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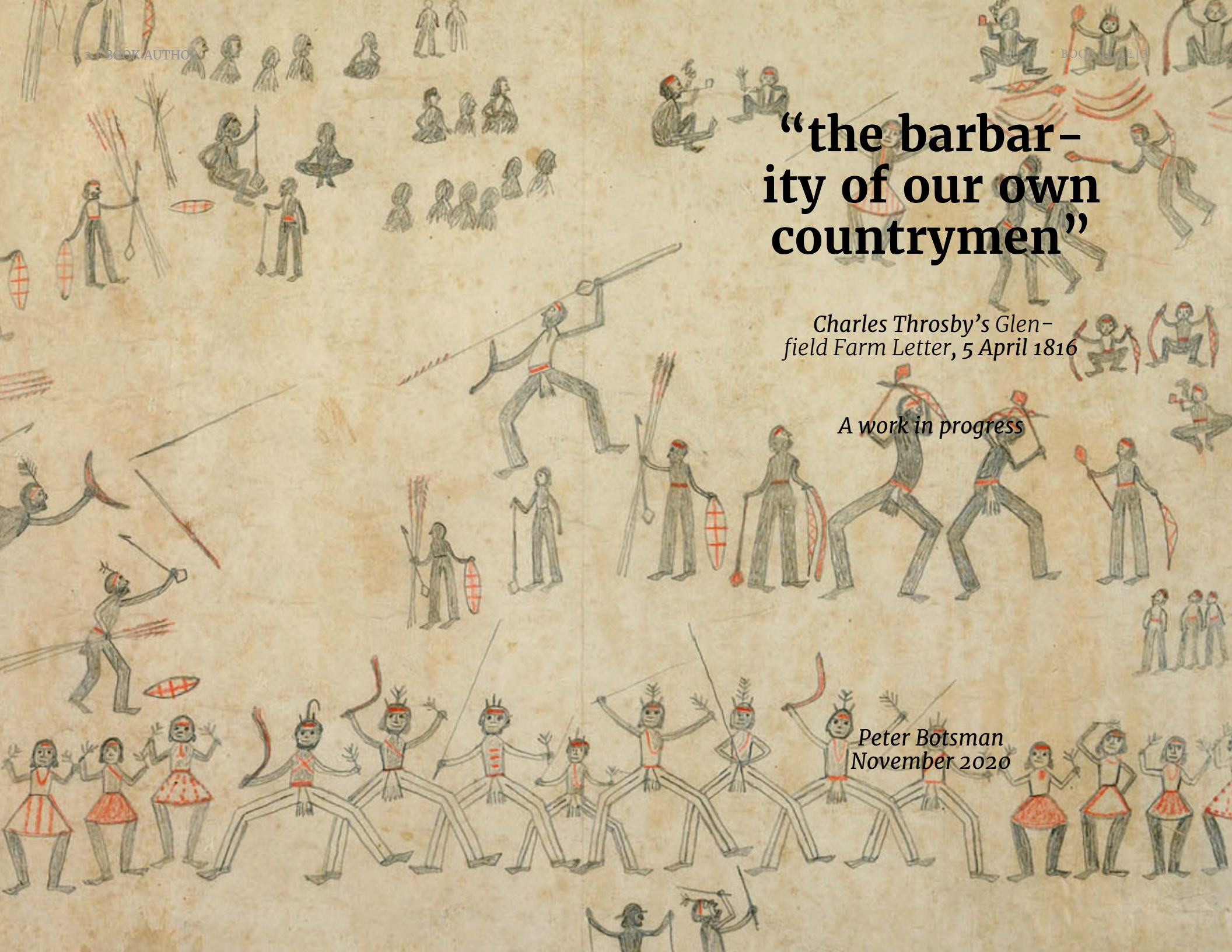


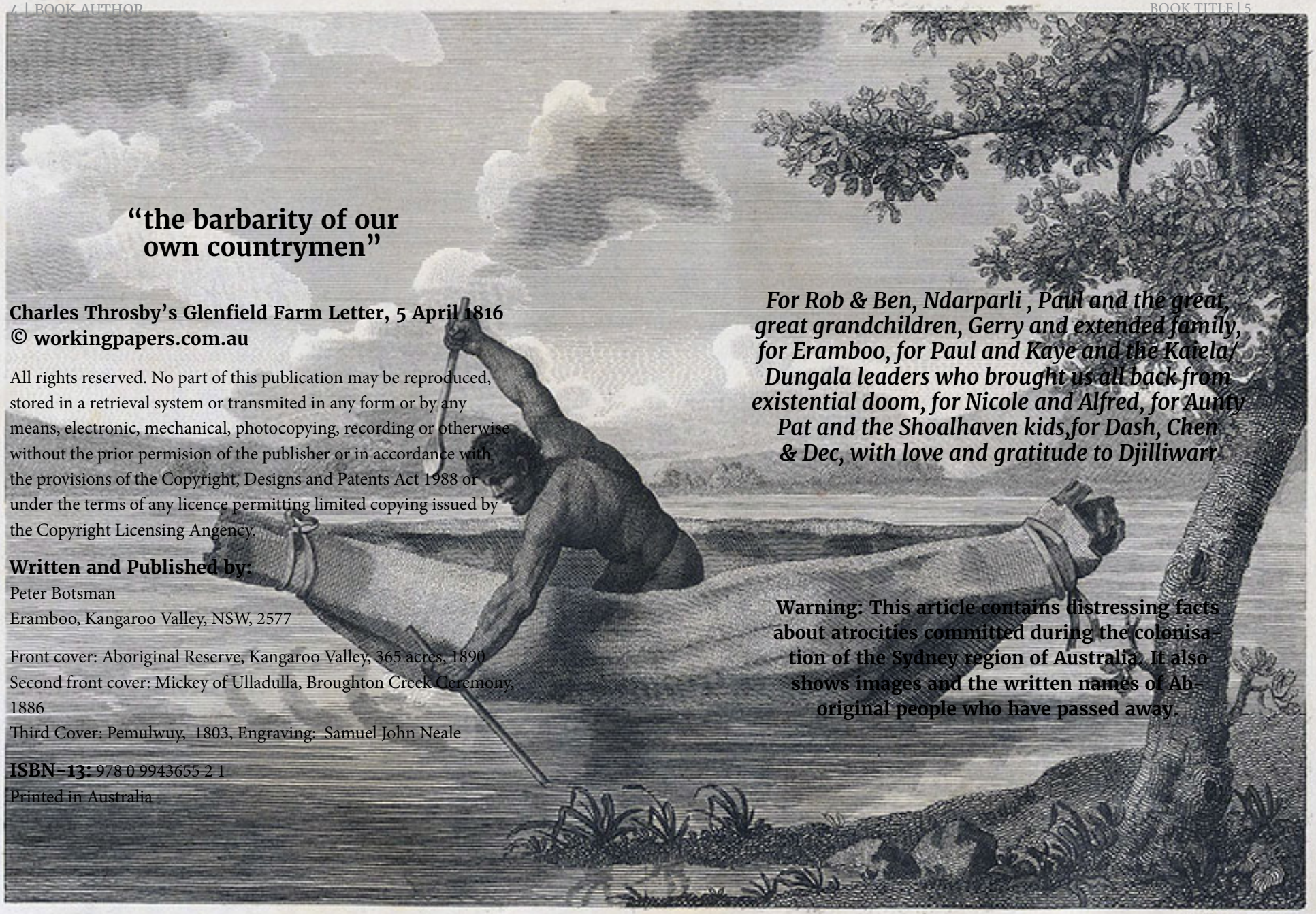
“the barbar-ity of our own countrymen”

Charles Throsby’s Glen-field Farm Letter, 5 April 1816

A work in progress

Peter Botsman

November 2020



"the barbarity of our own countrymen"

Charles Throsby's Glenfield Farm Letter, 5 April 1816

Written and Published by:
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Front cover: Aboriginal Reserve, Kangaroo Valley, 365 acres, 1890
Second front cover: Mickey of Ulladulla, Broughton Creek Ceremony, 1886
Third Cover: Pemulwuy, 1803, Engraving: Samuel John Neale

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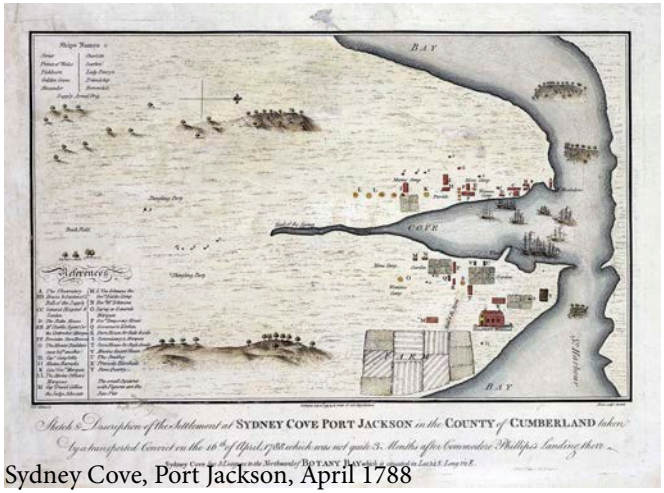
For Rob & Ben, Ndarparli , Paul and the great, great grandchildren, Gerry and extended family, for Eramboo, for Paul and Kaye and the Kaiela/ Dungala leaders who brought us all back from existential doom, for Nicole and Alfred, for Aunty Pat and the Shoalhaven kids,for Dash, Chen & Dec, with love and gratitude to Djilliwarr.

Warning: This article contains distressing facts about atrocities committed during the colonisation of the Sydney region of Australia. It also shows images and the written names of Aboriginal people who have passed away.



Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, April 1788

Europeans came to see the world as a single space to be controlled and conquered.
Paul Hirst, ***Space and Power, Politics, War and Architecture***, Polity Press, 2005, p. 53

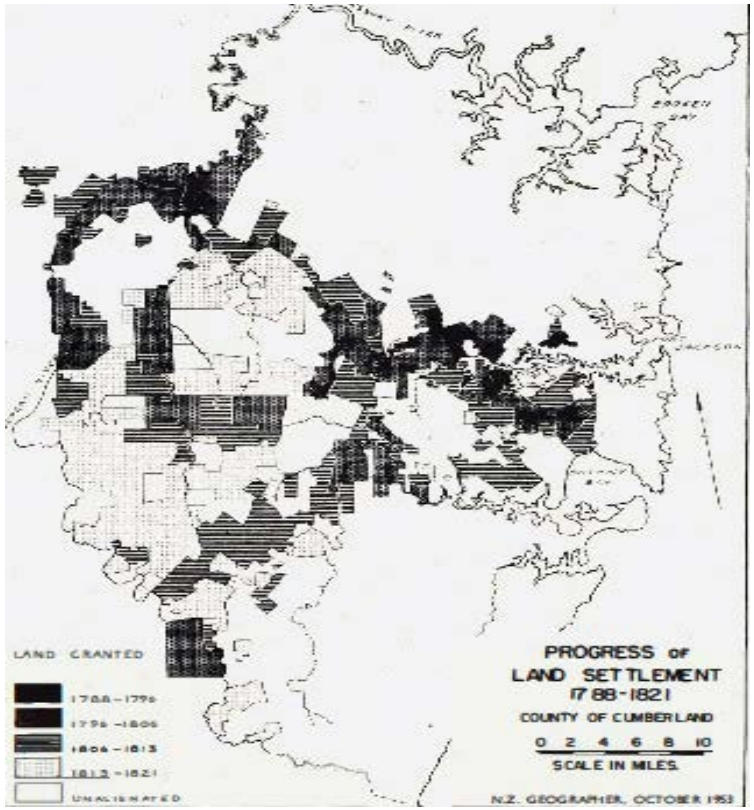
The hidden and awful wisdom which apportions the destinies of mankind is pleased so to humiliate and cast down the tender, good, and wise; and to set up the selfish, the foolish, or the wicked. Oh, be humble, my brother, in your prosperity! Be gentle with those who are less lucky, if not more deserving. Think, what right have you to be scornful, whose virtue is a deficiency of temptation, whose success may be a chance, whose rank may be an ancestor's accident, whose prosperity is very likely a satire.
William Makepeace Thackeray, **Vanity Fair**, *Chapter LVII Eothen, p. 1149, June 28, 1848*

The rumour ran through London Town and all over the British Isles that the adventurous, the needy, the failures and the misfits could start afresh in New South Wales or Van Diemens Land."
Manning Clark, "Darkness", ***A History of Australia II,*** University of Melbourne Press, 1968, p. 15

I might as well attempt to teach the birds of the air not to fly as to restrain their wanderings."
Alexander Berry, **Recollections of the Aborigines**, *1838*

What they wanted was land, and they took it."
Inga Clendinnen, ***Dancing with Strangers***, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2003, p. 286

Intelligent people contort their thinking to construct sophist arguments to reassure Australia that it has an innocent, even heroic, history".
Bruce Pascoe, "Sea Wolves", ***Salt***, Black Inc, Melbourne, 2019, p. 107



Sydney Land Development 1788-1821

If we don't confront the possibility of evil as well as good in creation we are left with a moral and aesthetic void – a great hole where a drama should be.."
Don Watson, **Caledonia Australis: Scottish highlanders on the frontier of Australia**, 1997, p. xxvii

Historians have not taken seriously the Aboriginal resistance to the white colonial takeover of their lands". Stephen Gapps, **The Sydney Wars, Conflict in the Early Colony 1788-1817**, Newsouth, 2018, p. 4

The *histories* of places are recoverable.."
Grace Karskens, The Colony A History of Early Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2010 p., 545

I

Reconciliation and apology are easy for the powerful if there is no inquiry into how power was acquired. It is not meaningful or consequential. This nation we call Australia will never be much more than a second-rate colonial experiment unless we understand in specific terms how the original appropriation of lands and seas and the subjugation of the original cultures came about. I agree with Bruce Pascoe: “Justice holds up the scales of judgement and wears a blindfold so that no partiality is allowed. In Australia we prefer our children to dispense with the scales of justice and make do with the blindfold. The rest of the world can see the donkey ears above our blinkers: it is only here we believe they are invisible”. (Pascoe: p. 82)

Kangaroo Valley, climbing for opossums, c.1840s, Robert Marsh Westmacott, National Library of Australia

II

Going through sources of Kangaroo Valley's early history at the Mitchell Library I found "the Glenfield Farm letter" written by Dr. Charles Throsby (1777-1828). (Throsby 1816) It was in his own hand, addressed to D'Arcy Wentworth (1762-1827). Like many wonders of the Mitchell, it had been referenced, featured, and preserved by a thoughtful archivist for posterity and reflection.

One of the confounding joys of the Mitchell is to *place* a document like this. It takes a long time. Who was the writer? Throsby is well known as one of the first European settlers. Who was he writing to? Wentworth too, was a well-known figure: but why this correspondence? Parts of the letter were barely legible and maybe that was how it got its hooks into me. I was stopped in my tracks when I came to Throsby's stark description of an atrocity committed against an Aboriginal woman and three children and his appeal to recognise "the barbarity of our countrymen" as the basis for hostilities with Aboriginal people. The letter remained copied, but unstudied and unresearched on my desk for many months, flowing into years. I had heard rumours and stories of massacres around the NSW South Coast and of Aboriginal people being forced off cliffs to their deaths. Each time I thought about such matters I thought of Throsby's letter. It is a truth of the trade of history that there are always others who come before you. We take part in a broad dialogue and discussion that changes and flows when documents are carefully catalogued by archivists and are brought to our attention by the scholarly tide. Sometimes you double back and find writers that have answered many questions. Carol Liston, for example, wrote an important unher-

alded article on the Dharawal and Gandangarra people in the Campbelltown area in 1988.(Liston 1988) After I found the original letter, I noticed that Michael Organ had also transcribed it in his pioneering compilation (Organ 1993a)and he had documented Governor Macquarie's War on Aborigines of 1816.(Organ 2014) I soon discovered that the letter was written in the middle of the most important, relatively well documented but little understood, conflicts over the lands which I, and so many Sydney-siders, call our own.

Lyndal Ryan and her colleagues at the University of Newcastle's Centre for 21st Century Studies documented the Appin massacre of 1816.(Ryan) Grace Karskens stitched together even more of the available written sources about the Cumberland Plains War in **The Colony** (Karskens) and her research for **The Dictionary of Sydney** provided more information on the events around the Appin Massacre. (Karskens 2015)

There was a moving exhibition about the Appin massacre at Campbelltown Art Gallery.(Garneau 2016) and the process of repatriating the Aboriginal remains including those of Cannabayagal and Durelle murdered at Appin had begun and been documented. (Pickering) Then came Stephen Gapps important work *The Sydney Wars* published in 2018 *(Gapps)* which, amongst other things, documents the military orientation of our first colony.

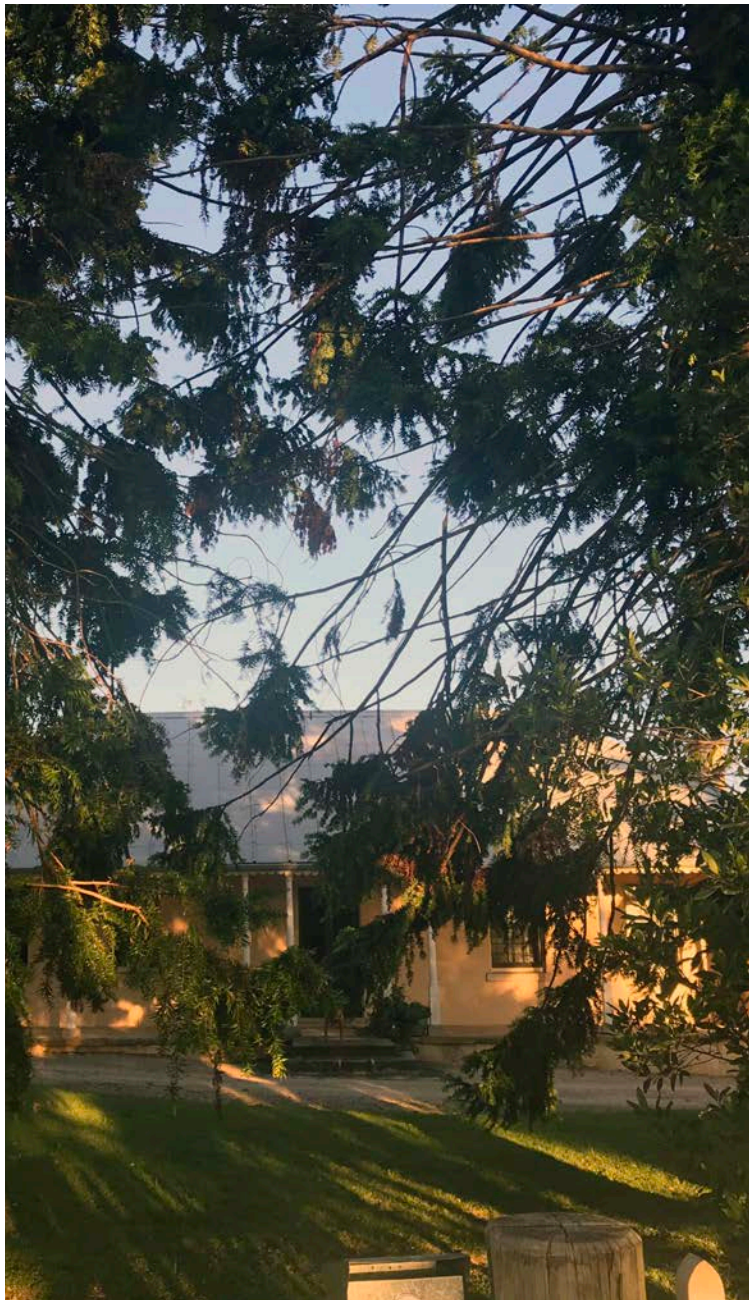
Michael Bennett's study of Aboriginal economic responses to colonisation in the Illawarra and Shoalhaven was a comprehensive study of life on the Coolangatta estate from 1770-1900.(Bennett 2003) Heather Goodall's seminal *Invasion to Embassy* was never far from my elbow. (Goodall)Bruce Pascoe's *Convincing Ground* came later for me.(Pascoe) This was the well trammelled path of the important researchers that I was led along, after my moment of horrific epiphany in the Mitchell.

The "Glenfield Farm letter" brought all this history and gave me a new perspective on the conflicts as well as cooperation between natives and settlers in the Sydney region. There is a dread at looking at this sorry history. But we need far more scholarship to illuminate what happened and what it means. In all of the regions of Australia we need to ask more about the individuals and characters involved in our early and later colonial history. What happened? What were the results of these brutal encounters? Who gained and who didn't in specific terms? We need to ask these questions and find answers to them if we are ever truly going to belong and live well in this land.

When I found "the Glenfield Farm letter" I was trying to understand more about the story of Tho-tho-it/Broughton (1788-1850)[1] and Broger (1800-1830) - the two Aboriginal brothers from Bun-gar-ee, now Berry/Nowra. Their combined story is important. (Campbell 2005) Broger is immortalised by the creek in Kangaroo Valley, near my home, where he killed cedar gatherer John Rivett, after a long history of bad relations between "cedar pirates" and the Aboriginal community. Despite sympathy from the presiding magistrate, Broger was unjustly hung for the crime in Campbelltown in 1830. Tho-tho-it worked as one of Charles Throsby's guides, and then on Alexander Berry's vast land estate, and was one of the Aboriginal people Throsby *protected* in "the Glenfield farm letter" to Wentworth. The different stances of these two brothers to European colonisation is something that truly does epitomise the dilemma for native communities of Sydney and the South Coast – resist and fight or find some way of co-existing with the new comers.

The "Glenfield Farm letter" also gives the dimensions of the larger and historically unresolved conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal settlers from the Macquarie period. It said to me that justice has not been served.

Throsby's letter was commendable for the times, but he too was compromised, as are all who benefited from the historical grants, ongoing purchases, sales and carve ups of Gandangarra, Wodiwodi, Tharawal, Eora, Wandanian, Yuin and Dharuk lands and other lands across the nation. As Don Watson wrote of Gippsland, Victoria: "There were three kinds of squatters on the Australian frontier : those that thought their right to land was qualified by an obligation to treat the Aboriginal inhabitants with kindness, those who believed that their right was conditional only on extermination; and those who combined murder with kindness. .. When the natives resisted, the balance of all three views swung heavily towards murder". (Watson 1997) p. 223



Glenfield, Farm, Farmhouse, 2020

III

Look out the window as the train runs down the Campbelltown line, if you look to the west, midway between Casula and Glenfield, on a hillside in the distance, you can see Dr. Charles Throsby I's original, "Glenfield" farmhouse and buildings.
By car if you turn off the M4 headed south for Casula/ Liverpool you can find the house and buildings just off the old Hume Highway, turn left before the discount petrol station, down Leacocks Lane, past the Speedway and All Saints Catholic College. [2]
As I looked into the house courtyard from the street in early 2020, I found it haunting to imagine Throsby writing "the Glenfield Farm Letter" here on 5 April 1816. Guided by his Aboriginal guides Bundle and Tho It, Throsby had led cattle down the Appin way to the Five Islands in 1815 and so set up the settlement of Wollongong.(Davies) With the Irish rebel, become Surveyor General, James Meehan (Perry) and his Aboriginal guides, Dr. Throsby found a similar passage from the cow pastures Moss Vale area to Jervis Bay in 1818. This expedition also showed the way to Goulburn and re-named *Weereewa* (bad waters), as a monument to the Georgian era, Lake George. In 1819 Dr. Throsby led expeditions to Bathurst through the Aboriginal estates to the south. In all these ventures he depended on a core group of native guides: Bundle, Tho It and Dual. Bitugally, Budbury, Nighingull, Cookoogong, Gogu, Timelong, Munnana and Yetlooming were also part of Throsby's network. These men and their families and many others routinely travelled long distances between Goulburn, the Shoalhaven and Sydney. What was probably a regular

travel routine for his guides made the names of white men like himself, John Oxley, Hamilton Hume, and others eternal. Their names adorn highways, streets, parks, schoolhouses, buildings and suburbs on the highlands and coastal plains from Southern NSW to Port Phillip Bay.
Dr. Throsby and others like Hamilton Hume and John Kennedy advocated for the natives who worked with him. Several of Throsby's guides were targeted to be hunted down, killed, or captured in that fateful year of 1816 and Throsby did his best to protect them. After being condemned, Throsby saved Dual[3], for example, and his guides were rewarded with positions as trackers and constables, brass plates, government rations but nothing like the land grants and government positions that went to European members of his exploratory expeditions. Most important Tho-Tho-It, introduced by Throsby to Alexander Berry, and several other Aboriginal leaders, in their own spheres, created havens for their families with land holders, that enabled them to continue their culture and live in a relative freedom through the tumultuous and perilously dangerous early years of European colonisation.[4] It was never a panacea, nor a guarantee of a future, but it was a way to survive.
Twelve years after he penned "the Glenfield Farm letter", in 1828, Throsby shot himself in the Glenfield farm house, overcome by the shame of a cruel court judgement and the white man's burden: debt.[5] A champion and defender of cooperation with the first peoples in this era was unable to see a way forward. His wife, and nephew, his namesake Charles Throsby II, continued after his death, developing landed estates that would have been the envy of titled peers in England.
It is from Glenfield Farm and Dr. Throsby that the suburb of Glenfield gets its name. Now, the farm buildings, then built on an idyllic hillside by the Georges River, overlook

Hurlestone Agricultural High School, the Sandy Point quarry, a waste station, and the industrial landscape of South West Sydney. Over recent years the open spaces around the creeks have become local walking tracks and trails. The old farm buildings are preserved. But generations of land divisions and sales have carved into the area like knives, the suburbia of South West Sydney surrounds, and the glimmer of television sets flicker in the front windows of a thousand "McMansions" nightly.
The Glenfield farmhouse and buildings, like other buildings that have been preserved in Sydney, Camden, Liverpool, Parramatta, are telling artefacts of colonisation. With a knowledge of Throsby's letter of April 5, 1816, the overwhelming message of Glenfield Farm is that colonisation did not occur without conflict and those conflicts require attention, understanding and meditation.

