL/A228/76/1517		1
1876	4	1	Port Curtis	NP killed Jemmy	Rockhampton Bulletin, 1/4/76	Queenslander, 15/4/76		2
1876	5	8	Mitchell	Blacks killed McFetheridge	JUS/N49/76/120	Queenslander, 6/5/76		1
1876	5	16	Cook	Blacks killed Donaghy	JUS/N49/76/123			1
1876	5	25	Cook	NP killed unknown	Bowly Papers			20
1876	8	5	Cook	NP killed unknown	Peak Downs Telegram, 5/8/76	Illustrated Adelaide News,		1
1876	8	30	Mitchell	NP killed trooper	A/5097			1
1876	10	16	North Kennedy	Grazier killed Monday	JUS/A177/6/2163	COL/A226/76/2370		1
1877	1	17	Leichardt	Blacks killed Chinese man	Brisbane Courier, 17/1/77	Queenslander, 20/1/77		1
1877	2	5	North Kennedy	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A249/77/5567			1
1877	2	22	Cook	Blacks killed McQuarrie brothers	JUS/N52/77/47			3
1877	3	1	North Kennedy	NP killed trooper	JUS/N52/77/65			2
1877	4	21	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 21/5/77			1
1877	4	25	Cook	Blacks killed Caughlin, Macintosh	TRE/A18/77/1306			4
1877	5	9	Burke	Blacks killed Dunn	JUS/N53/77/118			2
1877	5	9	Burke	Blacks killed Dunn	JUS/N53/77/118			3

1877	6	24 Cook	NP killed unknown	LAN/A56/77/7028		6	6
1877	11	15 Cook	Blacks killed Handley, Kegan & un	COL/A249/77/5704	COL/A579/89/4281		3
1877	12	10 Burke	Blacks killed Batten	JUS/N56/77/326	COL/A249/77/5709		1
1878	1	11 Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N57/78/11			1
1878	3	1 Cook	Squatters killed unknown	POL/12M/G1/78/36			1
1878	5	7 Cook	Blacks killed Manuel	JUS/N58/78/131			1
1878	8	1 Cook	Blacks killed Price & unknown	COL/A262/78/2974			2
1878	8	31 North Kennedy	Blacks killed unknown	QPG, 31/8/78	Brisbane Courier, 21/9/78		1
1878	9	6 Cook	Blacks killed Monday	POL/12M/G1/78/143			1
1878	9	12 North Kennedy	Blacks killed unknown	JUS/N59/78/240	QPG, 12/9/78		2
1878	12	6 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A267/78/4266			1
1879	3	8 Cook	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 8/3/79	COL/A272/79/858		28
1879	8	25 Cook	NP killed unknown	POL/12M/G2/79/222			1
1879	8	29 Cook	Miners killed unknown	QVP, 1881, Vol 2			2
1879	11	17 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A286/79/4056	GOV/27/79/101		2
1880	1	2 Cook	NP killed unknown	POL/12M/G2/80/3			1
1880	1	10 Cook	Miners killed unknown	QVP, 1881, Vol 2			1
1880	5	1 Cook	NP killed trooper	Queenslander, 1/5/80			1
1880	6	26 Cook	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 26/6/80			10
1880	9	3 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A298/80/4813			1
1881	1	21 Port Curtis	Blacks killed trooper	COL/A306/81/296			1
1881	2	1 North Kennedy	Squatters killed unknown	Coote book			3
1881	2	2 Burke	Blacks killed Dyas	A/38770/81/894	Port Denison Times, 29/1/81		1
1881	3	1 Burke	NP killed unknown	A/38789			2
1881	3	30 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A310/81/1394			2
1881	5	27 Burke	Blacks killed Turner	JUS/N76/81/154			1
1881	9	5 Cook	NP killed unknown	POL/12M/G2/81/83			1
1881	9	14 Burke	Blacks killed Kaye	JUS/N77/81/259			1
1881	10	25 Cook	Blacks killed Chinese men	TRE/A24/81/1946			2
1881	11	2 Cook	Fishermen killed unknown	TRE/A24/81/2029			6
1881	11	9 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	TRE/A24/81/2070			2
1881	11	16 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Seliger	JUS/N79/81/319			1
1881	11	21 Cook	NP killed unknown	Telegraph, 21/11/81			1
1881	11	28 Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A305/81/5351	COL/A305		2
1882	4	1 North Kennedy	Blacks killed Skene	JUS/N83/82/108	Queenslander, 22/4/82		1
1882	4	11 Burke	Grazier killed unknown	A/38710			1
1882	10	1 North Kennedy	Police killed Harry	JUS/N87/82/345			1

1883	1	1	Leichardt	Toby killed Dwyer	JUS/N90/83/30	A/38773	1	1
1883	1	28	Burke	Blacks killed Beresford	JUS/N91/83/59	POL/4	1	1
1883	3	1	Burke	NP killed unknown	A/38720/2404		1	1
1883	3	13	Cook	Blacks killed Desailly	JUS/N92/83/102	QPG, 8/3/83	1	1
1883	5	12	Cook	Blacks killed Nieue & unknown	COL/A362/83/2756	COL/A360/83/2256	3	3
1883	5	25	Burke	Blacks killed Crawford	Queenslander, 26/5/83		1	1
1883	5	28	North Gregory	NP killed unknown	COL/A368/83/4680	COL/A368/83/4680	4	4
1883	11	15	Burke	NP killed unknown	Queensland Figaro, 15/1/84		10	10
1884	1	21	Burke	Blacks killed Foster	JUS/N102/84/101			1
1884	1	23	Cook	Blacks killed Bredt	COL/A379/84/589			1
1884	4	21	Cook	Blacks killed Louis	COL/A389/84/3311			1
1884	6	11	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N105/84/287			1
1884	6	28	Cook	Graziers killed unknown	Queenslander, 28/6/84		6	6
1884	8	1	Cook	Blacks killed Barry & unknown	COL/A396/84/5406	TRE/A28/84/2480	1	3
1884	8	20	Burke	Blacks killed Powell	JUS/N108/84/415	QPG, 13/7/84	1	1
1884	10	23	North Kennedy	NP killed King Billy & others	JUS/N110/84/511	COL/A414/85/989	6	6
1884	11	13	Cook	Blacks killed Conway	COL/A406/84/7964	Darling Downs Gazette, 12/1/85	1	1
1884	11	18	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A410/84/9077			2
1884	12	30	Cook	Blacks killed McAuley	JUS/N112/84/594	Darling Downs Gazette, 12/1/85	1	1
1885	1	17	South Gregory	NP killed unknown	COL/A457/85/1598	COL/A457/86/1598	2	2
1885	2	9	Cook	Lady killed unknown	Darling Downs Gazette, 9/2/85		2	2
1885	3	8	Mitchell	NP killed unknown	POL/85/2369		5	5
1885	3	9	Cook	Blacks killed Lumse	Darling Downs Gazette, 9/3/85			1
1885	3	16	Cook	Blacks killed Barnard	JUS/N117/85/151	COL/A417/85/COL/A579/85	1	1
1885	3	27	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A419/85/2256	Darling Downs Gazette, 28/3/85	2	2
1885	6	12	Burke	Graziers killed unknown	COL/A431/85/5359		1	1
1885	6	17	Cook	Blacks killed Massey	Queenslander, 5/12/96	Darling Downs Gazette, 17/6/85	1	1
1885	7	5	Burke	NP killed unknown	Howitt Papers		100	100
1885	8	20	Cook	Blacks killed McLaughlan & Peter	COL/A435/85/6341	COL/A432/85/5749	2	2
1885	8	10	Cook	Blacks killed Woods	JUS/N122/85/406			1
1885	10	1	Burke	Blacks killed Byrne	JUS/N125/85/565		1	1
1885	11	27	Burke	NP killed unknown	COL/A450/85/9913		1	1
1885	12	9	Cook	Fishermen killed unknown	COL/A447/85/9298	COL/A443/85/8218	2	2
1886	1	5	Cook	Blacks killed Townsend	QPG, 5/1/86			1
1886	2	27	Cook	Blacks killed Tribbler	QPG, 27/2/86			1
1886	4	27	Burke	Graziers killed unknown	COL/A545/88/4202		3	3
1886	8	11	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese men	Darling Downs Gazette, 11/8/86			2

