

THESES, SIS/LIBRARY
R.G. MENZIES BUILDING NO.2
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 2 6125 4631
Facsimile: +61 2 6125 4063
Email: library.theses@anu.edu.au

USE OF THESES

**This copy is supplied for purposes
of private study and research only.
Passages from the thesis may not be
copied or closely paraphrased without the
written consent of the author.**

onal University

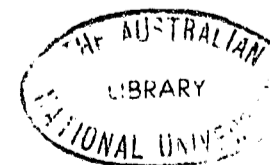
erra ACT 2600
UNIV Canberra

A NEST OF HORNETS: THE MASSACRE OF THE
FRASER FAMILY AT HORNET BANK STATION,
CENTRAL QUEENSLAND, 1857, AND RELATED EVENTS

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts of the Australian
National University by

Gordon Stephen Reid

February 1981



F THE
ION,
D EVENTS

e of
an

I certify that this thesis is my own
work and that all sources used have
been acknowledged.

Asker

AUSTRALIAN
LIBRARY
AL UNIV

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without the considerable help of many people. The staff of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra; Mitchell Library, Sydney; Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney; John Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane; Queensland State Archives, Brisbane; and Mrs Patricia Leagh-Murray, of Queensland Newspapers Limited, Brisbane, all made my task much easier with their ready assistance. I am grateful to the National Museum of Victoria Council for permission to quote from the letters of James Lalor to A.W. Howitt in the Howitt Papers, and to Mr John Randell of East Melbourne for making a copy of William Yaldwyn's story of the Hornet Bank massacre available before his own book on Yaldwyn's father was published.

Dr David Denholm of Wagga Wagga indicated several sources which I might otherwise have missed, and the chapter on Hornet Bank in his Ph.D. thesis was a constant guide to some of the issues involved. Mr Alan Queale of Annerley, Brisbane, also located several important sources. Mr Grahame Walsh of Injune provided much of the oral history of European-Aboriginal relations in the Upper Dawson and Carnarvon Ranges areas in the periods well after the Hornet Bank massacre; and he and Mr Peter Keegan of Roma provided archaeological advice. Other main sources of oral history were Mr W.R. ("Wattie") Phipps of Taroom; the late Mr C.L.D. ("Clarrie") Hamilton of Wavell Heights, originally of Redbank station, Auburn River; Mr D.C. McConnel of Cresbrook, formerly of Auburn station; Mr W.J. Handley, of Mount Elliott station, Mungallala; and Mrs Margery Byrnes of Spring Ridge, near Roma.

y own
have

.....

lacks they
: qualities

without the
of the
anberra;
New South
Brisbane;
Patricia
d, Brisbane,
assistance. I
a Council for
Lalor to A.W.
andell of East
n's story of
own book on

ed several
and the chapter
tant guide to
of Annerley,
ces.
e oral history
Dawson and
er the Hornet
Roma provided
oral history
late
ts, originally
onnel of
. Handley, of
rgery Byrnes

Many other people assisted with advice and material, particularly Mr Neville Mohr of Taroom; Mr and Mrs Norman Kruger of Hornet Bank station; Mr W.G.A. Holmes of Theodore; Dr Brian Ford of Miles; Dr Peter Ford of Oakey; Mrs V.E. Atkins of Chinchilla; Mr Gary Birkett, of Mitchell; Mrs Vivienne Cotton of Charleville; Mr Harold Hall, of Dalby; Mr Robert Dansie of Toowoomba; Mrs Beatrice Parker and Miss Honora Frawley of Drayton; Mr John Kerr of St Lucia; Mr Gordon Marsland of Windsor; Mr J.B. Tiernan of Bellbowrie and Mrs Shiela Harrison of Be. Idesert.

Finally, the assistance of my first supervisor, Dr Peter Biskup, and second supervisor, Dr Campbell Macknight, of the the Australian National University, is greatly appreciated.

PREFACE

Just after the full moon had set early on 27 October 1857, Aborigines entered a darkened homestead on the Dawson River, Central Queensland, and killed all the men, except one who was knocked unconscious and left for dead. Then they induced the women and children outside and, after some deliberation, raped the three eldest and killed them all. The station family's name was Fraser and the tribe blamed for the attack was later known as the Jiman. The place was Hornet Bank sheep station, 30 miles west of Taroom. Among the 11 white victims were three employees - a tutor, and two shepherds. The eldest son of the family, William Fraser, had left some time previously with drays for Ipswich, 320 miles away. His 14-year-old brother, Sylvester, who had been knocked unconscious, soon recovered but lay hidden under his bed, listening as his mother and sisters were abused and slaughtered. Then, after the intruders had left about sunrise, Sylvester escaped to a neighbouring station and raised the alarm. In the retribution by the Native Mounted Police and settlers of the Upper Dawson and other districts, at least 150 Aborigines died; the total may have been 300. The long-term effect on the Jiman was the destruction of their society; the long-term effect on the Fraser brothers, William and Sylvester, was one of unremitting failure as colonists, and yet their story has become Queensland legend. Their revenge against the Jiman, without prosecution, helped to set the pattern for white attitudes and colonial government policy towards the Aborigines of Queensland for 40 years.

Like all legends, the Hornet Bank massacre and subsequent revenge has become enlarged, distorted and in some key aspects completely falsified over the years. It has been a story told and retold in the popular press. The image of the tall, lean, grim-faced William Fraser, rifle in one hand, blood-stained tomahawk in the other, hunting down the murderers of his mother, brothers and sisters is

(ii)

attractive to newspaper writers and popular historians, but the Hornet Bank incident has been studied by only two serious writers and then only incidentally. L.E. Skinner¹ considered it in the context of police history without looking into the place, time, colonial attitudes, Aboriginal law, and long-term effects on Queensland Aboriginal administration; whereas David Denholm² briefly considered its long-term effects on Queensland colonial attitudes and government policy, but not in relation to land-settlement policy nor the place of the Native Police in the implementation of that policy. Neither studied the Jiman nor indeed the Upper Dawson district. Skinner noted some possible immediate causes of the Fraser murders, while Denholm attempted to assess the white retribution in terms of casualties and the effects on white attitudes to Aborigines in Queensland; but neither looked at the pressures building up on the Aboriginal people of Central Queensland over the period 1847-61. Those pressures were the fundamental cause of the Hornet Bank disaster.

No anthropological study of the Upper Dawson people has been made; they were greatly dispersed and then almost wiped out as a group before the end of the 19th Century. The early ethnographers generally ignored them, perhaps unaware some still existed. James Lalor in letters to Howitt in 1884³ mentions an Emon people inhabiting an area centred on Taroom, while Mathew⁴ refers in passing to the

1. Skinner, L.E. Police of the Pastoral Frontier, Brisbane, 1975.
2. Denholm, David. "Some Aspects of Squatting in New South Wales and Queensland, 1847-64", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1972.
3. James Lalor, Roma, to A.W. Howitt, 2 May 1884, in Howitt papers, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
4. Mathew, John. Two Representative Tribes of Queensland, London, 1910, p.435.

also between the squatters and the colonial authorities. This latter was to last until the colonies were granted self-government, which allowed squatter-dominated

(iii)

Upper and Lower Dawson people as the Darumbol, which in the opinion of Tindale⁵ is an error.

Tindale's survey of the Jiman places them entirely in the Upper Dawson river basin, an area of some 6,000 square miles, their tribal borders being the basin's mountainous rim; but there is good reason to believe his map is too precise. On the basis of other evidence, it is not possible to define the Jiman estate. Contemporary sources do not name the tribe which attacked Hornet Bank; they are simply called the "local blacks", the "Upper Dawson blacks", the "Dawson tribes", while there is some contemporary evidence that the attack may have been carried out by bands with at least some estate associations outside the Upper Dawson. Also, the attackers may have been a loose grouping of bands from the Dawson, Auburn, Burnett and Condamine river districts, i.e. from several tribes, and assembled for a specific purpose such as the attack.

The name Jiman, as distinct from Emon, does not appear to have been given to the Upper Dawson people until late last century⁶. Later writers assumed that it was the name of the attackers, possibly because some people with a name like that lived in the Hornet Bank area forty years after the attack. These people seem to have been from a tribe known as the Yeeman, living on the Darling Downs near Dalby and who moved to the Upper Dawson in the 1880s and 1890s, most likely to provide labour on stations there during the pastoral depression of that decade. On the other hand, the Yeeman of Dalby may have been the descendents of people who fled the Upper Dawson after Hornet Bank. Because Lalor's reference in 1884 to the Emon of Taroom is the first use of a name like Jiman for these people, this second hypothesis

5. Tindale, Norman B. The Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, Canberra, 1974, p.435.

6. The name Jiman seems to be a linguist's spelling of the more common spellings, Yeeman and Yiman.

any risk to assert that "right". But, as Mitchell observed in 1848, "the intrusion therefore of the cattle is in itself sufficient to produce the extirpation of the natives".

is as plausible as the first. I have not been able to settle the attackers' identity, but for the sake of literary convenience will use the name Jiman.

While errors of fact in hasty journalistic accounts of the Hornet Bank massacre may be expected, errors by several more knowledgeable writers and scholars must not be passed without comment. Rosa Campbell Praed, who lived at Hawkwood station on the Auburn River at the time of the massacre, wrote in two works, Australian Life: Black and White, London, 1885, and My Australian Girlhood, London, 1904, that she had seen a rehearsal for the Hornet Bank massacre. This claim does not withstand analysis but nonetheless has been repeated by many writers including Colin Roderick in his study, In Mortal Bondage: The Strange Life of Rosa Praed, Sydney, 1948. Also, Roderick apparently misunderstood remarks in a letter to Rosa from a colonial correspondent and this has led to a false reason (the Jimmy and Nancy story) for the attack on Hornet Bank being repeated in several popular accounts. As late as 1980, Bernard Smith in his Boyer lectures for the Australian Broadcasting Commission entitled "The Spectre of Truganinni", apparently accepted Rosa's claims by stating that she was "personally involved" in the events surrounding the massacre. Her part in this matter will be dealt with in some detail later, but suffice to say here that Smith, like others before him, has made the mistake of uncritically accepting her word for it.

While attention has been paid by a few scholars to conflicts between Aborigines and the invading settlers, particularly by Henry Reynolds in Queensland and Peter Corris in Victoria, only one major conflict, the Myall Creek massacre of June 1838, has received serious study. In that event 28 Aborigines were killed by whites and seven white men hanged as a result. Brian Harrison in his paper on the Myall Creek Massacre covers that massacre in two pages, sometimes in melodramatic prose, devoting his main attention to the effects of the consequent trials on colonial opinion as expressed in newspaper editorials. R.H.W. Reece has

considered the Myall Creek massacre in more detail in an attempt to reconstruct the event from limited material, but has neglected to place it in the wider context of the conquest of eastern Australia and destruction of Aboriginal society, which it deserves. Much more work needs to be done on Myall Creek.⁷

No massacre of whites by Aborigines has been studied in depth. The massacre of the 11 whites at Hornet Bank was the most serious such event to that time; the previous worst in Australia had been the killing of eight white men in the Faithfull party in northern Victoria in April 1838, while the worst in what was later Queensland was the killing of four whites, including a woman, and one Aboriginal servant at Mount Larcombe (now Mount Larcom) near Rockhampton on Boxing Day 1855.

The approach in this thesis is to examine the massacre of the whites in the maximum detail available, in order to reach the deepest understanding; then by moving laterally to examine related events, it is hoped to achieve a three-dimensional view of Aboriginal-European relations in central Queensland at the time. This contrasts directly with the approach of scholars such as Reynolds who has looked at many incidents in the relations between the two races and has been able to show the extent of Aboriginal resistance to white conquest; but such an approach is largely superficial, lacking the force of racial conflict which one great clash can illuminate. This thesis will attempt to show that the Hornet Bank massacre is a key event in a fundamental process of Australian history: the

7. Harrison, Brian. "The Myall Creek Massacre", in McBryde, Isabel (ed.), Record of Times Past, Canberra, 1978, pp.17-51; and R.H.W. Reece, Aborigines and Colonists: Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s, Sydney, 1974, chiefly Chapter 1. Reece notes on p.40 that there may have been as many as 10 massacres of Aborigines in the Gwydir district during early settlement.

occupation of the land by the invading whites and the dispossession of that land by the original inhabitants. It will also attempt to reveal the disaster as a human tragedy of classic structure.

The first objective in approaching this topic is to set straight the record of what happened at Hornet Bank and subsequently in the Upper Dawson and neighbouring districts. As mentioned above, so much has been misstated about Hornet Bank that the separation of fact from legend and in some cases pure fantasy would have justified a serious paper, although it may well have resulted merely in a definitive narrative, a chronicle rather than critical historiography. A consequent objective is to attempt to answer some of the questions raised by racial violence in Central Queensland in the mid-19th Century. In doing so, it is necessary to look at a single encapsulated incident - the killing of 11 whites on one morning at one place - and then trace the lives of some of those most involved, the two surviving Frasers, the founder of the station, Andrew Scott, some of the Native Police officers involved, certain squatters of the area and, most interestingly, some of the Jiman individuals. Through them it is possible to show what was happening to Queensland colonial society and to a certain extent Australian society then and later, as a result of the forcible settlement by whites on the lands of indigines who in some cases resisted, in others acquiesced. The evidence also shows that the Native Mounted Police Force, rather than being a means of maintaining law and order on an unruly frontier, was in effect an instrument of official land-settlement policy. That policy was simple: occupy the land and if the Aborigines resist, disperse them; if they refuse to disperse, kill them.

To summarise, this thesis has four objectives: to establish what happened at Hornet Bank; why it happened; what happened to the people most concerned, the white "family" of the Frasers, the Scotts and their employees on

(vii)

one hand and the Jiman "family" on the other; and to consider what Hornet Bank and its aftermath tells us about Aboriginal-European relations in eastern Australia in the 19th Century.

It will conclude that the Hornet Bank massacre was an inevitable result of the methods used by the white settlers and their governments to occupy tribal lands; the use of Native Mounted Police, comprising white officers and Aboriginal troopers, essentially contributed to the event; and for this reason the immediate causes of the Jiman attack are therefore largely irrelevant; also the Jiman, in deciding after a short guerilla-type war to accommodate themselves to the white man's superior force, facilitated their own further destruction; and the decimation and dispersal of the Jiman people is typical of the effect of white settlement, especially by force, in many districts of Queensland and, by analogy, in other parts of Australia.

As far as possible, the structure of the thesis is chronological. Chapter 1 sketches the history of the region from the first known Aboriginal occupation 16,000 years ago to the first contact with whites - the explorers and squatters in search of new runs, 1842-47. Chapter 2 describes the occupation of the Upper Dawson from the time of the first settler, Windeyer, 1847, to the mid-1850s, including the founding of Hornet Bank station by Andrew Scott and his initial relations with the Aborigines, and introduces John Fraser and his family and examines their relations with the local Aborigines. Chapter 3 examines the growing hostility of the Aborigines towards the settlers in the period immediately before the attack and the contribution of the Native Police to the deterioration of the situation. Chapter 4 attempts to present a definitive account of the attack, while Chapter 5 deals with the immediate aftermath, the effects on William and Sylvester Fraser and their neighbours, and the initial response of the Native Police and the squatters of the Upper

(viii)

Dawson, Auburn and Burnett river districts to the massacre. Chapter 6 looks at the immediate effects of the white retribution upon the Jiman and their allies and the vengeful Fraser brothers, whereas Chapter 7 considers the strength of Jiman resistance in the 18 months after the massacre. Chapter 8 relates what happened in the long-term to the Fraser brothers, Andrew Scott and other whites affected by the massacre. Chapter 9 surveys the long-term effects of Hornet Bank on the Jiman people, their dispersal to other lands and rapid decline in numbers, particularly examining the break-up of tribal society from 1861 to 1911 when in the latter year many of the remaining Aborigines in the Upper Dawson were forced to enter a government reserve at Taroom. Chapter 10 examines the questions raised by a study of black-white relations in Central Queensland as far as they can be traced back to the Hornet Bank incident.

INTRODUCTION: AN HISTORICAL PREVIEW

In annexing N.S.W. to the British Crown, the Imperial Government treated the territory as unoccupied land simply because those inhabitants apparent to Cook did not, apart from a few hostile gestures, defend it against his intrusion. Certainly there was no indigenous government or chief with whom a treaty could have been negotiated nor did they appear to be using the land in a systematic way. Until 1837, when Glenelg advised Gipps that, following lobbying by the Exeter Hall liberals in London, the Aborigines must be treated as British subjects and therefore equal under the law, they had been treated as non-entities in law or at best as chattels.¹ J.D. Lang expressed colonial attitudes towards the original occupiers of Australia when he subscribed to the Lockean view that "he who put land to its most productive use had the best claim to it"; on the other hand he deplored the treatment of the Aborigines.² This was typical of the self-contradiction in colonial attitudes; few could see that the taking of the Aborigines' land was the chief reason for their condition. This attitude has persisted in Queensland until the present day.

Flanagan³ later argued that the Aborigines had been peaceful until an outbreak of violence along the whole frontier from Port Phillip District to southern Queensland in 1842-43. This resulted from the mistreatment which they had received during the previous 50 years of settlement. He cited documents tabled in the N.S.W. Legislative Council in October 1843, which catalogued a great number of atrocities

1. See Little, J. "Legal Status of Aboriginal People: Slaves or Citizens" F.S. Stevens (ed.), Racism: The Queensland Experience, A Study of Race Prejudice in Australia. Vol.2: "Black Versus White", Sydney, 1972.
2. See Reece, especially p.167.
3. Roderick Flannagan, The Aborigines of Australia, Sydney, 1888, Ch. XVI

against the Aborigines, so severe that some tribes had been decimated almost to the point of extinction.

The hanging of seven shepherds for the killing of at least 28 Aborigines at Myall Creek on the lower Gwydir River in 1838 was a clear expression of official colonial intention to implement the Imperial Government's wishes. But equality was not established and the atrocities continued. Whereas squatters and their servants had been indiscreet before the 1838 trials, they were discreet after them, making sure when they killed that they left no evidence or used poison and then claimed death had been accidental.

Only occasional incidents had occurred in the Moreton Bay penal settlement during the period 1828 to 1841, but as Aboriginal resistance developed 16 whites died and nine were wounded in that district between 1841 and 1844. The Darling Downs district was created out of the northern part of the New England District in May 1843, when Christopher Rolleston was appointed Crown Lands Commissioner there, soon being assigned six troopers of the white Border Police Force. Between January 1842 and 2 November 1843, 13 whites were killed in this new district.⁴

As the Aborigines in the northern districts became more hostile to encroachment on their lands, white retaliation increased. In 1842, only four years after Myall Creek, strychnine was used to poison flour given to Aborigines accused of the murder of two whites and the killing of a prize bull at Milcoy station on the headwaters of the Brisbane River. Evidence given to the 1856 Select Committee of the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly Inquiry into

4. L.E. Skinner, "The Days of the Squatting Acts", Part II, in Queensland Heritage, Vol.3, No.7, 1977, pp. 19-23.

the Native Police Force suggests that hundreds of Aborigines died as a result.

Word of the massive revengefulness of the whites soon spread among the Aborigines. Escaped convicts Davis and Bracewell, who lived with them, later reported that the Kilcoy massacre was discussed at a meeting of 14 or 15 tribes for the triennial nut festival in the Bunya Mountains.⁵ Black resistance soon became so strong that in 1843 settlement on the Burnett district was temporarily abandoned due to Aboriginal raids.⁶ On the northern frontier black-white relations rapidly became worse. In 1849 50 armed men avenged the attack on the Pegg family in the Burnett District with almost 100 Aboriginal lives.⁷ In the same year the Moreton Bay Courier⁸ commented that attacks on stock and whites had become too common to cause much sensation.

While the squatters were periodically so exasperated and anger by the Aboriginal attacks that they took the law into their own hands, their servants appear to have been possessed by a constant vindictiveness towards the natives, even friendly ones. In the words of James Demarr⁹, who worked in the Moreton Bay district in the 1840s: "It was no unusual thing to hear these ruffians [ex-convicts] in

5. Reynolds, Henry, "The Other Side of the Frontier", in Historical Studies, Vol.17, No.66, 1976, p. 57.
6. Joint Commission, of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander Legal Service and Foundation for Aboriginal and Islanders Research Action Concerning Review of Aborigines Act 1971-75 and Torres Strait Islanders Act, Vol.1: Background 1971-75 [Brisbane? 1975?].
7. Evans, Raymond; Saunders, Kay; and Cronin, Kathryn. Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland, Sydney, 1975, p.52.
8. Moreton Bay Courier, 5 May 1849.
9. Demarr, James. Adventures in Australia Fifty Years Ago, London, 1893, p.223.

conversation with one another, boasting of the blacks they had slaughtered, and when relating the particular qualities of a savage brute of a dog, say, he would pull down a blackfellow, and tear his entrails out. But the use of dogs to pull down blackfellows, was not the only method used by these ruffians. They were made away with, sometimes by treachery, when apparently on friendly terms".

Demarr remarked that English immigrants were rarely seen in those days, whereas the Irish and Scots were prevalent. Such English as were seen were nearly all "old hands", freed from penal servitude.¹⁰ While the Irish, except for a few gentlemen of means, were largely the workers of the frontier, the Scots, no matter what their means when they arrived, soon became squatters. The early settlement of the northern districts, including the upper Dawson, was dominated by families with Scottish names. These Scots had a particular determination to succeed against all odds, being suited to do so because of the rigours of life at home, their Calvinistic faith, and the organisation of Scottish society around duty, education and hard work. Allan Macpherson, moving up from his station at Keera in the south was the first squatter in the Maranoa district. He occupied Mount Abundance station, south-west of the present-day Roma, in October 1847 and abandoned it two years later after five of his men and two draymasters had been killed, sheep stolen and killed, wool burnt and scattered. At one stage 15 men had deserted his station while he was absent.¹¹

Skinner notes that units of the Border Police, established in 1839 by an Act of Council to preserve order "beyond the limits of location", were attached to the

10. Demarr, pp. 220 & 232.

11. Macpherson, Allan. Mount Abundance: Or, the Experiences of a Pioneer Squatter in Australia Thirty Years Ago, London, [1880?].

When they broke through the Great Divide, they found that the land on the northern side, while looking beautiful because of heavy timber, long grass and many flowering

Aborigines

whites soon

vis and

at the

or 15

a

ng that

mporarily

ern

se. In

family in

ives.⁷

ed that

to cause

asperated

ook the law

ve been

e natives,

⁹, who

"It was no

in

ntier", in

57.

strait

aboriginal

iew of

anders

975?].