Joseph Lycett, Wingecarribee, 1824, NGA

Illustrative insight into the mindset of colonial war crimes. Dick, (inset), Burginon and native plants, painted by Captain James Wallis, officer of the 43rd regiment responsible for the Appin massacre. His inscription reads: "Nature in a sportive humour or a contrast between Animal and vegetable Life in New South Wales. The former hideous disgusting and barbarous, the latter graceful modest and gratifying to the senses, the Aborigines of New South Wales are the most perfect savages in existence." and below "Dick killed Burigon one day with one [underlined] blow."

IV

Dramatis Personae I

Dr. Charles Throsby I - surgeon, magistrate, explorer and administrator - came to attention in Sydney's first settlement because a relatively large number of the convicts and settlers under his care as surgeon on the *Coromandel,* arrived alive in 1802. (Parsons) He was quick to take up other appointments as medical officer and magistrate at Castle Hill. Then he was appointed as assistant surgeon at Newcastle and in a short time became commander of that settlement. He retired from that post on the grounds of ill health.[6] In 1808 he was awarded 500 acres at Cabramatta and 500 acres at Minto. He was forced to surrender these lands as part of the Rum Rebellion aftermath in which officers who had taken advantage of their station were disciplined, stripped of benefits and any decisions they had made were rescinded, but Macquarie then granted Throsby 1500 acres at Upper Minto where he created Glenfield Farm naming it after the parish where he was born, near Leicester, England. The "Glenfield Farm Letter" was written to D'Arcy Wentworth in the fateful year of 1816 – just 28 years after the first fleet arrived – when Macquarie declared war on Aboriginal communities in the wider Sydney region.

The lands awarded to Throsby came because of his role as an explorer. After his treks to Bathurst and to Jervis Bay in 1819 Throsby was awarded a further 1000 acres near Moss Vale. This land, *Throsby Park*, was inherited by his nephew Charles Throsby II (1800-1854). Charles Throsby II married Elizabeth Broughton (1807-1891),

a historical figure in her own right, she was one of the survivors of the Boyd massacre in New Zealand in 1809. Their daughter also Elizabeth married Alick Osborne and lived between Throsby Park, Moss Vale, the Barrengarry Estate, Kangaroo Valley and Marshall Mount at Wollongong.

Rachel Roxburg describes Throsby as follows: "A passionate interest in his adopted land, and particularly in its native people, was to absorb him. One of the first to regard Aborigines as human beings, he lived among them and made friends with them." (Roxburgh and Baglin: p. 11) Throsby was a persistent critic of the European treatment of Aborigines. As a magistrate on several occasions Throsby wrote to colonial authorities requesting blankets for Aboriginal communities and intervened in cases where there was clear provocation from settlers. (Organ: (1827) p. 68-9) In September 1824 Throsby was concerned that the peaceful relationship between the Europeans and the Aborigines in Argyleshire, the pastoral district south of Camden, would be destroyed by the conduct of stockmen on the outstations. A sixteen-year-old Aboriginal girl from Lake George had been abducted by the servants of Richard Brooks, assaulted, raped, and brought back to Brooks' Campbelltown estate, Denham Court. Throsby intervened as magistrate and summarily punished the convict servants but could not act against a free man who had similarly mistreated the girl's sister and threatened her friends with a gun when they attempted to rescue her. Throsby arranged for medical examination of the girl, left her in the care of the Cow pasture tribe and went to Lake George to find witnesses. The relations of the two girls had already gathered with spears looking for revenge and Throsby explained that the men would be punished" (Liston: p. 55) On 16 January 1827 Throsby acted as an emissary after an Aboriginal man had been

innocently shot and there were fears of revenge attacks and there are probably more occasions that remain to be uncovered of his mediation of conflicts. (Throsby Papers, AONSW 7/2744)

Throsby and Wentworth could be characters from one of George Makepeace Thackeray's novels. Throsby was the son of John Throsby, parish clerk of St Martin's Church in Leicester and noted local historian. War and the colonies offered the young Charles a chance to break out of the highly stratified world of English land and wealth that his father so carefully documented. John Throsby noted that the local Manors were generally the property of Kings or the fifth rank of Noblemen.[7] Charles joined the navy and, like many "free men" who made their way to Sydney, saw Sydney as a means to create his own manor. Throsby served on *Coromandel* through the war with Revolutionary France from 1797. In 1802 it was dispatched to Sydney with convicts. Governor King recognised that the convicts in Throsby's care arrived in good health. Throsby was an asset in the chaotic early period of Sydney.

D'Arcy Wentworth[8], like Throsby, trained as a naval surgeon. Wentworth was descended from a noble family, but his father had squandered the family fortunes. He was the first paying passenger to arrive in Sydney with the Second Fleet in 1790. The passage to Sydney was organised by his highly influential cousin Earl Fitzwilliam and probably occurred because Wentworth, a gambler, truly a character from Thackeray, had been charged with high-way robbery on three separate occasions. Notwithstanding, Wentworth became one of the major figures of the early colony. He served the first seven Governors of the colony and was one of Macquarie's closest aides. At the time Throsby was writing to him, Wentworth was the Chief of Police, on the management committee of the

Native Institute for the Education of Indigenous Children and was highly influential. D'Arcy's son William C. Wentworth (1790-1872) was one of the first white men to cross Blue Mountains with Blaxland and Lawson. The role of Aboriginal guides in this journey also remains to be documented more carefully. William is referred to in Throsby's letter as fishing with Boodbury one of the natives at the time of the conflicts around Appin.

William Broughton (1768-1821), storekeeper and faithful emissary was granted 1000 acres in 1811 at Appin. Broughton came through the chaotic Rum Rebellion with reputation largely in-tact. The Broughton family had their points of difference with Throsby, but it was probably Throsby who named the famous Wadi Wadi senior man Tho-tho-it, Broughton. Broughton's daughter Elizabeth (1806-1891), one of four survivors of the Maori massacre of the ship **The Boyd** in 1809, married Charles Throsby II (1799-1854), and was a resident of *Throsby Park* at Moss Vale for most of her life. Elizabeth was a woman of great character and a figure of some renown in Wollongong, Kangaroo Valley and Moss Vale.

Like D'Arcy Wentworth, **Andrew Hamilton Hume** (1762-1842) was an Irishman who came to the colony of NSW to escape his infamous past. He had shot his commanding colonel in a duel and was disgraced and cashiered from his regiment. Hume established "Hume Mount" next to Broughton's "Lachlan Vale". Hume married Elizabeth More Kennedy who was appointed to run the Orphan School in Parramatta. The Humes' had humanitarian values transferred to their eldest son **Hamilton Hume** (1797-1828). At the age of 17, in 1814, Hamilton, led and instructed by the Gandagarra warrior and guide, Dual, found his way to Berrima and Bong Bong. The only previous journey had been made by the convict wild man John Wilson. Hume was to become the most

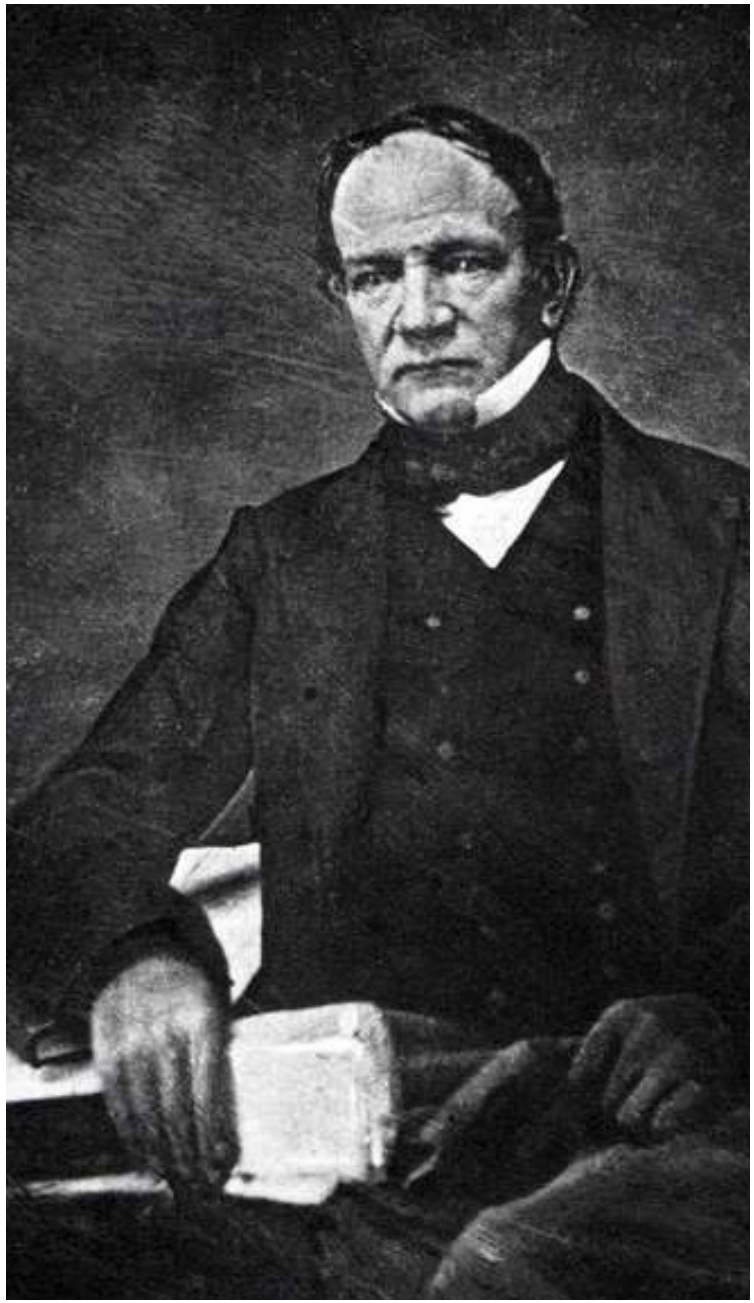
important European explorer of South Eastern Australia opening the original route between Sydney and Port Phillip Bay. Like Throsby, whom he partnered with and sometimes competed with, Hume's success was derived from this good relationships with Aboriginal guides and his ability to negotiate with communities of Indigenous Australians who had little contact with the new settlers. Alexander Berry also played a role in mentoring and supporting Hume.

As history has judged **Captain James Wallis** (1785-1858) thus far, he was an experienced, meritorious soldier doing his duty and following orders in 1816**.** Wallis presided over the Appin massacre in a night raid on a Gundungurra Aboriginal camp near the cliffs of the Cataract River and ordered the subsequent be-heading of the Gundungarra leaders and a woman. Walllis did not hide the fact that at minimum an old man, as well as women and children had also been massacred. His men were alerted to the camp by the cry of a baby. In Wallis' own account fifteen men, women and children were killed. Officers involved in this expedition were granted 15 gallons of rum and half pints of rum were granted to native guides. [M.H. Ellis, p. 356} Following this event Wallis was also rewarded by Macquarie by being appointed Commander of the Newcastle settlement. He won high praise there for his erection of the Church of Christ and other buildings. Recently a collection of his watercolour paintings have emerged. It includes his paintings of Aboriginal scenes including a portrait of the Awakabal brothers Dick and Bunigon. The portrait and his notes give some insight into Wallis' character and mind-set. In his own hand he writes: "Nature in a sportive humour or a contrast between Animal and vegetable Life in New South Wales. The former hideous disgusting and barbarous, the latter graceful modest and gratifying

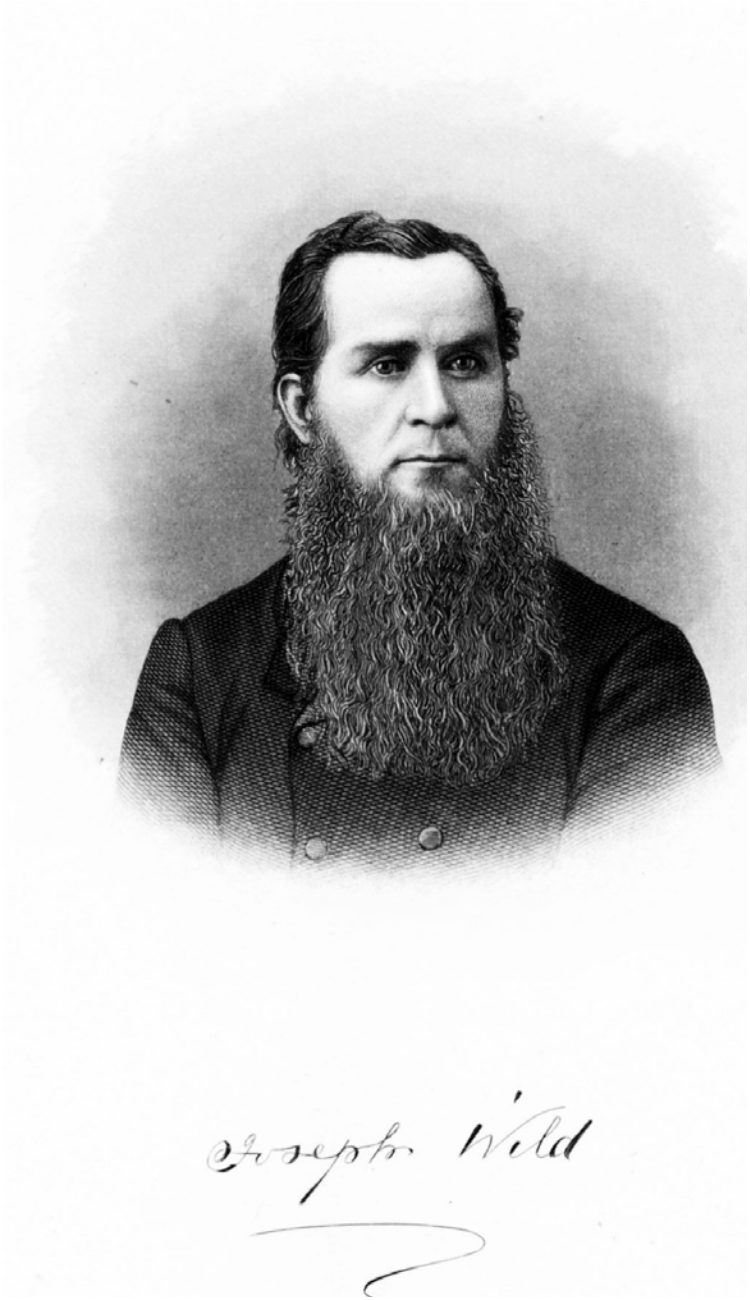
to the senses, the Aborigines of New South Wales are the most perfect savages in existence." He also wrote in his own hand below the painting "Dick killed Bunigon one day with one blow" Wallis' accounts of the settlement of NSW were one of the popular London compilations of the day.(Wallis 1821) Today Captain Wallis would be regarded as a war criminal or a terrorist. Wallis and his troops actions at Appin epitomise the barbarity that Throsby was referring to in his letter to Wentworth. We find Wallis' callous indifference to the lives of natives replicated again and again in subsequent events in Port Phillip, Van Diemens Land, Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory.(Pascoe) The terrorism encouraged by Macquarie would become a norm on the colonial frontier, sometimes practiced in secret and at other times openly public.

Another character that might well have come from a Thackeray novel is **John Oxley (1784-1828)**. Like Throsby and Wentworth, Oxley made his way through the military seeking greater wealth and land that could not be obtained at home in England. Like Wentworth and Throsby Oxley had risen through the ranks of the navy. It was on land granted to Oxley that Throsby refers to events of revenge and retaliation by Aboriginal warriors in the Glenfield Farm letter. Oxley's exploratory journeys north mirrored Throsby's to the south. Oxley was more of a maritime explorer and he assisted George Evans and Hamilton Hume's journey to Jervis Bay by charting the coast as they surveyed the interior.

John Macarthur (1767-1834) the much written about organiser of the Rum Rebellion and founder of the Australian wool industry was also a thoroughly Thackareayan character who started to develop his property interests on half pay as a military officer. His "Camden Park" property was also close to Glenfield Farm. Macarthur's young-

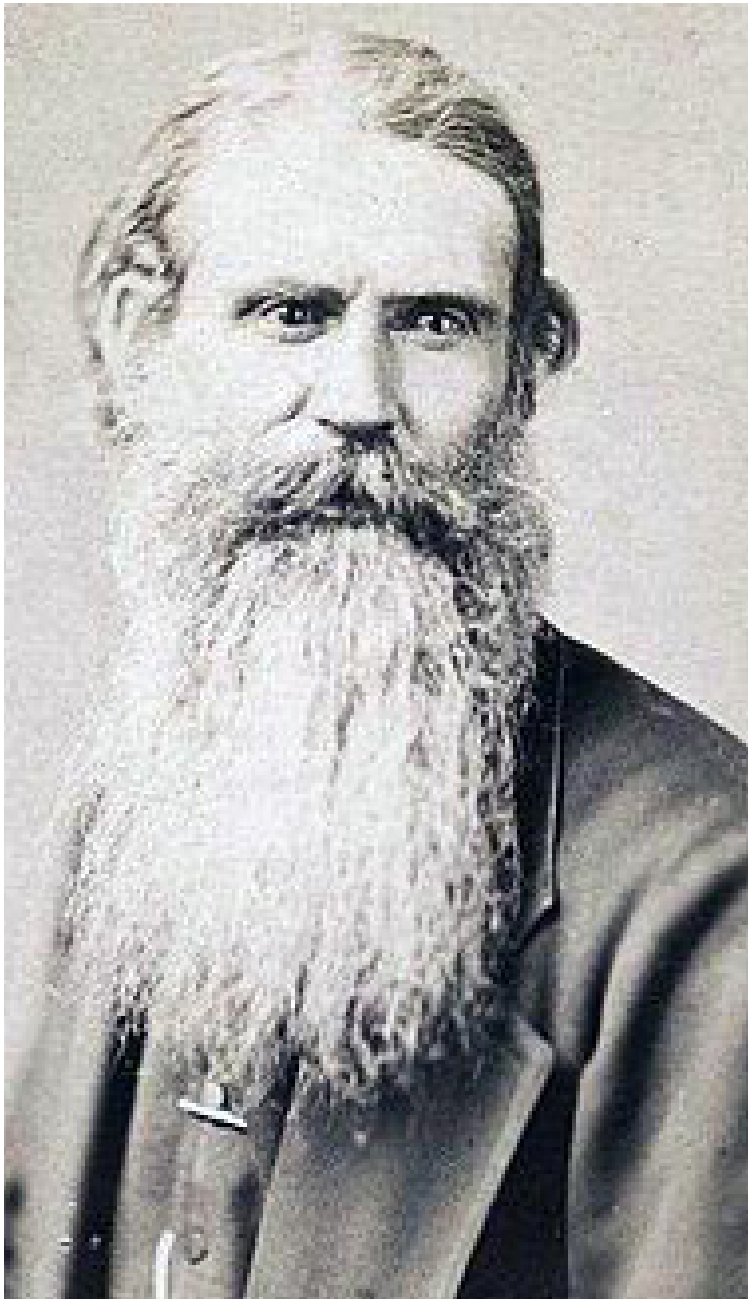


Dr. Charles Throsby I, (1777-1828)



Explorer and convict Joseph Wild, c1870

James Meehan (1774-1826)



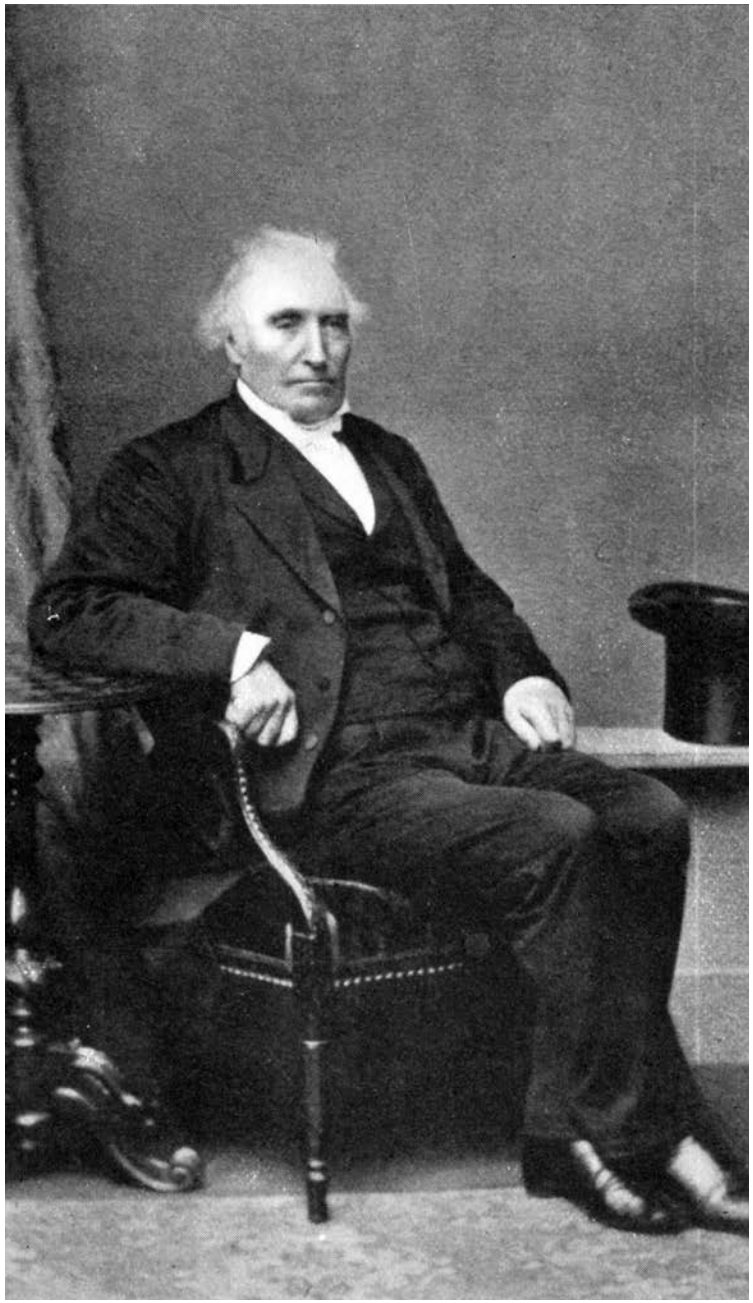
Hamilton Hume (1797-1873)

John Oxley, (1784-1828)

Dr. D'arcy Wentworth, (1762-1827)

Major-General Lachlan Macquarie, (1762-1824)

John Macarthur, (1767-1834), State Library of NSW



Alexander Berry, (1781-1873)

Henry Osborne, (1803-1859)

est son William (1800-1882), later Sir William, accompanied Throsby in at least one exploratory journey into the Southern Highlands and beyond.

Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1762-1824) looms over "the Glenfield Farm letter" and the events of 1816. He is celebrated amongst the early governors for his advocacy of emancipated convicts, his Georgian buildings which still dominate the parliamentary precinct of Sydney and for his vision of a long term British civilisation in NSW. Macquarie was the creator of the Institute for Native Instruction at Parramatta and a man of enlightenment. This institution was a failure but some survivors of the colonial wars found refuge there. This included the infants of those who were killed by soldiers and settlers. The descendants of Colebe trace their ancestry through his sister Maria, who attended the Institute. (Kohen)

However what is often not recognised is that Macquarie was the most aggressive land developer of all of the governors in the early period of colonisation. This created the greatest friction with Aboriginal communities. (Robinson) Macquarie's war on Aborigines in the Sydney region in 1816, like Phillips war on Pemulwuy, became a blueprint for other brutal conflicts against Aboriginal communities in Van Diemens land and other parts of Australia.

Throsby's letter compels us to look at Macquarie with new eyes and it also means that we have to review the history that has already been written. Macquarie's definitive biographer M.H. Ellis and Manning Clark, for another could not see Macquarie through Aboriginal eyes, nor his war, and this clouded their views of Macquarie as a man revered in the colony and unfairly treated by the British Colonial Office. (Clark: pp. 378-80)

"War is the continuation of policy by other means". Macquarie was a military man who ruled by war when other policies failed. He resorted to terrorism to impose

colonial rule and land development. This became the brutal example followed across the colonial frontiers of Australia.

Alexander Berry (1781-1873), 'the squire of Crows Nest and laird of the Shoalhaven' rescued the survivors of **The Boyd** but had his own tribulations when the ship he had chartered sunk 256 kilometres off the Azore Islands while sailing form Lima to Cadiz. The bright spot amongst all Berry's disasters was the colony of NSW where he had made some successful trades between Norfolk Island, Sydney and Tasmania. His biographer wrote that after the calamity "he thought constantly of prospects for settlers in empty Australia. An enterprising man with some capital could take the steps up in a society to the rank of landowner virtually impossible at home and hope to become part of the social, economic and political elite". (Bridges: p. 59)

Berry was the son of a "low-land" tenant farmer, James Berry, who was relatively well connected within the Tory/ Dundas faction that dominated Scotland. Alexander attended St Andrews university and trained at Edinburgh university as a surgeon. After a short stint in the navy, Berry joined the East India company where he supplemented his role as a surgeon importing and exporting goods. Berry formed a partnership with Edward Wollstonecraft (1783-1832) and they were able to use the relatively unsettled and chaotic early period of the colony at New South Wales to their advantage. They arrived without a penny and used debt and the equity that was granted to them in the form of land in Sydney and on the South Coast as the basis to build Sydney's North Shore and the formidable Coolangatta Estate, 88 square miles of the colony's richest lands from Nowra to Kiama, .

Berry succeeded Charles Throsby I in the NSW Legislative Council after Throsby's suicide in 1828. It was from

Crows Nest that Alexander Berry governed the Shoalhaven Estate. His brothers David and John had a more hands on relationship with the development of Coolangatta. The quality of the Coolangatta Estate was that it worked as primarily an enterprise in its own right and secondarily as a leased out farming enterprise though that came later when Alexander Berry's nephew John Hay took over the estate in the 1880s.