1886	12	4	North Kennedy	SSI killed Billy	JUS/N137/86/532			1	
1887	1	1	South Gregory	Grazier killed Larry	JUS/N138/86/573A			1	
1887	2	28	Cook	Blacks killed Goodshaw	COL/A492/87/1778		Queenslander, 26/3/87	1	
1887	7	6	Burke	Blacks killed Ferguson	COL/A507/87/5272		QPG, 22/6/87	1	
1887	8	27	Cook	Blacks killed Frankenburg	COL/A516/87/7069		COL/A516/87/4258	1	
1887	9	2	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A514/87/6926			1	
1887	10	11	Cook	Blacks killed Anderson	COL/A521/87/8216		QPG, 11/10/87	1	
1887	11	15	Cook	Blacks killed McNair	COL/A525/87/9041		QPG, 20/4/88	1	
1887	11	24	Burke	NP killed unknown	JUS/N150/87/551		COL/A531/88/105	6	
1888	1	1	North Kennedy	Police killed Tommy	JUS/N151/88/32		A/38737	1	
1888	1	23	Cook	Blacks killed Wright	JUS/N152/88/93			1	
1888	5	19	Cook	Blacks killed Louis	Queenslander, 19/5/88			1	
1888	8	10	Cook	Blacks killed Mogg	Brisbane Courier, 10/8/88			1	
1888	9	12	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N159/88/446		A/40312	1	
1888	10	1	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	Brisbane Courier, 4/7/89		QPG, 8/9/88	1	3
1888	11	1	North Gregory	Graziers killed Paddy	QPG, 30/5/91			1	
1888	12	1	Cook	NP killed trooper	A/38716			1	
1889	2	19	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	COL/A583/89/5557			2	
1889	6	11	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/47932/89/6816			5	
1889	9	9	Cook	Blacks killed Clifford & Paaske	JUS/N169/89/419		JUS/N169/89/420	2	
1889	10	1	Burke	Blacks killed Wavell	A/40191			1	2
1889	10	15	Cook	Blacks killed Williams	JUS/N170/89/461		The Austral Star	1	1
1890	6	1	Cook	Blacks killed Jones	Queenslander, 3/10/96			1	1
1890	6	5	Cook	Blacks killed Pratt	JUS/N177/90/247			1	1
1890	6	10	Cook	Blacks killed Weir	JUS/N177/90/257		QPG, 11/5/90	1	1
1890	7	28	Cook	Blacks killed Hobson	JUS/N179/90/380		A/58929/02/1565	1	1
1890	8	1	Cook	Miners killed Jimmy	COL/A626/90/8828			1	
1890	12	9	Cook	Miners killed unknown	Brisbane Courier, 9/12/90		Queenslander, 13/12/90	2	
1891	2	19	Cook	Blacks killed Robinson	Brisbane Courier, 19/2/91			1	1
1891	5	11	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N189/91/196			1	1
1891	7	3	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/38774/91/8776			1	
1891	12	12	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	Queenslander, 12/12/91			1	1
1892	5	20	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	JUS/N200/92/199		Queenslander, 19/3/92	1	1
1892	6	1	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	JUS/N201/92/249			1	1
1893	5	27	Cook	Blacks killed Waters	JUS/N213/93/338		Queenslander, 3/6/93	1	1
1893	6	1	Cook	Blacks killed Kelloway	A/40294			1	1
1893	6	10	Cook	Blacks killed Japanese men	Queenslander, 10/6/93		Brisbane Courier, 21/11/93	2	2