Kathryn.

Race

75, p.52.

y Years

allowed to

s".¹⁸

Commissioners of Crown Lands to enforce the law. "An examination of the activities of the Force shows it largely performed duties connected with the occupation of Crown Lands rather than in patrolling the districts to keep the peace", he says.¹²

In the south, the Border Police, composed entirely of whites including ex-convicts, was replaced in 1842 by the Native Mounted Police Force of white Officers and black troopers. Rowley says that Maconochie, who first raised the idea in the Port Phillip District, seems to have had the precedent of the Indian Sepoys in mind. "One is struck by the lack of consideration of what impact such a dread weapon could have on Aboriginal society",¹³ he remarks.

The Native Police Force of the Middle District was formed in 1848, being raised by Frederick Walker, its first Commandant, from among tribes along the Murray, Murrumbidgee and Edward Rivers. Walker established his first headquarters at Callandoon (near Goondiwindi) on the Macintyre River, with a lieutenant and 10 men. Originally it was intended that they patrol the Maranoa, Lower Condamine and the Dawson districts; in 1851 the headquarters were transferred to Wondai Gumbul, on the east side of the Tchanning Creek (a tributary of the Condamine rising in the Great Divide and due south of Hornet Bank).¹⁴

In May and June 1849, Walker's force routed the blacks of the Severn (upper MacIntyre River), Warwick district, Fitzroy Downs (the Condamine district between the Darling

-
12. Skinner, L.E. "Squatting Acts", Part I, p.16.
13. Rowley, C.D. Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Aboriginal Policy and Practice, Vol.1, Canberra, 1970, p.152.
14. Taylor, R.B. "Early Settlement in the Surat-Mount Abundance Area", in J.R.H.S.Q., Vol.V, No.4, 1956.

Eldershaw's party then decided to inspect the "luxurious downs" rumoured to be to the west of the Dawson, so they set out westwards, finding the going much better

Downs and the Maranoa) and the Upper Dawson districts in "four successive encounters resulting in pitched battles, unrecorded casualties and the retreat of the indigines".¹⁵

While Walker and his men had moved into the Upper Dawson soon after arriving in Queensland to give aid to the settlers beginning to arrive in the wake of Leichhardt's expeditions of 1844 and 1846, there is some evidence that the Upper Dawson tribes or tribes had been active in the Maranoa during the black resistance there. William Telfer, who had worked at Mount Abundance in the 1860s, says in his memoirs that among the 1,000 Aborigines who menaced it in 1849 were some from the Upper Dawson, "very savage tribes". Telfer also says that some of the sheep stolen from Mount Abundance were driven into the Upper Dawson where the local people were attempting to hold them in roughly made yards when Macpherson and Walker and his troopers came upon them, killing some and retrieving most of the sheep.¹⁶ Macpherson's own account shows that Telfer was incorrect in his claims about the sheep, but he may have been correct in associating the Upper Dawson people with resistance on the Maranoa. There is later evidence that they did roam considerable distances and were willing to join forces with other tribes in resisting white encroachment.

The stark act of taking the Aborigines' land and with it the means of livelihood was sufficient reason for their resistance; but there were others. As Reynolds has pointed out:

Conflict frequently resulted from European failure to share their possessions or to honour their obligations arising from sexual relations with local Aboriginal

15. Denholm, thesis, p. 115.

16. William Telfer, memoirs, p.25. Macpherson says the sheep were driven by the Aborigines into the scrubs on the edge of the Grafton Range or southern spur of the Great Divide.

good progress as it moved westwards, crossing the Great Divide on about 1 November to enter Jiman country. By 3 November Leichhardt had realised that he had too many

women. Indiscriminate or forced sexual intercourse with more than one woman might be tantamount to incest, one of the most serious offences in traditional society.¹⁷

In other words, although the Aborigines often tried to accommodate themselves to the invasion of white strangers by attempting to come to some arrangement over provisions or the use of women, white transgressions of tribal law could not always be overlooked. Punishment was demanded and was almost inescapable. In tribal law all members of a family and, in some circumstances, all members of a tribe were equally responsible for the crimes of any member. The Aborigines' difficulty in applying their law to white transgressors led to some terrible punishments; this was clearly the cause of the massacre of 19 whites at Cullen-la-Ringo in 1861; it was a probable factor but not necessarily the main factor in the Hornet Bank massacre four years earlier.

The British Act for Regulating the Sale of Waste Lands Belonging to the Crown in the Australian Colonies, 1842, provided among other things for the abolition of free grants of land, sale of land at auction at the minimum upset price of one pound an acre, and the net proceeds were to be put to the public service of the colonies subject to at least one half being appropriated for immigration from the United Kingdom. This Act empowered the granting of licences of occupation for periods not exceeding 12 months. The Pastoral Association was formed in 1844 to protest against the Depasturisation Regulations promulgated by Gipps in April of that year. Under these regulations no run was to exceed 20 square miles; each run was to have a separate licence; and no more than 4,000 sheep or 500 cattle were to be on each run.¹⁸ Clearly, not only was there a conflict of interest between the squatters and the Aborigines, but

17. Reynolds, "The Other Side of the Frontier" p.51.

18. Skinner, "Squatting Acts", Part III, p. 16.

the animals being irritated by the stings of hornets - a retaliation for the damage done to their nests, which they suspended to the branches of trees, and were frequently torn

also between the squatters and the colonial authorities. This latter was to last until the colonies were granted self-government, which allowed squatter-dominated legislatures to enact laws designed to satisfy the settlers' "greed for land", as Oscar de Satge¹⁹ was to call it. Rowley has observed: "With the introduction of responsible government in all colonies, except Western Australia, in the 1850s, colonial executives now became more effectively the instrument of the settler democracy".²⁰

The rejection in 1849 by the N.S.W. Legislative Council of the Imperial Government's adoption of the practice of having Aborigines as competent witnesses in criminal cases meant maintaining a legal situation which enabled the settler "to act much as he wished so long as he used a limited amount of discretion".²¹ There was little public sympathy for the blacks in the early 1850s. They had no means of redress; their evidence was not admissible in court; and juries of whites repeatedly refused to commit other whites for offences against blacks despite undeniable evidence of guilt.²²

By the middle of the 19th Century, a bitter and bloody contest, the fundamental event in Australian history following British annexation, had developed in eastern Australia; it was a struggle for control of land between organised and technologically advanced invaders and disorganised but brave indigines. The intruders believed they had a God-given right to take the land and put it to use for grain, sheep and cattle, and they would take almost

19. De Satge, Oscar. Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter, London, 1901, p.147.

20. Rowley, p.133.

21. Rowley, p. 128.

22. Bleakley, J.W. The Aborigines of Australia, Brisbane, 1961, p.74.

preparing the expedition.³⁴ Leichhardt's expedition pressed on northwards and then westwards and by some good fortune, despite the loss of John Gilbert, appeared by

6. The name Jiman seems to be a linguist's spelling of the more common spellings, Yeeman and Yiman.

any risk to assert that "right". But, as Mitchell observed in 1848, "the intrusion therefore of the cattle is in itself sufficient to produce the extirpation of the native race, by limiting their means of existence; and this must work such extensive changes in Australia as never entered into the contemplation of the local authorities."²³ It would be natural, he said, "that they should feel disposed when urged by hunger, to help themselves to some of the cattle or sheep that had fattened on the green pastures kept clear for kangaroos from time immemorial by the fires of the natives and their forefathers..."²⁴

Against this background of dispossession and black resistance the Hornet Bank massacre will be studied.

23. T.L. Mitchell, Journal, p.413.

24. Mitchell, p. 414.

convinced of their loss".³⁷ Later, after their horses had strayed, the party came upon a large party of Aborigines. The horses were retrieved and tethered for the night.

Myall Creek Massacre covers that massacre in two pages, sometimes in melodramatic prose, devoting his main attention to the effects of the consequent trials on colonial opinion as expressed in newspaper editorials. R.H.W. Reece has

CHAPTER 1 : FIRST CONTACT

The Upper Dawson district is a distinct geographical feature of southern central Queensland, roughly circular, with the town of Taroom in the centre. The district is bordered by an almost unbroken ring of ranges, the Great Divide forming the southern and western sections of this ring, the Carnarvon, Expedition, Bigge and Dawson Ranges the northern and the Auburn Range the eastern. Between the Dawson Range and the northern tip of the Auburn is a gap through which the Dawson River flows northwards to its junction with the Fitzroy River, the distributary of several large central Queensland rivers and streams, which discharges into the sea near Rockhampton. Total area of the Upper Dawson basin is about 6,000 square miles.¹ The whole basin has a floor of sandstone, through which basaltic outcrops protrude. The land to the west and north-west, across which the large tributaries flow, is deeply cut by gorges, whereas the land to the south and east, across which only minor streams run, is undulating and more accessible to the traveller. The first white visitors came from the south and the east onto this country from the Condamine and Burnett districts.

The brigalow scrub, *Acacia harpophyllis*, is common, growing in dense clumps; for many years it was a serious impediment to early European expansion but an excellent refuge for unencumbered and hostile tribesmen. For some years in the mid-1850s, the frontier virtually stood still on a line running from Hornet Bank in the west through Eurombah and Kinnoul, near Taroom, to Palm Tree Creek station and Gwambagwyne down the Dawson. All other stations were to the east or south of this line. The first squatters considered the country to the north and west of this line too broken and too scrubby.

1. See maps 1 and 2. Imperial measures have been retained in this thesis because many of the quotations include imperials.

along his tracks. Hodgson presented the headman with a tomahawk. He would have kept the Jiman party longer as guides, but when they began conducting the whites,

By "broken" they meant too many hills, too many ravines or steep gullies, too many rocky outcrops, too many basaltic peaks and elevated faces of sandstone, some 1,000 feet high. The Carnarvons are the western anchor of this geological feature. They have been called the roof of Queensland and the home of the rivers; they are the source of the headwaters of the Condamine, Warrego, Thompson, Barcoo, Belyando, Nogoia, Brown and Dawson Rivers. Storms often wrack these ranges, the highest peaks of which reach about 3,500 feet. To the east of the Carnarvons are several sandstone tablelands - the Buckland, the Bedourie, the Ruined Castle, the Glenhaughton, the Westgrove-Boxvale. Running eastwards from the Carnarvons, like a spoke in a very broken wheel, is the Lynd Range, yet another impediment to the communication and settlement in the north-west half of the Upper Dawson. "Out of the sandstone tablelands jut basaltic cones, the result of ancient volcanic action. In some parts deep canyons 1,500 feet thick have been carved in the basalts."²

Generally well watered, the Upper Dawson Valley is subject to drought, although the Dawson itself has not run dry in white man's memory, no doubt because it rises in such a relatively high and cool source as the Carnavons. Average rainfall at Taroom is about 21 inches, but increases to the west. The Great Divide on the south and the west is merely a low line of hills, offering very little resistance to travellers, or even the horses and bullock drays of the early settlers. The gorges of the Dawson River and Robinson and Palm Tree Creeks teem with caves, decorated with Aboriginal paintings, having what Jensen called an air of "weirdness and melancholy", while the less rugged and

2. Jensen, H.I. "Geological Reconnaissance between Roma, Springsure, Tambo and Taroom", Queensland Geological Survey, Brisbane, 1926. Dr Jensen was assisted by J.R.T. Dunlop in making this reconnaissance in 1921.

establish what happened at Hornet Bank; why it happened; what happened to the people most concerned, the white "family" of the Frasers, the Scotts and their employees on

consequently more useful basaltic cones of the tablelands of the Carnarvons have a physiognomy which "exudes the air of smiling beauty".³

The scenery, gorges and caves of the Dawson and its eastern and northern tributaries have attracted attention from curious settlers and visitors for many years, but have received only scant attention from archaeologists, who have been interested mainly in the caves, the homes of Aborigines for many thousands of years. Much more archaeological attention has been paid to the Carnarvons, but it is not proposed to draw analogies with this work in order to explain the former Upper Dawson society, because the latter was a border society between east and west and little can be stated with certainty. As Beaton has observed, the Aborigines of the Home of the Rivers never had an ethnographer.⁴ While there may be common features of the Aboriginal societies which lived in or around the Carnarvons, there is also linguistic evidence that the Jiman people of the Upper Dawson differed from the people of the north and west. As will be discussed later, the linguistic evidence suggests they were connected with the tribes to the east and south, being the western-most representatives of a group of tribes inhabiting south-eastern Queensland and perhaps part of northern N.S.W.

The Carnarvon Ranges contain a number of large caves formed in sandstone tablelands. Weathering of the caves has slowly formed sediment on the floors. In the Kenniff Cave on the upper reaches of Meteor Creek, the sediment at its deepest is stratified to about 11 feet. Mulvaney and Joyce over the years 1960-64 excavated this sediment and found

3. Jensen, p.127.

4. Beaton, John. "Dangerous Harvest: Investigations in the Late Prehistoric Occupation of Upland South-East Central Queensland", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra 1977, p.12.

at the head of the River Dawson. Saw for the first time a few specimens of the Bottle Tree." The blacks, Bunce noted, appeared to be in the habit of cutting the...

immediate aftermath, the effects on William and Sylvester Fraser and their neighbours, and the initial response of the Native Police and the squatters of the Upper

that radiocarbon dating of deposited charcoal at the lowest depth in which it was found puts the earliest human occupation at about 16,000 years before the present time.⁵

Who were the people of the Upper Dawson? In his pamphlet, "Divisions of Australian Tribes", R.H. Matthews claims that the Dawson tribes were part of the "Dippil" nation of South-Eastern Queensland.⁶ In 1884 James Lalor, who had arrived in the Roma district in August 1860 from the Namoi district of N.S.W., had written to Howitt: "There is another tribe called Emon in the Southern part of the Leichhardt district; if you look at the map and take Taroom for the centre you will be able to form an idea of the

5. Mulvaney, D.J., and Joyce, E.B. "Archaeological and Geomorphological Investigations on Mt Moffat Station, Queensland, Australia", Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1965, Vol. XXXI, pp. 154-169. For additional archaeological and prehistorical research on the Carnarvon Range and Upper Dawson areas, see: Crosby, Eleanor, "An Archological Site Survey near Taroom, South-Eastern Queensland", in Queensland Museum Memoirs, Vol. 15, Pt 2, 1968; Walsh, G.L. "Mutilated Hands or Signal Stencils?" in Australian Archaeology, No. 9, Sydney, November 1979, pp.33-41; Keegan, P.L. "Some Observations concerning Methods of Disposal of the Dead as Practised in the Carnarvon Range Area, Central Inland Queensland", in Anthropological Society of Queensland Newsletter, No. 45, December 1971; Robins, R.P. and Walsh, G.L., "Burial Cylinders: The Essence of a Dilemma in Public Archaeology", in Australian Archaeology, No. 9, Sydney, November 1979, p.69; and Morwood, M.J. "Art and Stone: Towards a Prehistory of Central Western Queensland", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1979. For a study of the languages of the people who once lived immediately to the west of the Upper Dawson, the Kungabula, see Breen, J.G. "Bidyara and Gungabula Grammar and Vocabulary", in Linguistic Communications, 8, Melbourne, 1973.
6. Matthews, R.H. "Divisions of Australian Tribes", American Philosophical Society Proceedings, 1898, Vol.37, No.157, pp.151-154.

On 25 January, the party "now commenced war with...hornets of a very large size, and whose bite or sting

locality".⁷ A.W. Howitt believed this tribe probably represented the western example of tribes which extended from the Bunya Mountains northwards to Wide Bay and possibly even as far as Port Curtis. He said they had four sub-class names differing slightly in accordance with their dialects. He added that the social organisation of the "Emon tribe is represented by that of the Kaiabara tribe which inhabited the Bunya-Bunya Mountains..."⁸

No language of the Upper Dawson has been recorded. Some early white settlers, such as T.L. Murray-Prior, in quoting the speech of Upper Dawson Aborigines have used words of the Wakka Wakka to the east. The tribes of this area are known by the negative. For instance, Wakka means "no" or "not" (imperatively); in Kabi language, "no" is Kabi, wa, wakka.⁹ Perhaps the Upper Dawson people used a language similar to that of the Kabi Kabi of the Wide Bay district, the Wakka Wakka of the Burnett district and the Goreng Goreng of the Upper Auburn district. The only clear evidence of such connection is in a few words common to each language, the most significant being the word used as a name for the Upper Dawson people, Jiman, correctly pronounced Yeeman but sometimes pronounced Jeeman by local whites. In Kabi Kabi the word "kill" was bai'yiman¹⁰ and in Wakka

7. James Lalor, Roma, to Howitt, 2 May 1884. Copy in Howitt papers, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. The earliest known name for any people on the Dawson River appears to be Yarook, given by William Gardner in his "Productions and Resources of the Northern and Western Districts of New South Wales (1842-54)" in Isabel McBryde (ed.), Records of Times Past, Ethnohistorical Essays on the Culture and Ecology of the New England Tribes, Canberra, 1978, p.245, but this name Yarook does not appear again in the literature.
8. Howitt, A.W. The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, London, 1904, p.110.
9. Mathew, John, Two Representative Tribes in Queensland, London, 1910, p.254.
10. Mathew, p.249

country, Leichhardt wrote: "At the Western falls of New England, at the heads of the MacIntire brook there is no

Wakka it was bum'jinga.¹¹ The word for "strike" in Kabi was also bai'yiman but in Wakka Wakka it was bum'be.¹² The Wakka bum'jinga and the Kabi yiman root, suggest that somehow the term yiman may have been applied by the Wide Bay tribe to the Upper Dawson people; it may have been picked up by white settlers moving from the east to the central highlands; and the "y" consonant may have been replaced by the "j". The Jiman may have been given their name by their eastern neighbours because of their reputed aggressiveness and quarrelsome natures. In Wakka Wakka, ji means "bite" and in Goreng Goreng jimen means "bit".¹³ The Upper Dawson abounds with hornets and it is not implausible that the Jiman were known as the killers, the biters, the stingers, perhaps even the hornet people. For the Upper Dawson people Tindale gives as alternatives the following names: Jiman, Iman, Emon, Nimmi, the latter, he says, being the name of the "plain" country in the Upper Dawson,¹⁴ although no such name is now used for any "plain" country; presumably it refers to the undulating country of the south and east.

The Jiman, as we shall call them for literary convenience, flourished in such a fertile centre; except for times of drought, there was plenty of water and teeming bird and animal life. In the gorges, too, they found shelter in winter. The Jiman were feared by their neighbours as late as the early 1860s. "When corroborees ended in fights, the fact that the Jiman of the Upper Dawson

-
11. Mathew, p.249.
 12. Mathew, p.252.
 13. Holmer, Hils M. "Linguistic Survey of Southern Queensland", Part 1, p.136, a manuscript held in Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
 14. Tindale, p.171.

were participants da... their opponents." They were known
to the whites as th... Dawson blacks".¹⁵

A former resident of the Auburn River district, the
late Mr C.L.D. Hamilton, in 1895, said that the Jiman
had the reputation of being valiant and were allegedly
of superior physique. They live east and south-easterly
from Taroom, that is, between the Warrego and the Wakka Wakka
along the Auburn River. The Jiman were "cock of the
walk". However, there was a rapport between the tribes,
some words having similar meanings. During the Bunya nut
festival held in the Bunya Mountains near Dalby in certain
seasons, the Jiman were "permitted to pass through other
than their own territory, on their way to these festivals,
adhering to certain rules, whereby fighting, promiscuity and
so on were taboo".¹⁶ In evidence to the 1858 Select
Committee inquiring into the Native Police Force, Edward
Molyneux Royds of Juandah (now Wandoan in the Upper Dawson)
said that the Juandah Aborigines travelled to the middle of
the Jarling Downs, about 200 miles.¹⁷

The Kabi Kabi tribe occupied the northern Bunya
Mountains and the Wakka owned the southern, according to
Archibald Meston. "They invited all the tribes within a
certain radius as guests to feast on the bunya nuts. These
... came from the Clarence in the south to the mouth of the
Burnett in the north, and west to the Moonie and the
Maranoa. The strangers were received with great
hospitality. The bunyas were gathered by the proprietor

15. Emmerson, Kathleen. "The Upper Dawson Country",
Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland,
Vol. 7, No.2, 1963-64, p.399-400.

16. C.L.D. Hamilton, Wavell Heights, Brisbane, letter to
author, 1 August 1979. Hamilton died in June 1980.

17. "Report of the Select Committee of the New South Wales
Legislative Assembly on The Native Police Force",
N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, Votes and proceedings,
1856-58, Sydney, p. 20.

9. Demarr, James. Adventures in Australia Fifty Years Ago, London, 1893, p.223.

tribes and presented to the guests, who were not allowed to climb the trees or take the bunyas for themselves".¹⁸

Like other tribes the Jiman adorned themselves with cicatrices. Theirs included crescent-shaped markings on their chests.¹⁹ These distinctive markings were to prove a disadvantage when the white avengers were seeking the perpetrators of the Hornet Bank murders.

It is commonly believed in the Upper Dawson today that the first party of whites to enter the district were those of the Leichhardt expedition of 1844. This appears to be wrong. In 1842, faced with overstocking of their New England runs, Finney Eldershaw of Marouan station on Mann's River and two other squatters, some of their station hands and at least one Aboriginal guide made up a party which explored for new land north of their stations. The alternative would have been to send their excess stock to the boiling-down works then being established during the depression in the pastoral industry. They proceeded to an unnamed station on the Darling Downs then followed the Condamine River westwards, but were not impressed with the land they saw; it was a hot dry spell and water was scarce. Having come so far they decided to cross the scrubby ranges to the north of the Condamine. This they found difficult: "Here stony ranges impeded our way, and there impassable belts of brigalow and myall blocked our path."²⁰

18. Meston, Archibald. Geographic History of Queensland, Brisbane, 1895, p.81.
19. Davies, E.C., "Some Reminiscences of Early Queensland", in Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.6, No.1, 1959, pp.37-38.
20. Eldershaw, F. Australia As It Really Is, London, 1854, p.158; also see Victor Windeyer, Charles Windeyer, 1780-1855, and Some Events of his Time, Sydney, 1977, p.53-54. Finney Eldershaw was a son-in-law of Charles Windeyer of Sydney and a partner with Windeyer's son Walter in Marouan. This explains the Windeyer's later interest in Woleebee station on the Dawson.

his memoirs that the original squatters there were John and George Living, and claims that they were the early pioneers of that part of the colony. Slade says that in 1841

11. Macpherson, Allan. Mount Abundance: Or, the Experiences of a Pioneer Squatter in Australia Thirty Years Ago, London, [1880?].