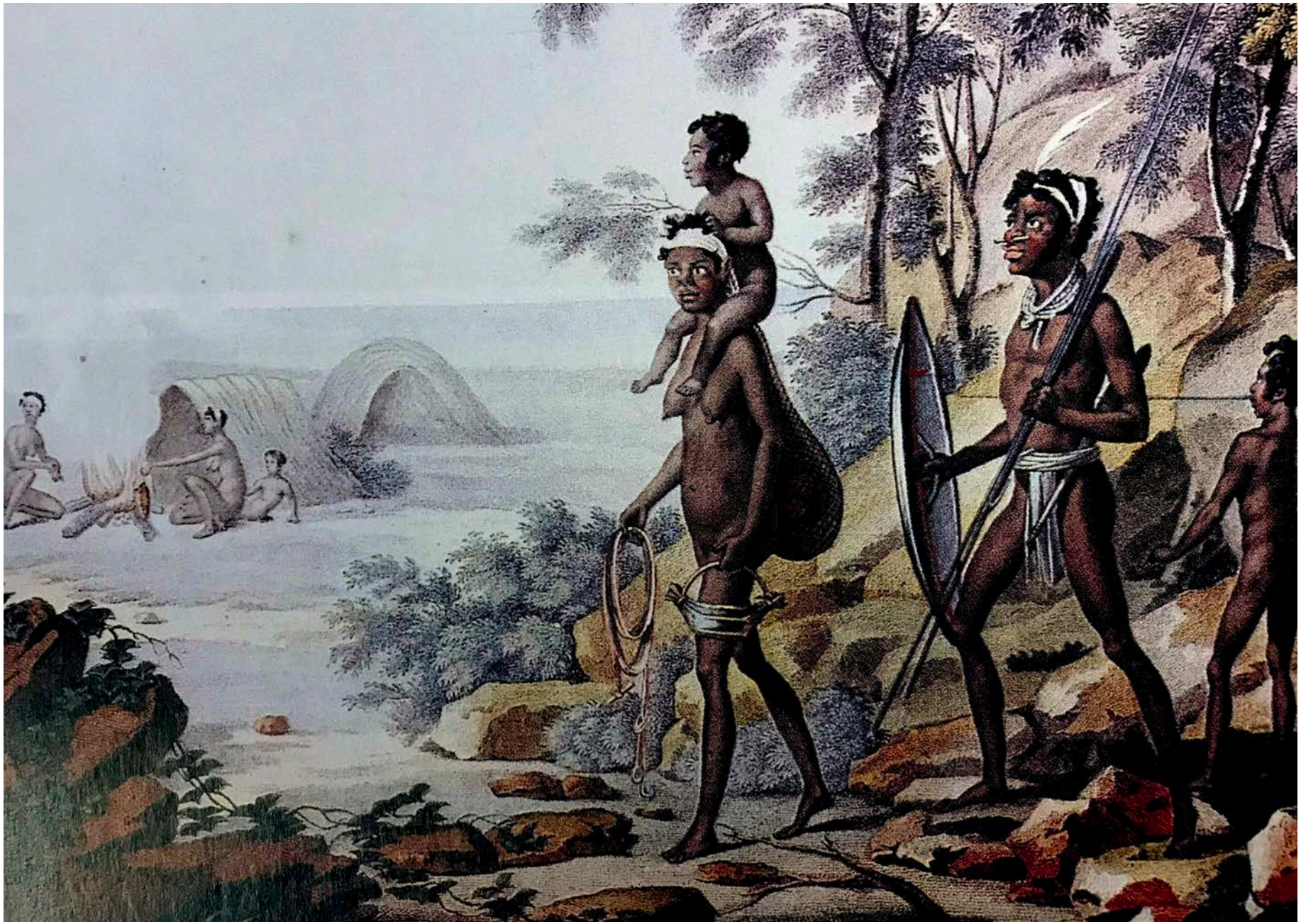
Two other superintendent surgeons on convict ships, **Alick (1793-1856)** and **John Osborne (1791-1850)**, also realised the colony of NSW had great potential as a place where untold landed wealth could be gained. After travelling back and forth on convict ships, and like Berry, they persuaded their younger brother **Henry Osborne (1803-1859)**(Osborne)to sell their family farm at Durranaseer, near Dromore, Northern Ireland. Dromore was not immune from Ireland's sorrows. Several of its houses were burnt in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Osbornes maintained a presence in County Tyrone, but by 1843, 34 Osbornes had emigrated to the Illawarra. Henry Osbourne was from the start an entrepreneur and trader. The successful managers tended to take over the land of the less skilled and knowledgeable. Henry built on his initial grant of 2560 acres with 25 assigned convicts at Dapto. He traded linen profitably on his voyage out and he drove a herd of 800 cattle to a meat impoverished Adelaide and made a very large profit on the sales.

Osborne was to become one of the colony's largest land holders. Like the Scots man Berry, the Irish man Henry Osborne had a hunger for land. Amongst his many holdings Osborne obtained 2560 acres in Kangaroo Valley by grant, and by "dubbing" and "peacocking"(Dutton: p. 82): p. 82), he acquired a further 16,000 acres of the best flat pastoral lands there. (Griffith: pp. 13-16) This became the Barren Garry estate. Osborne's son Alick II (1834-

1895) married Charles Throsby II and Elizabeth Broughton's daughter Isabel. Alick II along with Ben Marshall Osborne (1837-1912) inherited the Barrengarry Estate. The Barrengarry Estate income came from the rent of tenant farmers. Ben was an absentee landlord, Alick and Isabel lived at Barrengarry House from 1870-1890 but they also moved between Henry Osborne's original land grant, Marshall Mount, near Dapto and Throsby House in Moss Vale.

In summary, Throsby and the majority of the actors in our drama were veterans of conflicts on land and on sea, the most brutal wars in history to that time. Many of the officers and surgeons had served and probably willingly came to escape the conflicts. Some of the convicts transported to Australia were former military personnel who had deserted or disobeyed their command. This was the flavour of the people whom Aboriginal communities found themselves confronting in 1788 and beyond.

John Warby (1767?-1851) is a figure that appears in many different contexts in the early European explorations of the region to the south of Sydney. Carol Liston wrote "He was the first European resident of Campbelltown, living there semi-permanently from about 1802. Warby explored the Cowpastures, the Burragorang Valley and Bargo area, establishing a close working relationship with the Dharawal. Knowledge gained from this relationship made Warby the premier European guide for the southern districts until the 1820s." (Liston: p. 50) Warby, like Throsby, Kennedy, Hume and Macarthur, he was a friend of the local Aboriginal people because he almost certainly understood that he needed their expertise and cooperation. In this respect there is a divide between the militaristic rubric of Macquarie and his commanders, and the settlers who enlisted their protection and the more seasoned European settlers and explorers of the region.



April, 1802 Louis-Claude Freycinet, Baudin expedition 1802, Baudin. Voyage autor du monde, Paris, 1825

Pemulwuy, 1803, Engraving: Samuel John Neale

Towaa, Jervis Bay, 1810, Artist: J.W. Lewin

V

Dramatis Personnae II

"No English words .. give a sense of the links between an Aboriginal group and its homelands. ..A different tradition leaves us tongueless and earless towards this other world of meaning and significance'. (Stanner 1979: p. 230)

We know much more about the Europeans than the men and women who defended the Aboriginal estates of Sydney. But we do know the Dharug, Dharawal, Gandangarra, Wodi and Wodi communities were brave, remarkable, adept at confronting military actions and terroristic campaigns and, even at ground zero of the European invasion, they survived with integrity and culture intact. Too often Aboriginal communities are characterised as wiped out by pandemic, or magnificent fighters defeated and killed by an oppressive force.(Pilger) Either way their characters are often assumed to be unknowable or lost. The idea of an "empty, undefended continent" still pervades our consciousness. Only as we move well beyond the 250th year since settlement is there a growing appreciation that there is much more to know that is of importance, not just for history, but for the future of Australia.

Arrabanoo (c1759-1789)**, Bennelong** (Ba-na-lang) (1764-1813) (other names: Wolarrebarre, Wogultrowe, Boinba, and Bundabunda) and **Colebe** (c1755-c1816) all had the fortune or misfortune of being kidnapped on the orders of Governor Phillip. Arabanoo died of small pox less than a year after being held captive. Lieutenant

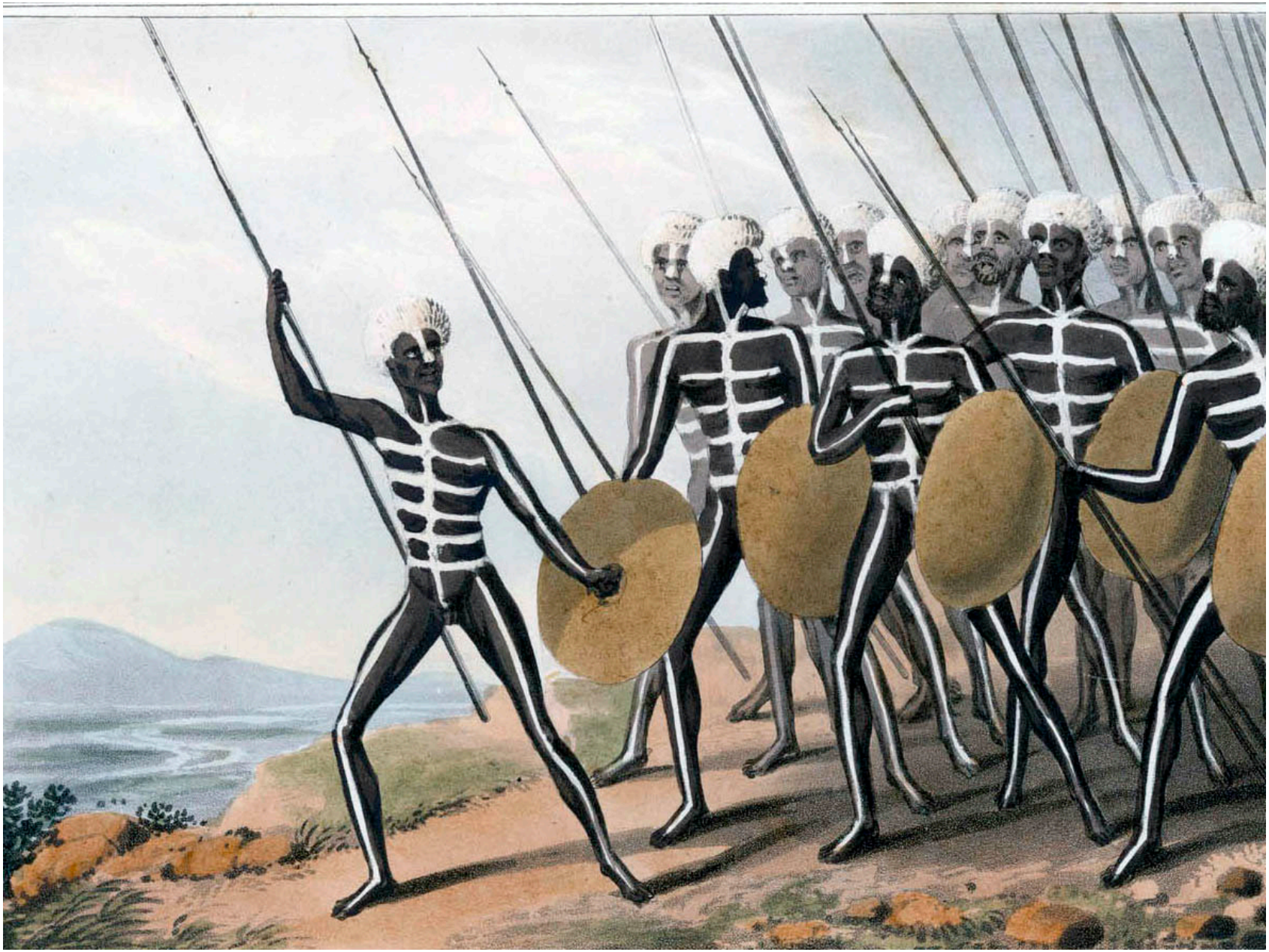
William Bradley's men seized Bennelong and Colebe at Manly Cove on 25 November 1789. It was a terrifying ordeal for the two men. Colebe escaped after three weeks. Bennelong was freed in April 1790. Bennelong visited England when Governor Phillip ended his service in 1782. The Sydney Gazette noted in his obituary that Bennelong was "a thorough savage not to be taken away from his own culture."- a great compliment to him. Colebe acted as a guide and as mediator until 1816. Both men sometimes dined at Government House, Colebe and Bennelong took part in the whale feast on September 1790 when Governor Phillip was speared in the shoulder, no doubt as a payback for his misdeeds. Colebe did not bring in Pemulwuy, the murderer of Phillip's gamekeeper McIntyre, after undertaking to do so. He could be quarrelsome and particularly violent to women. Colebe married Daringa, a sister of Moorooboora. There are few records of his life after 1806,(McCarthy 1966) Apps notes he was a guide to Broadfoot in the Waragamba campaign in 1816 (Gapps: pp. 242-3) and was given a breast plate for services rendered in 1816 by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 253) Colebe's sister Maria attended Macquaries Native Institution at Parramatta and married a convict named Lock. There are many descendants from this family in Sydney and the South Coast of NSW.

The unforgettable **Barangaroo** (-1791) epitomised the Cammeragyal spirit of independence and resistance. She survived the small pox pandemic but lost her husband and children. She became Bennelong's partner and critic. She refused to conform to the ways of the Berewagal (people from far away, Europeans) . Through her we get an understanding of major points of difference between the Sydney region native groups and Europeans.

Bungaree (Boongaree) (1775-1830) was a negotiator and intermediary in the first settlement**.** Alexander

Berry wrote 'The first Native in whom I took an interest was old Bungaree in the year 1819. He was a particular favourite with Governor Macquarie, who created him a chief, gave him a farm, and Government men victualled from the store to cultivate it. the appearance of a joint, and it remained for the rest of his life.' (Berry) Bungaree boarded Russian Captain Bellinghshausen's ship at Sydney Cove declaring 'This is my land". See (Clark 1977: p. 347; Bellinsgauzen and Debenham 1945) Bungaree moved to the growing settlement of Sydney in the 1790s, In 1815, Governor Lachlan Macquarie dubbed Bungaree "Chief of the Broken Bay Tribe" and presented him with 15 acres (61,000 m2) of land on George's Head. He accompanied Mathew Flinders. He accompanied Captain Phillip Parker King to north-western Australia in 1817 in the *Mermaid*, amongst other things giving advice on which plants were safe to eat. Captain Faddei Bellingshausen referred to Bungaree's welcoming visit to the Russian exploration ship Vostok in 1820.[13]

The best known warrior of the early colonial period was **Pemulwuy** (other names Bimblewove, Bumbleway) (Kohen 2005)(c.1750–1802). He was born near what was later named Botany Bay, on the northern side of the Georges River, New South Wales. He was "a riotous and troublesome savage" according to Collins. (Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain)) His name (also spelt as Pemulwhy, Pemulwoy or other variations) was derived from the Darug (Dharug) word *pemul*, meaning earth. He spoke a dialect of the Darug language and had a blemish in his left eye. According to Colebe, his left foot had been clubbed, suggesting he was a *carradhy* (clever man). In December 1790 Pemulwuy speared John McIntyre, Governor Phillip's gamekeeper, who later died of the wound. The spear was barbed with small pieces of red stone, confirming that Pemulwuy belonged to



Warriors of NSW / M. Dubourg. 1813 The feared Jervis Bay warriors?? Nowra Hill with Culunghutti and the Shoalhave River in the background??

one of the ‘woods tribes’ or Bediagal (Bidjigal) clan. A bungled retaliatory expedition failed to find him. From 1792 Pemulwuy led raids on settlers at Prospect, Toongabbie, Georges River, Parramatta, Brickfield Hill and the Hawkesbury River. David Collins reported that ‘Pe-mulwy, a wood native, and many strangers, came in’ to an initiation ceremony held at *yoo-lahng* (Farm Cove) on 25 January 1795. Collins thought him ‘a most active enemy to the settlers, plundering them of their property, and endangering their personal safety’. Raids were made for food, particularly corn, or as ‘payback’ for atrocities: Collins suggested that most of the attacks were the result of the settlers’ ‘own misconduct’, including the kidnapping of Aboriginal children. To check at once ‘these dangerous depredators’, military force was used against Pemulwuy and his people. Captain Paterson directed that soldiers be sent from Parramatta, with instructions to destroy ‘as many as they could meet’ of the Bediagal. In March 1797 Pemulwuy led a raid on the government farm at Toongabbie. Settlers formed a punitive party and tracked him to the outskirts of Parramatta. He was wounded, receiving seven pieces of buckshot in his head and body. Extremely ill, he was taken to the hospital and later ‘escaped from the hospital with an iron about his leg. He was not defeated and it now seems clear that his actions were the first instalment of a war for control of traditional lands across the Cumberland Plains. (Lim 2016) Only one month later in April when the governor met several parties of natives near Botany Bay Pemulwuy was among them. He saw and spoke with one of the gentlemen of the party; enquiring of him whether the governor was angry, and seemed pleased at being told that he was not’. (Kohen) Pemulwuy’s close escapes resulted in the Darug believing that firearms could not kill him. In Collins’s words: ‘Through this fancied security, he was said to be at the head of

every party that attacked the maize grounds’. On 1 May 1801 Governor King issued a government and general order that Aborigines near Parramatta, Georges River and Prospect could be shot on sight, and in November a proclamation outlawed Pemulwuy and offered a reward for his death or capture. Pemulwuy was shot dead about 1 June 1802 by Henry Hacking. George Suttor described the subsequent events: ‘his head was cut off, which was, I believe, sent to England’. On 5 June King wrote to Sir Joseph Banks that although he regarded Pemulwuy as ‘a terrible pest to the colony, he was a brave and independent character’. He further wrote: ‘Understanding that the possession of a New Hollander’s head is among the desiderata, I have put it in spirits and forwarded it by the Speedy’. Pemulwuy’s remains have not been found in an English repository to date. Pemulwuy’s son Tedbury (d.1810), known as Tjedboro, also threatened colonists. He became attached to John Macarthur, who allowed him to come and go at Elizabeth Farm. After Governor Bligh was placed under military arrest in 1808, Tedbury, armed with a bundle of spears, went to Macarthur’s cottage in Sydney and reportedly said that he had come to spear the governor. Next year he and Bundle attempted to rob a traveller on the Parramatta road, and he also took part in an attack on the farm of a settler at Georges River. In 1810 Tedbury was shot by Edward Luttrell at Parramatta, and died of his wounds. He had a wife and possibly a son Tommy Dadbury, who was living with the Wianamattagal clan at Penrith in 1837. Historians argue about the nature and extent of Aboriginal resistance to European settlement of Australia, but if one person can be identified who clearly carried out armed warfare against the settlers of early Sydney it was Pemulwuy. Kohen 2005 Eric Willmot’s **Pemulwuy the Raindow Warrior** celebrates his exploits in novel form, as his chief protagonist Governor

King noted ‘He was a brave and independent character’. (Willmot: p. ii)

Beyond Arabanoo, Bennelong, Colebe, Bungaree and Pemulwuy what emerges from the margins of journals and letters and the colonial archives are independent, innovative, thoughtful individuals with the capacity to traverse distances that today most Australians find onerous in a motor car. From the records of even ‘the tongueless, earless colonist’ we recognise spiritual people devoted to ceremony and higher levels of duty throughout their lives. Their architecture was highly adaptive, instructive, useful to early settlers and designed for summer and winter living. (Memmott: pp.186-7) And even after the cataclysmic small pox and other, the fundamental conflicts between the settlers and the natives, confrontation between a sophisticated Georgian military force and groups of tribal warriors, continued.

From Throsby’s and other journals we learn of men and women free to walk the land with nothing but a string of kangaroo sinews across their bellies, whose tools and implements were sophisticated, whose sense of body decoration was creative and other worldly, with quills through the nose and scarification denoting rites of passage such as initiation, puberty and depth of knowledge and understanding of land and life.

250 years later we appreciate the depth of the military conflicts and the resistance of Aboriginal communities to the invasion and exploitation of their lands but also the assault on culture and ways of living. After the first settlement in Sydney there was pressure to conform to European mode of dress, social behaviour, strange laws and, through First Nations eyes, highly selfish, destructive and ignorant behaviour. There was not the same sense of collective ownership or being, for Europeans life was instrumental. Many Indigenous Australians in this early

period were not prepared to make even simple compromises. This placed them in great danger with Europeans whose principles and actions swung wildly from violent retribution to cloying patronage. It was a truly dangerous world. To live and protect one’s family required enormous intellect, wisdom and strategic diplomacy. To suffer the loss of sovereignty of land and culture was traumatic. To endure and survive required a monumental effort and great courage.

The hope for thoughtful Europeans and wise First Nations diplomats was some sort of synthesis of what was good from both worlds. This was not likely to come from the material practices or technological superiority of Europeans, as is sometimes supposed, it had to come from recognition of shared spiritual values and human feeling. It is no accident that in the catastrophic period of conflict when native populations fall to their lowest point, after 1788, it is, often independent spiritually motivated men that provided havens that allowed communities to sustain themselves and recover. Also there was another side to the tactical alliance of Throsby and his native guides. There was not just a one-way benefit.

More than anything else space was needed to preserve the original cultural forms and ways of living of Indigenous Australians. Natives traded knowledge and intelligence about the land. Enter the remarkable **Tho-Tho-It/ Broughton** (c1798-1850), Charles Throsby’s guide on many, if not all, of his explorations. He undoubtedly showed Throsby the way down the Appin pass to the Five Islands, Wollongong area in 1815 and was with him on his journeys to Jervis Bay.

Throsby introduced Tho Tho It/Broughton to Alexander Berry for whom he worked for over two decades (Bennett 2003: p. 65) It can be argued that Tho-Tho-It created the space on Berry’s vast Coolangatta estate that allowed

Nlle. Holland Port Jackson: Sauvages des environs de Sydney: Nani, Taran, Abinghou, Broten, Timbere, 1825
Jean Coutant (engraver) after Jacques Etienne Victor Arago line engraving on paper (sheet: 33.5 cm x 50.0 cm)
(Tho Tho It aka Broughton bottom left)

the Shoalhaven Aboriginal community to survive with their culture intact at the foot of their sacred mountain Cullunghutti until the beginning of the 20th century when they were confronted with the bitter years of so-called "protection". Berry introduced Tho Tho It to Governor Gipps as "the oldest surviving Black prince and virtual Head of the Shoalhaven Aboriginal Aristocracy". "Mr Broughton has always conducted himself a Good and Loyal subject and had been the means of capturing many Bushrangers" (SRNSW:CGS 906 (4/1133.3 (Reel 3706) Tho-Tho-It was a remarkable diplomat and leader.

Broger (c1800-1830), Tho-Tho-It's brother, had a much more confrontational style. The two brothers had documented disputes, maybe about the extent of cooperation with Berry and other settlers. Nevertheless it was Broger that assisted Hamilton Hume to cut a road up the sacred mountain (Berry Papers ML MSS 315/54). Broger killed John Rivett a cedar gatherer at what is now known as Brogers Creek, Kangaroo Valley in 1829. At his trial at Campbelltown on 20 August 1830 before Chief Justice (Sir) Francis Forbes, witnesses noted Broger's claims that Rivett had attacked him first and he had acted in self-defence. However, he was not allowed to speak in his own defence. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. On 30 August, 1830 Broger was publicly executed by Alexander Green at Campbelltown. It was a travesty of justice as we now understand the crimes and character of the cedar gatherers of the time, and the importance of these trees for a balanced ecology and native bush orchards. Broger was a warrior in the tradition of Arawarra who ferociously repelled cedar gathers at Black Head, Geroa in the early history of pirating captains.

Arrawarra – in the era before the settlement of the Shoalhaven region was a renowned and ferocious leader and warrior. He repelled cedar gatherers and according

to Alexander Berry "attacked and destroyed a Party of these sawyers who were employed at Black Head [Geroa] seven miles to the north of Shoal Haven River and utterly destroyed them, and if report speaks true, afterwards feasted on their flesh". Soon after Berry arrived in the area, Arrawarra died and Berry exhumed Arrawarra's body and sent his head to Edinburgh university. A memorial to the conflict at Black Head needs to be established and the loss of the millions of old growth cedar along the coastline. Arrawarra's remains, like those of Cannabaygal and Durelle need to be found and returned for proper internment at Cullunghutti.