1893	6	17	Cook	NP killed unknown	Queenslander, 17/6/93			1	
1893	7	8	Cook	Blacks killed unknown	Queenslander, 8/7/93			1	
1893	11	18	Cook	Blacks killed Mobeck & Oien	COL/A783/94/11597	Queenslander, 4/11/93		2	
1893	12	6	Cook	Blacks killed Greenlaw & Jones	POL/2			2	
1893	12	27	Cook	Blacks killed Bruce & Rowe	JUS/N220/94/48	COL/A754/93/13863		2	
1894	4	27	Cook	Blacks killed Baird	A/45277/95/1397	POL/2		1	
1894	4	27	Cook	Blacks killed Du Moulin	POL/2	Brisbane Courier, 27/4/94		1	
1894	7	28	Cook	Blacks killed Kennedy	Queenslander, 28/7/94			1	
1894	9	8	North Gregory	Blacks killed Nathan	JUS/N228/94/449	Brisbane Courier, 8/9/94		1	
1894	11	6	Cook	Blacks killed Orara, Gregoris & Nt	QPG, 6/11/94			3	
1895	6	29	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	Queenslander, 29/6/95	Queenslander, 21/6/95		1	
1895	7	13	Cook	Grazier killed unknown	Queenslander, 13/7/95			3	
1895	8	10	Cook	Blacks killed Chinese man	Queenslander, 10/8/95			1	
1896	1	21	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	A/45211/96/1758			1	
1896	6	6	Cook	Blacks killed Mackenzie	Queenslander, 6/6/96	Queenslander, 12/12/96		1	
1896	12	5	Cook	Blacks killed Watson	Queenslander, 5/12/96	Queenslander, 12/12/96		1	
1896	12	12	Cook	Blacks killed Bannon	Queenslander, 12/12/96	QVP, 1897		1	
1896	12	12	Cook	Blacks killed Nott	Queenslander, 12/12/96			1	
1897	6	1	North Kennedy	Police killed Charlie	JUS/N253/97/251			1	
1898	7	21	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/38047/98/49			1	
1898	12	22	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/38047/98/81			2	
1900	4	3	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	A/38047/00/11			3	
1900	9	22	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	A/38047/00/42			1	
1900	10	5	Cook	Blacks killed Chisholm	A/58912	COL/142/01/4884		1	
1900	11	28	Cook	NP killed Dan	A/58927/00/150			1	
1900	12	23	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/38047/01/57			1	
1901	8	28	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	A/38047/01/32			1	
1902	3	24	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	A/38047/02/7			3	
1902	8	4	North Kennedy	NP killed unknown	A/38047/02/24			3	
1902	10	1	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/58850	A/49713		4	
1904	7	10	Cook	NP killed unknown	A/38047/04/16			20	

Appendix 4: 'Rumours' – false reports of frontier deaths and other connected matters

24 June 1852 News item 'The Search for Leichhardt' (from the *Maitland Mercury*), saying Hely and Walker had travelled west of Surat [*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24/6/52]

27 October 1859 News item "Flying Reports", saying about four weeks ago a communication from Dalby was received, in which the writer stated that 'a rumour was afloat that four gentlemen had been killed by the Blacks. We doubted the truthfulness of the rumour at the time, and therefore refrained from needlessly creating anxiety among the friends of the parties who were supposed to have been killed; and although several enquiries were made at our office on the day the rumour reached us, we did not satisfy them by divulging the names. It appears, however, that those spiders of the Press - the occasional correspondents of two of the journals below the Range - had no such scruples of conscience, or delicacy of feeling about them' [*Darling Downs Gazette*, 27/10/59]

03 November 1859 Letter by WF Kennedy, saying 'The vague rumour that four gentlemen were killed by the Blacks on the Dawson, which appeared in your issue of 6th instant, has I find been caught up by the correspondence of the two Brisbane papers. These journals have inserted the names of the supposed murdered parties. This is a course which I am sure you will agree with me, cannot be too strongly deprecated, where the information is not reliable and well certified, and the only evidence is mere hearsay, as I believe to be the case in this instance; for considerable unnecessary pain and anxiety may thus be inflicted on relatives and friends at a distance. It was surmised that their horses had come in after their owners were killed. Some of the Tieryboo Blacks told the Dalby postman at Condamine, who forwarded the news to Drayton, where it obtained access to your columns, only, however, as a rumour, in last week's *Courier*, it has become *un fait accompli*. I feel confident the report originated in a mistake' [*Darling Downs Gazette*, 3/11/59]

00 November 1861 Letter from JK Wilson at Mount Abundance (Roma) advising that he has received information from the Aborigines about the fate of Leichhardt. He advises that King Peter told him that Leichhardt and his party had been burned to death in a bushfire on the distant mountains visible from the Denham Range [COL/A22/61/2959]

28 April 1862 Article 'Australian Tales' by 'Old Hand', describing the killing of 'fifty or more' Blacks by Native Police [*Burnett Argus*, 28/4/62:3]

15 July 1863 News item re the rumoured killing of Kellett by Blacks at Kennedy district [*The Courier*, 15/7/63]

12 December 1863 News item from West Maranoa, saying the reported killing of Grenfel and Cannon at Mungallala is untrue [*The Courier*, 12/12/63]

- 06 April 1864** News item from *Queensland Times* saying William Frazer has been killed by Blacks at the Isaacs River [*The Courier*, 6/4/64]
- 09 April 1864** News item that William Frazer ‘one of the survivors of the family which was butchered by the Blacks at Hornet Bank’ has been killed by Blacks at the Isaacs River [*The Brisbane Courier*, 9/4/64]
- 13 April 1864** News item reporting that the Blacks have not murdered William Frazer as previously reported [*Brisbane Courier*, 13/4/64]
- 30 April 1864** News item on report of a white man living with the Blacks at Normanby station, near Ipswich; police sent to investigate [*Brisbane Courier*, 30/4/64]
- 23 June 1864** News item ‘More Murders By The Blacks’, saying ‘after the murder of Mr Vincent Dowling and his men and the attack on Tooth’s and Tom’s stations by the Blacks, they waylaid and murdered nearly the whole black police in the Maranoa district! Further, that they murdered three families of whites!! And speared Mr Tooth’s superintendent through the arm!!!’ [*Darling Downs Gazette*, 23/6/64:3]
- 07 July 1864** Letter ‘Alleged Outrage By The Blacks At The Maranoa’ by ‘J. M’A’, saying ‘on 30th June we published information we had received respecting certain alleged murderous outrages committed by the Blacks on the Maranoa’. A letter since received from Toowoomba said ‘In your paper of the 23rd instant I notice a paragraph about the Blacks, where it states that white men were killed on the Maranoa, and Mr Tooth’s superintendent speared. Such statement is incorrect. On the morning of the 22nd instant I saw Mr Tooth’s superintendent, and he was not speared, nor did one hear of any white men killed. Such statements when untrue are injurious to the district’. [*Darling Downs Gazette*, 7/7/64:3]
- 19 September 1864** News item from Upper Warrego, saying ‘people out here’ are not ‘in constant terror of their lives from the wild Blacks’ [*Brisbane Courier*, 19/9/64]
- 26 November 1864** News item about the rumoured killing of a Jewish pedlar by the Blacks near Rockhampton, and saying if so, the stock of jewellery would identify the tribe concerned [*Brisbane Courier*, 26/11/64]
- 13 December 1864** News item from Gladstone, saying a report that two persons were murdered when the Blacks attacked a station sixty miles from Gladstone was untrue. Said a man and his wife were attacked, ‘left for dead’ and survived [*Brisbane Courier*, 13/12/64]
- 16 December 1864** News item from Rockhampton, saying the pedlar reported killed by the Blacks has turned up. Said the ‘rumoured disappearance of this man supply to a correspondent the text of a diatribe against the Blacks’ but ‘the latter have more crimes ascribed to them than they really perpetrate’ [*Brisbane Courier*, 16/12/64]