When they broke through the Great Divide, they found that the land on the northern side, while looking beautiful because of heavy timber, long grass and many flowering bushes and trees, was also affected by the dry spell. They could find moisture only in occasional muddy sinks and reached the river, which Eldershaw said was the one later named the Dawson by Leichhardt, near to exhaustion. The river was narrow but deep and they had to travel along its steep banks for a couple of miles before finding a safe or convenient watering place, where they camped. The country around this spot was well grassed and stocked with game, and so they stayed there for some days to get back their strength.²¹ "Numerous indications of the presence of large tribes of Natives were everywhere manifested, and on the night of the second day of our sojourn there, we were surprised at perceiving behind a tree which was overhanging our camp, one of their scouts cautiously reconnoitring our little band." The "scout" ran away, and the whites decided to keep a watch in future.²²

The party then set about examining the country and, after a few days' pleasant search, fixed upon three promising-looking runs upon the main and back waters of the river, which they duly apportioned and marked out, and which, considering the "toil, expense, and trouble in finding them, we flattered ourselves we were in some measure entitled to..." Eldershaw and his friends did not acquire these runs. They were put up for disposal by tender and bought by a Sydney speculator who then sold them at a handsome profit to a new arrival "possessed of more money than wit; who not knowing what to do with them ... squandered heaps more money in his various experiments to turn them to account..."²³

21. Eldershaw, p.162.

22. Eldershaw, p.162.

23. Eldershaw, p.164.

Andrew Scott, the founder of Hornet Bank station, arrived in the Upper Dawson some time before September 1852. His early history is...

Eldershaw's party then decided to inspect the "luxurious downs" rumoured to be to the west of the Dawson, so they set out westwards, finding the going much better than before they reached the river, there being abundant water, grass and game. They were able to "feast sumptuously each day on fish, flesh and fowl, with sago pith, wild blackberries, honey, potatoe yams, and occasionally a stray bunya-bunya, by way of vegetable or dessert, washing down these substantial repasts with water or tea, and at times with a draught from the native apple tree, the sap of which jets out abundantly when tapped; and yields a wholesome, slightly invigorating, and not unpalatable beverage".²⁴ Also they were able to make a flour from the seed of the barley grass (Panicum Laevinode) which they made into a "passable bread".²⁵

A tropical deluge turned the red sandy loam over which they were then travelling into a boggy morass; they pushed on for three weeks, not making much more than a mile a day until they crossed the Dividing Range, emerging in the open country of the Maranoa district. They followed the Maranoa river southwards to its junction with the Balonne, but, realising they were too far to the south-west, followed the Balonne and the Condamine to the station on the Darling Downs whence they had departed. Then they returned to their stations in the New England district, having been absent for four to five months.²⁶

Ludwig Leichhardt organised and led an expedition which left Dennis and Bell's station at Jimbour (north of the present-day Dalby) on the Darling Downs at the end of September 1844 to find an overland route to Port Essington on the north coast of Australia. This party made slow but

24. Eldershaw, p.165.

25. Eldershaw, pp.165-66.

26. Eldershaw, pp.166-67.

their mother.¹⁷ There was at least one other brother, Thomas, born in 1804, died in 1885, who also went to America. It is not known why Andrew (Scott) ...

good progress as it moved westwards, crossing the Great Divide on about 1 November to enter Jiman country. By 3 November Leichhardt had realised that he had too many companions for his food supply and so Christopher Pemberton Hodgson, aged 21, brother of Arthur Hodgson of Eton Vale, one of the first settlers on the Darling Downs, and an American negro, Caleb, turned back. The remainder of the party pressed on generally northwards, following Juandah Creek and on 5 November reached the Dawson, a river which Leichhardt named after one of a family of settlers on the Hunter River connected with the Australian Agricultural Company.²⁷ Robert Dawson had entertained Leichhardt in 1844 and was a neighbour of James Calvert, who arrived in Australia on the same ship as Leichhardt and who accompanied him on this expedition.²⁸ When Leichhardt and his party had ridden down Juandah Creek they had seen very little or no brigalow and they likened the area to the Darling Downs. Forty years later the area was covered by dense scrub.²⁹

Leichhardt was not a good observer of this new country, making few comments on it, although he and his companions would have been well observed by the inhabitants, as Eldershaw had soon realised. But Leichhardt and his men were made painfully aware of one of the hazards of travelling in the Upper Dawson country. "The utmost economy was necessary: for we were constantly exposed to losses, occasioned by the pack bullocks upsetting their loads; an annoyance which was at this time of frequent occurrence from

27. Feeken, Erwin H.J., Feeken, Gerda E.E. and Spate, O.H.K. The Discovery and Exploration of Australia, Melbourne, 1970, pp.139-40.

28. Leichhardt, F.W. Ludwig. The Letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichhardt, 3 vols., collected and translated by Marcel Aurousseau for the Hakluyt Society, with annotated chronology, Cambridge, 1968, p.1053. Hakluyt Society volume nos. are 133-35. Also see Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.4, 1851-90, Melbourne, 1972, p.36.

29. Emerson, p.401.

17. Reynolds, "The Other Side of the Frontier" p.51.
18. Skinner, "Squatting Acts", Part III, p. 16.

the animals being irritated by the stings of hornets - a retaliation for the damage done to their nests, which they suspended to the branches of trees, and were frequently torn down by the bullocks passing underneath."³⁰ Later he added: "Large hornets of a bright colour, with some black marks, made their paper nests on the stems of trees, or suspended them from the dry branches; most of us were several times severely stung by them. When found near our encampment we generally destroyed them, by quickly raising a large fire with dry grass."³¹ This large red hornet of central Queensland is the Mygnumia australasiae.³²

Leichhardt and one of the Aboriginal guides, Brown, reconnoitring along the Comet Creek on 31 December 1844, came across a hut which they agreed must have been made by a white man, "probably a runaway from the settlement at Moreton Bay". A few miles further on they came upon a camp of the blacks. When first seen, the blacks used the word "whitefellow". Brown thought he saw in the distance a half-caste.³³

They came to a river which Leichhardt named the Mackenzie in honour of Sir Evan Mackenzie, Bart., as a small acknowledgement of the great assistance he had given in

30. Leichhardt, Ludwig. Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia from Moreton Bay to Port Essington a Distance of Upwards of 3000 Miles during the Years 1844-1845, London, 1847, p.37.
31. Leichhardt, Journal, p.48.
32. Lumholtz, Carl. Among Cannibals: An Account of Four Years Travel in Australia and Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland, London, 1890, p.38. At Hornet Bank station on the Dawson at least four hornets are known - a large red and black, a large black and orange, a medium-size green and black and a small green and black.
33. Leichhardt, Journal, p.90.

Kathleen Anderson says that Andrew Scott was a brave but also a cautious man and took no undue risks of a spear in his back.

preparing the expedition.³⁴ Leichhardt's expedition pressed on northwards and then westwards and by some good fortune, despite the loss of John Gilbert, speared by Aborigines near the River which now bears his name in the Gulf Country, reached Port Essington on 17 December 1845. Nonetheless, the expedition had taken longer than expected and in mid-1845 rumours began to reach the Darling Downs via Aborigines of white men perishing in the interior.³⁵ Christopher Hodgson, who had returned safely with Caleb, was asked to lead a small expedition to investigate these reports. His party left the Darling Downs in 1845 and travelled quickly. Soon they came upon an old camp of Leichhardt's in the southern part of the Upper Dawson, near where Hodgson had left the expedition in the previous November. "Three large gum trees bore the brand L ..." he noted.³⁶

On 25 August 1845, Hodgson's party encountered a group of Aborigines fishing in a large lagoon, which may have been the one at Juandah. They exchanged tobacco and pipes for a large eel the Aborigines had caught. They asked the direction in which Leichhardt's party had gone and were told towards the north-west. Hodgson's party also pillaged a large dilly-bag of 40 mullet, but left a handkerchief in its place "that they might dry up their tears with it, when

34. Leichhardt, Journal, p.105. It was on the property of this Mackenzie at Kilcoy on the Upper Brisbane in 1842 that the killing of perhaps hundreds of Aborigines had taken place.

35. Feeken, Feeken and Spate, pp.140-44.

36. Hodgson, Christopher. Reminiscences of Australia, London, 1846, p.308. Christopher Pemberton Hodgson, arrived in Sydney in 1840, being met there by his elder brother Arthur Hodgson of Eton Vale, Darling Downs, and friends. He left Australia soon after this expedition. Hodgson died in 1865. John Gilbert said that Hodgson had left the Leichhardt expedition of 1844 because he and Leichhardt could not agree (Leichhardt, Letters, Arousseau's note, Vol.3, pp.1038-39).

that had come into the yards remained. At once Scott sent word to the neighbouring Eurombah station, where a

convinced of their loss".³⁷ Later, after their horses had strayed, the party came upon a large party of Aborigines. The horses were retrieved and tethered for the night and at dusk "twenty-four black gentlemen made their appearance, desirous of a parley. From them was found the large lake to be called Eurunbal."³⁸ Resumably this is the lagoon at Eurombah. Hodgson found the natives friendly and appeared "so confident of our kindness that I could not help fancying they had been for some time with him [Leichhardt]".³⁹

When the whites camped on that day, two dozen Jiman accompanied by a piccaninni came to the camp boldly but unarmed, quiet and astonished. "They answered our questions to the best of their ability in a straight-forward manner; they camped close to us, and offered everything they could and more than we wanted." The behaviour and attitude shown by the Jiman were carefully noted by Hodgson, who was trying to ascertain whether any harm had befallen Leichhardt and his companions. "Had they done anything for which they feared a retaliation they would have assumed a bouncing air and impudent line of conduct, or would not have shown themselves at all without meaning hostility." Hodgson became convinced that the Jiman had done Leichhardt no harm.⁴⁰

Hodgson's party maintained close contact and most cordial relations with the Jiman, who appeared to be fascinated by the visitors and genuinely anxious to help. On 8 September, a group who had been following the search-party appeared at their camp and a parley was held; this ended with the Jiman showing the whites Leichhardt's crossing place over the Dawson and guiding them three miles

37. Hodgson, p.317.

38. Hodgson, p.320.

39. Hodgson, p.321.

40. Hodgson, p.332.

1. See maps 1 and 2. Imperial measures have been retained in this thesis because many of the quotations include imperials.

along his tracks. Hodgson presented the headman with a tomahawk. He would have kept the Jiman party longer as guides, but when they began conducting the whites towards their own fires in the scrub, he became more cautious. "We therefore deemed it prudent to decamp, while our sable friends were absent, for the purpose of painting themselves and bringing us a firestick."⁴¹ Hodgson's anxiety in the circumstances is understandable, although he did not seem to appreciate that the Jiman were painting themselves for a corroboree to which the visitors had been invited. The presentation of a firestick was yet another sign of hospitality.

Still following the tracks of Leichhardt's party, the searchers proceeded up Robinson's Creek but failing to shake off their sable friends. "The presence of gins and piccaninnis told us they were friendly inclined; their desire to assist us, when by signs of old manure we were able to acquaint them with our wants; and their desire to bring us a firestick, and to come among them, were all signs and tokens that the previous party had received no ill-treatment from them."⁴²

The Jiman remained with Hodgson's party all day on 11 September and "in the evening came down painted and variegated after different fashions and colours. I gave them some flour, and made signs to them that we intended to leave a large portion of our stores under a certain tree until our return." The noise of the Jiman singing that night put Hodgson's party on the qui vive and so they had four horses saddled in turn during the night. "It was an unpleasant time, but we had not the remotest foundation for suspecting their intentions were hostile; in fact, their

41. Hodgson, p.349.

42. Hodgson, p.353.

whole line of conduct was only that of people curious to see all that was to be seen, without giving offence."⁴³

After deciding that none of the rumoured disasters had befallen Leichhardt's party, Hodgson and his companions turned back near the head of Robinson's Creek and returned to their camp and buried stores. They were astonished to find everything as they had left it. "Not a single article had been touched, even though we had intentionally scattered some preserved soup, tobacco, and twine, for them to pick up."⁴⁴ One of the horses was left behind because he refused to be led. Hodgson's party returned to Jimbour on 21 September 1845.⁴⁵

On 7 December 1846, Leichhardt again set out with a party from Jimbour station, this time to traverse Australia to the Swan River Colony by following the old route to the Mackenzie River and Peak Range and then "wheeling" westwards roughly along the 22nd degree of latitude to the West Australian Coast. The 1846 party included Daniel Bunce, botanist and naturalist.⁴⁶ By early January 1847, the party seems to have entered Jiman territory and Bunce recorded their first meeting thus: "In the afternoon, some blackfellows approached our camp, bringing in their hands bundles of an integral-leaved wattle or *Acacia*, as tokens of peace. They did not come nearer than one hundred yards or so."⁴⁷ On 15 January, the party moved through "magnificent volcanic and undulating plains-like country equal to the Darling Downs. We camped at half-past two p.m.

43. Hodgson, pp.356-57.

44. Hodgson, p.360.

45. Hodgson, p.362.

46. Bunce, Daniel. Australasiatic Reminiscences of Twenty-Three Years' Wanderings in Tasmania and the Australias, including Travels with Dr Leichhardt in North Tropical Australia, Melbourne, 1857.

47. Bunce, p.116.

by
1921.

Season, 1901. Dangerous harvest. Investigations in
the Late Prehistoric Occupation of Upland South-East
Central Queensland", unpublished Ph.D. thesis,
Australian National University, Canberra 1977, p.12.

at the head of the River Dawson. Saw for the first time a few specimens of the Bottle Tree." The blacks, Bunce noted, appeared to be in the habit of cutting through the bark and eating the soft pulpy stem, which was almost as soft as turnip. With the bark itself they made nets and twine.⁴⁸ By 18 January, they were encountering much brigalow, Dodenea, Bauhinia and white Vitex trees as well as silver box. They also saw portulaca, which they had seen before entering the Dawson Valley, having collected it, boiled it down and eaten it.⁴⁹

Looking for a spot to cross the Dawson, Bunce strolled to a deposit of bi-valve shells, the remains of an Aboriginal feast. Many of the shells were "as large as cheese plates." He noticed also, hanging from the branch of a large tree, a string of some seven or eight breast-bones of emus. He did not disturb them. The guide Womma told him later that they would have been placed there as a memorial of some religious ceremony.⁵⁰

On 23 January they reached Palm Tree Creek, named after the corypha palm trees which adorn its banks. Bunce noted this tree's tall, upright, nearly cylindrical stems and wide-spreading umbrageous palmate leaves.⁵¹ On 24 January, Bunce saw a fine bay horse. He sent Womma after it; Womma could not see it, but returned reporting that he had seen horse tracks and bearing horse dung as evidence.⁵² This may have been the horse left behind by Christopher Hodgson in September 1845.

48. Bunce, p.118.

49. Bunce, p.119.

50. Bunce, p.121.

51. Bunce, p.123.

52. Bunce, p.124.

stockmen."⁴¹ Soon after De Satge and McNab left Rannes they heard that Aborigines had attacked the Rannes police

weeks

On 25 January, the party "now commenced war with...hornets of a very large size, and whose bite or sting was more painful for a time than that of a snake, and left an immense swelling that took two or three days to allay. The hornets were as treacherous as their sting was violent. They build their nests in the hollow of trees, and generally just such a height from the ground as left the head of a man on horseback on a level with their domicile, thus bringing literally a hornet's nest about his ears. Several of the party, as well as the horses, were this day stung. The horses and mules had no sooner felt the violence of their stings than they commenced bucking, and one or two of their riders were unseated."⁵³

After crossing the Expedition Range on 12 February, the party experienced tremendous rain. On 5 March at the junction of the Comet and Mackenzie Rivers, Leichhardt and five others had cotidian fever (malaria). By 23 March, all members of the party had this fever. On 7 June, Leichhardt decided to turn back, crossing the Dawson again on 14 July and reaching Jimbour on 25 July. Leichhardt later said that in 1844-45 he had taken four months to travel from Jimbour to Peak Range but "this time I arrived in 7 weeks at the banks of the Mackenzie, which was flooded and compelled me to stop 3 weeks at its right bank; we returned in 30 days to the last station on the Condamine, unencumbered by sheep or cattle".⁵⁴ The party returned, all half-dead from sickness, to Jimbour where they were hospitably received by Dennis and Bell.⁵⁵

Even though this expedition had failed miserably, Leichhardt had fired interest in the Dawson country, so that even by 1847 land-hungry squatters were on his heels. Commenting on this hunger and the prospects for the Dawson

53. Bunce, p.125.

54. Leichhardt, Letters, p.936.

55. Meston, History, p.182.

off" there; on the other hand, he may have been one of the first immigrants, following establishment of the Immigration

9. Mathew, John, Two Representative Tribes in Queensland, London, 1910, p.254.

10. Mathew, p.249

country, Leichhardt wrote: "At the Western falls of New England, at the heads of the MacIntire brook there is no country unoccupied. The squatter has to go either down the Condamine, on the Dawson or to Wide Bay River." After dismissing Wide Bay as unsuitable for pastoral runs because of the heavy rain, Leichhardt said: "At the head of the Dawson, at the right side 20 or 30 miles from John Windeyer's, there is some very fine country and worthwhile to be carefully examined. It is very far from the Bay (about 250 miles) and appears to be limited, but what there is, is good."⁵⁶

But there were risks. In a letter to David Archer, Durrundur, from Russell's station, Canning Downs, 10 March 1848, Leichhardt said he had advised a Mr Thomas "again and again to consider the state of labour and the risk to go too far to the westward."⁵⁷ Leichhardt's warnings went unheeded. It is ironical that he should issue such a warning: with an entirely new party he was already setting out on his second attempt to traverse Australia from east to west and the Swan River Colony. He reached Mt Abundance station on 3 April and after a few days' rest, set out again westwards on his last expedition. By this time, however, the first settlers were on the Dawson.

56. Leichhardt, Letters, pp.998-99. The reference to John Windeyer appears to have been an error by Leichhardt (see next Chapter).

57. Leichhardt, Letters, p.1065.

Their first child, William, was born in Sydney on .
28 December 1832 when the family was living in the city of

14. Tindale, p.171.

CHAPTER 2

White settlement of the Upper Dawson began in 1847 with the Windeyer holding mentioned by Leichhardt.¹ A number of squatters seeking new pastures passed through the Upper Dawson in the period immediately following Leichhardt (1844) and Hodgson (1845) and runs were quickly selected, only to be abandoned without having been settled. According to district legend the Rosses passed through sometime in 1846. "In 1847, when Leichhardt and his party... passed through, a stray horse was seen. This could have been a horse lost from the Rosses' party."² John Ross took up Redbank on the Auburn River in 1849 and Rockybar station, also on the Auburn, in 1852.³ The Archer brothers followed Stuart Russell into the Burnett River district and explored there and on the range between the Condamine and Dawson waters and later, in 1847, took up Eidsvold and Coonambula stations, the first runs formed north of where Gayndah now stands.⁴

1. Gwen Fox, in her Pioneers of the Taroom and Wandoan District: Historical Notes on the Shire of Taroom, Taroom, 1960, p.21 says the first settler appears to have been William Turner, licensee of Taroom Station, whose name appears in the NSW Government Gazette of 18 November 1845, but this appears to have been an error. This Gazette lists Taroom as being in the Moreton Bay District, and next year the Gazette shows that Turner had acquired Helidon run in the Moreton Bay District between the present-day Toowoomba and Ipswich. Quite likely the reference to Taroom was a misspelling for Tarome near Warwick, a common confusion.
2. Emmerson, p.400. The horse may also have been the one left behind by Hodgson in 1845.
3. Herbert S. Bloxsome. "The Early Settlement of the Burnett River District of Queensland", unpublished manuscript in the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane, 1945, Redbank entry.
4. Parry-Okeden, U.E. "The Burnett in the Forties: First Pastoral Holdings and their History", manuscript in the Oxley Memorial Library Brisbane, presumably written in 1931, p.1.

and Thomas Bell; and in 1846 left Sydney with his family to take up residence. William, then only 13, went overland

This implies that the Archers explored the Great Divide south of the Dawson before 1847.

The first pastoralist to take sheep to the area was Thomas Mark Windeyer in 1847. "Tom Archer, who with young Chauvel and a blackboy, had taken a route west on the northern side of the Great Dividing Range and had returned on his second trip the same way, saw Windeyer there with men and sheep."⁵ Windeyer, who was acting for his uncle, Charles Windeyer in Sydney, at the time, was on Woleebee Creek, but Charles Windeyer had financial difficulties in 1848 and had to give up this run. Thomas Windeyer met with an accident, and for some time lay ill before dying at Juandah,⁶ which appears to have been occupied first by Solray (or Soloway) and Stephen by 1849.⁷ When Thomas Windeyer had arrived, pastoralists were allowed to take up as much land as they liked, provided they had a licence. But from 1 January 1848 tendering for runs became the law. The maximum area to be taken up was 16,000 acres or sufficient land to support 4,000 sheep. The licence fee was 10 pounds a year.⁸

John Living was reported to have been at Cockatoo Creek in 1851, later going to Weroona.⁹ William Slade, who worked on Cockatoo Creek station from 1864-68, says in

5. Emmerson, p.400.

6. Windeyer, p.41.

7. C.J. and E.M. Royds apparently arrived at Juandah soon after 1853, and occupied this property for 40 years (Fox, p.21). See also, Austin, G.C. "Pastoral Pioneers", a manuscript held by the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Brisbane, written in 1959, based upon information in Government gazettes. Austin lists only the gazettal of successful tenders for runs, which means that Juandah may have been selected and occupied much earlier than 1849.