Bitugally was a Gandangarra warrior, referred to in Charles Throsby's Glenfield letter. His wife and children were mutilated by Constable Henry McCudden and a 73rd regiment soldier in 1814. (Gapps: p. 202) (Throsby 1816) He was accused of being involved in pay back killings of children at Bringelly. (Gapps: p. 210) Throsby defended him in the letter of April 5, 1816 as being innocent of 1816 attacks(Gapps: p. 227) He was marked as a man to be killed or taken prisoner by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228) Carol Liston wrote "Following the death of a member of the Veteran Corps in a clash with Aborigines near Appin, the Europeans went searching for vengeance in May 1814. They murdered Bitugally's wife and two children while they slept. The woman's arm was cut off, her head scalped and the skull of one of the children smashed in with the butt of a musket. Their bodies were left unburied for their families to find.60 The murder of Bitugally's family triggered widespread violence between the Aborigines and the Europeans in the winter of 1814. In July 1814 the children of a Bringelly settler were killed by Aborigines. Among the five Aborigines blamed for this was Bitugally who was outlawed by Macquarie. An armed

search party was sent to capture him but returned empty-handed three weeks later.61

Charles Throsby did not believe that Bitugally had been involved in the murder of Daley's children, though he may have been involved in killing a stockman at Appin. Even if Bitugally had killed the children, Throsby could accept that the act was vengence for the brutality his family had suffered at the hands of the Europeans. Bitugally was again declared an outlaw by Macquarie in 1816. He was given refuge on Kennedy's farm at Appin. Kennedy and his nephew, Hamilton Hume, argued with the soldiers that Bitugally was not hostile to the Europeans and had protected Kennedy's and Broughton's farms from attack. Kennedy offered his personal bond to bring Bitugally before the governor but Hume then convinced Captain Wallis that Bitugally was not on the list of outlaws. No mention has been found of Bitugally after 1816".(Liston: p. 60)

Budbury (Daniel, Tindle), native guide, (Throsby 1816) (Gapps: p. 209) involved in the raid on Fowlers farm, threatened Edmund Wright (Gapps: p. 215) mentioned in Charles Throsby's letter of April 5, 1816 as taking shelter at Glenfield Farm (Throsby 1816) native guide to Wallis 1816 (Gapps: p. 230) Budbury played a similar role as Tho Tho It did with Alexander Berry. "In March 1818 James Meehan marked out some land on the Macarthur's Camden estate for Aborigines who wanted to live there under the protection of the Macarthurs. A paddock on the Camden estate was always known as Budbury's ". (Liston: p. 55) Liston writes "Budbury and his wife Mary were part of a group whom Macquarie met in the Cowpastures in 1810. The creek that flows through Campbelltown is known as Bunbury Curran Creek. Reputedly named after a naval officer, it could as easily have derived its name from 'Budbury's Current'. Budbury

was one of the Dharawal guides who accompanied John Warby in search of outlawed Aborigines in July 1814.44 He guided Macquarie to the Nattai River in 1815. In March 1816 when the Gandangara came down from the mountains, Budbury acted as interpreter for the settlers. Though known as being friendly to the Europeans, he faced danger because of the inability of many settlers to identify individual Aborigines. Charles Throsby wrote to the *Sydney Gazette* in March 1816 of his concern that Budbury had been wrongly identified by a terrified settler as a member of a group of Aborigines who had attacked him. The following month, Budbury acted as an unwilling guide for Captain Wallis's expedition against the Cowpasture tribe until Warby assisted him to escape. A few days later Budbury himself was the object of an unsuccessful military ambush. By 1821 Budbury was regarded by the Europeans as the leader of the Cowpasture people. From the earliest years of European settlement, Budbury was identified with the Macarthurs and Camden estate. In 1816 he was referred to as Mr Macarthur's Budbury He lived on the Camden estate where there was a paddock known as Budbury's. Described by Sir William Macarthur as a fine warrior, 'a brave man and a quiet one too' Budbury may have lived until about I860. Budbury, aged 45, was listed by the Stonequarry bench in 1833 and for the Cawdor district in 1834.52 Atkinson's work on the Camden estate records identified an adult baptism for John Budberry in the 1840s and found him listed on the electoral roll of 1859 as a labourer on the estate." (Liston: p. 59)

Cuddeban (**Bundle)** (c.1781-c.1844) was a renowned, quick witted sailor and guide. (Throsby 1816). Like Tho Tho It did with Alexander Berry, Bundle negotiated the survival of his community on John Macarthur's Camden property. (Atkinson) In later life he lost one eye due to

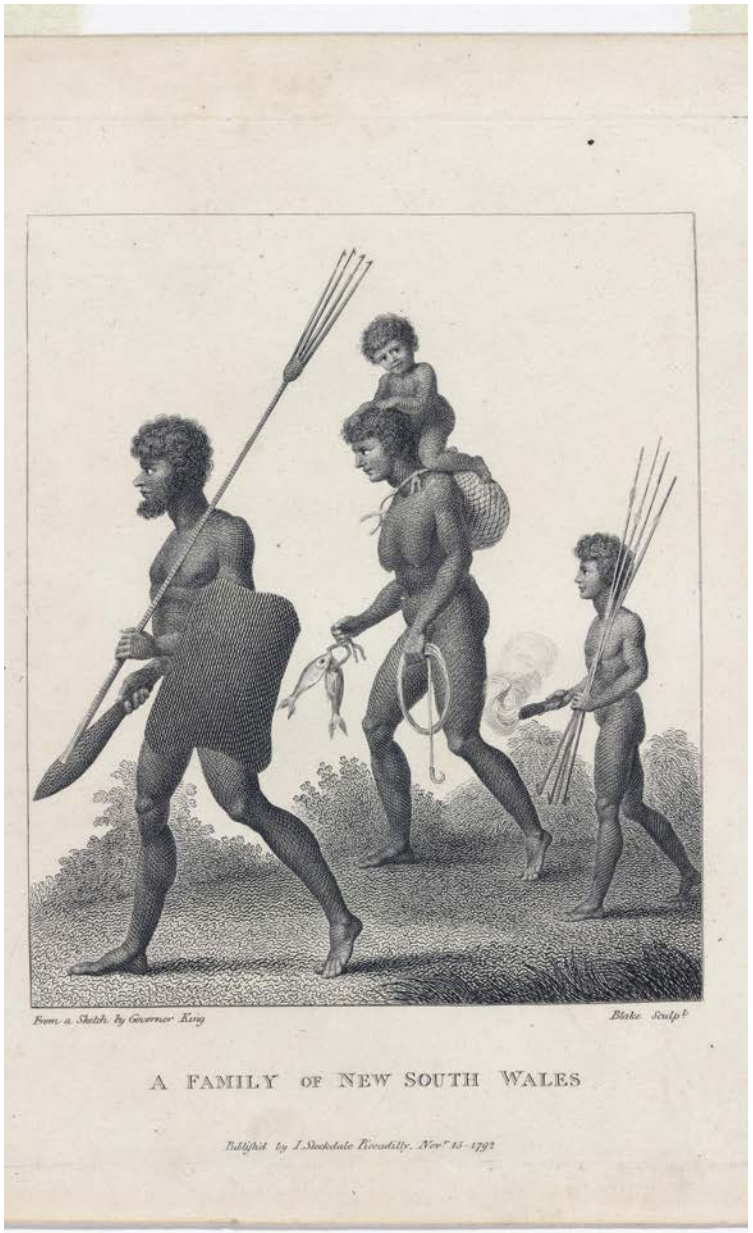
a spear wound and appeared at critical junctures in the early history of the colony. In Bundle's early life he is referred to as Young Bundle. Records then show he appears to have a son and name sake in Wollongong in 1834 and 1836. 'Young Bundle' was an orphan who attached himself to Captain William Hill of the NSW Corps. He accompanied Hill to Norfolk Island on board the brig Supply on 22 March 1791 and returned to Sydney in September 1791 on the transport Mary Ann. Watkin Tench [Journal: 1791] records that: " His father had been killed in battle, and his mother bitten in two by a shark..." David Collins records [Journal: September 1791] that " During his residence on the [Norfolk] Island ..he seemed to have gained some smattering of our language, certain words of which he occasionally blended with his own." Bundle was a friend of Pemulwuy's son Tedbury and was involved in an attack on a man named Tunks in 1809. (Gapps: p. 190) In 1810 Bundle assisted Constable James Squire as a tracker, he had identified that the footprints left by two nails in the sole of a shoe led to a nearby hut. Three convictions resulted. The Sydney Gazette 21 July 1810 In late March 1812 Bundle accompanied Surveyor George William Evans on board the *Lady Nelson* in the party sent to explore Jervis Bay, on the southern coat of NSW, and to determine a possible inland route back to Port Jackson. (*Sydney Gazette* of 3 September 1809) Bundle, Bull Dog, Bidgy Bidgy and Bloody Jack are noted as useful sailors and potential farmers in 1811. David Dickinson Mann *The Present Picture of New South Wales* 1811 p.47 **Young Bundle** was mentioned in Charles Throsby's letter of April 5, 1816 as taking shelter at Glenfield Farm. Bundle and his kinsman, Bootbarrie were with the guide John Warby in the lead up to the Appin massacre. Bundle and Bootbarrie absconded on the night of 11 April when the nature of the military expedition be-

came apparent to them and Warby refused to assist in the mission. (Gapps: p. 230) *Sydney Gazette*, 3 September, 1809 (Organ 1993a: p. 33) Bundle along with Tho-Tho-It was a guide for Charles Throsby in 1818 and was an interpreter between Throsby and the Gundungurra people. On 26 May 1821 Bundle/Bundell sailed on board H.M. Brig Bathurst, under the command of Phillip Parker King, on a surveying voyage to the northern coast of Australia. After surveying the northern and north-western coastline of Australia, King sailed to Mauritius for repairs and an essential refit; thereby making Bundle perhaps the first Australian Aborigine to visit the island in modern times. The *Bathurst* departed from Mauritius on 14 November 1821, and finally completed her survey work of the western coast of Australia in the months January-March 1822, returning to Sydney on 25 April 1822.

In 1822 Bundle was a constable at Upper Minto (Narellan) and received half a pound of tobacco per month as his pay; later, in 1825, James and William Macarthur tried, unsuccessfully, to have him (and another young Aborigine named 'Johnny') appointed as constables on the Camden side of the Nepean (on full pay and rations). At this stage Bundal was said to have been 35 years of age. There were at least three occasions in the period 1825-26 when Bundal assisted the authorities in the capture of thieves and runaway convicts; and in 1826 he was given a blanket as a reward for his services. By 1838 he had been given a brass plate, as his badge of office, and he was the last individual to be nominated as 'chief' at the Cowpastures. An 1842 listing refers to 'Old Bundal', or 'Burreach' (or 'Burryatt') and records his age as being about 50. At this stage he was also described as possessing two wives, three young sons and a daughter.

Charles Throsby Smith refers to Old Bundle as Wollongong chief, Illawarra Mercury, 1876(Organ 1993a: p.

Drawing 53 from the Watling Collection titled 'Cameragal the chief of the most powerful Tribe in New South Wales' by Port Jackson Painter, 1788-1797.



A Family of New South Wales, 1792, From a sketch by Governor King

133) Bundle Senior and Junior are listed in the blanket return for Wollongong of 1834 and 1836 (Organ 1993a: p. 186, p. 200) Bundal was still alive in 1843, when there is a record of him attending one of James Macarthur's election meetings; and there is also a reference in the same year to 'Bundle' and his wife applying to the magistrate William Howe for the issue of blankets.

Cannabaygal, (-1816) was one of the Gandangarra warriors and leader killed in the Appin massacre of 1816, George Caley describes him as "much dreaded by the other tribes". (Caley and Currey) Like Pemulwuy he was considered to be be "invincible and more than mortal". Caley found Cannabaygal and his wife to be of enormous stature and stout build with hair flowing to their shoulders and having a frightening countenance. (Gapps: p. 160) There is much more to write about the Gandangarra people and Cannabaygal.

Dual (-1833) was another major actor of the early colonial period. He was an important teacher for the man who many regard as Australia's greatest European explorer, Hamilton Hume.(Macklin 2016; Liston 1988) Dual mentored Hume as a young man of 15 and guided many of the major expeditions to the S0uth of Sydney. In the Glenfield Farm letter April 5, 1816 Throsby described Dual as innocent of 1816 attacks(Gapps: p. 227) Nevertheless he was marked as a man to be killed or taken prisoner by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228) (Reel 6045; 4/1735 pp.60-2). (Reel 6065; 4/1798 p.44). After the Appin Massacre Dual was taken prisoner and taken to Sydney as hostage, later exiled to Van Diemens Land in lieu of a death sentence (Gapps), p. 239 By July 30, he had been "apprehended for robbery & exiled to Port Dalrymple for seven years" (Reel 6038; SZ759 pp.232-3). He was banished to Port Dalrymple, from Sydney per "Kangaroo" (Reel 6005; 4/3495 p.71)

on August 1, 1816. On December 1, 1818 he was transferred from "Port Dalrymple to Sydney" (Reel 6006; 4/3499 p.188) and arrived per "Sinbad" on January 30, 1819 with his "hostility" somewhat chastened for by May 31, 1819 he was being "rewarded for services as a guide on Charles Throsby's expedition." (Reel 6038; SZ1044 p.50). Throsby and Hamilton Hume were on good terms with "Dual' before that individual was branded "hostile in 1816. Certainly, the speed with which "Dual" was released from confinement and returned to Sydney, along with the speed with which he joined Throsby's expedition, does tend to suggest Throsby intervened in his case and had him returned so that he could assist with his 1819 expedition. Jules Dumont d'Urville a French explorer described meeting Dual in 1824 "On one side of the bush I came upon one of those robust savages, whose vigorous physique had already surprised me. At first he gave me short and evasive answers to my repeated questions… "(Organ 1993a: p. 136)

Dunelle, Durelle was a compatriot of Cannabaygal one of the major Gundungurra warriors killed in the Appin massacre of April, 1816. He was killed, hung and his head was taken by Captain Wallis to Sydney and after that sent to Edinburgh. His and Cannabaygal's remains were repatriated .

Gogy (Gogy, Goguey, Koggie, -c1820) accompanied Baralliler in November 1802 and is mentioned in Charles Throsby's let of April 5, 1816 as taking shelter at Glenfield Farm (Throsby 1816) marked as "inspected" by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps) p. 228 Carol Liston writes: "Gogy was the best known of the early Dharawal. Barrallier noted that Gogy had been outlawed from his clan After an exile of eight or nine months, Gogy was allowed to return to his own people. Gogy's gratitude for Goondel's hospitality did not

last long. Some time later, Gogy and three companions caught a woman from Goondel's clan near Nattai, tied her to a tree and killed her, removing some flesh to eat. Gogy used Barrallier as a protector against Goondel's anger when they met during Barrallier's expedition (Liston 1988) In March 1805 Gogy was at Parramatta. Here he faced Benelong and Nanberry (both well-known to the European colonists) to suffer a punishment ordeal for having killed another Aborigine. Benelong and Nanberry threw spears at Gogy from a distance of four metres. One barbed spear lodged above Gogy's hip and another in his back below the loins. The European bystanders were unable to remove the second spear and feared that Gogy would die from his wounds. To their surprise, he survived for a week with the spear protruding from his back before it was removed. Gogy, despite his wound, then proceeded to the Hawkesbury to participate in a similar trial against another Aborigine charged by his people with murder. The Europeans admired the "stoic composure" which Gogy displayed. Gogy and his family - his wives Nantz and Mary and their children - were members of a group of Dharawal that Governor Macquarie met on his first visit to the Cowpastures in 1810. Seemingly an aggressive man in his youth, Gogy tried to avoid conflict in his oid age. During the violence of May-June 1814, Gogy left Campbelltown to visit the Broken Bay Aborigines. His parting comments to the settlers that the Gandangara were cannibals added to the tension, though this was perhaps a tactic to manipulate the Europeans against traditional rivals. During the troubles of 1816, Gogy was one of several Dharawal men and their families who took refuge with Charles Throsby at Glenfield. While there, Gogy took John Wentworth, son of Principal Surgeon D'Arcy Wentworth, fishing on the George's River. When the soldiers began an indiscriminate search for Aborigi-

nes, Gogy fled to Cunningham's farm at Botany Bay. His track was followed by the soldiers who traced him to the George's River and sighted Gogy's kangaroo dog but the country was too wild to give chase. In June 1816 Gogy gave up his weapons in response to Macquarie's May proclamation forbidding armed gatherings of Aborigines but offering land, food and education to those who surrendered. Gogy, 'King of the George's River', later received one of Macquarie's gorget medallions Gogy disappears from the European records about 1820." (Liston 1988: p. 57-58)

Musquito (1780-1825) is one of the Sydney area leaders that deserves far more historical attention. He was a leader of the Richmond area Aboriginal people, associate of Branch Jack, and was apprehended in 1805 banished to Norfolk Island to work in a gang.(Gapps: p. 183-4) He was sent to Dalyrymple Bay Van Diemens Land in 1813 and in 1817 he was praised for tracking bush rangers and promised that he would be able to go home. When this did not eventuate Musquito became involved in the fight against settlement. Musquito was hung on dubious evidence in February 1825.

Munnana - Met by Charles Throsby at the headwaters of the Bundanoon Creek on 28th March 1818. "We were met by Timelong and Munnana who have been in search of us, they are two natives whom I have seen at Five Islands. Munnah is one of the two strangers whom myself, Colonel Johnson, his son George etc, met at the River Macquarie, Five Islands, the first time Coloniel was there, and which was the first time he had seen a white man. On our meeting they had many jagged spears etc but on my telling them through Bundle that the Governor required the Natives not to carry spears when with white people, they very readily consented to leave them, in fact they threw them away and assured me that the carts and other things

we left would be safe" Munnana is described by Throsby as follows: "A thin man, more of a dirty brick colour than black, with a beard only under the chin, on the upper lip and under the mouth it appears to be kept cut or most likely burnt off as is their custom, both are perfectly naked and not even provided with the most trifling covering for the night"

Nunberri (Nambré, Charcoal Will) from Numbaa on the Shoalhaven River survived the cape sizing of a boat at the mouth of the Shoalhaven River that resulted in the drowning of Davison one of the few survivors of The Boyd massacre. 'Charcoal was my regular boatman', wrote Berry, who in June 1822 asked the young Aboriginal man, lame in one leg after a cartwheel accident, to sail with him to the Shoalhaven, where he established Coolangatta farm, near Nowra. 'Next morning he was rugged up in sailors cloathes [sic] and appointed pro forma Mate of the cutter Blanch', wrote Berry in Recollections of the Aborigines (London 1838, page 433).. In October 1836 the Quaker missionaries James Backhouse and George Washington Walker met Nunberri at Alexander Berry's farm. In A Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies, published in London in 1836 (page 443) Backhouse wrote: At the foot of the Cambewarra mountains, we met half-a-dozen Blacks, dressed in blankets, and in the old clothes of Europeans. One of these sons of the forest had an expressive countenance, and remarkably fine features; he spoke English tolerably, and said that he went occasionally, as a seaman, on board a vessel belonging to A. Berry. Nunberri's daughter Maria, born on 22 November 1837, was baptised on 28 August 1838, sponsored by Hannah Fowler. She received a blanket at Numba in 1840. In his Recollections Alexander Berry wrote: Charcoal, whom I had appointed mate of the Blanch, after a few trips tired of being well cloathed [sic] and well fed,

and after a few trips left the vessel, but he left it as a friend and used to occasionally visit Shoal Haven. After some time he married a young woman of the place. In later years Nunberri / Charcoal revealed a ferocious temper. According to Berry he beat his wife so badly that she died and avoided facing a payback punishment ritual by making a speech saying how he loved her and by the gift of 'a fine new blanket from Sydney which he laid at the feet of his father-in-Law and requested him to accept'

Timmulang, leader of Kangaroo Valley group of 15, met by Charles Throsby at the headwaters of the Bundanoon Creek on 28th March 1818. "Timelong is a robust man, very dark, with a very long beard"

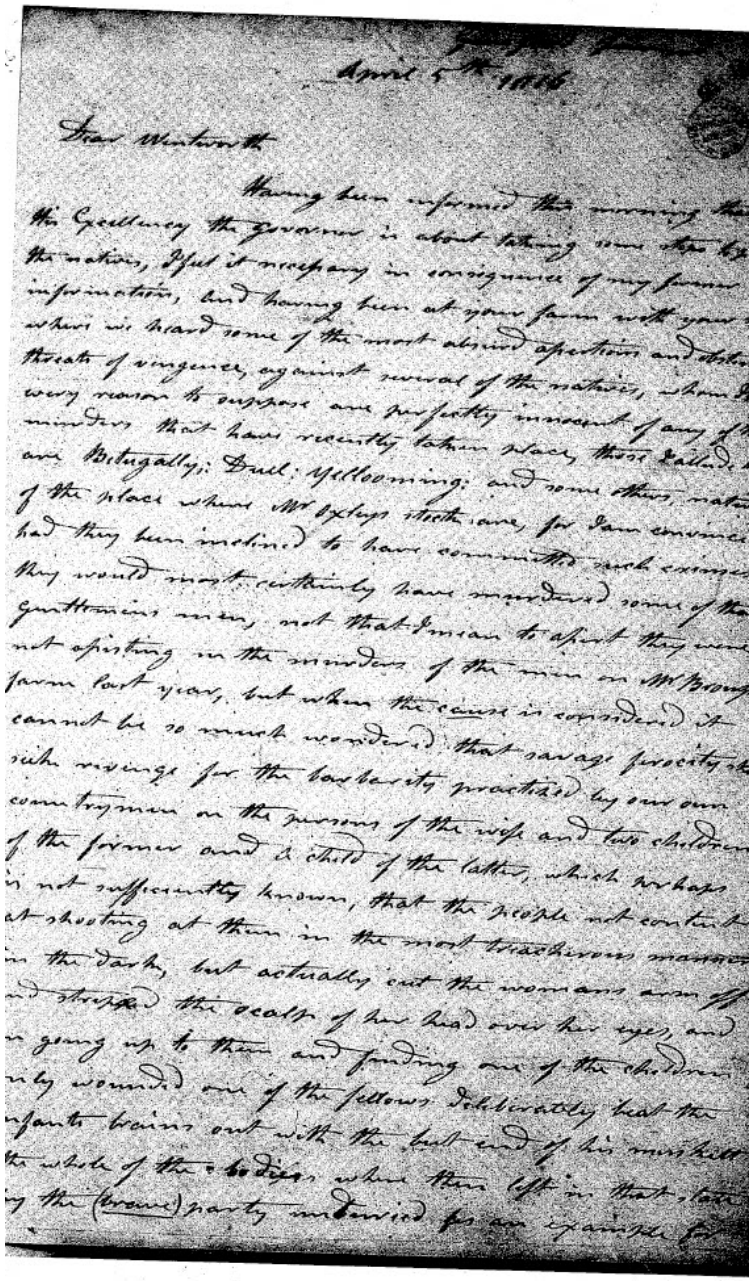
Wagin – Yuin elder, owner of Numba lands, Shoalhaven River (Bennett 2003: p. 67) "About this time the Chief of the place where I was cutting the canal - name Wajin - came in. He was a stout elderly gentleman of a mild, sedate appearance & hairy as Esan himself. He informed me that a piece of clear meadow ground on the west of the canal was called Numba. I asked him who cleared it. He replied that all[574] he knew about it was that it was in the same state in the days of his grandfather. Of course I made him my friend and promised to give him a Brass Plate when he came to Sydney ." (Berry)

Yellooming (Yellaman, Yetlooming), was mentioned sympathetically by Throsby in letter of April 5, 1816 as being innocent of 1816 attacks, his child was one of the three brutally murdered by Constable Henry McCudden and a 73rd regiment soldier in 1814. (Throsby 1816) (Gapps: p. 227) He was accused of being involved in pay back killings of children at Bringelly, (Gapps: p. 210) marked as "very bad" a man to be killed or taken prisoner by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228) Carol Liston writes "Yellooming was named as an outlaw by Macquarie in July 1814 Yelloom-

ing's child had been killed by Europeans. During the conflicts of 1816, Yellooming took refuge on Kennedy's farm at Appin. Kennedy and Hume defended him from the soldiers, arguing that Yellooming was friendly to Europeans. Yellooming was one of ten Aborigines listed as an outlaw in Macquarie's proclamation of 20 July 1816. Refuge, food and assistance was denied to them and a reward offered for their capture or death. There is no mention of Yellooming after 1816." (Liston: p. 61)

Hughy Anderson – a supporter of Daniel Mathews, educated at Maloga Mission, came to Kangaroo Valley in 1890. His wife Ellen (1855-1931) was the sister of Queen Rosie Johnson (1842-1932). Rosie was the partner of the most celebrated of the early twentieth century South Coast Aboriginal people, King Mickey Johnson (1834-1906). All were in the Valley in the 1891 census. Mickey came to Albion Park from the NSW North Coast with Major E.H. Weston in 1865 (Organ: p. 318). Mickey may have been a celebrity but Rosie and Ellen were the local royalty. They were the daughters of Biyarrung (1820-1889) of the Gweagal Botany Bay community. There is one informal source that suggests Biyarrung and her children were the ancestors of the original warriors who told Captain Cook in Botany Bay that he was not welcome to stay. Along Maloga Mission lines, Hughy and his family sought to create an independent Aboriginal community and school at Kangaroo Valley in 1890. Hughy was well trained at financing his projects through the church. His letters and sermons were titled "A Voice from the Dying" and implored the community to support Aboriginal projects.(Anderson 1889) Unlike the river flats quickly claimed by Henry Osbourne and others the 375 acre reserve at Kangaroo Valley allocated for the school and community was rough sandstone country, impossible for sustainability. It was rescinded and still now exists as a

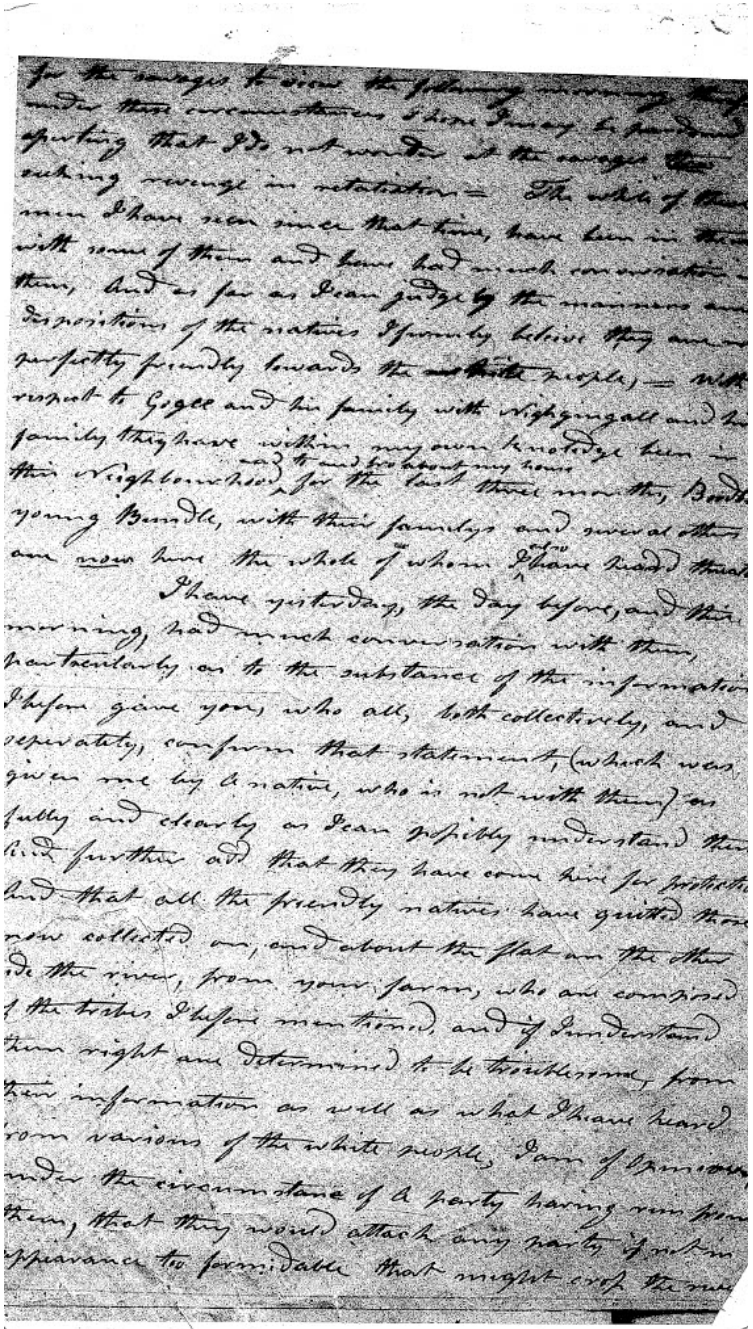
bush reserve that extends from Kangaroo Valley Pioneer Farm to the Waste Station. Anderson argued his Kangaroo Valley school and project was starved out. Hughy and Ellen Anderson lived the latter part of their lives on the Georges River. (Goodall and Cadzow) They were recognised leaders of their community. Ellen was the source of many of the surviving cultural heritage stories of the South Coast First Nations communities.(Organ) It would be fitting in the 21st century for the Bush Reserve at Kangaroo Valley to be named in honour of the Johnsons and Anderson and to be returned to the ownership and management of the Nowra Land Council.