13 February 1865 News item from the Maranoa (from the *Toowoomba Chronicle*), saying two Aboriginal men drove off a party of fourteen armed whites at Mitchell Downs [*Brisbane Courier*, 13/2/65]

25 February 1865 News item 'The Blacks on Mitchell Downs' (from the *Toowoomba Chronicle*), referring to previous item about 'an engagement with two blackfellows'. Said this story was 'a fiction' and might have been based on the attempted capture of a Dawson black by a trooper some time before [*Brisbane Courier*, 25/2/65]

17 April 1865 News item 'Aborigines' Protection Societies', referring to an article in *The Times* at London, saying 'the end of the year is a dull time with journalists at home' [*Brisbane Courier*, 17/4/65]

22 April 1865 News item from Bowen (from *Port Denison Times*) about reported assembly of Blacks 'in great numbers' at Cleveland and Rockingham Bay. The 'killing or driving away of all the settlers' is dismissed as a hoax [*Brisbane Courier*, 22/4/65]

06 May 1865 Letter 'The Extermination of the Native Population of Australia' (from *North British Agriculturist*) by 'SA', referring to an article in *The Times* of 30th December 1864. Said the statements made were wrong, as the natives died off 'at a quick rate by natural though frequently obscure causes' soon after colonisation by whites [*Brisbane Courier*, 6/5/65]

03 June 1865 News item from Rockhampton, mentioning the killing of Thompson's Superintendent on the Queen's Birthday [*Brisbane Courier*, 3/6/65]

12 June 1865 News item from Rockhampton, mentioning an attack on Turner, Superintendent of Mr Thompson's station, had taken place recently [*Brisbane Courier*, 12/6/65:3]

16 June 1865 News item from Rockhampton, saying the report recently circulated that Mr Hood, the Superintendent of Mr Thompson's station, had been killed by the Blacks 'has been proved to be unfounded' [*Brisbane Courier*, 16/6/65:2]

24 June 1865 Letter 'Reported Murder of Mr Hood' by TJ Thompson, saying the report in *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin* of 27th May about the killing of Mr Hood, the superintendent at Thompson's station, by Blacks, was incorrect and was probably referring to the murder of a police officer 'within seven miles of my present abode' [*Brisbane Courier*, 24/6/65]

14 February 1866 Letter requesting permission for Inspector Marlow to travel to Belyando in search of Mr Leichhardt [COL/A76/66/434]

24 February 1866 News item 'Traces Of Leichhardt' (from the *Port Denison Times*). Article written from information supplied by Lieutenant Uhr of the Rockingham Bay

Native Police detachment. About eighteen months ago, Uhr captured two Aboriginal women near Logan Creek on the Suttor River, one of whom stated that she knew where the remains of some of Leichhardt's party were. Uhr also states that he remembers seeing an 'L' on a tree in the same location [*Darling Downs Gazette*, 24/2/66:3]

04 August 1866 News item about the Leichhardt expedition [*The Queenslander*, 4/8/66]

02 July 1870 News item from Cleveland Bay saying that a white man was reported to be living with the Blacks at the Star River. Said 'it would be worth the while of the Native Police to make a strong effort to capture this wild white man' [*The Queenslander*, 2/7/70:10]

03 September 1870 News item from Herbert River saying report on 9th July of wild white man living with Blacks is untrue [*The Queenslander*, 3/9/70]

17 January 1871 Letter from Charles Birch to Governor Blackall (numbered 71/156), saying he was 'on the eve of prosecuting a search for traces of the lost explorer Dr Leichhardt' under instructions from Dr Von Mueller and the Ladies Committee 'to make one more effort to dispel the mystery that hangs over the fate of Dr Leichhardt and success is more than problematised, if my plans are not wholly deranged, by a misguided Native Police official', who has taken his two women interpreters [COL/A198/74/1714]

17 March 1871 Report from Sub Inspector Edward Wheeler to Chief Inspector George Murray about Birch's complaint that 'two Gins were taken from the Dar River'. Wheeler concluded, 'the Gins mentioned were not brought out by him for the purpose of the search for traces of Leichhardt, but for cohabiting with' [COL/A198/74/1714]

04 April 1871 News item from Cunnamulla saying Sub Inspector Gilmore has 'just arrived from Cooper's Creek' and reports 'unmistakeable evidence' of Leichhardt [*Brisbane Courier*, 4/4/71]

05 April 1871 News item on search for Leichhardt's remains by Sub Inspector Gilmour [*Brisbane Courier*, 5/4/71]

18 May 1871 Executive Council Minute approving expenses incurred in search by a detachment of Native Police looking for a white man (thought to be a Leichhardt survivor) west of Cooper's Creek [COL/E7/71/134]

08 June 1871 Letter of acknowledgment from the Chief Secretary of Western Australia in relation to receipt of a *Brisbane Courier* article about Sub-Inspector Gilmore's report on the search for a white man reported to be living with Aborigines. [COL/A157/71/1547, 'Gall estray']

25 July 1874 Article 'Better Prospects at the Palmer' by 'The Miner'; reported attack by 40 or 50 Blacks on seven miners armed with Snider rifles; the Blacks, they said,

were 'apparently urged on and directed by their gins, who were perched on a ridge'; also said 'Cooktown was summoned to arms' [*The Queenslander*, 25/7/74:10]

28 November 1874 Telegram from the Police Magistrate at Charleville reporting the death of explorer Hume on the Wilson River. Refers to Sub-Inspector Dunne and the Native Police who are out searching for a survivor of the expedition [COL/A200/74/2484]

07 December 1874 Inquest held by Fitzherbert Brooke at Bingara, in the Warrego district, into the deaths of Andrew Hume and Timothy O'Hea who died at Nockatunga while searching for a supposed Leichhardt survivor [Prov. unknown]

20 February 1875 Article 'The Expedition in Search of Classan' by 'The Explorer'; writer said Sub Inspector Dunne was in charge of Native Police near Nockatunga who went on the search for the last survivor of the Leichhardt expedition [*The Queenslander*, 20/2/75:7]