8. Fox, p.21..

9. Fox, p.21.

windeyer, 1780-1855, and Some Events of His Time, Sydney, 1977, p.53-54. Finney Eldershaw was a son-in-law of Charles Windeyer of Sydney and a partner with Windeyer's son Walter in Marouan. This explains the Windeyer's later interest in Woleebee station on the Dawson.

his memoirs that the original squatters there were John and George Living, and claims that they were the early pioneers of that part of the colony. Slade says that, if he recollects correctly, the Livings of Cockatoo Creek, with Ino Moss to aid them, fought the natives all night on one occasion and beat them off,¹⁰ but he does not say when this happened. Pollett Cardew, owner of Eurombah Station in 1857, later said he had been a squatter on the Dawson since before the establishment of the Native Police.¹¹

The first road into the district followed Leichhardt's track over the Great Dividing Range to the south, through the Downfall Creek area and on to Juandah Creek. Another road soon ran across the Auburn Range to Gayndah. A third road later ran from Roma to Taroom then north-east to Rockhampton via Banana station and Rannes. This last route was the shortest to the coast and was used to cart wool to port. A fourth road was opened in 1856 as a mail line from Taroom to Condamine, a distance of 107 miles, and carried a weekly mail service.¹² Taroom was a staging place for the teams in the early days between Rockhampton and Roma. It was also known as Bonner's Knob, because of the prominent hill near the centre of the town.¹³

10. Slade, memoirs, Warwick Daily News, 19 April 1938.

11. Pollett Cardew in evidence attached to "Report of the Select Committee on the Native Police Force", Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1860, Brisbane, p.127. The Native Police Force which operated in the Northern Districts of NSW crossed the Macintyre River in May 1849. There is no evidence to support Cardew's claim to have been on the Dawson as early as this: he was, however, on the Burnett in 1857 (see NSW Government Gazette, 11 August 1852), and may have applied for runs on the Dawson as early as 1849.

12. Fox, p.25.

13. C.L.D. Hamilton, Wavell Heights, 16 August 1979, to author.

to Jimbour with an important letter. The steamer sailed but foundered in Moreton Bay and Dennis was drowned.⁶⁰

22. Eldershaw, p.162.

23. Eldershaw, p.164.

Andrew Scott, the founder of Hornet Bank station, arrived in the Upper Dawson some time before September 1853. His early history is largely unknown, but one fact is certain: Scott (see photograph, last page) was born in Newcastleton, Roxburghshire, Scotland, on 13 July 1811, the son of Thomas Scott and Jean Beattie.¹⁴ His arrival in Australia does not appear in the official N.S.W. archival records of arrivals in the 1830s and 1840s. Kathleen Anderson¹⁵ in the early 1940s broadcast a history of Hornet Bank largely based on an interview with Scott's eldest son, Andrew Robert, and this can be assumed to be a fairly accurate early history of the Scott family. She says Andrew Scott came to Australia from Scotland in the 1840s and for a time was employed by Robert Brodie at Maitland, N.S.W. He worked on other holdings but during this time his intention was to acquire a station of his own. In the early 1850s, he set out for Queensland and at length reached the Dawson River, where he took up a stretch of country.¹⁶

Possibly Andrew Scott had been associated with farming in Scotland. An incomplete letter in the possession of the Scott family from a farmer at Skelfhill, Roxburghshire, written to Andrew in July 1845 alludes to farm matters and suggests that Andrew had had an interest in stock in Scotland. It also dates his arrival in Australia as being before that time. The same letter refers to Andrew's brother John, who had gone to America, and to their widowed mother, Jean, who was then living at Hawick, near Newcastleton. Apparently both brothers were then doing well in their new countries, because they were sending money to

14. Extract of Castleton Parish Register, provided by General Register Office, Edinburgh.

15. Anderson, Kathleen. "Hornet Bank", one of the "Roving Reporter Broadcasts" given by her on a Queensland radio station in 1942-43; manuscript held in the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane.

16. Anderson, p.1.

settle in The Swamp,⁶⁴ apparently moving there in 1852 or 1853 to become employees of Hughes and Isaac, who had Gowrie

25. Eldershaw, pp.165-66.

26. Eldershaw, pp.166-67.

their mother.¹⁷ There was at least one other brother, Thomas, born in 1804, died in 1885, who also went to America. It is not known why Andrew Scott came to Australia, but possibly he was one of the poor Scottish and Northern English workers induced to come to Australia between 1836 and 1849 by John Dunmore Lang.¹⁸

Scott worked for some time for Robert Brodie, who became his father-in-law when he married Christina Brodie in 1860. Christina was born at Morpeth on the Hunter River, apparently in 1839 or 1840,¹⁹ but in 1841 Robert Brodie was living at Hatfield near Dungog²⁰ in the district originally granted to the Australian Agricultural Company. Possibly Brodie had been a farmer for the company and Scott became his employee there; certainly he was later working for Brodie at Morpeth. On his way northwards, Scott spent some time in the Darling Downs district, where he held a run, Liddedale, on the headwaters of the Moonie River, in 1852.²¹

Scott is believed to have been the first permanent settler at Hornet Bank, originally called Goongarry.

17. Vivienne Cotton, granddaughter of Andrew Scott, Charleville, Queensland, to author, 29 May 1979; also Gordon Marsland, Windsor, Queensland, has made a genealogical study of the Scott family.
18. According to family legend, Scott may have been induced to come to Australia by Captain Patrick Logan, commandant of the Moreton Bay penal settlement from March 1826 until October 1830 when he was killed while on an expedition on the upper reaches of the Brisbane River. When Logan sailed for N.S.W. in 1824, Scott was only 13 years of age, and when Logan was killed, he was still only 17. Thus it is implausible that Scott came to Australia at the behest of Logan, especially if Scott arrived in Australia in the 1840s, as his descendants believe.
19. Date noted in Oxley Memorial Library picture file.
20. 1841 N.S.W. Census, Archives Office of N.S.W., hereafter denoted as NSA.
21. N.S.W. Government Gazette of 10 August 1852.

a fine handsome girl, who went by the name of the Swamp Pheasant, and she had no end of admirers but she would accept none.⁶⁷

29. Emerson, p.401.

34

Although five other squatters nominally held land there before him, they did not pay the licence fees; he paid the fees owing and took over the licences.²² The Aboriginal name for Hornet Bank was Gaganybilany,²³ and Goongarry may have been a corruption of this term, which appears to have meant "big waterhole".²⁴

One day while out riding Scott dismounted at a creek to get a drink. The waterhole he had chosen was a depression in some rocks, and as he put his head down to reach the water a swarm of red hornets flew out of the bank and attacked him about the head and the face.²⁵ He was stung so badly that, temporarily blinded, he had to stay out all night. People in the district who heard about the incident referred to the creek as the Hornet Bank Creek; and in time the property came to be known as Hornet Bank.²⁶ When Scott applied for the run on 8 September 1853, he gave it that name.²⁷

22. Cotton, 29 May 1979.

23. P.G.W. Ford, Oakey, letter to author, 18 August 1979.

24. Toowoomba Chronicle, 26 October 1957.

25. Anderson, p.5.

26. Farley, Roy S. "Fraser Memorial 'Hornet Bank': Massacre By Aborigines", Queensland Geographic Journal, Vol. 58-59, No.44, 1959. Farley mentions that Hugh T. Scott, a grandson of Andrew Scott was present on 27 October 1957 at the unveiling of this plaque at Hornet Bank in memory of the Frasers; presumably Hugh T. Scott was the source of the remark that Andrew Scott was temporarily blinded.

27. Anderson, p.5. In fact, when Scott applied for the Hornet Bank lease in September 1853, he applied for the leases of three runs, Hornet Bank No. 1, Hornet Bank No. 2 and Hornet Bank No. 3, a total of at least 48,000 acres; this also dates the incident with the hornets as being before this time. (See A.E. Halloran, Crown Lands Commissioner, Wide Bay and Burnett Districts, Wide Bay, 20 September 1854, to Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, Sydney, in QSA, CCL 3/G1.)

48

Drayton.⁷² A search of the records of the Lands Department, Brisbane, by Laurie showed no mention of Fraser

Kathleen Anderson says that Andrew Scott was a brave but also a cautious man and took no undue risks of a spear in his back. One of his precautions was to have as his constant companion a blackboy from N.S.W. Being of another tribe, it was in the boy's interest to be on the alert all the time. He knew that the Dawson blacks would have little hesitation in killing him if they had the least chance. Scott would not allow the tribe to come too close to the homestead. They had to keep a certain distance and he saw to it that they did. His way of doing so was to go out every now and then just as the sun was rising. From a rise just in front of the house he would watch the smoke. He knew that as the sun came up the blacks would wake and kick together the embers of their dying fires and put more wood on them. The resulting smoke would give him a fair idea of their whereabouts. If they were closer than he thought safe, he would take his black boy and ride around the property, taking care that the blacks saw him. "Only that and nothing more, but it was effective."²⁸

Scott expected his employees also to take care and, to make sure that they did, he occasionally rode around the property to where the shepherds were grazing the flocks. He was very much annoyed one day that he was able to approach a shepherd without the man being aware. The shepherd was lying on his back reading; his horse with a rifle strapped to the saddle was some distance away. In reply to Scott's remonstrance, the shepherd dismissed the idea that he was in any danger. At last, after warning him once more, Scott returned to the homestead. He had not been at home long, when his attention was drawn to a dog and two or three sheep running into the yards. Hastily saddling up again and calling a companion, he rode straight back to the camp he had left, to find the shepherd had been speared in the back. Of the 1,400 sheep in the man's charge, only the few

28. Anderson, pp.1-2.

family name appears as Frasier in the Ipswich deaths register. Also, he said that his father was 25 years of age

that had come into the yards remained. At once Scott sent word to the neighbouring Eurombah station, where a detachment of the Native Police sometimes encamped but the troopers were absent. Three days later the officer-in-charge arrived with his men at Hornet Bank. It did not take him and Scott long to find the tracks of the tribe. With 1,400 sheep they were easy to trace. They had gone only two miles from the shepherd's camp before settling down for the first night. When the police arrived they saw that the Aborigines had had a big feast, for strewn around the place were the skins of 40 sheep. The next day they had travelled six to seven miles and around their campsite were strewn 25 skins. Scott and the Native Police patrol came upon the Jiman as they were making camp on the night of the third day. "The killing of the shepherd was duly avenged," Anderson remarks.²⁹ This incident, according to legend, occurred before the Frasers arrived in March 1854; it is sometimes given as a reason for the attack on Hornet Bank station in 1857.

Scott later said that during the three years he was on Hornet Bank, each of his shepherds was murdered, although this seems to have been an exaggeration; also he said one of his storekeepers was killed when out distributing rations to his shepherds at their huts. The storekeeper had been ambushed.³⁰

Scott may have been on the holding as much as 12 months before he tendered for it, as it was the practice in those days for a squatter to find out the full value of a

29. This paragraph is adapted from Anderson, pp.2-3.

30. O'Sullivan, Michael. Cameos of Crime, Sydney, 1939, p.61.

Kangaroo Creek. The rent was to be 10 pounds a year. But they had selected poor country. Sollow Hills was

39. Hodgson, p.321.

40. Hodgson, p.332.

run before he applied for possession.³¹ Possibly the most reliable authority is William Henry Wiseman, the first Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Leichhardt district, who said that Hornet Bank had been stocked and inhabited since 1853.³² Scott tendered for Hornet Bank No.1 run on 8 September 1853; his tender was accepted on 1 April 1858; and the lease was dated from 30 May 1858.³³

Although Andrew Scott had a brother John, he was not the John Scott of Palm Tree Creek, another early settler on the Dawson, who "tried to keep up a certain style in the bush".³⁴ Other early settlers on the Upper Dawson were Robert Miller and John Turnbull at Kinnoul in 1851 and William Henry Yaldwyn at Taroom in 1852.³⁵ George Pearce

31. Laurie, Arthur. "Hornet Bank Massacre", in Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, No.5, 1957. Thomas Boulton said in January 1858 that Hornet Bank was occupied seven years before the attack, i.e. since 1851 (North Australian 12 January 1858); and Andrew Scott in a conversation with a visitor in 1888 referred to having been on Hornet Bank for three years before the Frasers took over, i.e. also indicating 1851 (O'Sullivan, p.61).
32. Wiseman, William. Letter to CCCL, Sydney, 16 November 1857, in Wiseman Letter Book, Queensland State Archives, microfilm, CCL 7/G1.
33. QSA CLO 13, Hornet Bank; and QSA CCL 3/GL, 20 September 1854; also wording on memorial plaque at Hornet Bank Station. The delay of four and a half years between application and grant of licence has never been explained.
34. Emmerson, p.405. This John Scott had been born in Edinburgh in 1822, educated at St Andrews and Edinburgh Universities, arrived in N.S.W. in 1843 and took up land on the Murrumbidgee at Nap Nap in 1846 before moving to the Upper Dawson (From Heaton, J.H., Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time, Sydney, 1879, see entry for Scott).
35. For Yaldwyn see Austin, Kinnoul entry; also Queensland 1900: A Narrative of the Past, Together with Biographies of her Leading Men, compiled by the Alcazar Press, Brisbane, 1900, entry under Yaldwyn's son, also named William; and J.O. Randell, Yaldwyn of the Golden Spurs, Melbourne, 1980. For Miller and Turnbull, see Austin; their successful tender for this run was gazetted on 10 October 1853.

Serocold and Robert Ramsay Mackenzie jointly bought Cockatoo Creek station on the Upper Dawson in 1856. Serocold, a former Royal Navy lieutenant who had managed a property on the Peel River (Tamworth) for two years before this, became the manager on 250 pounds a year. Mackenzie, who had sold his properties in the New England District, remained the silent partner, confining himself to Brisbane, where he proceeded to acquire interests in many runs in the northern districts, thus resuming the speculation of which he was so fond before he had become bankrupt in 1844. By 1856 he was part-lessee of 52 runs. Serocold and Mackenzie had seen in Brisbane a notice of sale of Cockatoo Creek, a property in the Leichhardt district together with 15,000 sheep. It was nearly 300 miles from Brisbane, on a tributary of the Dawson River. "It was quite an outside station and the blacks were numerous and had given trouble", Serocold later wrote. The owner, a Dr David Ramsay of Sydney, had acquired this run in 1853, but according to Serocold he was getting old and wanted to sell. Serocold and Mackenzie bought the station for delivery in August 1856 with the lambs then dropping given in and the 10 months' wool on the sheep's back for 12 shillings a head, "which was a low price for those days". Their run was fairly good but there was a great deal of brigalow scrub on it, making it difficult to work. To the north lay a large unbroken country, unfit to be occupied, in which the blacks alone lived.³⁶

The season, he says, continued "pretty good" and the shearing at Cockatoo passed off very well. The drays, laden with wool, were started for Maryborough, the nearest seaport then, about 200 miles away, and returned with flour, salt,

36. Serocold, George Pearce. Unpublished memoirs in the National Library, Canberra, written in 1908 in England. Serocold says Ramsay had held Cockatoo Creek for 10 years, but he is probably wrong; Ramsay's tender for it was accepted in the N.S.W. Government Gazette, 1 October 1853. Also, see R.B. Joyce's article on Mackenzie in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.5: 1851-1890, Melbourne, 1974, p.171.

been Clerk of Petty Session at Tumut, raised the new force from among tribes living along the Murray. Murrumbidgee and

47. Bunce, p.116.

39

sugar, tobacco and general stores, having taken sev . weeks to make the trip there and back. Later Serocold sent a flock of sheep down to Maryborough to be boiled for their fat. It was the only way of realising money on them at that time and, when all expenses had been paid, he and Mackenzie got about six shillings a head for them. But the seasons did not remain good, 50 legs of mutton being sold to the Maryborough townspeople for sixpence a piece.³⁷

By 1856 Taroom was a small town with a post office. The licence of the first hotel, the Leichhardt, was applied for on 7 December 1858 and granted on 1 July 1859. Taroom was gazetted as a place for holding courts of petty sessions on 9 June 1857 and a Clerk of Petty Sessions was appointed on 17 September in that year, when two justices of the peace, John Murray and Serocold, were appointed.³⁸ At the time of the 1856 census, the frontier triangle marked by Hornet Bank, Rannes (on the Lower Dawson) and Gracemere (near Rockhampton) contained three towns with a population of 729 and perhaps 100 squattages with a total population of about 700. The number of whites in the Upper Dawson late in 1857 was only about 180.³⁹

Rannes had been established in March 1853 by four of the five sons of Sir Andrew Leith-Hay of Rannes and Leith-Hall in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, who were the first settlers on the Lower Dawson.⁴⁰ Oscar De Satge rode with Archie McNab to open up a new tract of land on the Dawson in 1855. The journey to Rannes involved "no little danger owing to the fierce character of the Dawson blacks who had committed already some isolated murders of shepherds and

37. Serocold, memoirs.

38. Fox, Gwen, p.25.

39. Denholm, thesis, p.317; also Serocold to Sydney Morning Herald, 30 November 1857.

40. Long, W.J. History of Mount Morgan, Callide and Dawson Valleys, Rockhampton, 1962, p.37.

53

Unable to make their way southwards, they joined local tribes, imparting to them their knowledge of whitemen's ways

51. Bunce, p.123.
52. Bunce, p.124.

stockmen."⁴¹ Soon after De Satge and McNab left Rannes they heard that Aborigines had attacked the Rannes police barracks and killed five of the six troopers there.⁴² The Commissioner of Crown Lands, William Wiseman, had his headquarters at Rannes in 1855 but transferred to Rockhampton in October 1857.⁴³

In 1855 the whole frontier along the Dawson from Hornet Bank to Rannes near the junction with the Fitzroy was dangerous and the risks great. But for the settlers the rewards also were great. As De Satge commented: "... there was a kind of 'greed of country' that comes over the pioneer, which spurs him up to great efforts if the reward before him is a good slice of rich sheep country".⁴⁴

One of those attracted by this "greed of country" was a Scottish carpenter from Toowoomba named John Fraser, who was born in Montrose, Scotland, possibly in 1801.⁴⁵ His wife Martha is popularly believed to have been Scottish, but according to William Wiseman, who knew the family well and who registered details of her death, Martha was born in Sydney and had spent the whole of her life in N.S.W.⁴⁶ It is not known why Fraser emigrated to Australia but he arrived as a free man. He was a ship's carpenter and may have arrived in Sydney as a member of a ship's crew, "paying

-
41. De Satge, Oscar. Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter, London, 1901, p.52.
42. De Satge, p.52.
43. De Satge, p.52; also Wiseman letter book, QSA mfm CCL 7/G1, 11 October 1857.
44. De Satge, p.147.
45. Place of birth of John Fraser given in Ipswich deaths register, 1856: but a search of the Montrose parish records failed to verify this.
46. The reference to Martha Fraser is in the Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858, held in the Roma Courthouse.

the whites and assisted in directing murderers or in giving them refuge when pursued. The tribes inhabiting the

53. Bunce, p.125.
54. Leichhardt, Letters, p.936.
55. Meston, History, p.182.

off" there; on the other hand, he may have been one of the first immigrants, following establishment of the Immigration Fund in 1831. Money for the Fund came from the sale of Crown lands in N.S.W. and was to assist poor persons, of suitable age and character, to emigrate to the colony from the mother-country.⁴⁷ Fraser, a Presbyterian, married Martha Pithers in St James's Anglican Church, Sydney, on 17 October 1831. His age was given as 30 while hers was 17. Fraser could sign his own name, but Martha could only make her mark on the marriage register. Both were then living at Cook's River. A witness to the marriage was Charlotte Pithers, presumably a relative but probably not her mother, because no parental consent was recorded. They were married by the Reverend Richard Hill after the publication of banns.⁴⁸

Very little is known of Martha's antecedents. It appears that she was illiterate and possibly living with a sister at Cook's River, where presumably she met John Fraser soon after his arrival in Sydney. Pithers is not a Scottish name, but rather south-west English; Pither, Pithers and Pether are all corruptions of the name Peter and are found in the West Country of England and in Cornwall.⁴⁹ It seems that the reason for marrying in St James's Church of England, Sydney, was that Martha was of that faith. Also, at least one of their children, James, was baptised in an Anglican church, at Drayton, today a suburb of Toowoomba, even though a Presbyterian minister had begun visiting the Darling Downs before the time of James's baptism.

47. Macle hose, Thomas, Picture of Sydney and Strangers' Guide for 1839, Sydney 1839, reprinted Sydney 1977.
48. Certified true copy of marriage entry, Principal Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.
49. Dictionary of British Surnames, London, 1976, p.270. In 1979 the Edinburgh and Glasgow telephone directories showed only one Pither.

a one-time commandant of Newcastle and Norfolk Island, had then been placed in command of the ...

57. Leichhardt, Letters, p.1065.

Their first child, William, was born in Sydney on 28 December 1832 when the family was living in the city of Sydney. William was christened next month at the Anglican parish church of St Philip's in the city.⁵⁰ A second son, John, was born in October 1835 when the family were still living in the city⁵¹ and their first daughter, Elizabeth, in Sydney in January 1838.⁵²

After the birth of Elizabeth the family may have moved to the Clarence River district of N.S.W. David's death certificate states that he was born there. This could explain why he was not baptised until a year after his birth in November 1840⁵³; the baptism was done in Sydney but at a different church to that of the earlier ones and their home address was now Parramatta street (presumably the present-day Parramatta road), Petersham. Two years later, they were living at Chippendale, an inner southern suburb. John Fraser continued to work as a shipwright, probably in the Darling Harbour part of the Sydney waterfront, which was fairly accessible from Petersham and Chippendale, even on foot. The fourth son, Sylvester, was born on 27 July 1843.⁵⁴ Until the birth of David the family name had been spelt Frazer, but with the birth of Sylvester it had changed to Fraser.

John Fraser accepted a position as bookkeeper on the Darling Downs at Jimbour station, then owned by Henry Dennis

-
50. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.
51. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.
52. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.
53. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.
54. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.

former troopers, who had been recruited in the districts in which they had been employed.

4. Parry-Okeden, U.E. "The Burnett in the Forties: First Pastoral Holdings and their History", manuscript in the Oxley Memorial Library Brisbane, presumably written in 1931, p.1.

and Thomas Bell; and in 1846 left Sydney with his family to take up residence. William, then only 13, went overland with a party which had charge of cattle, sheep and horses for Jimbour.⁵⁵

Why Fraser, a shipwright, should have obtained a position as a bookkeeper is a mystery, unless he had obtained such or similar experience in the Clarence River district. It is more likely that his talents as a carpenter would have been highly valued in the bush where almost all buildings and equipment were made primarily of timber. Jimbour station was established by Richard Todd Scougall, a native of Scotland, in 1841 but by 1842-43 it was sold to Thomas Bell of Northern Ireland to whom a licence was issued in 1844, and in that year Leichhardt's party stayed at Jimbour station on his way to Port Essington. Originally the run extended from the Bunya Mountains on the east to the Condamine River on the south-west and from Jandowae on the north to Dalby in the south, but in 1844 it was reduced in size.⁵⁶

At Jimbour, John Fraser and his family had their first experience of the Aborigines of the northern frontier districts. Of those at Jimbour it has been said: "In their natural state the blacks were, physically, a fine race of

55. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909, mfm, National Library, Canberra, article by "Red Gum" on the Hornet Bank massacre ("Red Gum" was T.J. Barker, a regular writer for this paper).
56. Russell, C.W. Jimbour: Its History and Development, 1840-1953, Brisbane 1953. For a concise history of Jimbour station see: Cilento, Raphael. "Jimbour", in Historic Homesteads of Australia, Vol.1, Melbourne, 1969. Also: "Henry Dennis travelled to the Darling Downs in 1841 looking for run for Richard Scougall of Liverpool Plains. After a month's exploration, he took up Jimbour for Scougall, Myall Creek (now Dalby) for Charles Coxen, Warra for a Mr Irving and Jondaryan in his own name" (Campbell, John. The Early Settlement of Queensland, originally published in Ipswich, 1857; reprinted Brisbane, 1936, p.5.)