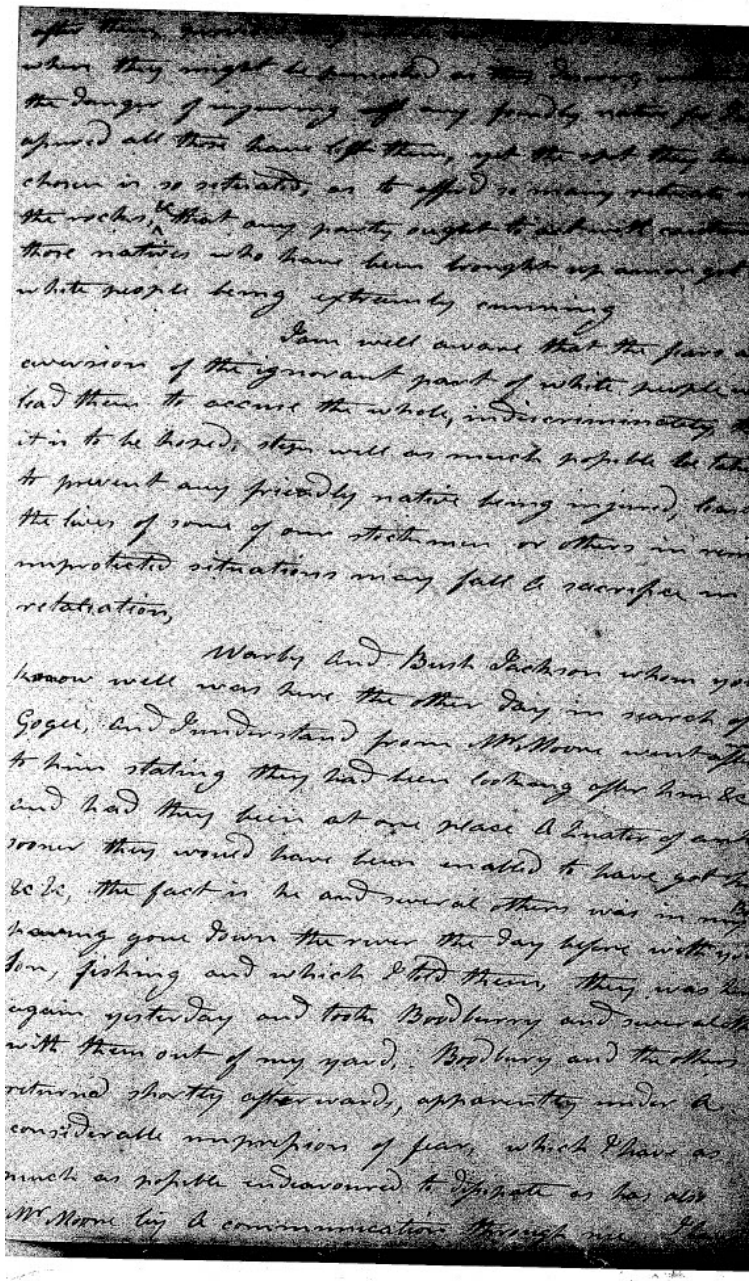
April 5th 1816

Dear Wentworth

Having been informed this morning that
His Excellency the governor is about taking some steps
the natives, I feel it necessary in consequence of my former
information, and having been at your farm with your
where we heard some of the most absurd assertions and thre
threats of vengeance against several of the natives, whom
very reason to suppose are perfectly innocent of any
murders that have recently taken place, those called
are Mitegally; Bull; Yellowning; and some others, nat
of the place where Mr Oxley's stock are, for I am convinc
had they been inclined to have committed such crimes
they would most certainly have murdered some of the
gentlemens men, not that I mean to assert they were
not assisting in the murders of the men on Mr Brow
farm last year, but when the cause is considered it
cannot be so much wondered that savage ferocity sh
with revenge for the barbarity practised by our own
countrymen on the persons of the wife and two children
of the former and a child of the latter, which perhaps
is not sufficiently known, that the people not content
at shooting at them in the most treacherous manner
in the dark, but actually cut the woman's arm off
and stripped the scalp of her head over her eyes, and
on going up to them and finding one of the children
only wounded one of the fellows deliberately beat the
infants brains out with the butt end of his musket
the whole of the bodies, when they left in that state
by the (Browne) party endeavoured for an example for



for the savages to crave the following morning they
under these circumstances I hope I may be pardoned
asserting that I do not wonder at the savages
seeking revenge in retaliation = The whole of the
men I have seen since that time, have been in the
with some of them and have had much conversation
them, and as far as I can judge by the manners and
dispositions of the natives I sincerely believe they are
perfectly friendly towards the white people, = With
respect to Gogle and his family with Nightingall and his
family they have within my own knowledge been in
their neighbourhood and to and fro about my house
for the last three months, Bould
young Bundle, with their families and several others
are now here the whole of whom I have heard that
I have yesterdays, the day before, and this
morning, had much conversation with them,
particularly as to the substance of the information
I have given you, who all, both collectively, and
seperately, confirm that statement, (which was
given me by a native, who is not with them) as
fully and clearly as I can possibly understand them
I further add that they have come here for protection
and that all the friendly natives have quitted their
now collected on, and about the flat on the other
side the river, from your farm, who are composed
of the tribes I have mentioned, and if I understand
them right are determined to be troublesome, from
their information as well as what I have heard
from various of the white people, I am of opinion
under the circumstance of a party having run from
them, that they would attack any party if not in
appearance too formidable that might cross the ri



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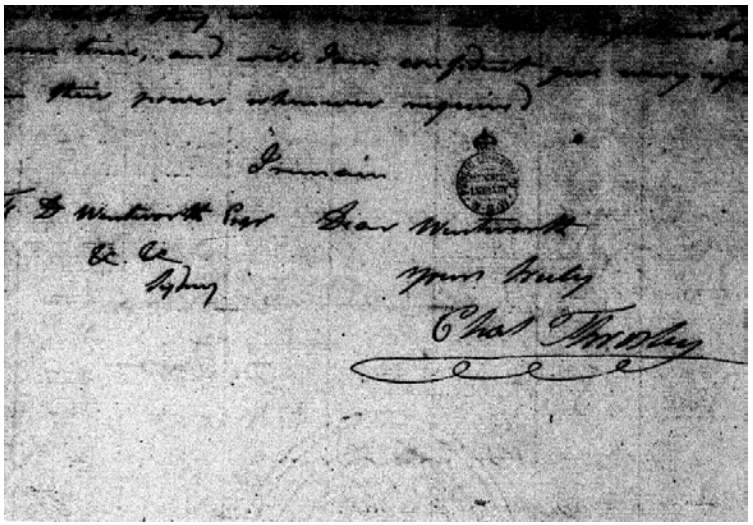

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VI

The Glenfield Farm Letter

Glenfield Farm
April 5, 1816
Dear Wentworth,
Having been informed this morning that His Excellency the Governor is about taking some steps to punish the natives, I feel it necessary in consequence of my former information, and having been at your farm with your son where we heard some of the absurd assertions and obstinate threats of vengeance, against several of the natives, whom I have every reason to suppose are perfectly innocent of any of the murders that have recently taken place, those I allude to are Bitugully, Duel, Yetlooming; and some others, natives of the place where Mr Oxley's stock are, for I am convinced had they been inclined to have committed such crimes they would have most certainly have murdered some of that Gentleman's men, not that I mean to assert they were not assisting in the murders of the men on Mr. Broughton's farm last year, but when the cause is considered it cannot be so much wondered in that savage ferocity should seek revenge for the barbarity practiced by our own countrymen in the persons of the wife and two children of the former and a child of the latter, which perhaps is not sufficiently known, that the people not content at shooting at them in the most treacherous manner in the dark, but actually cut the woman's arm off and stripped the scalp off her head over her eyes, and in going up to them and finding one of the children only wounded one of the fellows deliberately beat the

infants brains out with the butt end of his muskett the whole of their bodies then left in that state by the (brave) party unburied! as an example for the savages to view the following morning, therefore under these circumstances I hope I may be pardoned in asserting that I do not wonder at the savages seeking revenge in retaliation.

The whole of these men I have seen since that time, have been in the woods with some of them and had much conversation with them, and as far as I can judge by the manners and disposition of the natives I firmly believe they are now perfectly friendly towards the white people. With respect to Gogu and his family with Nighgingall and his family they within my own knowledge been in this neighbourhood and to and fro about my house for the last three months, Brodburry, young Bundle, with their families and several others are resident here the whole of whom I also have heard threatened.

I have yesterday, the day before and this morning, had much conversation with them particularly on the substance of the information I before gave you, who all, both collectively and separately, confirm that statement, (which were given me by a native, not with them) as fully and clearly as I can possibly understand them and further add that they have come here for protections and that all the friendly natives have quitted those now collected on, and about the flat on the other side of the river, from your farm, who are composed the tribes I have mentioned, and I understood them right am determined to be troublesome, from their information as well as what I have heard from various of the white people, I am of opinion under the circumstances of a party having run from them, that they would attack any party if not in appearance too formidable that might cross the river after them, provided they where not dressed as soldiers when they might be punished as they deserve, without the danger of injuring

any friendly natives for I am of opinion, all those have left them, yet the spot they have chosen is so situated as to afford so many retreats into the rocks, &c, that any party ought to act with caution, those natives who have been brought up amongst the white people being extremely cunning.

I am well aware that the fears and aversions of the ignorant part of the white people will lead them to accuse the whole, indiscriminately, but it is hoped, steps will as much as possible be taken to prevent any friendly natives being injured, least the lives of some of our stockmen or others in remote unprotected situations may fall as sacrifice in retaliation.

Warby and Bush [John] Jackson, whom you know well, was here the other day in search of Gogu, and I understand from Mr Moore went afterwards to him stating they had been looking after him &c and had they been at our place a matter of a quarter of an hour sooner they would have enabled to have got him &c &c The fact is he and several others was in my Boat, having gone down the river the day before with your Son, fishing and which I told them, they was here again yesterday and took Brodburry and several others with them of my yard. Brodburry and the others returned shortly afterwards, apparently and a considerable impressions of fear, which I have as much as possible endeavoured to dissipate as has Mr Moore by a communication through me, I have no doubt they will remain in this neighbourhood some time, and I will I am confident give every inform in their power whenever required.

I remain, dear Wentworth, Yours truly, Chas Throsby

To D. Wentworth, &c, &c, Sydney

VII

"..when the moon shall be as large as the sun they will commence a work of desolation and kill all the whites before them". Sydney Gazette, 5 June 1814' (Ellis: p. 356) (Gapps: p. 205)

"The Glenfield Farm letter" was written midst a mood of high anxiety in the Sydney colony. The Gandangarra and Jervis Bay communities were feared to be joining forces to wipe out outlying settlements in the "cow pastures" region from Parramatta/Liverpool to Appin/Camden and the fear was that the resistance might spread further north to Windsor and the Hawkesbury region. Four days after Throsby penned his letter, Macquarie declared war. Twelve days later troops from the 46th regiment of Grenadiers led by Captain James Wallis massacred 15 men, women and children at Appin. (Garneau 2016) This began a sequence of tragedy that stretched well beyond the Sydney colony[9].

Macquarie's proclamation read: "On any occasion of seeing or falling in with the Natives, either in bodies or singly, they are to be called on, by your friendly Native Guides, to surrender themselves to you as Prisoners of War. If they refuse to do so, make the least show of resistance, or attempt to run away from you, you will fire upon and compel them to surrender, breaking and destroying the spears, clubs, and waddies of all those you take Prisoners. Such Natives as happen to be killed on such occasions, if grown up men, are to be hanged up on trees in conspicuous situations, to strike the Survivors with the greater terror. On all occasions of your being obliged to

have recourse to offensive and coercive measures, you will use every possible precaution to save the lives of the Native Women and Children, but taking as many of them as you can Prisoners." (Organ 2014)
Macquarie mobilised the 46th Regiment and issued its commander Captain Schaw with a detailed set of instructions including a list of "hostile bad natives" that should be targetted this included several of those whom Throsby wrote to protect.
As such Throsby wrote to Wentworth, supporter and trusted aide of Governor Macquarie, magistrate and his nominal police chief. seeking protection for Yetlooming, Duelle, Bitgully, Boodbury, Young Bundle and their families. The letter distinguished between "troublesome natives who might attack parties not dressed as soldiers" and those who were guides and supporters of the colonists. Throsby and others probably saved the lives of those he defended.. It directly contradicted advice given to Schaw by other settlers who named Dual, Bitugully, Murrah, Wallah and others as hostile.(Gapps: p. 228)
The prelude to Macquaries proclamation has been little understood until Stephen Gapps book **the Sydney Wars** comprehensively documented the forays of natives and settlers alike particularly in the period between 1814-17. It was not for nothing that Macquarie's outlook turned from amelioration and assimilation to full military aggression. Gapps writes "For 'the mountain tribes' the abandonment of farms situated on the edges of the settled areas and in the mountains must have appeared to signal a tactical victory. They had swept through the out-settlements of the southwest, forced settlers to abandon their farms and soundly defeated a body of militia that included soldiers. The warriors had proved capable in both guerilla warfare and open battle. Macquarie's response was to commence the largest military campaign the colony

had yet witnessed". (Gapps: p. 223)
The main incidents between 1814 up until the Appin massacre are as follows:

Feb 1814

- William Cox's farm Mulgoa on the Nepean River attacked several times
- John Thomas Campbell's farm Shancomore, Wallacia, attacked, overseer William Reardon killed
- Farms along the Nepean River raided for potatoes, maize, pumpkins, peaches

May 1814

- Isaac Eustace and two other veterans fire on Gandagarra people raiding corn fields at Robert Miles' Mullaty Creek farm, killing a young boy. Eustace is killed on the spot. His body is found stripped, mangled with one hand cut off.
- Soldiers from the 73rd regiment and Constable Henry Mc Craakan kill and mutilate Bitugully's wife and three children as set out in Charles Throsby's letter to Wentworh at or near John Butcher's Appin farm.
- Next day Gandangarra warriors kill William Baker and Elizabeth Durant at John Macarthur's Upper Camden yards
- Macquarie assumes that "idle and ill disposed Europeans had taken liberties with Aboriginal women and treacherously killed Bitugully's wife and children" and that attacks might end if not provoked by insults and cruelties.(Gapps: p. 204)

5 June 1814

- Sydney Gazette article appears predicting native uprisings

Mid June

- Attack on William Broughton's farm at Appin in direct response to the murder of Bitugully's wife and children. The perpetrators thought to be John Price and Dennis Newingham are killed by Gandangarra warriors.

Mid July

- James Daleys farm at Bringelly attacked. Daley's wife Maria Bentley is alone with three children. Two children are killed as payback for the Butcher farm killings.
- Constables John Warby and John "Bush" Jackson along with native guides assemble a party to pursue the natives thought to have killed Maria Bentley's children. They are not successful in their mission.

1815

- James Waxted and wife attacked on Hannibal Macarthur's farm at Bringelly.

March 1815

- George Palmers farm at Bringelly attacked and robbed, when workers pursue the natives five men are killed with their own muskets and/or speared.
- Fowlers farm and several others along the Nepean River are ransacked.
- Stock-keeper killed at the cow pastures
- William Lewis wife and convict worker are "cruelly killed" at the Lewis farm on the Nepean River. 'The head of the wife severed and man mangled with a tomahawk'. (Gapps: p. 216)

Farms at Lane Cove attacked.

March 1816

- Raids on farms from Lane Cove to Bringelly continue
- John Macarthur's farm threatened

- Magistrate Robert Lowe and Samuel Hassell organises setttlers around a nucleus of soldiers and constables into local militias at Camden but suffers a resounding defeat at the Picton Razorback and Gandangarra warriors chase the militia back to Macarthurs yards
- Stock keeper killed, Bromley one of Samuel Hassell's shepherds, found killed

At this point, following Macqaurie's instructions, Captain Schaw deployed three military detachments to comb the outying region of the colony from Windsor in the north to the Wingecarribee River in the south. Two of the military detachments found nothing. The Appin massacre occurred 30 kilometres to the south of Glenfield when the Grenadiers found the Gandangarra encampment near Appin.

"On 12 March, 1816 Wallis arrived at Appin where he found Aboriginal men on John Kennedy's farm. Among them were Bitugully and Yelloming, who were both on Macquaries wanted list." Kennedy insisted that Bitugully and Yelloming had been taken off Macquarie's list perhaps indicating that Throsby's letter may have had some effect. Wallis was swayed and took no action against them. But Wallis and his men marched from farm to farm and then back to Throsby's Glenfield "invariably finding abandoned camps or nothing at all" .

"At one o clock on the moonlit morning on 17 April Wallis troops marched back down to Appin. There was no-one at the campsite when they found it, but the fires were still burning. Someone heard the cry of a child. Wallis immediately 'formed line rank entire' and the soldiers 'pushed through a thick brush towards that cry. They were also heading directly towards precipitous banks of a deep rocky creek', the gorge of the Cataract River, 60 metres deep. The line of men pushed on, the dogs set up a frantic barking. As the soldiers opened fire on them, the Aborigines 'fled over the cliffs' and were smashed to death in the gorge. Others were wounded or shot dead.

The soldiers captured only two women and three children. They counted 14 bodies ‘in different directions’ including that of an old man, Balgin, and more women and children. The bodies of two warriors Durelle and Cannabayagal were hauled up to the highest point of the range of hills on Lachlan Vale and strung up in trees.” (Kerskens 2015) There is some conjecture that many more than 14 people may have been killed at Appin at this time.

VIII

“The great divide in war in terms of war is that between state and non-state societies”. (Hirst: p. 55).

What are we to make of “the Sydney war”? Certainly it tells us that military commanders and regiments were at the heart of colonisation in Australia as they were in other outposts of the British colonial empire. But clearly the Gandegarra and other native resistance to the colonial land grab has also been under-estimated. It seems clear now that with a drought inland (1813-15), and at the traditional harvest time of mid-summer on the Cumberland plains (summer 1816), the land push to the south west of the original colony threatened the livelihood of native communities. In a way the colony and the native communities struggled for subsistence and independence and the fight was over strategic ground.

At a bare bones level the war was what Pascoe has called in the context of the Port Phillip colony, a convincing ground, where native peoples were coerced to accept European access to land. (Pascoe: p. 10-11) When Governor Phillip arrived at Sydney Cove in January 1788 with 700 male and female convicts and 200 marines, his orders were to establish a penal farm economy. The experiment was confounded by the fact that Phillip’s labour came from an overflow of jails caused by the end of convict traffic to North America after the American revolution, and at least a quarter were physically unable to work. There was little knowledge of farming of any kind and the military officers refused to supervise convicts in clearing work. (Fitzpatrick and Evatt 1939: pp. 79-81) In its first few years the colony of NSW was vulnerable to starvation and the failure of a fragile naval supply chain,

to native hostilities and to the propensity of France to lay a competitive claim for the prospective colony. If Phillip was not prepared for creating a new civilization, he was prepared for war. His 200 marines and war ships were able to face any military challenge in a world so remote but also shaped by European wars

The outbreak of small pox from May to December 1789 devastated the local native communities. So there was little challenge from warriors defending their lands. Though Phillip pledged not to wage war on the local native communities he kidnapped Arabanoo, Colebee and Bennelong. He was speared through the shoulder at Manly in Sept 1790, perhaps a traditional punishment for his actions, but took no retaliation. Bennelong, who returned to England with Phillip when he retired as governor two years later, had some influence on the resolution of that drama.(Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain): p. 111-12)

Collins records several spearings of convicts who stole food, canoes and possessions, encroached in hunting areas and molested native women. (Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain): p. 24, 34, 47, 122, 78, 263) When the Bidjigal warrior Pemulwuy killed Phillips' game keeper John Macintire, seemingly without provocation it prompted Phillips to action. He ordered a retaliatory mission but the marines made no contact with Pemulwuy. As it transpired Macintire was suspected of "wanton" murder of natives in his game keeping forays for the governor.(Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain): p. 122)

From 1788 to 1821 the first five governors Phillip, Hunter, King, Bligh and Macquarie carved out the property squares and titles from Aboriginal lands to create a peasant prison farm economy. Pemulwuy was at the heart of the early fights against the first perimeters of

Sydney regional lands to Parramatta. The next line of resistance were the so-called mountain and Jervis Bay peoples. These were the communities at the heart of the Sydney war between 1814-16. But it was more than just the military. What spilled over into the new settlements of Port Phillip and Queensland and Van Diemens land was a fight with the private corporations and individuals who aspired to be like John Batman "a monarch of all I survey".(Pascoe: p. 17) This would be a war against not just military regiments and governments, it would be a fight against hundreds of thousands of men, women and children and millions of animals all searching for sustenance and prosperity.

When Sydney Cove was being cleared for settlement, another event which changed the world forever was taking place. The ancient French monarchy was supplanted by the radical philosophy that "Every man has a right to the land.. he gains it by his labour, and his share ought to be limited by the rights of his equals.. All should have something.. none too much". (Fitzpatrick and Evatt: p. 32)

It was the presumptive right of the Governor to survey and grant land to firstly, convicts, retiring marines and free settlers, and later officers. This perhaps more than military muscle was the most radical, disempowering and confronting assault on Aboriginal land sovereignty. Each native group had its own laws and obligations to land but the idea of a man or woman owning land was foreign. It is important to not diminish the sophistication of Aboriginal land tenure. Native relationships to land involved complex ceremonial and practical obligations. There were different protocols specific to the geography of each region.

It seems ironical in this context to observe that the Aboriginal commons, that in many ways the Cumberland plains represents in Sydney, does accord somewhat with

the archaic practices around “common land” on the Scottish Highlands, the Irish countryside and in many parts of England and Wales. The Scottish lairds Alexander and David Berry may for this reason unwittingly created an unexpected respite for South Coast Aborigines on their Coolangatta Estate from 1820 until the end of the 19th century. But this was accidental. If there was something that summarised the British colonial and individual quest for land it was self advancement.The military officers, government contractors, civil service officials, marines and convicts that came to Sydney Cove were coming to a shambolic freedom where it was more possible to rise high into the ranks of the privileged than at home. There was land, trade, commercial and administrative opportunities. In contrast, “Great Britain was one of the most corrupt oligarchies in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century.. About seventy inter-related families dominated the political scene”.(Fitzpatrick and Evatt: p. 39) Enclosure laws closed two million acres of farming land from common use: “the peasantry were being with great efficiency and deliberation obliterated from the English earth”. (Fitzpatrick and Evatt: p. 46) Poor laws were creating the world’s first dependent welfare state whereby wealthy land owners were taxed to provide minimal living standards for the people whose lands they had usurped.

The age old clan lands and estates of Scotland and Ireland were transformed into cash (Parsons) earning rental estates and the laws to enforce the dictates of the landed gentry were increased and severe. This strategy of cashing up land would have an ongoing profound effect on Australia from settlement to our current land and home ownership based economy.

Nevertheless, the power of the first nations communities was ever present. Convicts that strayed too far away from

the main settlement or that trespassed and unwittingly stole food from bush orchards were not infrequently speared. It was the transgressions of native conventions, invisible and not understood, that caused the most problems for the European colonists. The new colony was far more vulnerable to guerrilla actions than has been acknowledged in the past. (Gapps) Only the smallpox epidemic of 1799 stemmed what could have been a series of potentially catastrophic raids against the first settlement teetering on the edge of starvation.

The primary task of the first governors was to create a defensible, self-sufficient fort settlement. Governor Phillip moving from Botany Bay to Sydney Harbour made Sydney Cove the defensible bay, with the ridge running down what is now Macquarie St as the logical place to create fortified buildings. At the end of the harbour, Parramatta was to provide the agriculture to sustain the settlement. To have a base that could be defended was, amongst other things, a classic method of defying a nomadic peoples. The military strength of the first fleet was not one of its weaknesses, all of the commanders and their troops were seasoned by the Napoleonic Wars, the War of Independence of the thirteen colonies in America, the Maroon Wars in Jamaica and Indian colonisation. These were conflicts on a massive scale when compared to the task of establishing the Sydney settlement.