05 August 1875 News item 'The Supposed Leichhardt Remains' said Maxwell Armstrong reported to Commissioner from Aramac that two graves had been discovered at Saltern Creek, disinterred and pronounced to be Aboriginal skeletons [*Telegraph*, 5/8/75:2]

08 February 1876 Letter from James Johnston at Dumfries, New South Wales to Commissioner re article on Native Police in *Illustrated News* of 27 September 1875. Referred to telegram advising that a search party had gone to the Roper River to look for 'the murderers of Johnston', said 'I had a brother named Abraham Johnston' who was last heard of at Ipswich and Maryborough, and asked for full name of Johnston found dead at the Roper'. The man killed at the Roper was named Charles Johnston [COL/A424/85/3652]

12 May 1876 Letter from Miss Agnes Craig at Edinburgh, Scotland to the Aborigines Protection Society in England, asking 'Is it true that the Colonists in Queensland distribute poisoned flour among the Natives?'. Said this statement was made in a paper by 'Jevous' in 'the last *Fortnightly*'; the article she said 'was extremely wicked, as the purpose is to excuse 'Vivisection' as being a mild form of cruelty in comparison with others' and she failed to see how 'poisoning natives, and otherwise maltreating them in the Colonies' justified 'similar practices towards animals in London and Edinburgh'. Said 'I should like to hear the truth about this' and referred to a new society for 'The Total Suppression of Vivisection' [*Australian Joint Copying Project*, M/2427]

27 November 1878 Report from Sub Inspector Stuart at Port Douglas to Commissioner saying a story had appeared in the *Port Douglas Times* claiming that two timbergetters had been killed at the Daintree but 'I am happy to say they turned up all right' [POL/12M/G2/78/237]

- 24 May 1879** Article 'Native Police Duty in the West' saying Sub Inspector Kaye went out with Sub Inspector Gough 'in pursuit of Blacks who had committed a murder at Murgah station, Lower Diamantina, and with his companion was falsely reported to have perished from thirst' [*The Queenslander*, 24/5/79:668]
- 29 May 1880** Letter 'White and Black' by 'Never Never', claiming most letters submitted were false and accused the paper of 'violating good taste and common decency' [*The Queenslander*, 29/5/80:690]
- 08 January 1881** Article 'The Way We Civilise', reviewing pamphlet published by *The Queenslander*; referred to 'a series of letters published in *Sydney Morning Herald* some time back' and said 'we do not think that the 'yarns' told in the 'atrocities' column strengthen *The Queenslander's* position' [*Sydney Mail*, 8/1/81:45]
- 13 January 1881** Letter from William Fillingham-Parr at Fiji to the Aborigines Protection Society in England, sending Queensland news clipping and referred to 'the wholesale murders of these poor wretches. An enclosed clipping from the *Pall Mall Budget* of 15th October 1880 said a report in French and German papers demanded the attention of the Colonial Office. Included an alleged conversation with a police officer, who invited the correspondent from the *Cologne Gazette* to join a 'hunt of Blacks' [Aborigines Protection Society Papers, Rhodes House Library, *Oxford Australian Joint Copying Project*, M/2429]
- 25 October 1881** Telegram from Customs Collector Fahey to the Colonial Treasurer saying ten large native canoes have been seen at Lizard Island 'where a Mrs Watson, her baby and two Chinamen were supposed to have been living'; said she was left on the island with 'no means of escape' while her husband was at Knight Island [TRE/A24/81/1946]
- 28 October 1881** Telegram from Police Magistrate Howard St George to the Colonial Secretary, saying 'Carroll Byerstown mailman reports that Blacks on Normanby diggings four days ago killed and ate a Chinaman, name unknown' [COL/A324/81/4709]
- 07 November 1881** Telegram from Fahey at Cooktown to Colonial Treasurer saying Watson arrived here last night and reported he left his wife on Lizard Island about 10th September [TRE/A24/81/2029]
- 21 November 1881** News item 'Outrages at Lizard Island and Northern Queensland', saying Mrs Watson's fate was 'now ascertained'. Sub Inspector Brooks brought two women to Cooktown who told him the Cape Flattery tribe attacked the beche-de-mer station on Lizard Island. Said she was seized and later killed with her baby; Inspector Fitzgerald found clothes at Lizard Island, but the Murdoch Point Blacks denied any involvement in her death [*Sydney Morning Herald*, 21/11/81:7]
- 03 December 1881** News item 'The Lizard Island Tragedy' including letter from Edward Snellgrove of Lower Herbert with notes from Mrs Watson's diary. Said one of

the 'supposed murderers' was now in the lockup and had 'made confession as to the manner of the murder' [*The Queenslander*, 3/12/81:726]

07 January 1882 News item from Herberton, saying that a white woman was 'detained in a Blacks camp'. Writer claimed that police were unable to apprehend the offenders, but 'if black trackers been here, as they should be' some 'satisfaction' would be afforded. This episode 'proves the necessity of having troopers stationed here' [*The Week*, 7/1/82:4 and *The Queenslander*, 7/1/82:7]

24 January 1882 News item saying the Colonial Secretary had received a telegram from Police Magistrate St George at Cooktown about the discovery of Mrs Watson's remains. Her body was found by Capt Bremner in the schooner *Kate Kearney* at the islands of the Howick Group [*Brisbane Courier*, 24/1/82]

06 April 1882 News item 'Death on a Desert Island' (Mrs Watson), referring to previous stories of her flight from 'the attack of the North Queensland Blacks upon the Lizard Island fishing station'. Said three skeletons had been found on an island with no water, her diary was found, and her remains were buried at Cooktown [*New York Times*, 6/4/82: 7]

29 April 1882 News item from Cooktown, saying 'prior to the punishment of the natives for the supposed murder of Mrs Watson', numbers had been brought into town but very few had been seen since. Also said 'as events proved, the accounts given to the police were altogether untrue' because the evidence of the natives 'cannot be relied upon' [*The Queenslander*, 29/4/82:525]

14 March 1885 Notice of missing friend Augustus Henry Page, a university graduate with 'a roving disposition'; said he 'went with Lieutenant Walters and a party of twenty exploring about five years ago, and that they were nearly all killed by the natives, but no account of such a party having gone at any time can be obtained' [*Queensland Police Gazette*, Vol 22:104]

09 July 1887 Article 'A True Story of Northern Queensland', giving an account of an expedition to the Mitchell River in 1870. Said one white and an unknown number of Blacks were killed before the survivors decided to 'thoroughly arm themselves and follow up the trail of the natives in order to teach them a lesson of retribution' [*Town and Country Journal*, 9/7/87:84]