8. Fox, p.21..

9. Fox, p.21.

people, being free from disease and vice. They were not conspicuous for bravery and were inclined to be crafty. They seldom ventured an organised attack on station homesteads, but confined their attacks to isolated settlers and employees, such as stockmen and shepherds."⁵⁷

The Frasers' second daughter, Mary, was born on the Darling Downs, presumably at Jimbour, in 1846⁵⁸, followed by Jane, two years later.⁵⁹ It is highly probable that the Frasers encountered Leichhardt and his party at Jimbour in 1846 on the second expedition; in 1847 when that expedition returned to the Jimbour woolshed after failure; and again in 1848 when Leichhardt set out on his last expedition - although it appears that he did not visit Jimbour on this occasion but passed nearby.

In March 1847, Henry Dennis left Jimbour for Brisbane to travel to Sydney, embarking in Brisbane in the steamer Sovereign. He had intended to take young Billy Fraser with him, but at the last minute prevailed upon Billy to return

57. Pussell, p.15, quoting George Rutley, who was overseer at Jimbour 1860-68. Hector Holthouse, in his Up Rode The Squatter, Adelaide, 1970, p.58, says: "Fraser, whose knowledge of the Aborigines came from the comparatively easy-going Gooneeburras", did not take seriously Andrew Scott's warning to keep the Jiman away from Hornet Bank. This tribe is unknown to the Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, although T.L. Adamson, in an article on the history of Drayton in Darling Downs, 1840-1940, published in Toowoomba in 1940, refers to them and says that they were known to the coastal tribes as the "fire blacks", because of their practice of setting fire to the downs to stimulate growth of new shoots which would attract game. The tribe to the north of Jimbour were known as the Yinneburra, and Gooneeburra may have been a corruption of this.

58. Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858.

59. Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858.

six troopers. Murray had advised him to move about the squatters' stations pending...

to Jimbour with an important letter. The steamer sailed but foundered in Moreton Bay and Dennis was drowned.⁶⁰

It is not clear when the family moved from Jimbour or why, but apparently they were at the Drayton Swamp by 1850, their fifth son, James, being born there in January 1851 Fraser's profession still being given in the church records as shipwright. James was baptised at Drayton in May of that year by the Reverend Benjamin Glennie, the first Anglican clergyman on the Downs. The Frasers' address was then given as Drayton Range⁶¹, the high, level and heavily timbered land between Drayton and the Toowoomba Range to the east and south-east of Drayton, now an outer suburb of Toowoomba.⁶² In 1850 John Fraser was issued with a licence to cut hardwood, which he would have obtained from the Range. He still held such a licence in 1852.⁶³

Drayton was the first town on the Darling Downs, originally being known as the The Springs, whereas the locality now known as Toowoomba was then known as The Swamp or the Drayton Swamp. It seems unlikely that the Fraser family ever lived in Drayton, as commonly believed, but in Toowoomba. The Frasers were one of the first families to

60. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909, mfm, National Library, Canberra. The Sovereign had commenced trading between Sydney and Brisbane in 1843, (Demarr, p.209). She left Brisbane on 3 March 1847 and was wrecked on 11 March; 44 died, 10 survived; among those drowned was Henry Dennis of Jimbour. (An account of the loss of the Sovereign is given in the Moreton Bay Courier, 17 March 1847.)

61. Honora Frawley, Drayton, 2 August 1979, in a letter to the author, quoting St Matthew's church records.

62. Beatrice Parker, Drayton, 16 August 1979, in a letter to the author.

63. Robert Dansie, Toowoomba, in a letter to the author, 12 June 1980, quoting "Ben Bolt" in the Darling Downs Gazette, August 1913 (day indecipherable).

16. Anderson, p.1.

46

settle in The Swamp,⁶⁴ apparently moving there in 1852 or 1853 to become employees of Hughes and Isaac, who had Gowrie station, which then extended to the north-west of Drayton and Toowoomba, the eastern border co-inciding with the present Ruthven street of Toowoomba in the days before Toowoomba was surveyed. In the opinion of Robert Dansie of Toowoomba, the Frasers appear to have been employed as boundary-keepers to prevent stock straying, and had a small house in what is now Ruthven street. In 1854 there were only four houses in Toowoomba, one being occupied by the Frasers behind the old foundry on the east side of Gowrie creek between Campbell and Bridge streets of the present-day city.⁶⁵

Again, in Dansie's opinion, it is doubtful that the Fraser children went to school at Drayton, although the only school in the district at that time was located there. Education was not then compulsory, their house was four to five miles from Drayton school and the track was across unsettled and heavily timbered country.⁶⁶

John Watts, one of the part-owners of Eton Vale station in the 1850s and 1860s, wrote in his reminiscences:

The Fraser family were Scotch and engaged by Hughes and Isaacs to take a station to shepherd and watch, and it was situated on Drayton Swamp, not far from where Mr Taylor put up the first timber mill [in what] was afterwards called Toowoomba. They had a daughter,

64. Parker, 13 September 1979, quoting the Toowoomba Jubilee Book, 1860-1910. For an early history of Drayton see Meston, Geographic History, pp.65-66. Nehemiah Bartley in his Opals and Agates, Brisbane, 1898, says he visited the "green and oozy Drayton Swamp" in July 1854 (p.114).

65. Dansie in a letter to the author, 25 July 1979; also another, 20 January 1980, quoting "Ben Bolt" in the Darling Downs Gazette, 5 July 1913. Leichhardt's second expedition started from Gowrie station on 20 November 1846 (See: Leichhardt, Letters, p.915).

66. Dansie, 25 July 1979.

60

20. 1841 N.S.W. Census, Archives Office of N.S.W., hereafter denoted as NSA.

21. N.S.W. Government Gazette of 10 August 1852.

a fine handsome girl, who went by the name of the Swamp Pheasant, and she had no end of admirers but she would accept none.⁶⁷

John Fraser is reputed to have accumulated a little capital while he worked as a carpenter in the Drayton area⁶⁸ which no doubt, with the experience on Jimbour and as a boundary-keeper for Hughes and Isaac, was the reason why he was in a position to seek possession of a frontier pastoral run. At this time he met a man named Andrew Gordon who had agreed to take over the management of Hornet Bank from Andrew Scott. Apparently Gordon dropped out of the arrangement only Fraser took his place.

Fraser and his family took up residence at Hornet Bank in March 1854.⁶⁹ Fox, in her history of the Taroom district, says that "Andrew Scott twice leased the property to A. Gordon, who took as his partner John Fraser with his wife and nine children"⁷⁰ but this contains the erroneous statements that Scott sub-leased a run on which he did not hold the lease and that the Frasers had nine children when they went to the Dawson. The youngest child, Charlotte, was born at Hornet Bank,⁷¹ although there is reason to believe Martha did not stay there long before returning to

67. Watts' reminiscences, quoted by Dansie, 25 July 1979. Note that Watts refers to "Isaacs" with an "s", but the correct spelling appears to have been Isaac; the river in Central Queensland named after him by Leichhardt is now known as the Isaacs.

68. Murray-Prior, Thomas Lodge, memoirs, in the papers of his daughter, Rosa Campbell Praed, held in the John Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane, p.26.

69. Queensland Times, 5 November 1914.

70. Fox, p.44-47.

71. Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858, held in the Roma courthouse.

Drayton.⁷² A search of the records of the Lands Department, Brisbane, by Laurie showed no mention of Fraser as an occupant.⁷³

Anderson, who obtained her information from Andrew Robert Scott, clarifies the reasons for the Frasers being on the Dawson:

As time went on Scott felt that he would like to enlarge his holdings, and in due course he acquired Isla and Waterton. To give him time to improve the new properties, he leased the Goongarry holding to a family named Fraser. When the lessees took over, he warned them of possible trouble with the natives and showed them how he managed to keep them in check. He warned them against putting too much trust in Left-hand Bally (pronounced Ball-ee), a half-civilised abo who had been with him since he took up Goongarry. In Mr Scott's opinion, Bally was too friendly towards the outside blacks.⁷⁴

On the road to Ipswich in 1856, droving sheep and accompanied by at least his eldest son William, John Fraser became ill. The cause was dysentery. They pressed on to Ipswich and reached the home of a "dear old Scottish lady", Mrs Malcolm McLean, where John died on 17 March 1856, even though he had the attention of a doctor. He was buried next day in the Ipswich cemetery.⁷⁵ William does not appear to have been too sure of family facts: he informed the local authorities that his father's age was 50 when it was 56; he spelled his mother's maiden name Peithery; and even the

72. Moreton Bay Free Press, 18 November 1857, quoting the North Australian, Ipswich, no date.

73. Laurie, "Hornet Bank", p.1307.

74. Anderson, p.2. By "outside" Scott meant outside the limits of settlement, that is wild, or myall blacks; those who lived inside the settled districts were known as "inside" blacks, although at this time their acceptance of the white conquest of their lands was never certain.

75. Certified copy of entry in deaths register, Ipswich; also Queensland Times, 7 May 1909 and 5 November 1914.

family name appears as Frasier in the Ipswich deaths register. Also, he said that his father was 25 years of age when he married,⁷⁶ whereas John Fraser's marriage certificate states he was 30.

It seems, then, that William, now 22 years, proceeded to manage Hornet Bank while Andrew Scott proceeded to establish a pastoral empire. But William was already finding that life on the frontier was lonely and tough. At the time of his father's death he was already one of the principal carriers of those days and was frequently away from home for months at a time.⁷⁷ The wool had to be taken by bullock dray to Drayton and then over the Great Dividing Range to the river port at Ipswich, a distance of about 300 miles on unmade roads. The name of Billy Fraser - one of the principal bullock-drivers, "carriers" as they were termed - was widely known throughout Ipswich and the whole of the area between there and the Dawson. When T.J. Barker of the Queensland Times was young, "no person was looked on with greater respect by Ipswich boys, when he came into the town, than Billy Fraser".⁷⁸

Despite the vicissitudes of life in the Dawson, there was some hope that William would achieve what his father after 24 years in Australia had not - his own pastoral property, even if William was to start as his father had intended to start - in a partnership. Andrew Scott and William Fraser tendered for Sollow Hills run, their tender being accepted in 1856 but it was to be dated 2 March 1858. The estimated area was 16,000 acres. Apparently this run lay to the south of Hornet Bank, somewhere near the present-day Clifford station, and bounded on one side by

76. Certified copy of entry, Ipswich deaths register.

77. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

78. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

Kangaroo Creek. The rent was to be 10 pounds a year. But they had selected poor country. Sollow Hills was transferred to John Turnbull in 1860; the lease was terminated in 1870 and, according to the lands records, was not again taken up.⁷⁹

The episode with Sollow Hills is significant: Scott already had several successful runs whereas this was William Fraser's first, a failure; Scott went on to acquire a pastoral empire, concentrated in the Upper Dawson but having other holdings in far parts of Queensland; Fraser held only one other run in his life, on the Isaacs River in the 1860s; but he was forced out of that after several years of flood and drought. The second of Fraser's sons, also named John, successfully applied for three runs in the Leichhardt district, but he was murdered before he could occupy them. The sons of John Fraser, like the shipwright himself, had seen Australia as the land of opportunity in which a poor but honest man could become a king of a vast domain the size of an English or Scottish county. The land of Australia, however, had other things in store for the Frasers.

79. CLO/N2, in Queensland State Archives. Sollow Hills appears to be a clerical error; the word "Sollow" does not appear in the Oxford, Chambers and Webster dictionaries. Most likely it was Sallow Hills, meaning pale hills or possibly willow hills, *sallow* being a Scottish word for a type of willow. It is not known whether Sollow Hills reverted to the Crown permanently or was later incorporated in another property.

Queensland 1900: A Narrative of the Past, together with Biographies of her Leading Men, compiled by the Alcazar Press, Brisbane, 1900, entry under Yaldwyn's son, also named William; and J.O. Randell, Yaldwyn of the Golden Spurs, Melbourne, 1980. For Miller and Turnbull, see Austin; their successful tender for this run was gazetted on 10 October 1853.

CHAPTER 3: FRONTIER LAW AND ORDER

At first the squatters on the Upper Dawson had had cordial relations with the original occupiers. In the first years after Thomas Windeyer arrived in 1847 the whites were few and scattered, taking little of the Jiman hunting grounds. But in the neighbouring districts to the east, south and south-east, the pressure of white settlement had become intolerable to the Aborigines and the tribes of the Burnett, Auburn, Condamine and Maranoa were now in revolt. Referring to the troubles of the early squatters in the southern pastoral districts of the present-day Queensland, William Coote says over-production of wool was one of the reasons for the depression in the pastoral industry in 1848-50; but there was another reason.

The blacks added to the vexation of the souls of the squatters... almost every number of the Courier contained some account of predatory aboriginal attacks. These, as a matter of course, were met with such retaliation as was possible. The whole squatting frontier became a line of perpetual conflict, in which it is to be feared no small cruelty was exercised on both sides. Why the hostile feelings, which found vent in such barbarities, should have been caused is a question involving no great profundity of speculation. There is a selfishness in civilisation as in savagery...¹

The N.S.W. Government's answer to this widespread Aboriginal resistance was the introduction to the northern districts of a Native Mounted Police Force, similar to the one used with considerable effect in the Port Phillip District for a decade from 1842.² In 1848, Frederick Walker, an Englishman aged 28 years, who had managed a run for W.C. Wentworth in the Riverina near Deniliquin and had

1. Coote, William. History of the Colony of Queensland, Vol. I, Brisbane, 1880, p.93.
2. For a concise history of the Native Mounted Police Force in the Port Phillip District see M.F. Christie, Aborigines in Colonial Victoria, 1835-86, Sydney, 1979, pp.71-78.

been Clerk of Petty Session at Tumut, raised the new force from among tribes living along the Murray, Murrumbidgee and Edwards Rivers. In December of that year he took 14 black troopers northwards along the Darling River and in May 1849 established his first headquartrs at Callandoon station, on the northern side of the MacIntyre River, seven miles west of the present-day Goondiwindi. This new means of law-enforcement on the frontier was immediately effective.³

Although called police, the Force operated more like cavalry. It moved fast, its rifles were superior to spears, and the troopers had all the bushcraft of their adversaries. Being men from other tribes far away, they seemed to have little compunction in killing other Aborigines; the thrill of the hunt seemed to appeal to them; a later observer said that "the bush order is a blue shirt, forage cap with a red band around it, double-barrelled carbine and pistols, handcuffs, blankets, hobbles, black belt, and necessities ... They are devoted to their officers and to grog, their pay is good, and as they all have gins they lead a very jolly kind of life."⁴

By January 1850, Walker had two lieutenants and a sergeant-major and authority to raise an additional 32 troopers from the south.⁵ By 1854, the Native Police had so "quietened" the northern tribes that the squatters, who were levied to pay for the protection provided by the force, began to agitate for its disbandment. In 1855, the complement of 136 officers and men was reduced to 76. Unwisely, instead of returning the unwanted troopers to their southern homelands, they were dismissed on the spot.

3. For the early history of the Native Mounted Police Force used in the northern districts of N.S.W., see L.E. Skinner, Police of the Pastoral Frontier, Brisbane, 1975, Chapter 2.

4. Eden, Charles, My Wite and I in Queensland, London, 1872, p.117.

5. Skinner, Police, pp.34-35.

38. Fox, Gwen, p.25.
39. Denholm, thesis, p.317; also Serocold to Sydney Morning Herald, 30 November 1857.
40. Long, W.J. History of Mount Morgan, Callide and Dawson Valleys, Rockhampton, 1962, p.37.

Unable to make their way southwards, they joined local tribes, imparting to them their knowledge of whitemen's ways and the use of firearms. It was alleged that in many of the "outrages" which occurred after this time the attackers were aided by ex-troopers.

At no time had the Native Police any legal authority other than an administrative arrangement, which began with the voting of money by the Legislative Council of N.S.W. in 1843. This was the informal arrangement, which applied to the Native Police in the northern districts until 1864, when the Queensland Government formalised the existence of the Force under the Police Act of the previous year.⁶

Although relative peace had been achieved by the use of a paramilitary force, settlers on the Dawson in the early 1850s were still apprehensive. The first recorded killing of a white in the Upper Dawson occurred on Rochedale station, early in 1852. Mr V. Clarke, nephew of and superintendent for F.W. Roche, was decapitated by Aborigines.⁷

Nearly four years later, William Wiseman, the first Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Leichhardt district, who had resided there for almost a year, reported on the state of the Aborigines in the district in 1855. He said the Aborigines had made little or no progress towards a more civilised state. With the exception of Cockatoo, Bunganban and Juandah stations, no stations in the Leichhardt admitted Aborigines. At these stations, Wiseman said, the natives belonged to tribes in the longer-settled districts of the Auburn, Burnett and Condamine. When such were admitted, he said, they profited from the knowledge gained of the ways of

6. Queensland Police Department. A History of the Native Mounted Police in Queensland, a typescript pamphlet issued by the Public Relations Branch, Brisbane, n.d., p.4.

7. Moreton Bay Courier, 24 April 1852.

46. The reference to Martha Fraser is in the Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858, held in the Roma Courthouse.

the whites and assisted in directing murderers or in giving them refuge when pursued. The tribes inhabiting the left bank of the Dawson, the Comet River, Palm Tree and Ruined Castle Creeks and the most northern watersheds of the Balonne and Maranoa Rivers were still in a completely savage state and hostile to the whites. By early 1856 the "panic" among the whites in the Leichhardt district was greater than ever. The repeated success of attacks on whites had so emboldened the attackers that Wiseman believed more loss of life would probably ensue.⁸

Towards the end of 1856, violence on the northern frontier had become serious enough to stir the squatters in the Legislative Assembly into action. On 8 November 1856 Gordon Sandeman, a Burnett district squatter, moved the establishment of a select committee "to inquire into the present state of the Native Police Force employed in the Colony with a view to the improvement of its organisation and management". The members were Sandeman (Chairman), Hay, Holt, Jones, Foster, Buckley, Hely, F.T. Rusden, Lang and Wm. McLeay. Its report was presented on 28 January 1857.

The Committee was told that Frederick Walker had been dismissed as Commandant of the Native Police Force at the end of 1855 because of his drunkenness, abuse of other officers, and irregularities in the management of the force. Richard Purvis Marshall, his second-in-Command, had then taken charge but four months later resigned when the Force was reduced.⁹ Edric Norfolk Vaux Morisset, son of

8. Wiseman, Rannes, 5 January 1856, to Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, Sydney, in Wiseman letter book, QSA, microfilm, CCL 7/G1. Wiseman received his commission in February 1855. He was then living in Drayton (see Wiseman letter book, QSA mfm CCL 7/G1, first entry).
9. Marshall to 1856 Select Committee, p.17. William Foster, a member of the Select Committee, said (p.35) he had complained about Walker's conduct for about three years before he was dismissed, but Walker was believed to have had friends in high places, including "his strongest friend", W.C. Wentworth.

49. Dictionary of British Surnames, London, 1976, p.270.
In 1979 the Edinburgh and Glasgow telephone directories showed only one Pither.

a one-time commandant of Newcastle and Norfolk Island, had then been placed in command of the Native Police Force on 16 April 1856.¹⁰

Lieutenant Francis Nicoll, officer-in-charge at Wondai Gumbul, on the Tchanning Creek about 20 miles from Yulebah, appeared before the Select Committee, saying he looked after the Upper Dawson, where six men were encamped at Palm Tree Creek, because it was too far for Lieutenant Murray to come from his headquarters at Port Curtis. Murray would have to ride "night and day for a fortnight" to reach the Upper Dawson from his headquarters at Port Curtis.¹¹ The Force, he said, had been reduced to the present strength of 72 over about 18 months. He had had 24 men plus a supernumerary at Wondai Gumbal, but he was now down to 12. Murray had only 24 to cover the whole Leichhardt district.¹²

The difficulties of supply which were beginning to affect Wondai Gumbul, and more particularly the detachment on the Upper Dawson, were mentioned to the Select Committee. William Thomas Elliott, who resided on the Fitzroy River 70 miles upstream from Port Curtis, said most of the squatters on the Upper Dawson had refused to supply the Native Police with rations until they paid their previous claims.¹³

William Archer of Gracemere near Rockhampton and Robert Strathdee of the Burnett district believed that

-
10. 1856 Select Committee, p.21. I am grateful to Denholm (thesis, p.334) for the background on Morisset.
11. Nicoll to 1856 Select Committee, p.1.
12. Nicoll to 1856 Select Committee, p.1.
13. Elliott to 1856 Select Committee, p.23. Marshall had also said (p.25) that the Native Police on the Upper Dawson had suffered for want of shoeing of their horses; but with two horses for each man they would have been able to manage without it.

53. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.
54. Certified copy of register of birth, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.

former troopers, who had been recruited in the districts in which they had been employed, had been the ringleaders in attacks on the whites.¹⁴ Marshall said that in the 10 months before the reduction of the Force, no lives had been lost; in the four months after, 11 lives had been "sacrificed".¹⁵ Marshall advised that not less than 48 men would be required for the Leichhardt.¹⁶ Dr Henry Mort Brown, a resident of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts, put it bluntly: fear, he said, was the best means of keeping the Aborigines in order.¹⁷

In the Legislative Assembly debate which followed presentation of the committee's report, John Robertson objected to "savages being used as bloodhounds, who kill men, women and children without discrimination", and Robert Campbell charged the police with perpetrating the "grossest cruelties on the unoffending natives...".¹⁸ But such sentiments were not going to impede the conquest of new pastoral country. In the Select Committee inquiry, Elliot had agreed with Sandeman that if there were no Native Police Force the squatters would still move out and take up new land, and there would be more loss of life. The recent want of protection he said had only delayed occupation of new country.¹⁹

By the end of 1856 the strength of the Native Police in the Northern Districts of N.S.W. was languishing at a

-
14. Archer to 1856 Select Committee, p.13; Strathdee, p.25.
15. Marshall to 1856 Select Committee, p.17.
16. Marshall to 1856 Select Committee, p.25.
17. Brown to 1856 Select Committee, p.27.
18. N.S.W. Legislative Assembly Debates, 19 February 1857, in New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1857.
19. Elliot, 1856 Select Committee, p.23.

took up Jimbour for Scougall, Myall Creek (now Dalby) for Charles Coxen, Warra for a Mr Irving and Jondaryan in his own name" (Campbell, John. The Early Settlement of Queensland, originally published in Ipswich, 1857; reprinted Brisbane, 1936, p.5.)

time when Aboriginal attacks were again increasing. At the end of 1856 it had three lieutenants, three second-lieutenants, six sub-lieutenants and 72 troopers, posted in four divisions: First Division (Leichhardt and Port Curtis districts), Second (Wide Bay and the Burnett districts), Third (Condamine and the Maranoa districts), and Fourth (Clarence and McLeay districts). The headquarters of the First Division was at Port Curtis, and its strength then was one lieutenant, one second-lieutenant, two sub-lieutenants and 24 troopers. The officer-in-charge was Lieutenant John Murray.²⁰ A sub-station with four troopers under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Thomas Ross was located on Palm Tree Creek in the Upper Dawson district; another sub-station was on the Fitzroy River where Sub-Lieutenant Walter Powell commanded five troopers; and a third sub-station was at Rannes with Second-Lieutenant William Walker in charge of nine troopers. This left six troopers at headquarters.²¹

Murray reported after visiting the Upper Dawson, Rannes and Fitzroy sub-stations in October 1856 that he had no outrages to report. The sheep stations which he had seen were all quiet and the natives inclined to be friendly.²² Murray said Ross's detachment was in very good order and did that officer credit. His horses were in low condition, but Murray intended to supply him with more from Port Curtis. Murray also said that Palm Tree Creek was the best place to establish a camp on the Upper Dawson, but it would be almost impossible for Ross to form one there at present with only

20. Attachment by Inspector-General of Police to a letter from Col. Sec. Office, Sydney, to Government Resident, Brisbane, 17 November 1856, in Queensland State Archives RES 10.
21. Attachment written by Inspector-General of Police to a letter from Col. Sec. Office to Government Resident, Brisbane, 17 November 1856, in QSA RES 10.
22. Murray to Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, 2 November 1856, in QSA RES 10.

corruption of this.

58. Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858.

59. Leichhardt District Death Register, 1858.

58

six troopers. Murray had advised him to move about the squatters' stations pending further instructions.²³ There was a shortage of troopers caused by most of those at Rannes having mutinied and left the Force in 1856 to go home. "Should any outbreak of the blacks occur in the meantime", Murray wrote, "I shall have much difficulty in pursuing them with the small force I have at my disposal. It is not impossible that the blacks, when they discover there are so few policemen, will attempt something and I shall have to be continually on the alert, watching their movements."²⁴

The most notorious attack on whites in the northern districts had occurred on the Central Queensland coast at Mount Larcombe, William Young's station 14 miles from Gladstone, on 27 December 1855. While Young was absent, three white men, a white woman and a black boy, had been killed. The woman had been raped, even after death.²⁵

Captain Maurice O'Connell, the Government Resident at Port Curtis, was concerned about the increasing violence on the frontier; he was not happy about the behaviour of the whites, even Young, who had some excuse. In the 1880s, a correspondent of Rosa Campbell-Praed wrote:

"Young of Mount Larcombe had many of his shepherds and servants killed. One noted fellow took refuge with Sir Maurice O'Connell. Young followed him up and shot him at Sir Maurice's door. O'Connell was so enraged against Young that he took out a warrant against him and had him tried for his life. He was tried in

23. Murray to Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, 2 November 1856, in QSA RES 10.

24. Murray to Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, 2 November 1856, in QSA RES 10.

25. NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/1636. The exact date of this attack varies in the sources from 1854 to 1857, possibly because there were two attacks on Mt Larcombe, now spelt Mt Larcom. Wiseman gives the date as 27 December 1855 (See Wiseman, Rannes, 5 January 1856, to CCCL).

72

then renting Kinnoul station from Miller and Turnbull. said

Brisbane and Pring wanted right or wrong to convict him. He would have convicted him had not our father and Sir Robert Mackenzie made a point of sitting on the bench."²⁶

Nehemiah Bartley also tells this story, saying that an unnamed police magistrate also sat on the bench with Mackenzie and Murray-Prior. He says, however, that Young was remanded to the place of the shooting, i.e. Port Curtis, and before another bench there was discharged for "lack of evidence". According to Bartley, Young did not shoot the Aborigine named Billy, but two Aboriginal stockmen with him did so as Billy fled into the water.²⁷ This incident shows that in the late 1850s the whites on the frontier would not allow one of their own kind to be punished for the killing of an Aborigine.

In a letter to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney, O'Connell expressed alarm at the frequency of the attacks in the Port Curtis district, especially at night,²⁸ thus establishing that the attack on Hornet Bank on 27 October 1857 was not the first at night and not the first in which white women had been raped, as sometimes claimed; but the

26. Campbell Praed, Rosa. "Australian Notes", in the Campbell Praed Papers, Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane; extract from "Toni's" letters either on page 81 or written in 1881 to Rosa in London. Ratcliffe Pring was a noted advocate and became Attorney-General in Queensland; Mackenzie was the part-owner with Serocold of Cockatoo station on the Upper Dawson; "our father" was T.L. Murray-Prior, lessee of Hawkwood on the Auburn and later the first Postmaster-General of Queensland.
27. Nehemiah Bartley, Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences, Brisbane, 1896, pp.206-08. This incident seems to have occurred late in 1858, when Pring was the resident prosecutor in the Moreton Bay District. The North Australian of 14 December 1858 reports the SMH correspondent at the Fitzroy diggings as saying that such an incident had occurred after the killing of three shepherds at Mount Larcombe.
28. NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/1636.

66. Dansie, 25 July 1979.

60

Hornet Bank attack appears to have been the first such attack on the Upper Dawson.

On 20 March 1857, O'Connell reported that Lieutenant John Murray had re-entered the Port Curtis district with a force of 14 troopers. O'Connell presumed that there would be "sufficient force to preserve order for the present".²⁹ His confidence was hardly justified: Murray at Port Curtis was responsible for the whole of the Port Curtis and Leichhardt districts, including the Upper Dawson, where Ross had only four or five troopers to control a wide-open frontier, with the supposed assistance of Lieutenant Nicoll at Wondai Gumbul in the Maranoa. Already there were serious problems at Wondai Gumbul. In February 1857 a Maranca squatter had written to the Government Resident at Brisbane, Captain John Wickham, protesting against the conduct of the officers there. "One is incompetent and intemperate to the extent that he is ill and not responsible for his actions," he wrote. "The other officer openly cohabits with an Aboriginal female, leading to discontent and disgust among the troopers, which threatens each day to break out into open mutiny." The writer said that the troopers had announced their intention of going in a body to his station and nothing but the assurance that Nicoll would speedily return had induced them to remain at the headquarters. Few squatters in the neighbourhood would admit these officers to their dwellings, he said.³⁰

On his return, Nicoll agreed in a report to Wickham that there were grounds for some of the charges against the officers at Wondai Gumbul, but the senior officer was not as intemperate as claimed. Nicoll said that this officer,

29. NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/1636.

30. Letter of 5 February 1857 to Government Resident, Brisbane, in QSA NMP-4. The writer's signature is not clear, but appears to be that of Donald Edward Lester, J.P., a squatter on the Maranoa at the time.

74

Hornet Bank for some unlawful purpose, allegedly said that

Second-Lieutenant John Ferguson, had been led astray by a Mr Ashby, who was "constantly at the break of day at the young officer's bedside with half a tumbler full of spirits", telling him that it would make him "all right". Ashby was a seasoned "toper", about 50 years of age with a constitution of iron. As soon as there were no stimulants at the station, Mr Ashby had left. "The reaction coupled with solitude operated so powerfully on Mr Ferguson that he made the deplorable attempt on his own life already reported," Nicoll wrote. He added that Wondai Gumbul was under-officered; no man of any age should be left by himself in such a lonely and desolate spot. The junior officer had since resigned, but had agreed to stay on until relieved.³¹

Some idea of the adverse conditions under which Native Police officers worked can be gained from a letter dated 18 October 1856. Ferguson had attempted to take his life by cutting his throat, but had recovered. He said that he had made the attempt during a fit of insanity. During the past three years he had been engaged constantly on active duty, having had a great deal of camping out, and frequently living on half-cooked bread and meat; the result was that his whole system had been deranged because of the want of vegetables, which could not be procured in the district. He had become anxious about the failure of fresh supplies to arrive; a fever had seized him, and in a moment of delirium, while Sub-Lieutenant Smith was out on patrol with the troopers, he had inflicted the wound on himself. Ferguson asked for leave of six weeks by the seaside, on medical advice.³² This was granted.

31. Nicoll to Wickham, 10 April 1857, in QSA NMP-4.

32. Ferguson, Wondai Gumbul, 18 October 1856, to Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, QSA COL/A 56/5079.

acceptance of the white conquest of their lands was never certain.

75. Certified copy of entry in deaths register, Ipswich; also Queensland Times, 7 May 1909 and 5 November 1914.

62

The Maranoa squatter mentioned above was not the only one to complain about conditions at Wondai Gumbul. The Colonial Secretary's Office in Sydney in April 1857 had sent Wickham a copy of charges made by Henry Boyle, Crown Lands Commissioner in the Maranoa, of the want of discipline at Wondai Gumbul - if not in the force as a whole.³³ In mid-1857 the situation at Wondai Gumbul was bad. Nicoll reported that his men were totally destitute of clothing and he had been obliged to clothe the Dawson detachment at the Condamine where he purchased moleskin trousers and worsted shirts. Nicoll said that he was by himself without sergeants and second-lieutenants, adding to his many difficulties. On 1 August of that year he claimed to be near starvation.³⁴

While conditions at Wondai Gumbul were fast deteriorating, Second-lieutenant Thomas Ross on the Upper Dawson was isolated, his detachment undermanned and his supplies negligible. Rain had beset the whole south-eastern districts of the present-day Queensland throughout the year so far, making transport difficult.³⁵ If few supplies reached Nicoll at Wondai Gumbul, fewer reached Ross, a young, inexperienced officer, who allegedly preferred the security of the Dawson homesteads to the rigours of regular patrolling. Sensing this, the Jiman began to return to the runs from which men like Andrew Scott had kept them out.

33. Col. Sec. to Wickham, 24 April 1857, in QSA NMP-4.

34. Nicoll to Wickham, 4 June 1857 and 1 August 1857, in QSA NMP-4.

35. Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library COL. mfm A2/42; also, William Yaldwyn, son of William Henry Yaldwyn of Taroom Station, said later: "The winter of 1857 was wet and the stock in the Dawson suffered. The cattle, almost decimated by the cold and damp of the unpropitious season, were exposed to the attack of the myalls..." (From J.O. Randell, Yaldwyn of the Golden Spurs, Melbourne, 1980, p.72.).

76

their trips with wool for export.² On the other hand

77. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.
78. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

Early in 1857 a large group of Aborigines had assembled on Eurombah and Sub-Lieutenant Ross, as he was then, set out on 13 February from Kelman's recently formed Ghinghinda run in the north to answer a call for assistance. On the way they encountered rain so heavy they had to leave their horses and walk the last six miles to Scott and Thompson's Palm Tree Creek station, where the troopers received no shelter and little food and were in a discontented state. On 4 March, Ross sent the troopers to Kinnoul while he retrieved the horses and followed later; but at Kinnoul, Ross found his men had gone on to Eurombah to watch a fight among the Aborigines. When Ross arrived at Eurombah he found his men had returned to Kinnoul, and so with the superintendent, Thomas Boulton, and three other whites, he dispersed the Aborigines. At Kinnoul, his troopers asked to be allowed to return to their own country, saying they had suffered too much exposure recently. Fearing trouble if their requests were not granted, Ross agreed on condition that they left the Upper Dawson immediately. Two months previously, troopers who had deserted at Rannes had reached the district and had tried to induce his men to go with them southwards. In March Ross said all his troopers except one, Robin Hood, had left and he requested three troopers be sent from Wondai Gumbul.³⁶

After the Hornet Bank disaster, Ross implied that Boulton was responsible for recent events on Eurombah. In a letter from the Upper Dawson, dated 27 October and published in the North Australian on 17 November 1857, Ross said Boulton

would naturally be anxious to shift the onus of his sad mismanagement of the Aborigines, resulting in the recent disastrous events, from his own shoulders to those of any one who could possibly be saddled with it, and whose evidence, for these reasons, ought to

³⁶. Ross, Dawson River, 16 March 1857, to Officer in Charge, Wondai Gumbul, in QSA NMP-7, number given as 48/115 but possibly incorrect.

being a Scottish word for a type of willow. It is not known whether Sollow Hills reverted to the Crown permanently or was later incorporated in another property.

have been received with great caution. The opinion, that blame in this matter is attachable to Mr Boulton, gains might from the significant fact that a shepherd on an adjoining run earnestly requested to be removed from the neighbourhood of the Eurombah boundary, close to which he was stationed, as he considered his life to be in imminent peril from the risk he ran in being mistaken by the blacks for one of Mr Boulton's shepherds.³⁷

The inference here is that Boulton had so maltreated the Aborigines that they had sought revenge and would do so again.

The Aborigines had been kept out of Eurombah until 1856, when they were permitted to return under certain conditions imposed by Boulton. James Nisbet, who first came to work on Kelman's Ghinghinda Station, 33 miles downstream from Taroom, in 1859, gives this picture of him:

In my first year on the Dawson we had Tom Boulton on the one end of the run, where the boss had allowed him to sit down with a flock of some 2,000 sheep with which he had some notion - it must have been a hazy one I now imagine - of making a start as a station owner. Boulton was some relation of the Taylors of Toowoomba. He was a good fellow - good-natured - really a good man amongst stock and had been for some time in charge of Eurombah station where during his time several shepherds had been killed by the blacks. This must have made him nervous, as the first time I saw him and often afterwards he carried a rifle in addition to the usual revolver which most of us then had slung at our belts, although I never heard of any

37. Ross, Upper Dawson, 27 October 1857, to North Australian, 17 November 1857. This letter is in reply to one from Morisset to Pollet Cardew, Gordon Sandeman, Henry Gregory and Charles Haly and published by them in the North Australian on 20 October, apparently to justify their criticism of Ross. A letter from Ross had appeared in the same newspaper on 6 October, asserting the falsehood of the charges brought against him. No issues of the North Australian before November 1858 are available.

2. For a concise history of the Native Mounted Police Force in the Port Phillip District see M.F. Christie, Aborigines in Colonial Victoria, 1835-86, Sydney, 1979, pp.71-78.

65

wild blacks about our immediate neighbourhood at all."³⁸

In a letter to the North Australian published after the Hornet Bank massacre and highly critical of Ross, Boulton said that the Aborigines were allowed onto Eurombah some time before Ross took charge of the Native Police on the Upper Dawson. Until that time no Aborigines could have been better disposed towards the whites. Boulton made them understand that they could not visit the shepherd's huts nor go near the shepherds on the run, and above all they were not to go near Hornet Bank on any account, that being the most remote head-station in the district and having several resident females. But, not long after Ross arrived, he had made Hornet Bank his quarters and passed through Eurombah on his way there with his detachment of native police and five or six gins - three of the women belonging to "a tribe of blacks in this neighbourhood".³⁹

Some time after this, Boulton said, Ross took "a mob of blacks" to Hornet Bank, entirely against the Frasers' wishes and his own. He believed they were taken there to work as servants for the police, drawing water, cutting wood, bark etc., getting up their horses and generally making themselves useful to them. Matters went on this way tolerably well until the police began to make free with the

38. Nisbet, James. Unpublished memoirs in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, p.22. Referring to Boulton, Nisbet also says: "He was an amusing fellow and was always ready of an evening to volunteer a song, although his singing among us youngsters was looked on as a great joke. His favourite song was something about a Musician of Paris - and as Tom, a smart fellow enough, had not had the educational advantages now accessible to any lad - his rendering of words was occasionally very funny. He spoilt himself by his exaggerated manner of talking and, not being seriously taken, was denied credit for that which he really knew. He had two or three fairly good horses of which he was pardonably proud".

39. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

4. Eden, Charles, My Wife and I in Queensland, London, 1872, p.117.
5. Skinner, Police, pp.34-35.

women of the Aborigines concerned, leading to frequent collisions between them and the police. A man named Caragejie went to the police camp at Hornet Bank one evening and demanded the return of his wife. After taking her away, she returned to the police camp; but on applying for her a second time, he was bound with hands and feet together with two pairs of handcuffs by the police and so kept until the next morning.⁴⁰

On another occasion, a half-dozen troopers, without an officer, arrived at Eurombah from Hornet Bank, drew rations as usual from the store and retired for the night a short distance from the house, with the exception of one man whom Boulton allowed to sleep in the house. About midnight he was awakened by a local tribesman coming to his window and shouting out the name of his wife. Suspecting that the woman was with the police, Boulton sent the trooper who was sleeping in the house to the others to ask that the woman be returned to her husband, which was done. When Boulton told Ross of this affair, "the officer merely laughed". Boulton warned him that if such conduct on the part of his men was repeated, he would report the matter to his superiors; he was determined not to allow such things to happen on Eurombah.⁴¹

Later, he heard the troopers again ordering the local blacks to fetch water. When they hesitated, two troopers pointed pistols at them and threatened to shoot if they did not immediately comply. This state of affairs continued for some months, during which the police and the Jiman were in the habit of hunting together on the Eurombah run and robbing the shepherds' huts. He would not have been certain of these thefts, which he had long suspected, had he not

40. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

41. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

6. Queensland Police Department. A History of the Native Mounted Police in Queensland, a typescript pamphlet issued by the Public Relations Branch, Brisbane, n.d., p.4.
7. Moreton Bay Courier, 24 April 1852.

been told of them by Mrs Fraser who had been informed by the Aboriginal women.⁴²

Two Eurombah shepherds stationed about three miles from the police camp at Hornet Bank and about 12 miles from the Eurombah head-station, left their sheep and came to Boulton, saying their lives were in danger. The blacks had taken their rations and other articles and had demanded menacingly that some sheep be given to them. Boulton reported the matter to Ross, "who treated the whole affair with perfect indifference". Ross took no steps to protect the shepherds and his troopers continued to amuse themselves as before. As a result, Boulton was unable to induce the two shepherds to return to their stations.⁴³

About the middle of November 1856, another shepherd on Eurombah, stationed about five miles from Hornet Bank and from whose flock a few sheep had frequently been stolen, was murdered. Ross was out of the district at this time, having withdrawn to Scott and Thompson's station at Palm Tree Creek, to the special protection of which he appeared now to be giving his attention, making only "angels' visits" to Hornet Bank and Eurombah, although, in Boulton's opinion, they were in the most dangerous locality, rendered so by the conduct of his troopers.⁴⁴

In May or at least at the beginning of June 1857, Ross attacked, "without any urgent necessity" according to Boulton, Aborigines camped near the junction of Palm Tree Creek with the Dawson. The Jiman there retreated towards Eurombah and Hornet Bank. This, Boulton said, would not have mattered if the action had been properly followed up. As it happened, Ross returned with his force to Palm Tree

42. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

43. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

44. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

9. Marshall to 1856 Select Committee, p.17. William Foster, a member of the Select Committee, said (p.35) he had complained about Walker's conduct for about three years before he was dismissed, but Walker was believed to have had friends in high places, including "his strongest friend", W.C. Wentworth.

Creek, although he well knew, as Boulton claimed he afterwards admitted, the blacks in question had come towards Eurombah. Soon after this, they attempted to "bail up" Hornet Bank head station, the adult males there, with one exception, having been out on the run at the time. Mrs Fraser sent one of her children to a man who was at work some distance from the house. He came in at once and loaded the firearms. On seeing these, the would-be attackers withdrew.⁴⁵

On or about 15 June, young John Fraser went to Eurombah "in great haste" to inform Boulton that the Jiman were preparing to attack Hornet Bank. His mother and sisters were much alarmed and he asked for Boulton's help, Ross and his troopers being again at Palm Tree Creek, and William Fraser apparently being absent once more with his drays. Boulton said he was particularly busy and did not consider the danger inevitable; it was out of his power to go to Hornet Bank that day but he would do so next day with as much assistance as he could procure. John Fraser returned home, but after nightfall his "two youngest brothers" came to Eurombah stating that the Jiman had become more threatening and that it was extremely probable that they would attack before morning. Boulton gathered as many men as he could find and with John and David Fraser succeeded in dispersing the tribesmen at daylight, forcing them to retreat from Hornet Bank.⁴⁶

In Boulton's opinion Ross had been responsible for the Aborigines being brought into Hornet Bank for the first time since its occupation about seven years before. It was

45. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

46. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858. The reference to John Fraser's "two youngest brothers" seems to indicate Sylvester and James. Sylvester was now 14 years of age but James only six. As it is improbable that James would have been sent on such a mission at night, Boulton presumably meant David, aged 16, and Sylvester, 14.

13. Elliott to 1856 Select Committee, p.23. Marshall had also said (p.25) that the Native Police on the Upper Dawson had suffered for want of shoeing of their horses; but with two horses for each man they would have been able to manage without it.