Emancipation became the means of extending the settlement. Phillip was empowered to grant emancipated convicts thirty acres each, fifty acres for married men, with ten acres for each child as well as working capital in-kind and government maintained labour. When free settlers emigrated there were further entitlements including land grants, convict labour, tools and rations. In addition, time-expired marines that did not wish to return to England were granted sixty acres and similar benefits. Over time

the peasant or yeoman economy gave way to more powerful landed aspirants such as military officers like John Macarthur, surgeons such as Dr. Throsby, officials like William Broughton and free settler/traders such as Alexander Berry and Henry Osbourne. Such was the pressure of the new settlement, that within three years 85 settlers comprising freed convicts and retiring marines had been issued over four thousand acres of land.

By Macquaries tenure, 1809-1822, the rough outlines of the western and northern suburbs of Sydney were apparent. Of the first governors Macquarie was the most aggressive in opening up new lands for settlement and it is no accident that his war with the first nations began. Aborigines were protected to the extent that they either aided in the opening up of farmlands and supported existing farmers and if they would cooperate with the Macquarie's new settlement. Wentworth was on the board of management of the native institution that had been opened three months before Throsby's letter. The native institute at Parramatta was created so that " the native youth of both sexes could be educated in the habits of industry and decency".(Clark 1977: p 253)

Macquarie's policy of 'civilisation' and terrorism were part and parcel of the same strategy. The pressure of settlement meant that earlier attempts at accommodating Aboriginal people in a more tolerant fashion had stopped. What seemed to be a more benevolent and enlightened period under Macquarie became the most blood thirsty and barbaric period in which the military was consciously raised against Aborigines. Macquarie believed that Aborigines would want to become part of his enlightened civilisation "if properly cultivated and encouraged" .. this "might render them not only less wretched and destitute by reason of their wild wandering and unsettled habits" (Clark 1977: p. 280) It was impossible for Englishmen

like Macquarie to conceive that the trappings of civilisation that he was bent on creating in the new colony were a source of hell and evil for Aboriginal people. When he encountered resistance and lack of cooperation from Aboriginal communities – then the contrary course of terror rather than cultivation came into play.

This was a time when Macquarie was instructed by the English government to open up and explore the land. Blaxland, Lawson and D'arcy Wentworth's son William had crossed the Blue Mountains opening up for settlement – the vast Bathurst plains. For their troubles the explorers were granted large parcels of land and this appealed to Throsby and others trying to make their fortune in the new colony. It was also a time when convicts were being offered emancipation and land if they maintained the ethics of sobriety, industry and honesty. The land tracts that were outlayed to the explorers and others would become the real estate of generations to come. Landholders would come to form a new class that had more in common with the British government's interests in an Australian colony than with any form of democratic revolution against the crown or any comprehension of the land as a collective, responsibility and spiritual entity of Aboriginal nations.

Macquarie the brilliant progressive who believed that "good conduct should lead a man back to the rank of society which he had forfeited" (Clark 1977: p. 175) as against the rigid system which held 'that felons and convict stock could never join the society of gentlemen' was as much a problem for first nations as anybody. Macquarie the reformer, improver and planner of modern Sydney was no saviour of the first nations. It certainly was not the case that the freedom that might flow to convicts and felons on the basis of merit in the new civilisation would flow on to Aboriginal society. The forces that came into

being with Lachlan Macquarie were the perfect storm for the Aboriginal nations of the south-east. Under the veil of enlightenment and the uplift of the convict society was a greed for land that took few prisoners. If the first price of colonisation of the new settlement was disease and pestilence then the second price was military terror and cruelty that was barely comprehensible to Aboriginal people. At the heart of it all was land rewards for those who conformed to the new ideals of economic progress.

For Aboriginal families all this was foreign and immoral in its own right. War was irregular and small scale and born from misunderstandings that could frequently be solved in ceremony or through ritualistic settlements. Landed rights as well as the ability to use occupy and travel across land were created across generations in stable and clear lines. The soldiers and fortune seekers of Sydney were men who had faced naval battles and Napoleon at Waterloo were steely and probably traumatised and de-sensitised by the human carnage they had viewed at first hand. The brutal carnage at Waterloo and other places was greater than any before in human history. This was the background of many of the Sydney regiment. They were also hungry to build their wealth and landed estates.

In Macquarie's time too the prison of enlightenment that would trap Aboriginal people for the next two hundred years was formed. The view was that with a school or a church and land Aboriginal people might be satisfied enough to follow the norms of the greater society or alternately to die out. Time and time again freedoms were offered Aboriginal families if they conformed to the idea of honesty, sobriety and industry and time and time again they were taken away if they did not or even if they did conform to this view. In all this the new Australian society lost something big about the continent in which they

were living and more importantly they lost the chance to grow and understand something more than the illusion of material well being and prosperity that obsessed many in the new colony. (Turbet and ProQuest (Firm) 2011)

And what of barbarity? Life in Great Britain was also brutal, Alexander Berry (1781-1873), a major acquirer of land in the Shoalhaven region, came from a Scotland where after execution offenders could "be hung in chains until fowls picked flesh from bones and the winds of heaven bleached and whitened the bones". (Watson: p. 46) In addition, there was the slaughter of modern war. The French Republic declared war on England in February 1793. There was a short period of peace between 1802 and 1803 but the Napeleonic Wars continued until 1815. The conflict with France was the background of the settlement of Sydney Cove, hostilities only ceased the year before the "Glenfield Letter" was written.

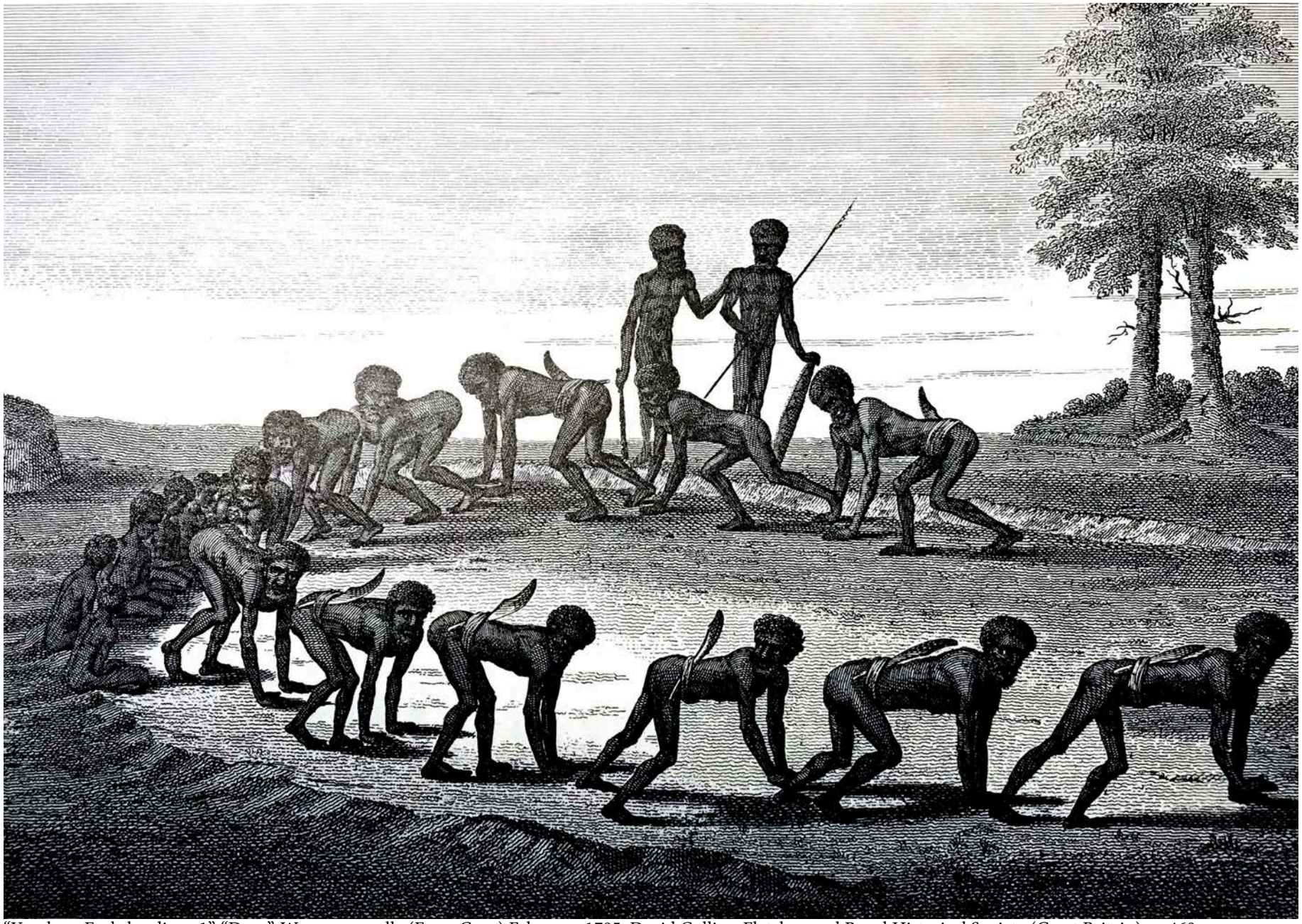
The Gandangarra, Darug and Darkinjung responded to settlers with the same kind of terror that was inflicted upon them. This was the context for the events leading up to "the Glenfield Farm letter" of 1816

IX

Why did Pemulwuy, Cannabaygal and other warriors defend their estates? What was at stake? 250 years later, after Europeans have changed the whole geography of the Sydney region it seems very clear. Despite the foreign terrain of New South Wales, Captain John Hunter and Arthur Bowes Smith, amongst others, recognised the magnificence of the first nations estates that they had come to. The forger/painter/ convict Joseph Lycett captured the managed environment, complete with red cedars grass lands and yams, in many of the fifty vistas he painted in **Views in Australia**.(Lycett) These were well managed lands. (Hughes: pp. 3-5) (Gammage) It was a bridge too far to recognise first nations farming let alone "the world of mind and spirit, none of it written but stored in landscape, artefact, dance and story" (Clendinnen: p. 5)

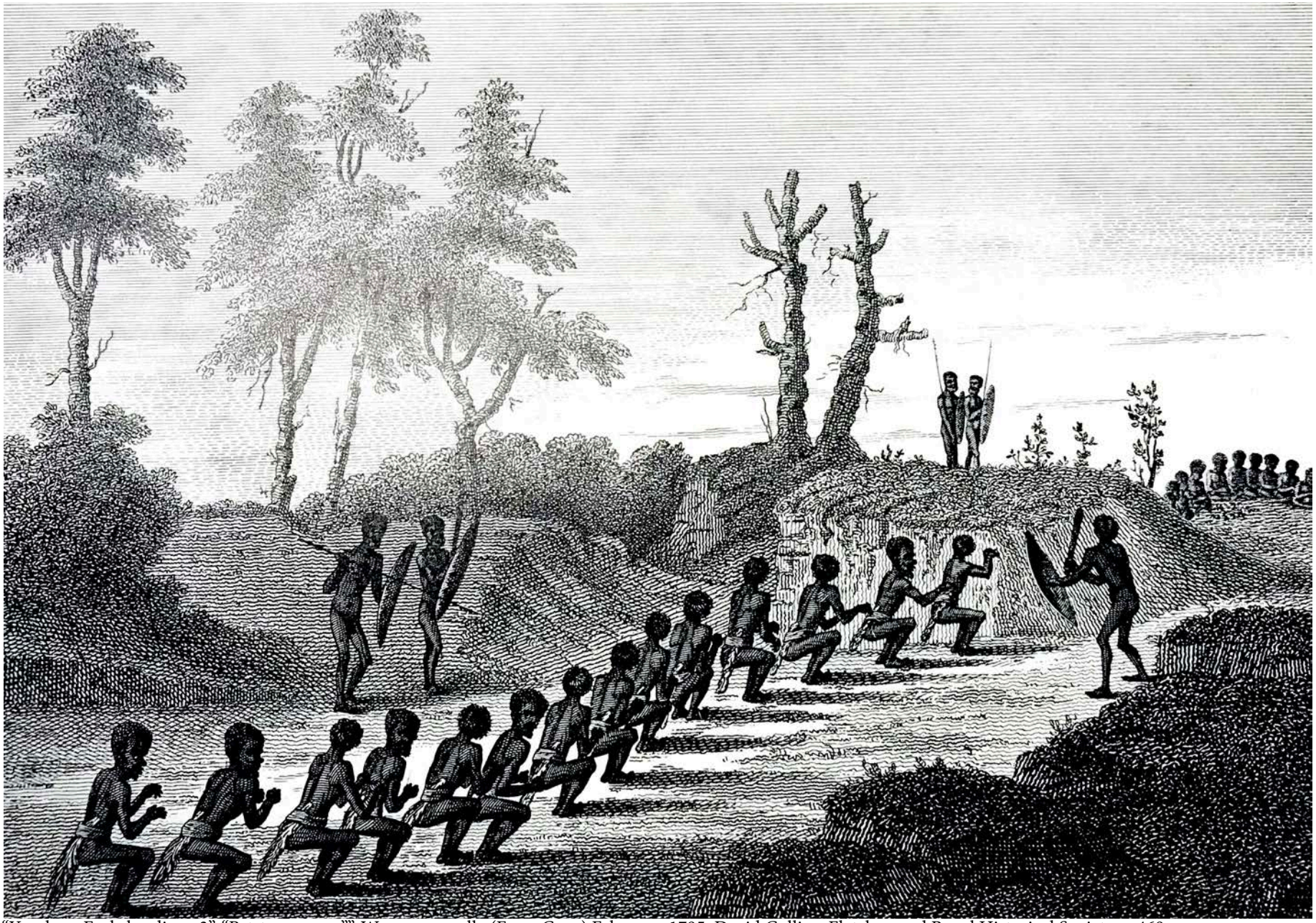
The colonial land system usurped an ancient spiritual system where land as an entity distinct from humanity was barely conceivable. Land in the Australian aboriginal conception was not based around individual plots, a European farming tradition nor a system of patronage or parliamentary governance. People were not distinct from the land. How people lived was based on spiritual responsibilities. Up to 90 per cent of life was spiritual or ceremonial in orientation. In part this was about putting life and health into perople and lands.

Ceremony also influenced relationships between families. Norman Tindale's language maps of Aboriginal nations are an inadequate approximation of the complex relationships across regions over large areas and distances. Families travelled long routes to participate in a variety of different spiritual rituals. These relationships might be



"Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang 1", "Dogs", Wogganmagully (Farm Cove) February, 1795, David Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain): p. 468

"Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang 2", "Pat-ta-go-rang", Wogganmagully (Farm Cove) February, 1795, David Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain): p. 470



"Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang 3", "Pat-ta-go-rang"", Wogganmagully (Farm Cove) February, 1795, David Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society p. 468

called song lines and the relations between families and individuals were more spiralling, matrixes than lateral linear relationships.

In Sydney, at the time of colonisation, the Gweagal and Bidjigal family groups lived around Botany Bay, the Cadigal occupied lands from South Head to Darling Harbour, Wangal families lived in the west, on the North Shore lived the Cammeray/Gamaragal people and in the north west lived the Walumegal family groups, inland were the Burramattgals, near Cabramatta were the Cahbaygal, Broken Bay was Garigal country and at Windsor lived the Buruberongal. Over time things changed, inland groups moved to the coast and coastal groups moved inland. The movement and activities of the people in ceremony gave life to the lands, animals and waters and vice versa. It was a ceremonial economy in which voices, songs, dance, ceremony and life in every dimension was interweaved. Every clan had responsibilities to literally give and receive the life of the land, animals and even weather patterns. There were no ostensible ownership rights in the form of pieces of paper, rather clans and families had life giving ceremonial duties and practical tasks that included burning the lands, ensuring the abundance of animals and monitoring the state and quality of the lands. Clans and families lived on the inland, coastal and other estates that they belonged to from through their father's family and clan ties. Between grandfather and grandchildren the land from the inland passed to the owners of the coastal regions and vice versa. It was a perfect system of transference and any conflicts were not about ownership of land or water but rather about scarcity and inter-family disputes or rivalries.

There could not have been a more radical confrontation than between the colonial government of England and the Aboriginal nations of Australia. It was like some invasion

from Mars.

Benign and relatively peaceful Aboriginal communities were confronted with a government that had just won the first real inter-continental war. The explorers, captains and surgeons of the Sydney and other colonies were veterans of the navy and infantry and a carnage the world had never seen before.

For these, and others who came after them, the Aboriginal lands were divided and surveyed and classified into land titles. There was no authority for this other than from an unrecognised foreign colonial secretary and if necessary brutal force. Then land was fenced, crops that took over the natural foods and vegetation were planted and guarded carefully from any foragers. Other than from the sea, traditional food sources were quickly supplanted by foreign grains, forests were cut down, swamps were drained and traditional hunting areas ruined by cows and sheep.

In 1795 David Collins recorded and illustrated *yoolung erabadiung* initiation activities at Farm Cove just down from where the Opera House is now sited. Initiation brought young men into a direct relationship with the spirit and practical expressions of the land. In his commentaries Collins focused on the practice of knocking out a tooth in initiation ceremonies for young men and he argued that the Cammeray/Camairgal people were a dominant group with powers over different clan groups. It is probably the case that the ceremonies Collins witnessed had several dimensions and some of which might not have been readily shared with outsiders. The presiding clan had a role as the managers of ceremonies but the family group with whom the managing group were interacting would have had the dominant role in other ceremonies such as funerals or law gatherings. These events were not incidental to life in the way a Sunday church service might be in European society. There was

no spiritual life apart from life itself, life was given by ceremony and ceremony was given by life. The land, seasons and animals were energized by the ceremony and vice versa. Sand sculptures gave form to life forces and conveyed information to young initiates about their duties and responsibilities and their place in the world. The recitation of names brought waterways, estuaries, coastal forests, soaks, coastal rocks and islands to life. See (Turbet and ProQuest (Firm): pp. 114-20)

Collins illustrations show direct relationships of people with animals and lands. The skill of the ceremony was to show how well each initiate understood the animal or land area. These skills were honed over a life time, through dancing, song and the rhythms and methods of the ceremony were all learned and practiced from cradle to grave. As a white haired man or woman the full knowledge of the land and the animal would have been acquired to the point where human life and the life of nature became co-terminous.

Dogs have an important role in Aboriginal ceremonial life. They frequently herald the beginning and closing of ceremonies and often accompany initiates or people who are making a transition after death. The dog ceremony that Collins records is recognizable and like ceremonies were practiced up and down the Australian continent. Ancient ancestral being dogs ran up and down the south coast and from the far northern regions of Cape York and Arnhem land. Byron Bay, Bega and the Snowy Mountains were known to have strong dog stories and ceremonies. Emulating the actions and practices of dogs also connected people with pathways, named places and regions. Dogs were seen to be guardians of country and people. They were also conveyors of messages and also conveyed warnings. People who looked after areas of country often thought of themselves as guardian dogs.

In all of these recorded ceremonies the Aboriginal communities of the Sydney region were demonstrating their deep knowledge of land. They were recording their guardianship of particular places and territories. Law was being conveyed as conduct.

X

The 1816 massacre created a pattern of violence that was repeated throughout the Australian colonies. The law at this time was harsh, between 1826-36 there were 363 executions in Sydney. (Castle 2008) Gapps argues that “Gibbeting was the long-standing English practice of hanging a corpse in chains or irons for particularly heinous offences and deployed to deter others long afterwards”. (Gapps: p.229) From the Treason Act of 1351, for example, it was mandatory for those convicted of high treason to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The convicted traitor was fastened to a wooden panel, and drawn by horse to the place of execution, where he was then strangled (almost to the point of death), emasculated, disembowelled, beheaded and chopped into four pieces. The remains would then often be displayed in prominent places across the country, to serve as a warning of the fate of traitors. Women convicted of high treason were burned at the stake. Over a period of several hundred years many found guilty of high treason were subjected to the law’s ultimate sanction. During a long period of 19th-century legal reform the sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering was changed to drawing, hanging until dead, and posthumous beheading and quartering, before being abolished in England in 1870. The death penalty for treason was only abolished in 1998.

But even in this harsh context, and in a situation where convicts were routinely hung and thrashed, much to the horror of Barrangaroo; killing and mutilating men, women and children who were neither soldiers nor criminals, and without any form of trial is barbaric. After the initially enlightened attempts by Governors Phillip and

Macqaurie to partner with and enlist native communities, if there was conflict there was no attempt to simply fight the native warriors; men, women and children, young and old, were attacked and killed. Terrorism and suppression was clearly the intention, and beyond this, in many regions of Australia, attempted genocide was the result. In South Eastern Australia the idea that war should be perpetrated against the whole native community carried on to Van Diemens Land from 1824-1831 and then to the Port Phillip district where in 1842 Portland magistrate J. Blair expressed the view that the governor should send in soldiers and if perpetrators of violence weren't brought to justice 'the whole tribe should be shot'. (Broome 2005: p. 80) After the Myall Creek massacre of 1838, seven European men were hung for killing 30 unarmed Wirrayaraay community members, violence tended to be conducted secretly. Bruce Pascoe correctly writes: "The whole of Port Phillip district was a battleground"(Pascoe: p. 1`59), not between troops, police and natives primarily, but between native communities and private vigilante groups that all took their cues from the ordained massacre at Appin, from the Black war in VDL and carried it on until Europeans in every region felt unthreatened. In other regions of Australia the pattern of violence continued on into the twentieth century.

The violation and mutilation of bodies was also well outside any kind of code of military warrior normality. Michael Organ notes: "The bodies of slain warriors were also decapitated, though in secret, and their heads sent off to museums in Europe. Camps were created to house those people captured, whilst prisoners were transported to penal establishments such as Port Arthur and children were taken from families and tribes for re-education. Gatherings of six or more Aborigines were declared illegal, customary practice was outlawed, as was the carry-

ing of spears, and the non-Aboriginal civilian population was granted permission to shoot and kill those Aborigines who did not adhere to the tenets of the various proclamations issued by government. The campaign – or "service" as Macquarie called it - was to be executed with "secrecy and despatch" (Organ 1993) These brutal and barbaric actions set an example to the rest of the population that the Aboriginal people were to be treated in a manner which would ensure the security of the ever expanding settlement.

Alexander Berry's used "cannibalism" as a rationale for exhuming Arrawarra's body and sending his head to Edinburgh University. This was perhaps the most heinous of his actions. In the letter to Edinburgh Museum Berry wrote " I have now the pleasure of sending you a Craniological Specimen, being the skull of a former chief of the neighbourhood, valuable on account of part of the History of the Personage to whom it originally belonged being known. He was of the rank of a German Prince, or the chief of a Highland clan, and renowned for many dark deeds of Blood. Many years before Shoal Haven was settled by Berry & Wollstonecraft it was resorted to by Parties of Cedar cutters. In course of time these were either all destroyed or driven away by the natives. Arawarra - the owner of the present specimen - attacked and destroyed a Party of these sawyers who were employed at Black Head seven miles to the north of Shoal Haven River and utterly destroyed them, and if report speaks true, afterwards feasted on their flesh. He has left a numerous Progeny behind him, and notwithstanding the bloody deeds of his youth lived to an extreme old age and died in peace. On our arrival here he was tottering on the verge of human life. About 2 or 3 years ago I met Charlie his youngest son, a peaceable well-disposed native like another Pious Orcus carrying this once formidable warrior

upon his shoulders. The venerable old Gentleman merely came to take a last look of Cooloomgatta now occupied by strangers, died two days after & was buried in the neighbourhood. He was buried in the sand to the depth of ten feet, laying on his face & with his head pointing to south. Thus although this man of blood escaped punishment and died in peace, yet mark eternal Justice his bones have not been allowed to rest in their grave, & it is to be hoped that his skull will throw such light on science as may sufficiently expiate the crimes which he committed." (Organ 1993b: p. 56-7)

From Arrawarra to Broger the felling of cedar trees "Polia" – red cedar, *toona australis* – provoked savage responses, no doubt because warriors could see the profound effects of felling old growth trees. Fire was fought with fire. Those who gathered cedar in the early period of settlement were ruthless and unprincipled. In the earliest periods of the Sydney colony cedar gathering was unregulated, entrepreneurial ship captains returning with empty convict ships would have their carpenters fell trees and saw the trunks into logs for return journeys to England and other trading ports. It was no doubt one of these expeditions that Arrawarra confronted "cedar pirates" on what is now the tip of the coastal peninsula known as "Blackhead" at Geroa. It is incredible to imagine a stand of old growth cedar trees growing so close to the sea. Bennett writes "The cutting of cedar represented the greatest threat to the Aboriginal economy first posed by Europeans as it began the process of altering the environment and restricting the availability of resources... Erosion resulted... cutters may have forced sexual relationships with Aboriginal women. Cutters may have also introduced venereal diseases... Aboriginal people sometimes traded for goods by showing cedar gatherers stands of timber ... but this frequently ended in violence...