29 August 1887 Telegram from Police Magistrate Buttenshaw at Cooktown to Colonial Secretary saying 'A supposed white woman brought in by police today from near Normanby. Saw her with Dr Korteum; believe her to be an albino but has brown eyes. Too ill to speak, having been thrown from horse coming down; cannot speak English' [COL/A513/87/6739]

03 September 1887 News item 'A White Woman Amongst the Blacks' gave an account of the capture of a 'white woman' by the Normanby police and her conveyance

to Cooktown hospital where she died from injuries received during the ordeal; the Blacks tried to stop the troopers taking her and were fired on. Doctor Korteum said she was an albino not white [*The Queenslander*, 3/9/87:380]

23 November 1887 News item 'The White Woman in the Bush' (from the *Mackay Mercury*), saying the white woman who was 'captured by the police' at a Blacks' camp had died; said she, and 'her deceased brother', were thought to be Scandinavian [*New York Times*, 23/11/87:7]

18 February 1888 Article 'Attacked by Wild Blacks' giving an account of an attack at the Palmer River. Said Sub Inspector White 'got five of them' [*Queensland Figaro*, 18/2/88:268 and 271]

09 June 1888 Article 'A Scrap of Aboriginal History' giving an account of the killing of three white men 'near the headwaters of the Normanby River'. It took place 'seventeen or eighteen years ago' [*The Queenslander*, 9/6/88:901]

Unknown 1888 Book *Among Cannibals* by Carl Lumholtz, mentioning the death of a settler near Cardwell 'a few years ago'. Said his name was O'Connor, claimed he was very kind to the Blacks but he and his wife were killed. Probably referring to William and Elizabeth Conn, who were killed in 1875 [*Among Cannibals*, 284-285]

16 April 1889 Report (false) of death of Senior Constable Alfred Wavell [*Queensland Police Gazette*, Vol 26:263]

11 June 1889 Telegram from Inspector Frederick Murray at Cooktown to the Commissioner saying 'Sub Inspector Urquhart wires from Mein that he had dispersed five mobs of Blacks and had got some of the murderers of Mrs Watson and got slightly speared in the leg; was going out again' [A/47932/89/6816]

00 November 1889 Correspondence from Thursday Island in relation to the alleged murder of Reverend Savage, of the London Missionary Society, at Kewai Island. Report was apparently incorrect [COL/A597/89/10010]

17 May 1890 Article 'Forgotten History': 'An Atrocity Story' by 'D', giving account of a reprisal after the deaths of three settlers 'in the Far North of Australia' [*The Bulletin*, 17/5/90:8]

17 January 1891 Letter 'Aboriginal Slaughter at Thornborough' by 'A Fourteen Years Resident' at Thornborough referred to *The Queenslander* article on 'the above'. Said that the 'outrage' took place on the Mitchell River, fifty miles from town and 'there was no slaughter of aboriginals at Thornborough' [*The Queenslander*, 17/1/91:106 and 138]

07 February 1891 Article 'A North Queensland Tragedy', giving account of a revenge attack on Blacks by a man named 'N' after the death of a woman and child [*Boomerang*, 7/2/91:7]

01 June 1891 Article 'The Spear and the Rifle', describing an attempted attack by North Queensland Blacks on a white woman and her daughters, that was foiled by an 'unexpected avenger' who shot three Blacks [*Queensland Punch*, 1/6/91:79]

07 July 1894 Article 'Pioneering in Moreton Bay' by 'the late' Mr F Campbell, giving account of 'earliest outrage on Stradbroke' when an old Aboriginal man was killed; his tribe waited and killed two messengers on the beach. Said the soldiers marched to Moongalba near Dunwich and a day long battle took place 'but no one was killed' [*The Queenslander*, 7/7/94:22-23]

14 July 1894 Article 'Pioneering in Moreton Bay' by JJ Knight, mentioning the killing (as 'told to him by a convict in 1835') of 'about twenty Blacks' at Moreton Island after a soldier was killed in revenge for the killing of a 'king'. Said a military detachment was sent to Point Lookout with orders to 'shoot every black that could be met with'. Three whites were killed, and Knight said 'It's all rot to say that the Blacks were treacherous. It was the other way about' [*The Queenslander*, 14/7/94:75]

04 August 1899 Article about 'wholesale slaughter of Aborigines' at Goulbolba Hill near Emerald; writer said event took place in 1866 while Wheeler was in the area and claimed 'about 300 of the natives were shot down or drowned' [*Rockhampton Morning Bulletin*, 4/8/99]

16 July 1924 Article by Mrs Millicent Alexander, wife of Allan Alexander who owned Milgarra station on the Flinders; gave account of massacre of Kalkadoon tribe by Native Police; said 'Shooting commenced indiscriminately for no apparent reason. The officer in command was said to have been suffering from the DT's at the time. After creating terrible havoc he rode off as suddenly as he came. The Inspector faded out of the landscape – also the service – for all time. Still out folk think he saved them a lot of trouble, although he gave them a dreadful task in burying the Blacks. The wild dogs uprooted them over and over again' [*The Grazier's Review*, 16/7/24:382-3]

15 January 1931 Article 'An Historic Locality' (in Caravan Tales series), giving an account of a visit to Cullin-la-ringo. With regard to the 'Wills massacre', said most versions had been 'drawn from imagination'. Noted that a punitive expedition ten days after the massacre 'shot down sixty or seventy until all ammunition was expended' and said 'both killings were intensely tragic'. Includes photos of graves and 'the hill down which the attackers are said to have come' [*The Queenslander*, 15/1/31:4 and pictorial]

Appendix 5: Native Police Regulations as published in Government Gazette (10 March 1866)

Rule 1 was not included.

2. It is impossible to give precise directions for the execution of every duty which the force may be required to perform, or to anticipate every difficulty which its members may have to encounter, as, from the nature of the service, its duties must vary, and consequently the mode of execution must vary with them, and be directed by the circumstances of each particular case. Each member of the force should therefore endeavor to become acquainted with the nature of every duty which he may be called on to perform, and by zeal, energy, discretion, and intelligence, make every effort to supply the unavoidable deficiency in general instructions.

3. The officers will, however, be held strictly responsible for the execution and observance of all orders and regulations; for any deviation from which, and for their own acts and orders in such cases as may not or cannot be provided for by these instructions, they will be held responsible.