"apparent to all competent to judge" that they should never have been admitted.⁴⁷

Boulton induced Ross to come to Eurombah to deal with the Aborigines concerned in the attempted attack. It was arranged that they would depart Eurombah at 10 p.m. on that day. Ross left the house to order his men to get ready but, to Boulton's astonishment, returned, saying he did not see the use of going out at that hour. The real reason, Boulton believed, was that Ross's men had refused to obey him. About midnight Ross again spoke to his men and succeeded in obtaining their consent to accompanying him on the proposed expedition. As it happened, Boulton's horse strayed and he could not go with the police, but he sent along a station black who Boulton believed would be able to find the quarry. Instead of directly seeking them, Ross took his men to Hornet Bank, from which station he proceeded next morning, according to William Fraser and Andrew Scott. While searching for the trail, Ross allowed his best troopers to separate from his party, retaining only two recruits. Soon he came upon the wanted band, encamped on the Eurombah-Hornet Bank boundary, about 12 miles from each head-station. Without his best men, Ross thought it prudent not to attempt to disperse the group and so returned to Hornet Bank where he found that his other troopers, who were supposed to be searching for the would-be attackers, had arrived several hours before him. This was the occasion on which it was said that Ross retired before the blacks because his party had only one cartridge between them. Boulton alleged that the natural effect of such gross mismanagement was to render the local tribe more daring than ever.⁴⁸

47. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

48. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858. The allegations of Ross and his men retreating because they had only one bullet between them was put about by Boulton and Sandeman. But Andrew Scott, who accompanied them, later denied that such an incident had occurred.

18. N.S.W. Legislative Assembly Debates, 19 February 1857, in New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1857.

19. Elliot, 1856 Select Committee, p.23.

No further steps were taken by Ross to follow up the Jiman party which had threatened Hornet Bank. About the first week in July, John Fraser saw the tracks of three Aborigines crossing the Dawson from the Hornet Bank to the Eurombah run. The Fraser brothers and Andrew Scott, who foresaw danger, urged Ross to keep the Aborigines off these runs. "Instead, however, of doing something at such a crisis, Lieutenant Ross packed up his traps and started with his men to Messrs Scott and Thompson's, at Palm Tree Creek, where I imagine he reposed until his slumbers were disturbed by the intelligence of the murder by the blacks of my four shepherds" on 13 July. Ross and his troopers returned to Eurombah on 17 July, but his presence was again ineffectual: on 15 August two more shepherds were killed.⁴⁹

Boulton considered Ross to be a very unfit person in every way to have charge of a Native Police detachment. His men were constantly in the habit of hunting and camping with the blacks and robbing his shepherds' huts. The troopers were also in the habit of chasing emus and other game with the troop-horses instead of allowing them to rest at every opportunity.⁵⁰

Ross was accused of neglect of duty, want of energy and inefficiency by some settlers, particularly Boulton, because of his failure to follow up the would-be attackers of Hornet Bank in July. The Native Police Commandant, E.N.V. Morisset, on a tour of inspection of the frontier, first heard of the six shepherds' deaths when at Gracemere.⁵¹ He reached Eurombah early in September and,

49. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

50. Boulton, Eurombah, 28 December 1857, to John Murray, in Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/40.

51. Morisset, Eurombah, 12 September 1857, to Wickham, 57/4028 in Oxley Library mfm COL.A2/40.

21. Attachment written by Inspector-General of Police to a letter from Col. Sec. Office to Government Resident, Brisbane, 17 November 1856, in QSA RES 10.
22. Murray to Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, 2 November 1856, in QSA RES 10.

after listening to the complaints, wrote to Ross on 7 September informing him that he had found the charges proved and he was suspended from duty pending the Governor-General's decision on the matter.⁵²

The letter was left at Eurombah for Ross, where he received it on 20 September, having just returned from an expedition in search of the Aborigines responsible for the murder of the six men on Eurombah. Ross denied that he was at Hornet Bank at the time the tracks referred to by Boulton had been seen, having arrived there five days later when Elizabeth Fraser had casually mentioned the matter to him. He had never been urged by John Fraser or Andrew Scott to follow the tracks. As far as Boulton's claim of general apprehension of danger, he said that when John Fraser had mentioned the tracks to Boulton, the latter had replied that he was not afraid because the "darkies knew him." Ross had patrolled the river without seeing any traces of Aborigines. He had gone to Palm Tree Creek at the express request of John Scott, one of whose shepherds was missing.⁵³

Andrew Scott later defended Ross;⁵⁴ George Pearce Serocold at Cockatoo station believed that Ross had done all in his power, considering the small force under his command and his lack of experience;⁵⁵ and William Miles who was

52. Morisset to Ross, 7 September 1857, Oxley Library, microfilm, A2/40. Sir William Denison, Governor of N.S.W., also held the title of Governor-General of N.S.W., Van Diemen's Land, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia.
53. Ross to John Murray, Upper Dawson, 3 January 1858, Oxley Library, mfm COL.A2/40.
54. Scott to John Murray, 11 January 1858, in Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42.
55. Serocold to John Murray, 1 January 1858, in Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42.

25. NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/1636. The exact date of this attack varies in the sources from 1854 to 1857, possibly because there were two attacks on Mt Larcombe, now spelt Mt Larcom. Wiseman gives the date as 27 December 1855 (See Wiseman, Rannes, 5 January 1856, to CCCL).

then renting Kinnoul station from Miller and Turnbull, said that during all the time of his command not only was Ross without clothing and necessary equipment for his men but disaffection had arisen among his troopers because of their contact with the mutinous troopers from Port Curtis and elsewhere.⁵⁶ William Fraser had no complaint against Ross; he considered the officer capable of keeping his troopers under control but he had had great difficulty in doing this because of the "miserable manner in which his detachment was supplied with clothing, ammunition, saddlery and serviceable horses".⁵⁷ Even Wickham conceded that the want of supplies of all kinds to the Native Police, caused by the flooded state of the country for many months in 1857, had caused a relaxation of discipline among the troopers. The whole case against Ross, he said, rested upon Boulton's charges. Wickham omitted to say Boulton had been supported verbally by Gordon Sandeman, a powerful squatter in the northern districts and a member of the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, who had been the chairman of the 1856 Select Committee which inquired into the Native Mounted Police Force.⁵⁸

Ross had put his suspension down to malicious gossip, particularly blaming Boulton and Sandeman for the rumour that he had retired in the face of the Jiman after finding

-
56. Miles to Murray, 9 December 1858, in Col. Sec. 58/1365, Oxley Library, mfm A2/42.
57. Fraser to Murray, 25 December 1857, in Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42.
58. Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42; Ross to North Australian, 17 November 1857; and Ross to Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Sir William Denison, in Oxley Library mfm COL.A2/40.

reports the SMH correspondent at the Fitzroy diggings as saying that such an incident had occurred after the killing of three shepherds at Mount Larcombe.

28. NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/1636.

that his patrol had only one cartridge.⁵⁹ After his suspension, Ross went back to Palm Tree Creek and the relatively civilised comforts of John Scott and his wife, a talented and gracious woman who played piano well but was an expert shot and often went about her household duties with a double-barrelled revolver strapped on a hip.⁶⁰

On hearing of the murders on Eurombah, Morisset had instructed Second-Lieutenant Walter David Powell at Rannes to follow with five troopers "with all expedition".⁶¹ It is not known when Powell reached the Upper Dawson, possibly Morisset waited until he arrived, because the Commandant was at Juandah on or about 1 October, on his way to Wondai Gumoul. At Juandah, Ross had accidentally met Morisset and asked whether he would have the opportunity to clear himself of the charges brought against him, but Morisset simply said he did not see any necessity for that.⁶²

But already ugly rumours were circulating about the will of the Native Police officers to protect the Upper Dawson. An unnamed officer, not Nicoll, when informed by one of the Frasers that the Jiman were concentrating on

59. Ross to private secretary to the Governor-General, 28 September 1857, enclosing Morisset's notice of suspension, in Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/40. The question of Ross's culpability for the situation which led to the Hornet Bank tragedy is discussed at length by L.E. Skinner in Police of the Pastoral Frontier, Chapter 18, in which he argues that Ross was made a scapegoat. He points out that Ross had only five troopers with which to patrol a large area which other officers had claimed required 18. The 1856 Select Committee had recommended for the Leichhardt district, including the Upper Dawson, a force of five officers, four camp-sergeants and 48 troopers. On the evidence, Skinner's opinion is justified.

60. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.57-58.

61. Morisset, Eurombah, 12 September 1857, to Wickham, 57/4028 in Oxley Library mfm COL.A2/40.

62. Ross to North Australian, 17 November 1857.

ggings
ter the

29. NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/1636.

30. Letter of 5 February 1857 to Government Resident, Brisbane, in QSA NMP-4. The writer's signature is not clear, but appears to be that of Donald Edward Lester, J.P., a squatter on the Maranoa at the time.

s
he
wife, a
ut was an
es with a

et had
Rannes
61 It
possibly
ndant was
dai
sset and
r himself
mply said

ut the
pper
ned by
g on

eral,
e of
The
on which
t length
ntier,
nade a
five
ch other
lect
istrict,
ficers,
vidence,

ham,

74

Hornet Bank for some unlawful purpose, allegedly said that he "did not care if all the people on the Dawson were killed - his horses' required shoeing and other things had to be attended to".⁶³

⁶³. MBFP, 18 November 1857; and Andrew Scott quoting William Miles in a letter to SMH, 8 January 1858, said the officer remarked that he would not ride into the broken country "although fifty men on the Dawson were killed".

31. ... to wickham, 10 April 1857, in QSA ...
32. Ferguson, Wondai Gumbul, 18 October 1856, to
Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, QSA COL/A 56/5079.

CHAPTER 4: BLACK JUSTICE

If Boulton's account of the situation at Hornet Bank and Eurombah over the period late-1856 to July 1857 is correct, then the Frasers were in serious danger; and yet they do not appear to have sensed it. Some time in 1857 Martha, Elizabeth and the younger children returned from Drayton where they had gone, apparently after the death of John Fraser senior in March 1856. There is no doubt that Martha had moved to the frontier with her husband in 1854 because the youngest child, Charlotte, had been born at Hornet Bank in that year.¹ Most probably, then, after John Fraser's death, Hornet Bank had been managed by William, young John and David with the help of a number of hired hands and the general guidance of Andrew Scott.

James De Lacey Neagle moved to Hornet Bank probably in 1857 as tutor to the youngest children. He had worked in Sydney as a journalist on The Englishman and possibly moved to the Moreton Bay district at a time when Arthur Sydney Lyons was establishing the North Australian at Ipswich. Neagle may have encountered the Frasers there during one of

1. Leichhardt District Deaths Register, 1858. The Moreton Bay Free Press of 18 November 1857 said that Mrs Fraser and the children had left Drayton a few months previously; also Sylvester, in a sworn statement quoted by the MBFP or 18 November 1857, said he had not seen blacks at the Hornet Bank head-station in the past six months, which may suggest that he had not been there earlier.

their trips with wool for export.² On the other hand Neagle may have left newspaper work for teaching, the Drayton school having opened in 1850, the year in which the Frasers seem to have left Jimbour for that district. It is not known why Neagle, a young man of some education and professional standing, would have left the comforts of Ipswich or Drayton for the isolation and intellectual limitations of the frontier. Perhaps the reason was Elizabeth, now 19, the former "Pheasant" of the Drayton Swamp. Whatever Neagle's intentions may have been toward her, she, or at least her family, had other plans. By September her engagement to a squatter had been announced, the clergyman engaged and the date set.³ Elizabeth must have been quite a striking figure on the crude and lonely frontier. Pretty girls were few and far between, and she probably turned many heads, young and old.

Rosa Campbell Praed, daughter of Thomas Lodge Murray-Prior, who was then six years of age and lived at Hawkwood, later gave this picture:

"Hornet Bank was two days' journey from Hawkwood. Only a little while before the massacre, Mrs Fraser, two daughters and two sons, had ridden down the river, spending a few nights at Hawkwood. They came to buy bulls, and having accomplished their object went home. The eldest daughter... was a girl of nineteen,

2. His name is given as Henry Neagle in the Leichhardt District Deaths Register 1858 and his age 27; whereas the MBFP of 18 November 1857, gave his name as James De Lacey Neagle, aged 25: neither his birth nor his arrival in Australia appears in the official N.S.W. records. The entries in the Leichhardt District Deaths register were made on the basis of information laid by William Wiseman at Lake Elphinstone in January 1858 and spellings of names are not reliable, perhaps because of clerical errors. On the other hand, the MBFP, quoting its Drayton correspondent, gave a more precise name and because Neagle was a former journalist known to the Moreton Bay press, the MBFP seems more likely to have been correct.
3. Campbell Praed, Rosa, My Australian Girlhood, London, 1902, p.79; also, Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.29.

36. Ross, Dawson River, 16 March 1857, to Officer in Charge, Wondai Gumbul, in QSA NMP-7, number given as 48/115 but possibly incorrect.

red-haired and blue-eyed, with a very pretty Scotch face and a trim figure, which showed to particular advantage in her well-fitting habit as she sat upon a fine chestnut horse. In the evening...on the verandah, she and her sister sang Scotch songs to a Jew's harp and concertina accompaniment. She was engaged to be married to a squatter in the Wide Bay district..."⁴

But, Murray-Prior puts it differently: "The eldest daughter was on the eve of being married to a squatter. Only a few days before [the massacre] a gentleman who had stayed at Hornet Bank was telling us what a nice girl she was and how well and pretty she looked in her nice habit on her good horse, that her trousseau had come up..." Rosa was wrong about the Wide Bay squatter. Her father's memoirs, to which she had access, clearly state that Andrew Scott was to marry Elizabeth.⁵

Scott family legend has it that when Andrew left the Upper Dawson late in October, his objective was to visit his "fiancee", Christina Brodie, daughter of his old friend, Robert Brodie, in the Hunter Valley. This is not quite plausible. Firstly, Wiseman later said that Scott had gone to see him on business concerning his runs and was returning with him when they heard of the Hornet Bank attack;

4. Campbell Praed, Girlhood, pp.78-79. Rosa Caroline Murray-Prior was born at Bromelton station in the Logan River district on 27 March 1851, the daughter of Thomas Lodge Murray-Prior. (Who's Who in Australia, 1922; also, Miller, E. Morris, Australian Literature from its Beginnings to 1935, Vol. 1, p.426.) Quite possibly Rosa did see Martha and Elizabeth, but this account was written almost 50 years after the event. She was a prolific gatherer of personal material from her family in Australia at the time she was writing in London and her account may contain some truth; nevertheless, she was an incorrigible converter of fact into romantic fantasy and anything attributed to her must be treated with considerable reserve.
5. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.29 and p.42. These memoirs, apparently dictated to a woman member of his family by Murray-Prior soon after September 1883, were probably written at Rosa's request.

letter from Ross had appeared in the same newspaper on 6 October, asserting the falsehood of the charges brought against him. No issues of the North Australian before November 1858 are available.

obviously, Scott was not then heading for the Hunter. Secondly, if he were engaged to Christina in October 1857, why did he not marry her until February 1860? Christina was under age at the time of her marriage,⁶ which means that in October 1857 she was at the most 18 years of age, whereas Scott was 46. It is more plausible that Scott became engaged to Christina after Elizabeth Fraser's death. Elizabeth would have been a good catch in 1857; she was almost 20 years of age, and was on the spot; besides, an alliance between Scott and the Fraser family would have made good sense, as he was now a man of means and they still did not have a lease on a pastoral run.

The date set for Elizabeth's wedding is not known, but it would not have been before William had been able to return to the station;⁷ he was still in Ipswich early in November and the return trip would have taken at least a month, now that the weather was dry. Possibly the marriage celebrant was to be the Reverend Benjamin Glennie, who had established the first Anglican Church on the Darling Downs, St Matthew's at Drayton, in 1850. Glennie was well known to the Frasers, having baptised at least one of their children, James, in 1851. Also, he may have been prepared to ride to Hornet Bank for the ceremony; he was known to ride about 3,000 miles a year in visiting his parishioners,⁸ and had reached Tchanning, about 60 miles south of Hornet Bank.⁹

6. Certified copy of marriage entry, Principal Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney; also, biographical note on Christina in Oxley Library photographic file.
7. Some popular accounts say that William was to bring Elizabeth's wedding dress from Ipswich, but this is not supported by any contemporary source.
8. Davis, Elizabeth M. "The Legend of Benjamin Glennie", in Sunday Mail Colour Magazine, Brisbane, 29 August 1971.
9. Beatrice Parker, Drayton, letter to author, 29 September 1979, quoting Glennie's diaries.

to any lad - his rendering of words was occasionally very funny. He spoilt himself by his exaggerated manner of talking and, not being seriously taken, was denied credit for that which he really knew. He had two or three fairly good horses of which he was pardonably proud".

39. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

As well as Neagle, the Frasers employed a number of shepherds or hutkeepers; at the time of the massacre the number was at least four.¹⁰ In addition, at least one Aborigine was employed on the station. Known as Boney, Balley or Joey, he was employed as a "wood and water joey" - that is, employed to fetch wood and water and to do other odd jobs about the station. This man seems to have been the Left-handed Bally whom Andrew Scott had brought from the south when he arrived on the Dawson. Scott had warned the Frasers not to trust that man, but if he was the same one, he must have established some sort of relationship with the Frasers over the three years they had been at Hornet Bank; also, as a foreign Aborigine, he must have come to some sort of accommodation with the Jiman in order to survive over six years without becoming a victim to their revenge for the injustices done to them by his employers. Sylvester, known as West, Westy or Wessie, trusted him, being in the habit of going to the creek with him to fetch water.¹¹ This man's tribal name appears to have been Baulie or in some references Bahlee. Among the colonists he was to become infamous as an example of Aboriginal treachery.

Martha Fraser, now aged 43,¹² was noted for her kindness towards the Aborigines.¹³ Andrew Scott, despite his severe discipline, also tried to be kind, giving the black children currants and raisins and little lumps of

10. Two died in the massacre; William Fraser later referred in a letter to the North Australian, 9 February 1858, to his "shepherds" having deserted the station after the massacre; obviously he was not referring to the two who had died.

11. Anderson, p.4.

12. Her age at death is given in the Leichhardt District Deaths Register as 43; in the MBFP it was given as 45. Her age at the time of her marriage on 17 October 1831 was 17 so 43 appears to be correct.

13. C.J. Royds to the 1860 Select Committee, p.29.

- 42
43
44
40. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.
41. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

sugar at times.¹⁴ One of the male Frasers, however, apparently was not so kind, not having allowed the children near the homestead. On one occasion he hit a black child. Charles J. Royds of Juandah said later that although he had never been to Hornet Bank, he understood that the Aborigines had not been treated well there.¹⁵ There was trouble because of the Jiman dogs. John Miller of Dulacca had used poison to kill Aborigines' dogs because they had molested his sheep at night; the Aborigines had not resented this when he explained his reason, but when the whites at Hornet Bank had done the same thing they had been offended.¹⁶

There may have been a deep cultural reason why the Jiman resented the white occupation of Hornet Bank, the desecration of a sacred site. The station (see photograph, last page) is sited on a high bank overlooking a fine lagoon, three-quarters of a mile from the Dawson River. Not only had Scott and later the Frasers kept the local people out, but a foreign tribesman, Baulie, had been allowed to live there; later other foreigners, the troopers, were allowed to live there, if only temporarily, and, worse, allowed to adopt a tyrannical posture toward them.

The whites frequently complained of the treachery of the Aborigines but were themselves capable of gross treachery. It is believed that at one Christmas time, possibly in 1856, hungry Aborigines had gone to a station in

14. Bloxsome, H.S. "Exploration and Settlement of the Upper Burnett" in Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.3, No.5, 1945, p.348.
15. C.J. Royds to 1860 Select Committee, p.29.
16. John Miller to the 1858 Select Committee, pp.43-44. William Yaldwyn, son of William Henry Yaldwyn of Taroom, in an account of the Hornet Bank massacre written many years later also says the Frasers shot the Aborigines' dogs and broke weapons. Willie Yaldwyn, as he was known, was at Taroom at the time of the massacre when he was in his early twenties. His account is published for the first time in Randell, Ch.21.
- 17
18
19

42. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.
43. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.
44. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858.

the Upper Dawson and asked for food; alarmed by the presence of a large and apparently menacing group of blacks, someone at the station gave them a special Christmas pudding - flour mixed with strychnine. According to legend, many Aborigines died. Some sources say the station was Kinnoul, others that it was Hornet Bank.¹⁷

As well as any action by the whites at Hornet Bank, aggression by other settlers on the Dawson was now commonplace. One practice was to fire salt at the Aborigines at night, cutting the skin and irritating them, "making them mad". Trevethan had done this at Rawbelle on the Upper Burnett, near the Dawson, before he had been killed in 1854.¹⁸

Another reason was given by William Yaldwyn's son, also named William and known as Willie, who lived at Taroom at the time. He claimed the Aborigines on the Upper Dawson in the winter of 1857 had found it easy to attack cattle bogged by the heavy rains. He said the "frontiersmen met in solemn conclave and resolved to give the 'niggers a lesson'". They failed to find the marauders but on a dry ironbark ridge came upon a camp of evicted but unsuspecting station blacks and killed 12. Large numbers of myalls then began to gather on Hornet Bank station until, feeling menaced, the Fraser brothers "proceeded to break the weapons of the wildmen and shot many of their dogs". Two months later the Aborigines attacked Hornet Bank to avenge the wrongs done to them.¹⁹ In the absence of other evidence, this story would be plausible, but apart from the killing of

17. Fox, p.45, quoting J.H.M. Ross of Baralaba; C.L.D. Hamilton, Wavell Heights, 1 August 1979, to author; Lack, Clem, "Massacre at Hornet Bank", in Sunday Mail, 9 June 1940; Rockhampton Morning Bulletin, 30 October 1957.

18. James Blain Reid to 1858 Select Committee, pp.23-24.

19. William Yaldwyn's account, in Randell, Chapter 21.

46. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858. The reference to John Fraser's "two youngest brothers" seems to indicate Sylvester and James. Sylvester was now 14 years of age but James only six. As it is improbable that James would have been sent on such a mission at night, Boulton presumably meant David, aged 16, and Sylvester, 14.

the dogs, none of this account is supported by other documentary sources.

By mid-1857 the abuse of Jiman women had reached a peak. Not only were the Native Police troopers taking the Jiman women by force, but the whites at Hornet Bank were allowing them to do so.²⁰ In addition, the shepherds on the Upper Dawson stations were guilty of this practice, which also extended to the Fraser men themselves. Martha Fraser was aware of the situation: she had repeatedly asked Nicoll, when visiting the Dawson, to reprove her sons for forcibly taking the "young maidens", telling Nicoll that she expected harm to come of it. They were in the habit of doing this, she said, notwithstanding her entreaties to the contrary. Among the working men in the area the Frasers were "famous for the young gins". It is not surprising, then, that at this time "the desire to become one of the committers of rape was very intense among the blacks" of the Upper Dawson.²¹

The Jiman had suffered the white invaders for 10 years since Thomas Windeyer had settled in 1847; for the first five years they had accepted the whites peacefully until their first visible resistance began early in 1852 with the killing of the man at Rochedale. By mid-1857 violent reaction had become common. The last straw for the Jiman occurred when the whites showed just how treacherous they were.