.. Kiama and Orient Point on the Shoalhaven River were amongst the biggest cedar ports. The character of the cedar gathers at Kiama, for example, was notorious. "the little horse shoe bay that constituted the boat harbor... may be imagined to be a pirate isle... on the green sward might be seen half a dozen groups each gathered around a keg of rum... a more licentious and reckless mob was thus gathered on the lonely beach... prolonged day into night in their carousing until all the liquor was gone" (Jervis 1939: pp. 139-40) A party of cedar gatherers disappeared in 1814.. a search party found the remains of one cutter with hands amputated".(Bennett 2003: p. 52) In 1829 Broger killed cedar gatherer John Rivett on Brogers Creek in Kangaroo Valley. There is evidence to suggest that Rivett and his mates as well as their employer were unscrupulous in their dealings with Aboriginal women at that time. (Bennett 2003: p. 92) At this time "there was not a valley, ravine or gorge between Bulli and Broughton Creek that was not dotted with cedar trees".(Jervis 1939: p. 135) In 1939 James Jervis wrote in the journal of the Royal Australian history society that "few of the present generation in this State have seen this beautiful tree growing. Except in places remote from the destructive hand of man it has disappeared as completely as though it had never existed... Today not even a stump remains over hundreds of kilometres of the coastal strip. Millions upon millions of feet of the wood have been cut and sold probably as much wasted by injudicious sawing, while large quantities have been burnt. Grossly wasteful of our timber heritage, in no case, have we seen so neglectful as in the case of the cedar tree". (Jervis 1939: p. 136)

The anger of Aboriginal warriors towards cedar gatherers was understandable as was the violence of Aboriginal warriors against European settlers on the Cumberland Plains. These were traditional food gathering areas ac-

cessible to Aboriginal first nations for millenia. There was a traditional right to gather food on those lands that was suddenly and for no coherent reason denied them. As Throsby's letter implies the barbarity of Aboriginal responses was frequently a direct payback. Isaac Eustace was speared and his hand cut off after he and two other soldiers killed a young Gandegarra boy. When soldiers of the 73rd regiment kill and mutilate a harmless woman and three children on John Butcher's farm, Gandegarra warriors kill William Baker and Elizabeth Durant. They then pursue and kill the perpetrators at William Broughton's farm and kill a woman and two children at James Daley's farms. The cycle of killing and pay back killing and mutilation goes on until the Appin massacre which was designed to be the ultimate terror and sanction against any further native interference with European farms. Nevertheless the war continued as native leaders tried to find other ways to maintain access to their traditional lands. Gapps finds that between 1788-1817 eighty colonists were killed and one hundred wounded and a conservative estimate is that at least eighty Aboriginal people were killed and over one hundred wounded. He estimates there were 162 documented raids in which Aboriginal people suffered no casualties and were victors. In this same period Gapps maintains that five Europeans and forty two Aboriginal people were massacred.(Gapps: p. 264-66)

XI

Amongst the Aboriginal people who Throsby was trying to protect in his 1816 "Glenfield Farm Letter" was the renowned Tho-tho-it who would a few years later guide Throsby through Kangaroo Valley and Jervis Bay, to Goulburn and Orange. Tho-tho-it in turn asked Throsby to help him return to his homelands at Bun-gar-ee. Throsby introduced Tho-tho-it by letter to Alexander Berry: he wrote that he was "… well acquainted with every inch of that part of the country, speaks good English, and I think may be useful to you. I have therefore told him if he will accompany you and explain to the natives there, that they are not to touch anything you have and… that you will give him some tobacco, a pair of trousers, and he adds, he must have an old shirt." (Throsby to Berry, Glenfield, April 8th, 1822 Organ 1993a: p. 59)
Tho-tho-it and Charcoal were central to Berry's first excursion to the Shoalhaven. [10] The centrality of their help and advice was not forgotten. It effectively secured sixty years of comparatively free movement for around one hundred Aboriginal people permanently residing on the Coolangatta estate fom Numba, Bun-gar-ee, Woreege, Muroo, Gerringong and Kiama and the visitors who came to see them . There was no special benefit here for these were, of course, Tho-tho-it and his families' home lands. However across the State and the nation traditional owners were suddenly seen to be untenured, this was the effect of Phillip's flag in the sand, Macquaries brutal war and the untrammeled invasion of pirates, traders, convicts and settlers.(Berry Papers ML MSS 315/46). The partnership with Berry helped the continuity of life for Shoalhaven Aborigines at this critical part of the nineteenth

century.
After setting up as merchants, Berry and his partner Edward Wollstonecraft wrangled a land grant of 10,000 acres in Broughton's Shoalhaven homelands of Bungar-ee in 1822. By 1840 Berry's Coolangatta estate had grown to over 32,000 acres and later to 65,000 acres and seven hundred acres at Crows Nest in North Sydney. Ironically Berry was an advocate of the Scottish Dundas system in which landowners monopolised political rights on the basis that they alone had a stake in the land and therefore the best interest of the country at heart. (Bridges 1992) This system of land tenure was in some ways close to the patrilineal land system of the first nations. But there were no kings or lairds or earls in Aboriginal society – there were men and women with white hair who transferred the knowledge and memories on across the generations, clan by clan, ceremony after ceremony.
In the aftermath of the Appin massacre, Alexander Berry had his own views about living with native peoples. He witnessed and disagreed with the terrorism of the Dutch in Java " a dutchman is killed.. the Government sends out a military party who kill the first hundred Javanese that fall in their way".(Bennett 2003: p. 63) He was smart enough to realise that he needed Tho-tho-it and the Aboriginal community resident on his farm especially in the early period of its establishment. But there was also an element of the traditional laird about Berry, all power belonged to the landowner. It was absurd in Berry's mind for Aboriginal people to be regarded as equals but they were useful as crofters. "I began by placing complete confidence in the natives, for I could see that they were proud of the confidence"[11] In this regard the 88 square miles of coastal plains that was to become the Berry Coolangatta estate was a Scottish fiefdom replete with yeoman peasants and workers in which Aboriginal families were included. Berry's attitude to the Aboriginal community was also influenced by the withdrawal of the convict labour force in 1841 and the lack of agricultural labour during the gold rushes of the 1850s. The laird's care for his crofters did not preclude Berry collecting the caputs or skulls of native people for the phrenology staff at his alma mater in Edinburgh. Berry was an active collector and the remains of a great warrior and clan leader of the Shoalhaven, Arawarra, whose grave Berry desecrated, still remain to be found and returned to his resting place at Cullunghutti.(Organ 1993a: p. 53; 1993b: p. 53)
For the first settlers the colonies were a great economic opportunity. "Berry thought constantly of prospects for settlers in remote Australia. An enterprising man with some capital could take the step up in a society to the rank of landowner virtually impossible at home and hope to become part of the social, economic and political elite". Bridges, p. 51 Alexander Berry rarely left Crows Nest and was a member of the Legislative Council for decades in Sydney. His brothers John and David ran the Shoalhaven estate.
Berry made brass plates for Tho-tho-it, Yager and Wagin. They read: "This is to certify that Yager the native chief of Jervis Bay and Wagin the native chief of Shoal Haven, have generally conducted themselves with propriety, and that Tho-tho-it (Broughton) the native constable is a steady discerning individual and superior to most of his brethren.(Berry 1859 ML MSS 315/46: 89). (Waters 2013)The role name plates played in the next phase of colonisation has been well documented. Basically they were designed to reward compliant leaders, often by-passing the traditional authority system. Along with rations, clothing, blankets and other assets they were used to create a working relationship with Aboriginal communities. But the other side of the coin was that partici-

Dharawal & Gandangarra, Camden Park, 1850, Macleay Museum, Historic Photographs Collection, W. Hertzer,

Coolangatta Families, c.1890., commemorative photo album made by employees for John Hay

pating in the pastoral economy allowed these leaders to constantly negotiate for their families and communities to live on their lands. In this context Tho-tho-it was a remarkable person who learned very quickly to live in two worlds. Notably Berry also recognised the spiritual nature of the community. He wrote of Yager as his "religious friend": "He had the organ of devotion highly developed in his head and from his own account had much intercourse with the visionary world."[12]

The culture of violence was not absent from the Coolangatta Estate. In February 1823 a convict overseer, John Britton, shot a man for stealing potatoes. Berry crudely acknowledged the ownership and tenure of the natives. Like a Scottish laird his negotiations with a Wodi Wodi man called Old Settler were indicative of his paternalistic approach: "But among the crowd of admiring natives there appeared a testy, shrivelled, & irascible old Gentleman, who claimed the rank of Chief of Shoal Haven, alleging that he was the Feudal Chief of the very place where I had made my huts, and that he also must be invested with an order of nobility. The poor overseer was alarmed at his vehemence, and told him that Wajin being now King, it could not be helped, that it was his own fault in not putting in his claim sooner, and we could not make two Kings. Then he observed I will not allow you to remain. Pack up your alls and be gone. The overseer offered to make him a Constable, & assured him that I would get him a Constable's Plate (this is square; a chief's plate is like a half moon). This he indignantly refused. The overseer then offered to make him a settler, observing that I was only a settler myself. He agreed to this on condition that he was made a "Free" Settler, but such was his impatience that it was necessary to give him a leaden plate until a better could be procured. When I came down I got the blacksmith to make an Iron Plate & to engrave

upon it that he was the Free Settler of Shoal Haven, and this plate he wore for the rest of his days, and in future was always known by blacks & whites under the name of "Old Settler"."[13]

Under the Berry family tenure Aboriginal people were able to do part-time work, live close to their sacred areas and conduct important ceremonies such as initiations amongst other things. In this Tho-tho-it and other elders effectively negotiated and were a steward and conduit for dozens of Aboriginal people who lived on the Berry estate. Aboriginal labourers worked cutting bark, fishing, working as boatmen on the Shoalhaven river and on the coast, processing tobacco, finding lost animals, pulling maize, washing bags, pulling corn, wheat harvesting, butchering ox, escorting men, washing sheep and maize threshing. For these tasks families received lodging, rations, clothing and sometimes payment. The utility of Aboriginal labour created a dual occupancy with station owners and squatters across NSW in this period. As Heather Goodall noted "These are remembered as times when Aboriginal traditional knowledge was acknowledged by whites for its value to pastoral work, and when Aborigines expertise at stock work, horse riding and property management were widely respected".(Goodall: p. 78)

Most importantly the Shoalhaven families lived and travelled on their lands and kept culture alive. R.H. Mathews documented the importance of the Cullunghutti and ceremonial areas around Broughton Creek area where Tho-tho-it carefully negotiated with Alexander Berry for his family to stay. After Berry and his partner Edward Wollstonecraft were allocated the lands from Numba on the south side of the Shoalhaven River to the Minnamurra River at Kiama, the community lived relatively freely. As Mathews shows as late as 1886 the community was still

living a traditional life, travelling across their estates and practicing ceremonies. (Mathews 1896)

There were tensions. Berry noted the different priorities of Tho-tho-it and Broger.[14] When Tho-tho-it was helping Alexander Berry build his house at Cullunghutti he was castigated by an elder woman. “What are you doing wasting your time with that when there are many other important things to be doing?” Of course there was something in this old ladies words.[15] The ceremonial economy was as taxing as the mainstream colonial economy. Great preparations and consultations had to be undertaken. Appropriate protocols had to be followed including sending couriers to families and communities linked by totemic relationships from the South Coast out as far as the Wurajarri areas of Western NSW. Shells, eagle hawk claws, echidna quills, bark had to be gathered and ceremonial areas and camps had to be prepared. Then the actual business of the ceremonies lasted over weeks and months, how this could be accommodated with the mainstream world pressing for agricultural labour?

The traditions of the South Coast survived in a context of extreme confrontation and violence thanks to Tho-tho-it and the Bun-gar-ee families. Berry on the other hand “was happy to have a labour source during times of shortage that looked after itself (possibly to the extent of providing over 70 per cent of its subsistence into the 1850s), thereby reducing the amount he had to pay for its use. In part, Berry preserved the Aboriginal economy for his benefit.” (Bennett 2003: p. 265)

XII

Conrad Martens painted Cullunghutti, from Numba across the Shoalhaven River, in 1860.Culangutti was, as R.H. Mathews documented, a living pathway to spiritual life beyond death for aboriginal groups living at Bou-dor-ee . (de Hauteclocque and Winter 2007) Martens’ painting unwittingly gives it that inflection and also showed the tranquility of Numba before pastoralism, drains, dams and the giant red cedar trees had been completely denuded along the Shoalhaven River.

Cullunghutti was a spiritual centre for not only the Boudor-ee estates but for the entire South Coast. In 1827 Berry unwittingly documented the significance of Cullunghutti for the clan leader Arrawa: “ I met Charlie his youngest son.. carrying this once formidablee old Gentleman upon his shoulders. The venerable old Gentleman came to take a last look at Cooloomgatta now occupied by strangers, died two days after & was buried in the neighbourhood.”(Organ 1993a: p. 56; 1993b: p. 56) Iniates were also carried on the shoulders of their closest family members in the Bunan ceremony as can be seen in sketches accompanying David Collins commentary of 1795. The ceremony was still taking place near Cullunghutti throughout Alexander Berry’s life. .

R.H. Mathews documented Cullunghutti’s significance as the stepping off point to “the hereafter” in an article in 1898: “About three-quarters of a mile north-westerly from the Coolangatta homestead, the residence of the late Mr. Alexander Berry, is a remarkable rock on the eastern side of the Coolangatta mountain. This rock slopes easterly with an angle of about 30 degrees from the horizon, and on its face are six elongated depressions, caused by

Conrad Martens, Cullunghutti, 1860

the weathering away of the softer portions of the stone. These places are suggestive of having been worn by the feet of many persons having used them, like the depressions worn in pavements by much traffic. This has given rise to a superstition among the aborigines that these marks were made in the rock by the feet of the spirits of many generations of natives sliding from the upper to the lower side of it. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the first two depressions are larger than the rest; the next pair on the left of them are somewhat smaller; and the last pair, farther to the left are smaller still. The aboriginal legend is that the larger marks were made by the feet of the men; the medium size by the women, and the smaller by the children. One of the old blackfellows, who was with me when I visited this place, stated that always after a death in the camp, this rock presented the appearance of having been recently used. If the deceased was a man, the large marks looked fresh; if a woman, the middle pair; and if a child, the smaller slides showed indications of someone having slipped along them." (de Hauteclocque 2007)

The oral history of the South Coast communities holds that Cullunghutti was not only the stepping point to the here-after but it was the place where spirits came into the world. It was a sort of natural pyramid intersecting with heaven. The mountain held the worlds together and in turn the community presence around it in day to day life was a constant reminder of duties, obligations and the interactions between ancestors and the living.

Mathews' article documents the footsteps in the rock slopes on the east side of Cullunghutti. The different shapes and size of the footsteps in the stone denoted the men, women and children who had made the transition from life to death. After a death in the community the footsteps would appear fresh. From the rock the journey

began across the sea to the final spirit place. Mathews in a quasi-Christian fashion interprets tests of flames and good character before a soul can happily enter the heavenly realm. Fire probably had a more multi-dimensional role. It was cleansing, life giving and taking, powerful, helpful and scarifying. From the rock at Cullunghutti, a cabbage tree grew out to the sea, leading out to the journey through the fire, past sacred animals and territories that belonged to the deceased. The stories that Mathews documents were no doubt emulated in the funeral ceremony where through a sequence of dance, song and rhythm the participants would help track and follow the journey of the departed. At the centre of all this was Cullungatti.(de Hauteclocque and Winter 2007)

Beyond Cullunghutti, at the junction of the Jasper Creek and the Broughton Creek, was a Bunan, ceremonial initiation ground for the regional Aboriginal families again documented by R.H. Mathews in 1896. Over this long and troubled period of colonisation the Bun-gar-ee community were able to stay on their estates and to hunt and live and continue traditions and ceremonies at Cullunghutti and Broughton Creek

Mathews article published in the Journal of American Anthropology showed the layout of the 1886 Bunan ceremony and provides clear evidence that the Aboriginal communities were still practicing their ceremonial life in 1886. The 1886 ceremony also demonstrated that the traditional links to communities across NSW were still in place across south-western NSW.

But the significance of these events and their links to the Bunan ceremony recorded by David Collins were not appreciated or understood. The sand sculptures, elaborate lists of names of water holes, coastal areas, camping grounds, special sites and events and the knowledge and dances emulating animals most probably seemed a

bizarre and horrifying to even those who did not have a parochial Christian background.
Ceremonies were held through the region but the usual reaction of witnesses was of moral horror. A witness described a Five Islands ceremony as follows: “The dance was introduced by the louder singing of the man, and females. The females continuing to beat time with their hands on a bundle which they held before them. Their motions did not display great agility; and, as far as gracefulness of the scene, it was of too shocking a nature, too unseemly – too disgraceful to describe. Were not my duty concerned, my curiosity could never preval in my sense of delicacy, to visit a Corrobaraa. To a sensible and susceptible mind it is sufficient to say, they were naked. For the sustenance of the indelicate I have no descriptive food”. (26 Nov 1821, William Walker to Rev. R. Watson Organ 1993a: p. 57; 26 Nov 1821, William Walker to Rev. R. Watson Organ 1993b: p. 57) There are many exampled of this kind of ignorance, thus was viewed the oldest culture in the world, this prejucial ignorance and lack of knowledge is why the traditions and knowledge of the South Coast have been so little appreciated and barely registered.(Wollongong College of Technical and Further Education. Outreach. 1987)

XIII

If Alexander, John and David Berry sought anything it was European immortality. Alexander, in particular, was greedy for it. But the Coolangatta estate was far from a sustainable enterprise in the tradition of Aboriginal estates that were ecologically and environmentally balanced and prosperous for thousands of years. When Alexander died he left an exorbitant amount of money to ensure the Berry name would not be forgotten.. Neither the Crows Nest estate nor the Collangatta Estate had the cash income to pay for these monuments.
It was at this point that the European land system entered another phase. After the death of the Berrys, John Hay was faced with running the estates and paying for the Berry monuments. Up until the 1850s the main source of income on the Estate was breeding cattle and horses. Cedar was also important in that it allowed Alexander to trade off to trade off his trading debts. But rent and share farm profits were what made the whole estate tick over. After John Berry died in 1848, leasing of the vast estate became more common place. This meant that more people came into the region and farming also intensified. By 1863 there were 300 tenant farmers occupying about one sixth of the estate and paying six thousand pounds in rent. Share farming was also occurring. Land, implements and materials were provided by the estate and labour was provided by the farmer. In this scenario profits were shared between the estate and the farmer.
Alexander died in 1873 leaving the estate to David. When David died on 23 Sept 1889, he left an estate valued at 1,225,000 pounds, a vast sum on paper. But both Alexander and David promised a combined cash amount of

around 230,000 pounds to the University of St Andrews in Scotland, the creation of Shellharbour Hospital and the Presbyterian Church and this amount of money was much larger than the annual income from the estate. It was this that accelerated the subdivisions for the municipalities of Berry, Bomaderry Geroa, Gerringong, Kiama and Gerry Bailey (Shoalhaven Heads). This in turn resulted in the eviction of Aboriginal familes from Coolangatta to Rosebery Park and other missions.

After David Berrys death, John Hay began to correspond with the newly formed Aboriginal Protection Board and whatever protection the South Coast community had had within the Coolangatta Estate began to dissipate.

This began another phase in the history of the South Coast Aboriginal journey. This has to be the subject of another long and lengthy historical enterprise. What we can say is that miraculously the families of Bou-deree that Tho Tho It and others assembled on Berry's Coolangatta estate maintained culture, their language and their spirit.

It was reported in the ***Illawarra Mercury*** on 20 February 1900 that police had begun to take action against Aboriginals remaining in the vicinity of Cullunghutti and Seven Mile Beach. John Hay provided money to build some houses at Roseberry Park but an era was ending and a new and tough period was beginning in which the memory of the original "free settlers" was being lost.

The Aborigines Protection Board secured 32 acres of the Crookhave (Rosebery) Park 'that would be suitable and sufficient for the purposes of the aborigines'. (Organ 1993a: p. 189)

Other circles were being formed at this time. Many of the Five Islands and Shoalhaven community had moved to Botany Bay and La Perouse. Amongst them was Ellen Anderson nee Davis. The newly formed NSW Protection Board in 1892 most likely sent her to the Maloga

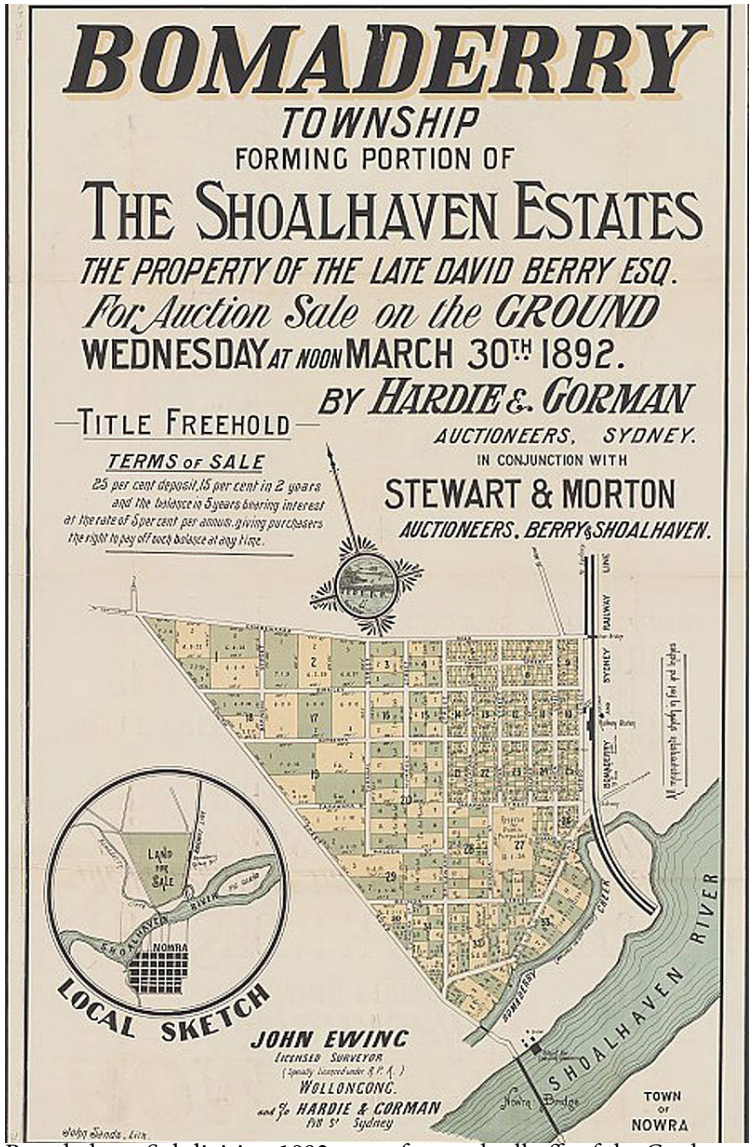
and Cummergunja Missions on the Murray River where she met and married Hughie Anderson, who had been trained by Daniel Mathews and Shadrick James. Ellen and her sister Rosie were daughters of the South Coast leader Paddy Burrgalamg and the Gweagal woman Biddy Biyyarung Giles. At this time petitions emanating from Victoria and other parts of NSW sough land for the creation of self sufficient farms and communities.

In 1890 Hughy Anderson, with Ellen and five children came to Kangaroo Valley and ran a school one mile from the current Kangaroo Valley Public School. The Aboriginal reserve was sited on the Western side of the Hampden Bridge behind what is now the Pioneer Farm. Anderson put Frank Foster a young Aboriginal man of 19 years of age in charge. The schoolroom was made of bark and covered with blankets. Also working with Ellen and Hugh were Queen Rosie and King Mickey Johnson of the Illawarra. It was hard going. Other than the bark hut there was only a surveyors tent on the 365 acres along the Kangaro River that had been allocated by the Protection Board. The land still exists as a Bush area and was never suitable as a farm that could be self sustaining. In June, 1890, Anderson returned to Maloga Mission and the Kangaroo Valley school went out of existence. (Cato: pp. 210, 134, 36, 37, 39, 63, 84-5, 210; Committee 1971: p. 21) In 1892 Hughy begged Daniel Mathews to take the family back in at Maloga Mission. They were destitute in the depression of the 1890s. The Mathews shared their clothes and Ellen began again to learn to read and write with Janet Mathews. The Andersons would again come back to Kiama and to the Georges River. (Goodall and Cadzow)

What follows from the 1890s is a whole new and complex history. It was a time when warriors put down their spears and the contest for Aboriginal rights took other

forms. Perhaps though the period of protection was the most bitterly disappointing era for the preservation of Aboriginal culture and the traditional rights to land. Missions and reserves became places where Aboriginal ceremony and languages were discouraged. Children were taken away. Between 1913 and 1929 fifty per cent of the lands that had been set aside in NSW as Aboriginal Reserves were revoked and re-negotiated. It would take a thousand battles before even remnant reserves would return to Aboriginal ownership. The walk off from Cummergunja, the formation of Aboriginal political rights organisations and advocacy for self determination, treaties, land rights and recognition within the fundamental constitutional framework of Australia would all emerge. Those who were killed at Appin in 1816 did not die in vain. The Gandagara struggle did not end. Talks to form the Gandangara Urban Land council began in 1981/82. (Cook and Goodall: pp 248-53) Nor did the quest for the traditional lands around Berry cease. Rosebery Park was one of the first Aboriginal land claims written up and lodged by the NSW Aboriginal Land Council in February 1978. (Cook and Goodall: p. 183) Only with the NSW Land Rights Act of 1983 were Aboriginal communities able to recover a small part of the reserves allocated to them in the mid 19th century. Aboriginal sovereignty and the freedom to live and manage the larger landscape of Australia is still contested. Since 1900 the people of Rosebery Park have looked back on their sacred mountain Cullangutti. One day the mountain will surely be returned to them and we will all benefit. One day too the 365 acre bush reserve, allocated to the Aboriginal community, in my own home town of Kangaroo Valley will be returned too to the local Nowra land council and small justices for the original Wodi Wodi community might start to return.

Hugh_Anderson_c1925_s [PXA 773 / Box 1, Part 2, 78 (detail)] (Mitchell Library)



Bomdaderry Subdivision 1892, one of several sell offs of the Coolangatta Estate that occurred after the death of Alexander, John and David Berry,. The pressure then fell on Aboriginal residents to move to designated reserves and missions.