4. In the performance of their duty they are distinctly to understand that their efforts should be principally directed to the *prevention* of crime, which will tend far more effectively towards the security of person and property than the *punishment* of those who have violated the laws; and the very best evidence that can be given of their efficiency will be the *absence of crime* in their districts.

5. All officers are studiously to observe a strict neutrality in political matters.

6. Every officer of the Native Mounted Police Force should bear constantly in mind how essential it is to cultivate a proper regard for the honor and respectability of the force, and should be governed by the principle that the more they can raise those above or below them in public estimation, the more they elevate their own official position, and with it the general character of the force.

7. All commands devolve on the senior officer present. As the responsibility attaching to a superior may at any time devolve on the next in rank, it is essential that the members of each grade be acquainted with the duties that circumstances *may* call on them to discharge, in order to guard against injury to the public service.

8. Every subordinate is to receive the lawful commands of his superior with deference and respect, and to execute them to the best of his power; and every superior, in his turn, is to give his orders in the language of moderation and of regard to the feelings of those under his command.

9. The obedience and respect which are here required must be observed throughout the force generally, and not be understood in any partial or confined sense.

10. The conditions of admission into the force are stated here that no reason for complaint may exist upon their being enforced. It is to be understood at the same time that the power is reserved to the Commissioner, subject to the approbation of His Excellency the Governor in Council, to alter or amend any of these conditions, and also to make such new rules as may be found expedient: -

- (1) Every officer must devote his whole time to the service.
- (2) He shall serve and reside wherever he is ordered.
- (3) He shall promptly obey all lawful orders which he may receive from the persons placed in authority over him.
- (4) He shall conform himself to all the regulations which may be made from time to time for the good of the service.
- (5) Three months' notice of his intention to resign his appointment must be given to the Commissioner; and he shall, on no account, absent himself from his station, unless specially permitted by writing under the hand of his immediate commanding officer.
- (6) Any officer who shall be dismissed cannot again be admitted into the Police Force, nor any other branch of the Government service.
- (7) Every officer shall, before leaving the service, deliver up all Government property that may be in his charge; and any such property that may have been lost or damaged by the neglect of the officer in whose charge it was, will be made good by deduction from his pay.

11. The officers are not to allow any person unconnected with the Native Police Force to interfere with or accompany them, or give orders to any of the troopers under their command.

12. They must be very careful of the health of their men; not to allow them to wear their jackets in hot weather; not to allow them to put on their newly-washed clothes before they are dry; nor to camp in low spots conducive to fever and ague; nor to camp upon ground wet from rain, but cause them to strip bark to put under them.

13. The arms, clothes, and accoutrements must be inspected as often as possible. No excuse will ever be admitted for dirty arms or accoutrements, as with a very little trouble they are easily kept clean.

14. Whenever an opportunity occurs, such as a day or two's rest, or a short stage, the officers are to practice the troopers in the usual drill and no other.

15. Before leaving the police station, the officer in command will see that such clothing as may not be wanted on patrol is carefully put away.

16. A daily account of all rations received and issued will be kept in a book supplied for the purpose.

17. The object in sending out patrol parties is principally that the hostile blacks, from the frequent visits of the police, may be deterred from murder and felony - this is the meaning of a preventive force.

18. It is however certain that, occasionally, the officers will have to endeavor to apprehend persons who have committed felony. When the officer holds a warrant his duty is very clear if he can identify the individual named therein, or has reasonable grounds to believe he can do so; and if he meets with resistance in the execution of such warrant, he is justified in making use of force against the man he wishes to apprehend, and any person assisting him. When he holds no warrant, if he can prove that a felony has been committed, and that he has reasonable cause to suspect an individual, he is justified in apprehending him, and using force if resisted. With white persons it is not difficult to prove all this, but blacks are so much alike, and the evidence is generally so faulty, that officers must be very cautious. It has been frequently found that the statements made by individuals differed very widely from the affidavits when made on oath by the same persons. When an officer sees a felony or an assault being committed, as a matter of course, he is obliged to take all offenders in charge. In every case the same law applies to blacks as to whites, and if the officers go beyond the law they do so at their own risk. The blacks cannot be considered as men armed for illegal purposes, because their weapons are their principal means of obtaining food.

19. The officers must be very particular in always avoiding indiscreet discussions.

20. Upon returning from patrol, officers in charge of parties will report to the officer in command of the district everything concerning any collision that may have taken place, and given him full information, in order that he may collect any necessary evidence.

21. When a trooper is transferred, a return is to be sent with him, signed by the officer who sends him, of the arms, accoutrements, clothing, etc sent with him; this return is to be countersigned by the officer to whom the trooper is sent, and by him forwarded to the Inspector of the district.

22. Officers in charge of districts and detachments will be careful that under no circumstances are blacks, not being troopers, to be allowed in the police camp; and they will 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; they will also be held responsible that no trooper keeps a gin without permission from head-quarters.

23. Every officer will keep a journal of all incidents happening in the course of public duty, whether during patrol or in camp, and of any circumstances that may have occurred within his district, in which he may have acted in his official capacity. He will also keep a diary of the duty performed on patrol, stating time of arrival at and departure from each station he may visit, to which, when possible, he will obtain the signature of the proprietor or person in charge.

24. He will be particular in collecting and forwarding, at the close of each month or quarter, all accounts against his own, or any outstanding accounts belonging to any other detachment that may have passed through his district; the accounts must be made out on proper vouchers, and officers must be very careful that all the necessary signatures are attached thereto.

25. He will be held responsible for the general duty of his detachment, and the proper fulfilment of the separate duties of the subordinate officers under his command.

26. He will be careful to instruct his acting Sub-Inspectors as to the duties they will be required to perform, which are principally as follows:-

- (1) To take charge of the stores, and serve out rations to the troopers night and morning, and keep a strict account of all stores and rations issued to the detachment, to be laid before the officer in charge at any time he may wish to inspect the same.
- (2) To drill the troopers every day they are in camp, until they are perfect in their exercise, mounted or on foot.
- (3) And perform any camp duties which may be considered necessary by the officer in command.

27. Officers and troopers will at all times wear correct uniform when on parade, patrol, or other duty; and in this respect it is particularly necessary that the officers should be careful in showing a proper example; as through cleanliness in person, clothing and accoutrements must be rendered compulsory on the part of the troopers, every inducement should be held out to them to assume a smart and soldierlike appearance.

28. In no case are any of the native troopers to be allowed to take spirits from any one, except their officer or medical man in case of sickness.