XIV

Jus Post-Bellum

There were always better angels, and thus far, in Australian history we have looked for them and ignored the unforgiveably, brutal, ignorant British imperialism attached to colonisation. Charles Throsby was a good man. He spoke up and his three page letter is a monument to the sensibility and ethics of our better angels. But the problem is that our angels are erected on a corrupt pedestal. For at the foundation of everything from the good to the worst evils is the illegitimate acquisition of land, the corruption of an environment that was barely understood and, worst of all, the attempted destruction of a unique humanity and their civilisation. The war fought between the Aboriginal communities of Sydney and the settlers of 1788 was significant. Between 1814-1816 it was not some evil despot or one-off farmer that declared war and perpetrated terrorism against Aboriginal men, women and children. It was the progressive figure of the early colony. Foremost in Macquarie's mind was the creation of an Australian society in which all colonists had rights. He waged war on behalf of the common man and in order that emancipated convicts and their family could be land holders. He was defending a land development in a tradition that is all too familiar. By implication this war was committed on behalf of the Australian common man and woman who would make the land their homes into the future. Bruce Pascoe's "Golden Boy" Governor La Trobe in Victoria played a similar role.(Pascoe: pp. 122-44)

The possibility of Australian egalitarianism was forged from Aboriginal wealth, knowledge and land. There is no escaping this responsibility. John Howard's infamous view that the current generations are not responsible for the past does not bear scrutiny. The outer suburbs of

Sydney and regions of NSW were wrought with the blood of first nations communities.

Even those like Throsby, Kennedy, Hume, Macarthur and Wentworth who saw the immorality, injustice and horror of the 1816 war did so only to protect their own interests and to ensure that the future explorations of NSW and their own enterprises would be successful.

Through the limits of Macquarie's enlightenment understanding we can also see the error of over two hundred years of misguided protection of Aboriginal communities. Protection would be offered to the extent that Aboriginal individuals embodied the British values of industry, thrift, honest and sobriety. There was no attempt to understand or comprehend the Aboriginal world view. There was no attempt to understand the Aboriginal laws of land tenure or guardianship or life or spirituality. There was no attempt to comprehend the antipathy and pain that Aboriginal people felt when considering the most basic elements of colonial life such as fences and land boundaries. European values and industry were all. This remains a great flaw of Australian society that has not been properly addressed. The lesson for the progressive community is important. Idealised egalitarian democratic values make no sense without going back and acknowledging the immorality and ethical wrong-doing upon which our whole society and the rights it confers upon ordinary citizens is based.

Throsby, the Wentworths, Oxley, Berry and many others were all issued with vast parcels of Aboriginal land. This conferred great future wealth on generations of their family members and others who benefited from the subdivisions of their estates in the years to come. Over time the land was broken down into small allotments – the half acre block became the entitlement and expectation of every family. Justice Higgins' family wage was built upon such foundations.

The trajectory of Australia's native title system derives from these flawed foundations. Milirrpum v Nabalco based its rejection of Yolngu land tenure on the basis of English laws which had no jurisdiction over this continent. Whitlam eventually created the Northern Territory land legislation on the foundations of the unsuccessful Yolngu case in Milirrpum but it remains an incomplete project. Eddie Mabo's garden allotment on the island of Mer was the closest thing that a distinguished jurist like Ron Caston, with the Butibum case in PNG in his mind, could mould to fit the fixed mindset of landed title under British law. The NSW Land Rights Act sought a one off payment with a sunset clause to compensate for the loss of the entirety of NSW lands, water and sea estates.

It is not enough. It is not justice. There are so many flaws in the Mabo judgement including the idea that to be granted native title there must be continuous possession of land and continual practice of traditional culture. The terrorism and policing of the early nineteenth century in south eastern Australia was aimed squarely at dispossessing Aboriginal communities of their lands. How then can such a ruling be legally, morally or ethically justified? The enlightenment values of thrift, honesty, industry and sobriety were also a flawed mindset from which to understand an Australian aboriginal world view. There is only a limited transference of ideas and concepts between the two world views. Aboriginal land tenure and guardianship are the ultimate models of environmental sustainability and yet only now after Europeans and settlers have usurped Aboriginal lands do we pay attention to their lessons. Mostly we still do not understand.

How can justice be done? Clearly this task is beyond law and money. Aboriginal communities have a deep well of generosity and patience when people of good-will try to come to terms with past injustices and conflicts. Paul Keating acknowledged the travesty of our early settlement and the ignorant and flawed nationalism that over-determined our self-assessment and our laws. But there is a lot to be done off the map of conventional politics by ordinary people. The longer we delay the necessary changes to our national constitution, the longer we delay Aboriginal self determination in all its form, the longer we remain trapped in our past.

Charles Throsby committed suicide at Glenfield in 1828 aged 51.(Parsons) But the story of the Glenfield Letter did not end with Throsby's

death. In the end Charles Throsby's words are haunting. They remind us that reconciliation has to be far deeper and more consequential than simply saying sorry or admitting that injustice occurred in our past.

His were words of dissent and understanding as well as self interest at a time when the lands of Aboriginal people were being "cleared" for the benefit of all settlers who came after. They give us some feeling for the atmosphere and characters of the time it was the beginning of a monumental series of tragedies, misunderstandings and injustices. There is much to be done to attone for the crimes of the past.

Glenfield Farm, now set in a modern industrial and suburban landscape, is truly a place to ponder and comprehend all this. It is also a place to think about the Aboriginal estates, bush orchards, groves and ceremonial spaces with their spiritual dimensions, all changed forever by the incursions of the colonists and the growth of the suburbs.

Appendix One: Other Aboriginals of the Early Colonial Period who Deserve Our Historical Interest

Ab-ar-o'o (also known as Boo-roong) – lived in Rev. Richard Johnson house, Sydney Cove, 1790 (Tench and Royal Australian Historical Society. 1979: p. 148)
Hughy Anderson – a supporter of Daniel Mathews, educated at Maloga Mission, he came to Kangaroo Valley in 1890 to form an Aboriginal school.
Ban'g-ai killed in December 1790
Barltoon, Jack, Wallaby Jack, of Numba
Bidgee Bidgee, native guide to Captain Schaw 1816, (Gapps: p. 228)
Bigon, constant companion of Ba-na-lang.
Biligong – main Aboriginal worker on Brundee Farm in the 1840s, horse breaker, courier,
Billy – friend of Broughton, who worked to establish good relations with Alexander Berry and local Aboriginal community(Bennett 2003: p. 71)
Dick – worked with sawyers for Alexander Berry, 1825
Boladeree – Parramatta man who met Phillip in April 1791, speared a convict later in June as payback for the destruction of his canoe.(Gapps: p.95-6, p. 98)
Bootoo – Shoalhaven Bathurst guide told Alexander Berry "white men don't keep their promises"(Bennett 2003) p62
Boon-du-dullock (Bull Dog) associate of Musquito exiled to Norfolk Island in 1805 (Gapps: p. 184)
Branch Jack killed John Llewyn in 1804 (Gapps: p. 167) ransacked Ebenezer farm in 1805 targeting William Knight who had petitioned the King to allow settlers to shoot Aboriginal people on sight. In one account he was killed while trying to hijack The Hawkesbury ves-

Cullunghutti from Rosebery Park, 2020

sel in 1805 (Gapps: p. 182, 86) in another he was given a breast plate for services rendered 1816 by Macquarie. (Gapps)
Charley (Gapps: p.140)
Bundong, elder of Illawarra group of 34, 1827
Bunduck noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Butta Butta killed by William Cox's Hawkesbury militia in 1816 after Macquarie's proclamation for settlers and associations to take actions against hostile natives either captured and summarily executed and body hung from tree (Gapps: p. 248)
Carbone Jack (Kurringy) noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Carrawy (Gapps: p. 179)
Charley (-1804) killed by Andrew Thompson in a punitive raid in 1804.(Gapps: p. 174)
Cockey killed by William Cox's Hawkesbury militia in 1816 after Macquarie's proclamation for settlers and associations to take actions against hostile natives either captured and summarily executed and body hung from tree (Gapps: p. 248)
Conduwite, **Sam** Muroo, 1837
Cookoogong was a guide on Throsby's 1819 expedition of discovery to Bathurst. He was "rewarded for service on expedition" and was "appointed chief of Burrah-Burrah tribe" (Reel 6038; SZ1044 p.50). He received "a breast plate for his part in Charles Throsby's expedition" (Reel 6020; 2/8130 pp.238, 48).
Daniel marked as "inspected" by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228)
Dunelle, Durelle killed in the Appin massacre of April, 1816
Doongial accused of killing stockmen and settlers in 1804 (Gapps: p. 177)

Doollonn accused of killing stockmen and settlers in 1804 (Gapps: p. 177)
Erombee, Thomas, leader of Budjong band of 28, 1828
Frying Pan (Mueamull) fisherman in the Illawarra area in 1840
Gally, **Paddy** leader of Garramah family group, 1827
Gogu accompanied Baralliler in November 1802, mentioned in Charles Throsby's let of April 5, 1816 as taking shelter at Glenfield Farm (Throsby 1816) marked as "inspected" by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps) p. 228
Goondel, accused of being involved in pay back killings of children at Bringelly, (Gapps: p. 210)
Gooseberry, **Cora (Kaaroo)** (c.1777-1852), Aboriginal woman known as 'Queen Gooseberry', was the daughter of Moorooboora (Maroubra) (c.1758-1798) and wife of Bungaree. For twenty years after the death in 1830 of her husband Bungaree, the Broken Bay chief, she was a Sydney identity. H er rum mug and a brass gorget or breastplate inscribed 'Cora Gooseberry Freeman Bungaree Queen of Sydney and Botany' are among relics in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Another gorget, engraved 'GOOSEBERRY Queen of Sydney to South Head' is held by the Australian Museum, Sydney.(Vincent Smith 2005)
Harry (King) Kiama, native guide to Captain Captain Schaw 1816, (Gapps: p. 228)
Jack Straw killed by William Cox's Hawkesbury militia in 1816 after Macquarie's proclamation for settlers and associations to take actions against hostile natives either captured and summarily executed and body hung from tree (Gapps: p. 248)
Jemmy, killed by settlers 1800 (Gapps: p. 141)
Jack held prisoner by William Cox in 1816 (Gapps: p. 251) later pardoned by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 252) p.252
Jago, Will – Aboriginal worker on Alexander Berry's

property
Jemmy Monday held prisoner by William Cox in 1816 (Gapps), p. 251 later pardoned by Macquarie. (Gapps), p.252
Jubbinguy held prisoner by William Cox in 1816 (Gapps), p. 251)
Maurogan, father of Ab-ar-o'o, from Parramatta
Mickey Johnston (Tiger) (King Mickey) came to the Illawarra with Major E.H. Weston who took up land at Albion Park,
Charlie Kyndel/Tyndel Braidwood worker
Karada Blue Mountains warrior never taken (Gapps) 257-8}
Karryong, native guide, (Gapps: p. 209)
Kitten held prisoner by William Cox in 1816 (Gapps) p. 251) later pardoned by Macquarie. {Gapps], p.252
Kongate noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 {Gapps, p. 247}
Mc Carty worker at Berry Estate, 1845, p. 147
Lewis Makah, guide to James Backhouse,
Little George, killed by settlers 1800 (Gapps: p. 141)
Major White conducted raids on settlers in the Hawkesbury area in 1799(Gapps: p. 139)
Mary Mary, native guide, (Gapps: p. 209) marked as "inspected" by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228) given breast plate for services rendered 1816 by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 253)
Major White conducted raids on settlers in the Hawkesbury area in 1799 killed by military in 1802 (Gapps: p. 164)
Major Worgan conducted raids on settlers in the Hawkesbury area in 1799 (Gapps: p. 139)
Murrah, accused of being involved in pay back killings of children at Bringelly, (Gapps: p. 210) marked as a man to be killed or taken prisoner by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228) noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps), p. 247

Muira, lived with non-Aboriginal James MacNeil at Numba, was attacked by Thomas Keat and Thomas Parsins
Bonie Narang of Numba 1840 blanket return worker at Berry Estate, 1845, p. 147
Pattie Nonorah worker at Berry Estate, 1845, p. 147
Moudonigi (Gapps: p. 262)
Mulgowy-Joe given breast plate for services rendered 1816 by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 253), p. 253
Munnana - Met by Charles Throsby at the headwaters of the Bundanoon Creek on 28th March 1818. "We were met by Timelong and Munnana who have been in search of us, they are two natives whom I have seen at Five Islands. Munnah is one of the two strangers whom myself, Colonel Johnson, his son George etc, met at the River Macquarie, Five Islands, the first time Colonel was there, and which was the first time he had seen a white man. On our meeting they had many jagged spears etc but on my telling them through Bundle that the Governor required the Natives not to carry spears when with white people, they very readily consented to leave them, in fact they threw them away and assured me that the carts and other things we left would be safe" Munnana is described by Throsby as follows: "A thin man, more of a dirty brick colour than black, with a beard only under the chin, on the upper lip and under the mouth it appears to be kept cut or most likely burnt off as is their custom, both are perfectly naked and not even provided with the most trifling covering for the night"
Moonaning accused of killing stockmen and settlers in 1804 (Gapps: p. 177)
Charley Mulgrave given breast plate for services ren-

dered 1816 by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 253)
Myles noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Narang Jack gives himself up to Macquarie in Jan 1817. (Gapps), p. 253
Nullawan – Cow pastures, Guide for Hamilton Hume
Nighgingull mentioned in Charles Throsby's letter of April 5, 1816 as taking shelter at Glenfield Farm (Throsby 1816)
Pamborah held prisoner by William Cox in 1816 (Gapps: p. 251) later pardoned by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 252)
Pattyegorang, a young woman aged about 15, appears to have been Dawes' main language teacher. She was to prove vital to his understanding and documentation of the Sydney Language. Most Aboriginal people were afraid to enter the colony's main encampment at Sydney Cove. Eventually, many people, both Aboriginal and English, came to regard Dawes' small, relatively isolated hut as a safe and welcoming place to share friendships and knowledge. It was here that Dawes was able to spend time with – and learn from – many different people. Dawes notebooks record Patyegarang's frequent visits to Dawes' hut and their increasingly complex and intimate conversations. Expressions she shared with Dawes, such as *Putuwá*, suggest a warm and trusting relationship: Thomas Keneally describes Patyegarang as the "chief language teacher, servant, and perhaps lover" of William Dawes (page 166). Keneally also attributes Dawes' refusal to take part in the 1791 punitive expedition to Patyegarang's influence (p 167). Whatever their relationship, Dawes' notebooks clearly show that he and Patyegarang spent time in each other's company and shared emotion, humour, intellectual discussions, and mutual respect.
Narrang Jack noted by Macquarie to be killed or cap-

tured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Port Head Jamie killed by William Cox's Hawkesbury militia in 1816 after Macquarie's proclamation for settlers and associations to take actions against hostile natives either captured and summarily executed and body hung from tree (Gapps: p. 248), p. 248}
Pinboya held prisoner by William Cox in 1816 (Gapps: p. 251) later pardoned by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 252)
Pulbin given breast plate for services rendered 1816 by Macquarie. (Gapps: p. 253)
Quayat, native guide, (Gapps: p. 253)
Rachel noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Rosie, Queen, wife of Mickey Johnston, great grandmother of Vida *Nadaparli* Brown.
William Russell (Weriberi) (Gapps: p. 242)
Sillee, leader of Crooked River group of 14, 1827
Shoalhaven Jack, courier along the South Coast
Souter of Worrigee, 1840 blanket return, worker at Berry property 1845
Talboon accused of killing stockmen and settlers in 1804 (Gapps: p. 177)
Tedbury Pemulwuy's son led a series of raiding parties against farms in 1804, friend of John Macarthur, he died after a being shot in Parramatta in 1810 (Gapps: p. 179)
Terribandy led a raid on a farm at Toongabbie in 1798 and speared the servant of Joseph Collins, (Gapps: pp. 136-7)
Timberry – Berkeley district, noted by Charles Throsby II, Five Islands leader of group of 21 men, women and children
Tindal Apps notes he was a guide to Broadfoot in the Waragamba campaign in 1816 (Gapps) pp. 242-3
Timmulang, leader of Kangaroo Valley group of 15, Met by Charles Throsby at the headwaters of the Bundanoon

Creek on 28th March 1818. “Timelong is a robust man, very dark, with a very long beard”
Sam Tookamboy. Guide for James Backhouse,
Joe Tummwall, worker at Berry Estate, 1845, p. 147
Udderduck – Bathurst region, Guide for Hamilton Hume
Unie - worker at Berry Estate, 1845, p. 147
Wallah, accused of being involved in pay back killings of children at Bringelly, (Gapps: p. 210) marked as “very bad” a man to be killed or taken prisoner by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps) p. 228 noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Warby, native guide, (Gapps)
Waterman, Jack – worked as courier and guide p74
Wil-ee-ma-rin, warrior who speared Governor Phillip through the shoulder on Sept 17, 1790 at Collins Cove, Manly
Wolomigh member of Hawkesbury group killed while trying to take over The Hawkesbury vessel in 1805 (Gapps: p. 186-7)
Wootan noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Wagin – Yuin elder, owner of Numba lands, Shoalhaven River (Bennett 2003: p. 67) “About this time the Chief of the place where I was cutting the canal - name Wajin - came in. He was a stout elderly gentleman of a mild, sedate appearance & hairy as Esan himself. He informed me that a piece of clear meadow ground on the west of the canal was called Numba. I asked him who cleared it. He replied that all he knew about it was that it was in the same state in the days of his grandfather. Of course I made him my friend and promised to give him a Brass Plate when he came to Sydney .” (Berry)
Wollorong “Jacki Jacki or Jack Wollorong, a Burrago-

rang man, was the best-known Aborigine in Campbelltown in the 1830s where he was highly active in assisting the police. He was not a local man of the Dharawal but Wollorong and his wives Kitty, Biddy and Hannah were, according to the Police Magistrate, the only Aborigines routinely in the town. Wollorong collected blankets for his family from both Campbelltown and Stonequarry in 1834. He was probably about 30 years of age. Wollorong and his wives continue to appear on the magistrates’ for 1837, 1838 and into the early 1840s” (Liston 1988: p. 61)
Young Jemmy (Gapps: p. 139)
Yager – Jervis Bay elder, accompanied Alexander Berry to Sydney 1822
Yallaman noted by Macquarie to be killed or captured in July 1816 (Gapps: p. 247)
Yarramundi – leader of the Richmond area met Phillip in April 1791 also played a role in bringing peace to Hawkesbury region in 1804.(Gapps: p. 95, p.164)
Yaraghowy (-1804) seemed to play a role in bringing peace to Hawkesbury but warned his countrymen of an impending raid, killed in a punitive military raid by Andrew Thompson in 1804.(Gapps: p. 164, 73-4)
Yellooming (Yellaman, Yetlooming), mentioned by Throsby in letter of April 5, 1816 as being innocent of 1816 attacks (Throsby 1816) (Gapps: p. 227) accused of being involved in pay back killings of children at Bringelly, (Gapps: p. 210) marked as “very bad” a man to be killed or taken prisoner by Macquarie in his instructions to Captain Schaw 1816 (Gapps: p. 228) Carol Liston writes “Yellooming was named as an outlaw by Macquarie in July 1814 Yellooming’s child had been killed by Europeans. [See Throsby letter] During the conflicts of 1816, Yellooming took refuge on Kennedy’s farm at Appin. Kennedy and Hume defended him from the soldiers, arguing that Yellooming was friendly to Europeans. Yel-

looming was one of ten Aborigines listed as an outlaw in Macquarie's proclamation of 20 July 1816. Refuge, food, and assistance was denied to them and a reward offered for their capture or death. There is no mention of Yel-looming after 1816." (Liston: p. 61)

Yemmerawannie (Im-ee-ra-wan-yee) `a slender fine looking youth ... about sixteen years old' (Tench and Royal Australian Historical Society. 1979: p. 185) `suffered severely' following the Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang initiation witnessed by Collins and Tench.(Collins, Fletcher, and Royal Historical Society (Great Britain): pp. 563-83) The youth proudly `boasted the firmness and hardihood, with which he had endured it' (Tench 1979:278). The local name given to the elaborate initiation ceremony by the Cammeragal Clan, was Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang (Collins 1971:563-83)..(Brooks 2001)

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Endnotes

1 Tho-tho-it was also known as the anglicized version of his Aboriginal name Toodwick. Was he dubbed Broughton by Charles Throsby I after his neighbour William Broughton of Camden? The answer remains unknown.

2 For more information see: https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/events/heritage-house-tour-glenfield

3 Dual was exiled for three years to Dalyrmple Bay in Van Diemens Land. Throsby probably saved him from the gallows, retrieved him from VDL and was quick to re-employ him as a guide in 1819.

4 A measure of Tho-Tho-It's leadership is the number of people registered as living with him on the Collangatta Estate. From 1834-40, 45 Aboriginal people were recorded as living near his birthplace at Broughton Creek as follows: Booleelong, (Billy), 8-15, 1837-1840; Boorah, (Biddy) 1840; Bunbam, (Oonie), 7, 1840; Burrenock, 25, 1840; Burrin (Fanny), 1840; Buttong, (Dick), 18-25, 1834-1840; Carman, (Lion), 19-24, 1834-1840; Cooloo, (Mary), 2, 1840; Coonbooroo, (Sam) 22, 1834; Coonool, (Kennedy), 24, 1840; Coopoor, (Mary, 36, 1840; Cooroomul, (Paddy) 19, 1840; Coothbull, (Mary Ann), 1840; Cundugander, (Old Daniel), 1840; Tho tho it, (Broughton), 39, 1834-1840; Gandy Gandy, 38-41, 1834-37; Hennil, (Jeannie), 30,1840; Juander, (Commandant), 18 May 1840; Kandal, (Charley), 21, 2-5-1837; Kindil, (Charlie Kindil), 24, 1840; Macarthy, 11, 1836; Mooloon, (Menolie), 24 ,1840; Mullong, (Jamie), 1840; Nawpene, (Betsy), 18,1840; Nombut, (Biddy), 25, 1840; Nulgah, 1840; Pagie, 9, 1840; Rosannah, 1840; Sandagang, (Old Samnier), 51, 1840; Sandigong, (Armor), 50-53, 1834-37; Shordar, 9, 21-6-1836; Souter, 10, 1837; Tammell (Joe) 13-14, 1836-7; Tindel (Charley) 20, 1836; Toombur, (May), 39, 1840; Toomong, (Tiger), 22-28, 1834-40; Tumeoul, (Joe), 15, 1840; Tyndle, (Charley), 18, 1834; Undergung, (Jackey), 21-27,-1834-40; Wathut, (Overseer), 19, 1840; Weeno, (Jolly), 1840; Whitebool, (Satin Bird), 23, 1840; Worroungah (Fanny) 1840; Yackin, (Darby Brook), 33-41, 1834-1840 and Yiambur, (Fisherman), 24, 1840.

5 Charles Throsby committed suicide at Glenfield in 1828 aged 51.(Parsons) W.C. Wentworth describes Throsby as being hit "by a clap of thunder" when he was, after two trials, found responsible for the 5000 pound debt of Garnhem Blaxcell to Sir John Jamieson. Blaxcell was one of the early merchants of the colony and a major protagonist in the Rum Rebellion. Blaxcell secretly left the colony and died in transit leaving a financial mess behind. On behalf of Jamie-

son, Throsby had unsuccessfully tried to resolve Blaxcell's debt and was then unfairly, but successfully, sued by Jamieson for Blaxcell's debts and, to top it off, Jamieson later took Throsby's seat in the NSW Legislative Council. It was by any account a harsh and devious turn of events. But it is Throsby who is remembered as a major figure of early Australian history, and Jamieson, in Thackeray-like terms, is but a minor footnote. (See Dunlop 1966) and (Roxburgh and Baglin 1989: pp. 26-32)

6 Captain Wallis, the officer in charge of the Appin massacre, was 'rewarded for his services' by being appointed, like Throsby had been, commander of the Newcastle settlement. It is from here that Wallis' recently discovered water colour paintings were painted. Wallis' watercolours (see p13) are themselves an insight into the brutal military mind of the time.

7 John Throsby, "Select Views in Leicestershire", 1789, p. 15

8 Manning Clark puts it this way: 'He had travelled to London in 1785 to learn the trade of a surgeon, where he lived on the fringe of high society, but the gap between his own income and the expenses of his way of life, or some flaw in his clay, seemed to push him towards crime. On 12 December 1787 he was tried at the Old Bailey on three charges of felonious assault on the king's highway, putting a person in corporal fear and danger of his life, and feloniously taking from the person and against his will such goods as a watch or a purse. On all three he was acquitted. The Fitzwilliam family then arranged for him to serve as a surgeon at Sydney Cove. Also on the Neptune was Catherine Crowley, who had lived on the Fitzwilliam estates in Staffordshire, where she was sentenced to transportation for some minor offence. On the Neptune she became the mistress of D'Arcy Wentworth.' p.124 (Clark 1977: p. 124)

9 As N.J. B. Plomley observed of Van Diemens Land "The conduct of the settlement was marred particularly by the quarrelling of the officers, their low standard of behaviour and their incompetence.. "(Plomley and Robinson: p. ix)

10 "I went down in a small cutter (15 tons) and took along with me two natives - one named Broughton, born at Shoal Haven & who had accompanied the late Mr Throsby on several journeys into the bush; the other a tame native named Charcoal who was a good boatman." Alexander Berry, "Recollections of the Aborigines", Document 83, "Documents on Aborigines and the Law 1797-1840, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/other_features/correspondence/documents/document_83

11 Alexander Berry, "Recollections of the Aborigines", Document 83, "Documents on Aborigines and the Law 1797-1840, http://

www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/other_features/correspondence/documents/document_83

12 Alexander Berry, "Recollections of the Aborigines", Document 83, "Documents on Aborigines and the Law 1797-1840, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/other_features/correspondence/documents/document_83

13 Ibid.

14 Alexander Berry, "Recollections of the Aborigines", Document 83, "Documents on Aborigines and the Law 1797-1840, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/other_features/correspondence/documents/document_83

15 "…on one occasion Broughton acted as a Bricklayers labourer for some weeks. One day as he was leaving his work, I observed him replying in a very indignant manner to a Black woman. On enquiry he told me she was his cousin, and had been jeering him, & in the end told me with some reluctance that she reproached him with working every day like a prisoner, and that he despised her remarks. Next morning however he disappeared and never more acted in the capacity of a Bricklayers Labourer." Ibid.