29. No cartridges are to be expended by the troopers without the orders of their officers.

30. The whole of the horses are to be mustered regularly every morning by the troopers in turn, and a note to be made in the officer's journal of any horses absent; their backs must be carefully attended to, and should always be washed upon the troopers dismounting, and well rubbed down before saddling; the saddles should be examined frequently by the officer in charge, and the saddle cloths and girths kept clean.

31. It is the duty of the officers, at all times and opportunities, to disperse any large assembly of blacks without unnecessary violence; such meetings frequently lead to depredations and murder, and mistaken kindness or misbehavior of the officers in command only inspire the blacks with sufficient confidence to commit outrages. 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, that retributive justice will 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 Commissioner without delay.

32. Officers in charge of districts and detachments will make themselves, as soon as possible, acquainted with the general features of the country in their respective districts and vicinities, so as to enable them to take advantage of any information they may receive as to the route or hiding-places of any aborigines whom it may be necessary to apprehend, and to enable them to patrol their districts without keeping on the beaten tracts.

33. They will be careful to see the men's arms and ammunition placed where they can lay their hands on them at night for attack or defence.

34. The greatest care is to be observed in the preservation of the men's arms and ammunition; and as much injury is done to the locks of the carbines by taking them to pieces, it is directed that this shall be done as seldom as possible, and always under the superintendence of an officer.

35. The men shall be fully armed on all duties when mounted.

36. The men at out stations, when in quarters, will, invariably, parade on Sundays in full dress.

37. A compliance with this order will be entered in the monthly return of duties.

38. When in quarters, there will be a daily parade of horses; and officers will take advantage of those men who have been drilled to instruct their detachments in riding, as well as in the carbine, pistol, and sword exercises, on foot and on horseback.

39. The Native Mounted Police will at all times afford the magistrates and constables a ready assistance in the execution of their duty; but it is to be distinctly understood that, except in cases of special necessity, they are not to be employed in performing any of the duties of ordinary constables.

40. When escorts or orderlies are furnished by the Native Mounted Police, they will always, when practicable, be relieved at the nearest stations.

41. Whenever men die or become non-effective, the officer in charge of the station will immediately take charge of the spare horses, arms, and appointments, and preserve them in the best order.

42. Officers commanding stations will inspect all return patrols, and immediately report any irregularity they may observe in men or horses arriving at their posts.

43. The men of the Native Mounted Police are forbidden to appear in the streets unless dressed strictly according to order, and at all times they are expected to be smart and clean.

44. When not interfering with duty, each officer is permitted to employ a trooper as groom, but it is to be understood that he is always armed, appointed, and ready for any service that may be required. He is not on any account to be dressed in livery, or to be employed in any way unconnected with the officer's duties.

45. Every trooper shall have two horses, suited to his weight, told off to him, for which he will be held responsible in all respects. The trooper is not to be deprived of his horses, except for misconduct; nor are they to be changed, except on urgent necessity, without previous reference to head-quarters.

46. Officers in charge of detachments will be held responsible that the saddles are kept in good repair, and fit the horses so as not to injure their backs.

47. Upon the exertion and example of the officers mainly depends the efficiency of the force; their duties are never ending; their presence is required everywhere, and it is solely by their intelligence, unceasing vigilance, and watchful superintendence of the men, that the protection, which is the main object of the force, can be afforded. This can in no way be more effectually carried out than by the constant personal supervision of their different stations on the part of the Inspectors in command of districts, and more than ordinary care in visiting and patrolling the haunts of the aborigines in command of detachments.

48. When any trooper has been incapable of duty for a considerable time from sickness, a special report must be made, in order to his being brought to head-quarters for medical treatment, or removed from the force.

49. The particular attention of officers is directed to the different returns required to be furnished to head-quarters. If those returns are not carefully prepared, it is impossible to arrive at a correct knowledge of the state of the force, as well as of the stores, ammunition, equipments, and supplies required.

50. All returns and reports are to be made as full as possible, so as to afford every information.

51. In the monthly return of duties performed, the number of men on duty each day, the place visited, the number of miles travelled, as well as the nature of the duty on which employed, whose order, and any occurrence of an extraordinary nature, are to be entered.

52. The expenses of the corps must be kept within the narrowest limits consistent with efficiency. No expense, except of the most trivial nature, or under circumstances of emergency to justify it, is to be incurred without previous application to and authority from head-quarters; and in making requisitions the probable amount is to be stated, as well as the work required to be performed.

53. It is expected that the fences of the paddocks as well as the barracks, will, in a great measure, be kept in order by the men themselves.

54. On the first of each month every officer in command of a detachment will send to head-quarters a copy of the *diary kept by himself*, according to form, stating where he has been each day during the preceding month, the duties performed, occurrences, and any steps taken in consequence, detailing what stations he has visited during the month, the state of each, the condition of the horses, and if any of them are lame or otherwise inefficient, the state of the arms, ammunition, appointments, clothing, and necessaries, the general conduct and discipline of the troopers, and if they appear to have been attentive to their duties and careful of their horses.

55. Officers in charge of detachments are not to hand over their detachments without written authority.

56. Officers, except on duty, will not quit their districts without leave of absence, obtained in writing.

57. Applications for leave of absence are to be made in time to allow an answer to be returned before the leave requested shall commence.

58. The Government horses are to be kept strictly for the use of troopers.

59. When horses are taken to the forge, an officer is always to accompany them.

60. All saddlery repairs must be inspected, in order to ascertain that the charge is fair and reasonable.

61. The following returns will be sent to the officers in command of divisions, immediately after the first of the month, or quarterly:-

- (1) Return of horses, half-yearly.
- (2) Return of rations issued, monthly.
- (3) Officer's diary, monthly.
- (4) Return of arms, stores, etc, quarterly.

62. And whereas it is essential to the good government and discipline of the Native Police Force to prevent and punish certain offences, and that the following rules should be in force for that purposes aforesaid:-

- (1) Any person who shall by any means wilfully induce, or attempt to induce any trooper of the Native Police Force to desert from the service, or shall knowingly harbor, aid, or assist any trooper of the Native Police Force who shall desert, or attempt to desert from the service, or who shall by any means wilfully interfere with, or obstruct the discipline of the Native Police Force, shall be liable to pay a penalty not exceeding 20 Pounds, and in default of payment to be imprisoned with or without hard labor for any period not

exceeding three calendar months, or at the discretion of the justices before whom any such complaint shall be heard, to be imprisoned without fine for any such period as aforesaid.

- (2) It shall be lawful for any two or more Justices of the Peace to hear and determine in a summary way any complaint under the preceding section.

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