An overseer doing his rounds on his run came to a Jiman camp and saw whitemen's rations in the humpy of a

20. O'Connell to 1861 Select Committee, p.87, indirectly quoting a native trooper.

21. Wood, I. Downes, Toowoomba, 12 March 1862, to Queensland Chief Secretary, QSA COL. 62/1118. Wood apparently had visited Hornet Bank some time after October 1860 and had questioned working men in the district about the massacre; he had spoken also to Nicoll.

47. Boulton, North Australian, 12 January 1858. The allegations of Ross and his men retreating because they had only one bullet between them was put about by Boulton and Sandeman. But Andrew Scott, who accompanied them, later denied that such an incident had occurred.

young man. He asked how these rations had been obtained. The Jiman replied that a white man had given them to him in payment for the use of his wife in prostitution. The overseer was angered, accusing the young man of lying and saying that the rations had been stolen from one of his shepherd's huts. The Jiman denied this. The overseer then drew a pistol and shot the young man dead. A conference of Aborigines was held to discuss this outrage, and the decision taken to attack a station.²²

For some time the tribes at festivals in the Bunya Mountains, Blackall Mountains and the Carnarvon Ranges, had discussed the white problem. Apparently they had agreed that the whites must be resisted, for intimations of plans for a general war to clear them out of the settled districts had reached some squatters through the medium of talkative station blacks.²³ But apart from the continued killing of isolated shepherds, there had been no organised act of resistance since the Mt Larcombe massacre of December 1855.

It has been traditional wisdom among whites since the Hornet Bank massacre that a decision to rise against the settlers was taken at a bunya nut festival in the Bunya Mountains north of Dalby in 1857, and that the Hornet Bank massacre was a direct consequence of this decision. Perhaps some such decision was made during January-March, when the nuts were ripe, but it does not follow that Hornet Bank was agreed as a target. Firstly, the Jiman did not seem to attend the Bunya Mountains festival but another in the Blackall Range in the Burnett district; secondly, if a

22. Fox, p.44, quoting the account given by Carrabah George, a Jiman who was nine or ten years of age in 1857, to a Taroom district squatter, Mr C.E. Barkla, in 1908. Barkla told Fox that George was the most intelligent Aborigine he had ever met and his statement could not be shaken by cross-examination. Carrabah George and his wife, Maria, were well known to Mr W.R. Phipps of Taroom (Phipps to author, 26 April 1979).

23. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.25.

50. Boulton, Eurombah, 28 December 1857, to John Murray,
in Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/40.

51. Morisset, Eurombah, 12 September 1857, to Wickham,
57/4028 in Oxley Library mfm COL.A2/40.

decision to attack Hornet Bank was made at such a social gathering, it could just as well have been made at the Macrozamia nut festival in the Carnarvon Ranges to the west which the Jiman attended, but apparently the other tribes participating in the Bunya and Blackall ranges festivals did not;²⁴ and thirdly, the final decision to attack a station may have been taken as late as mid-1857 at a large gathering of tribes in the Upper Dawson.

As many as one thousand Aborigines had gathered in the Upper Dawson in June 1857, no doubt representing more than one tribe. Wiseman later mentioned this "immense assemblage"; and Murray-Prior seems to have been referring to the same gathering when he says that a short time before the Hornet Bank massacre there was a great tribal fight. "They assembled at Palm Tree Creek on the Dawson. In one of the two camps there were fully 500 fighting men - it is to be supposed that the number would be pretty equal on each side, which would make over one thousand fighting men collected." Murray-Prior says that after several engagements they separated. "I do not think half a dozen were killed altogether", he says.²⁵

This may have been the big corroboree mentioned by an Auburn River Aborigine, George West, who was employed at Auburn station. Mr D.C. McConnel of Carisbrook, Queensland, formerly of Auburn and Glenhaughton stations, quotes West as saying that there was a war between the Bunya Mountains blacks and the Auburn River blacks at one time. "The Bunya Mountain blacks came into Auburn River territory and killed most of the males of the tribe. However, the Bunya blacks were pushed back into their own territory. The Auburn blacks joined with the Dawson blacks because of the shortage of males and had a big rejoicing of the victory in the area

24. For a discussion of the significance of the Macrozamia festivals, see Beaton.

25. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 16 November 1857; Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.31.

54. Scott to John Murray, 11 January 1858, in Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42.
55. Serocold to John Murray, 1 January 1858, in Wickham to Col. Sec., 24 February 1858, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42.

near Glenhaughton."²⁶ This station is about 30 miles north of Hornet Bank.

It would be wrong to claim that the Frasers were entirely responsible for what befell them. Quite likely they treated the Jiman no worse than most other settlers in the district, and Martha Fraser had tried to be kind to them. There is no evidence that the Frasers had been responsible for the Christmas poisoning treachery, nor that the killer of the young Jiman with the rations had been a Fraser; the Frasers had no overseer, whereas almost all squatters of any means had overseers. There is no proof that Thomas Boulton was guilty, although his admitted troubles with Jiman and troopers stealing from his shepherds' huts and his boast that the "darkies knew him", because of his method of dealing with them, does point to him. At least one of the Eurombah huts was close to Hornet Bank homestead.

Hornet Bank was the ideal target for Jiman vengeance: it was the farthest station to the west along the Dawson; although it was normally approached over fairly level ground from the east, it was easily approachable on foot through rugged country, heavily covered with scrub, from the west and north; and although there were a number of men at Hornet Bank, well-armed and not afraid to fight, the inhabitants of the station had become indifferent to their own safety - they slept at night without fully securing the house. "So secure did they feel that the Frasers were accustomed to leaving all the doors and windows open, as the family believed that they were on the best of terms with the

26. D.C. McConnel, Cresbrook, to the author, 20 September 1979. Of course, the date of this war and subsequent rejoicing is not known, but it is most unlikely that such a large gathering of Aborigines could have taken place in the Upper Dawson district immediately after Hornet Bank, when both police and settlers were hunting them with the intention of wiping them out, nor in later years when such warlike gatherings would not have been tolerated by the whites.

Aborigines."²⁷ Also, more white females were at Hornet Bank than at any other station in the district.

In tribal law the punishment must fit the crime, otherwise justice would not be done. What had been done to the Jiman must be done to the whites. The chief specific crime against them was rape; therefore the whites must suffer rape. In order to carry out this punishment it would be necessary first to dispose of the white males, a proposition which presented the Jiman with a tactical problem: how to render the men at Hornet Bank harmless without killing the females before they could be punished. Obviously it was necessary to attack the station in such a way that all the males could be killed simultaneously, leaving the females unharmed but defenceless. In normal tribal feuds an Aboriginal raiding party would surround a sleeping camp at night then wait for dawn; at dawn's first light they would see where the men were sleeping and before they could stir, fall upon them. But in a white community which slept indoors, the position of the males could not be seen, even at dawn.²⁸

In the June confrontation at Hornet Bank they had made the mistake of approaching by day and had been deterred by a group of females and one armed man. That dismal failure had brought the Native Police upon them, even though the result had also been a fiasco for the police. In July they had switched to a night confrontation, but all they could do was gather and menace; they could not attack, because their

27. Queensland Times, 9 May 1909.

28. Any account of Jiman justice, punishment and method of attack must be hypothetical, depending heavily upon analogy. For a discussion of the principles and practice of Aboriginal justice see Wheeler, G.C., The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, London, 1910; also for a detailed description of types of night attack, see Warner, W.Lloyd, A Black Civilisation, New York, 1958, chapter VI, "Warfare".

number of Aborigines had taken part in the attack. For the first time, Sylvester saw the body of James Neagle lying in his room behind the door.

gathered
secured

Over
developed
attack
each in
If he had
obligation
interlop
convinced
inevitable
value:
to be s

So
July, the
of the m
September
should n
had been
them of
opponent
During c
asked to
runs whe
the black
returned
their ca
moved ou
to the c
Taroom.²
had retu
were sti

29. An
de
an

Euromba
women's

gathering had made their intention obvious and help had been secured from Eurombah.

Over the next three months, the Jiman waited and developed their plans, until they had the solution - a night attack with the aid of an insider who knew exactly where each inhabitant slept. There was such an insider - Baulie. If he had been a Jiman he would have had tribal obligations; even if he were not, as a foreigner, an interloper, he would have been in their debt. Once convinced that the destruction of the Frasers was inevitable, he had no choice. Baulie had another tactical value: he was known to the station dogs, which would have to be silenced first.

Some time after the ineffectual attacks of June and July, the Jiman seem to have decided to attack by the light of the moon. They had opportunities in August and September, but did nothing. There were reasons why they should not: first, the early and middle months of the year had been wet, and so heavy cloud-cover may have deprived them of the full moon; secondly, they had three strong opponents, Andrew Scott, William Fraser and Thomas Ross. During one of the Hornet Bank confrontations, Scott was asked to assist. He had not been long at one of his new runs when a messenger arrived asking him to return because the blacks had approached quite close to the homestead. He returned and, as was his practice, watched the smoke of their camp fires, then rode around the property until they moved out. After a few days at Hornet Bank, Scott returned to the other run, which may have been Isla, downstream from Taroom.²⁹ William had been absent in July but apparently had returned. Ross and his detachment, no matter how small, were still not far away at Palm Tree Creek.

29. Anderson, p.4. It is believed that he was also developing another station, Waterton, between Taroom and Isla, at this time.

W
Ipswich
wool fo
for the
appears
distic
his dis
area on
tnat the
leaderle
have hea
then, it
improved
William

TH
their ow
other th
Goreng C
of the W
police h
daring
and a fe
their tr
Kettle a
Aborigin
involved

WH
expansio

30. Fe

31. C
Co
pa
no
in
Ab
ta

a repo
action

William left the station again before 7 September for Ipswich to obtain stores for the station. He may have taken wool for export from Ipswich which was then the main outlet for the produce of the western pastoral runs, although this appears to have been much too early; other stations in the district were still shearing in December. Ross had received his dismissal notice on 20 September but was still in the area on 28 September; the Jiman may not have been aware that the Native Police detachment had suddenly become leaderless until some days later, when no doubt they would have heard from the troopers themselves. By early October, then, it was clear to the Jiman that conditions had greatly improved for the success of their plan: Scott was absent, William Fraser had gone, Ross was disgraced.

The Jiman plans were well laid. They had informed their own bands over a wide area, and possibly also those of other tribes, including the Wakka Wakka of the Burnett, the Goreng Goreng of the Auburn and perhaps also the Mandandanji of the Western Condamine, many of whom had frequented the police barracks at Wondai Gumbul. These last had become daring in the presence of the Native Police because Nicoll and a fellow-officer, Irving, had been "unfit in managing their troopers" while attempting to pursue the murderers of Kettle and others on Tchanning Creek.³⁰ Strangely, Aborigines living near Juandah station may not have been involved.³¹

While the Jiman awaited their opportunity, white expansion in the south-central highlands was almost at a

30. Ferrett to the 1861 Select Committee, p.86-87.

31. C.J. Royds, giving evidence to the 1858 Select Committee, p.20, said he believed they did not take part in the Hornet Bank attack, saying that they were not of the same "tribe". Nonetheless, H.M. Pearse informed the 1858 Select Committee inquiry that the Aborigines for hundreds of miles knew that event would take place.

standst
stretch
Euomba
Scott a
Gwambag
Camboon
Range.
occupie
unsuita
for a s
the Com
Ranges,
had tra
the are

I
the Nat
nothing
miles e
search
agreed
runs fo
when th
weeks t
River.
and lat
and sta
was nam

A
again s
a young
Upper D
Peawadd

32. S

33. S
N

massac
pursui

standstill. The line of stations in the Upper Dawson stretched along the river from Hornet Bank to Cardew's Eurombah, Miller and Turnbull's Kinnoul, Yaldwyn's Taroom, Scott and Thomson's Palm Tree Creek, Henry Gregory's Gwambagwyne, William Kelman's Ghinghinda, Joseph Thompson's Camboon and Charles Dutton's Bauhinia Downs near Expedition Range. Behind this line the easily accessible land had been occupied; immediately beyond it to the west and north was unsuitable scrubby and broken country. The only opportunity for a seeker after fresh runs lay in the new country around the Comet and Nogoia Rivers, between the Peak and Carnarvon Ranges, which Leichhardt in his 1844 and 1846 expeditions had traversed and reported upon favourably. He had called the area Peak Downs.

In June 1857, Frederick Walker, former Commandant of the Native Police, and a man named Arthur Wiggins about whom nothing appears to be known, came to Cockatoo station 25 miles east of Taroom with two ex-troopers, intending to search for new runs to the north. Serocold and Mackenzie agreed to assist them and to take an equal share in any new runs found. It took a month to prepare the expedition and when they left Serocold did not go with them. After five weeks they returned, having taken up six runs on the Comet River. The partners applied to Sydney for these new runs, and later Serocold went with Wiseman and Walker to the Comet and stayed three weeks. During this time, Mount Serocold was named.³²

About the beginning of October, Walker and Wiggins again set out for the north. This time they took with them a young Aborigine named Jemmy Sandeman, who was not of the Upper Dawson people, and two Cockatoo station blacks, Peawaddy and Myall Jemmy.³³ These latter two probably

32. Serocold, memoirs, p.24.

33. Serocold, letter to the Sydney Morning Herald, 30 November 1857.

massacre on the second day and immediately set out in pursuit. His troopers soon picked up a track which led

knew of
apparen

T
former
during
with the
well ha
Jiman ha
recruite
had been
recruite
neighbour
the Jim
of firea

Ar
Bielbah
reputed
Condamir
believed
Abundanc
was to l
been a J
Maranoa

Wh
the forc
collapse

34. Or
me
ma
fi

35. Qu
Wi
19
mf
PE

countr
behind

knew of the plan for Hornet Bank, but Jemmy Sandeman apparently did not.

The Jiman had other tactical assets. At least two former troopers who were discharged from the Native Police during the sharp reduction on the force in 1855 were living with them. It is not certain that they were Jiman, but may well have been members of the eastern tribes with which the Jiman had close affiliations. Originally Walker had recruited only in the southern districts, but this practice had been abandoned by the mid-1850s and troopers were being recruited in one northern district for service in a neighbouring northern district. The ex-troopers now with the Jiman were familiar with police tactics and with the use of firearms.³⁴

Another asset for the Jiman was a man known as Bielbah. A tall Aborigine of undoubted courage, he was reputed to have led attacks on stations on the Maranoa, Condamine and Burnett districts since 1848, when he was believed to have organised the sporadic raids on Mount Abundance station which forced Macpherson to abandon it. He was to lead the attack on Hornet Bank.³⁵ He may not have been a Jiman, but rather a member of one of the Condamine or Maranoa tribes, such as the Mandandanji.

Whereas the Jiman disposition had improved rapidly, the forces ranged against them had weakened to the point of collapse. In October, only 11 troopers were on service in

34. One such ex-trooper appears to have been Toby, mentioned by Skinner, Police, p.386, and another was a man with a rifle, shot by the Native Police in the first white response to Hornet Bank (see next chapter).

35. Queensland Times, 9 May 1909, apparently quoting William Fraser; also see Pollet Cardew, Eurombah, 19 November 1858, to Col. Sec.; in Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/41; and William Telfer, reminiscences, pp.25-27.

country where the police horses could not follow. They left behind five dead and three wounded, most of their plunder

the whol
Upper Da
these 11
24 Octob
up north
Castle C
Scottle
sent awa
directio

On
30, and
complete
off befo
and were
the hous

36. Wi

37. Bu
n.
in

38. Wi
bo
wh
Ra
ch

39. Mu
de
le
an
ne
de
Le
MB
sh
in
hu
Ba
in
wh
sp
Wi
ag
ap

the she
of the

the whole Leichhardt district, an enormous area of which the Upper Dawson comprised only one small corner; also, some of these 11 patrolled the Port Curtis district.³⁶ On 24 October Andrew Scott left Isla³⁷ to see William Wiseman up north on business. Three days previously Wiseman was at Castle Creek near the present-day Theodore. On the day Scott left the district, Jiman men at a number of stations sent away their women and children and went in another direction.³⁸ The men were all heading for Hornet Bank.

On 26 October, two men, John Newman, a shepherd aged 30, and a hutkeeper, Bernangl, a German aged 45, who had completed their time, had come to the homestead to be paid off before leaving next day. They handed in their rifles and were to sleep the night in a hut 200 to 300 yards from the house.³⁹

36. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

37. Bull, Jean. Historic Queensland Homesteads, Brisbane, n.d., pp.61-62. Bull's source is Andrew Robert Scott, in Queensland Country Life, n.d.

38. Wiseman, 16 November 1857; also see Wiseman letter book, QSA mfm CCL 7/G1, letters 12-21 October 1857, which shown that after moving his headquarters from Rannes to Rockhampton, Wiseman was on the lower Dawson checking tenders for runs.

39. Murray-Prior, Memoirs, p.27; Sylvester Fraser, deposition, 7 November 1857; Reginald S. Hurd, in a letter to The Queenslander, 1 February 1919, quoting an undated article in one of the two Mitchell newspapers published a year after William Fraser's death in 1914. Details of these two men appear in the Leichhardt District Deaths Register, 1858, and in the MBFP, 18 November 1857. In the Deaths Register the shepherd appears as R.S. Newman, but the MBFP which interviewed Sylvester called him John Newman. The hutkeeper's name appears variously as Bernangle, Baumavo and Ben Munro. The last appears to be an inadvertant anglicisation of Baumavo, the spelling which appears in the Deaths Register, but even this spelling may have been a mistake by the informant Wiseman; if the man was a German, as most sources agree, then the spelling Bernangl, not Bernangle, appears more probably correct.

the shepherds there had deserted, but Ross saw to the safety of the sheep. Serocold sent his overseer and three men whom

TI
evening
languor
the cur
the only
the sun
offer ac
ironbar
surround
The hous
those da
divided
a sleepi
Martha F
absence,
verandah
containe
Neagle,
the vera
for youn
October
for thre
Fraser
left bel
It had b
the squa
supersti

40. Th
p.
Fr
Da
No
to
Th
do

41. Wi

42. Qu

The day had been unusually hot for the season and the evening air "was full of a breezeless semi-tropical languor". The cicadas had ceased their noise and the cry of the curlew and the hoot of the mopoke in the distance were the only sounds from the bush. The moon was already high as the sun had gone down; now at its first quarter, it would offer adequate illumination for persons moving through the ironbark, cypress pines, Moreton Bay ash and bauhinia surrounding the station. The Frasers went to bed early. The house at Hornet Bank was like the usual bush hut of those days: it had a verandah and a bark roof, and was divided into three main rooms - a sitting room, a store and a sleeping room, the last being in the middle. In this Martha Fraser and her daughters slept. In William's absence, Sylvester and James slept in a skillion on the verandah at the western end, near another building which contained the kitchen and the room in which the tutor, Neagle, slept. John and David slept in another skillion on the verandah at the eastern end of the house.⁴⁰ Prospects for young John, now aged 23, appeared to be good: on 10 October Wiseman had recommended acceptance of his tenders for three runs, Paneroo, Coochinbah and Turkoa.⁴¹ The Frasers were still unconcerned at any danger and William had left believing that the Jiman had no reason to attack.⁴² It had been unusual for Aborigines to attack at night, and the squatters believed they would not do this because of superstition. But Hornet Bank was a very unprotected place

40. This material comes from various sources: Randell, p.74; Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.27; also Sylvester Fraser, depositions, Ipswich, 7 November 1857, and Dalby, 10 November 1857 (published in the MBFP, 18 November 1857). Sylvester in his depositions refers to a "skullion", meaning a small room on a verandah. The later term "skillion" is used here although it does not have the same meaning today.

41. Wiseman letter book, QSA CCL 7/G1, 10 October 1857.

42. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

and some
there.⁴³

Sor
from the
presumabl
approxima
wait.⁴⁵

One
their way
camped ne
them was
disappear
guns.⁴⁷
did not r

At
Aborigine
nullah-nu
Sandeman;
a double-
Sandeman
and the A
wounds an
looked li

43. Rei
O'C

44. Mur

45. Moo
as
Uni
195
sup
Maj
tha

46. Mur

47. Ser

that he
that the

and some settlers feared it was rash to have so many females there.⁴³

Sometime that night, Baulie, who slept at a distance from the house, called the station dogs and "quieted" them, presumably by clubbing them to death.⁴⁴ The moon set at approximately 1.26 a.m. and the Jiman continued to wait.⁴⁵ They were to have no sleep that night.⁴⁶

One hundred miles to the north, Walker and Wiggins, on their way back from the new country to the north-west, were camped near the eastern bluff of the Expedition Range. With them was Jemmy Sandeman; but Peawaddy and Myall Jemmy had disappeared during the previous day, taking with them two guns.⁴⁷ As they slept, Walker, Wiggins and Jemmy Sandeman did not realise that they too were being watched.

At 2.30 a.m. they were attacked by 15 or more Aborigines. Wiggins was immediately stunned and disabled by nullah-nullah blows; four men attempted to overpower Jemmy Sandeman; Walker was knocked down twice but managed to fire a double-barrelled gun, killing one attacker; Jemmy Sandeman broke free, grabbed his gun, came to Walker's aid and the Aborigines fled. Walker sustained three spear wounds and four nullah-nullah wounds, and at one stage looked like dying. Next morning, with Walker lying across a

43. Reid to 1858 Select Committee, p.25; also Reid and O'Connell to 1858 Select Committee, pp. 25 and p.6.

44. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.29.

45. Moonset was at 1.26 a.m. plus or minus 10-15 minutes, as calculated from the Improved Lunar Ephemeris, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1958; sunrise is shown exactly in the explanatory supplements to the Astronomical Ephemeris, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1962. Dawn at that latitude lasts about 35 minutes.

46. Murray-Prior, p.30.

47. Serocold, SMH, 30 November 1857.

saddle, t
station.⁴

At
eastern S
in, guide
months, k
sound of
James sle
in darkne
hanging a
immediate
of Baulie
upon him.
hit him o
iron camp
and a wal
under the
with their
six, on b
Believing
followed J

48. Serocold

49. Deta
Syl
1857
Bris
encl
Nove
4/7
befo
1857
Nove
Nove
Cock
no d
depo
iron
the
obta
T.J.
in t
"Red

that he could have made the ride in three days, provided that the weather was favourable, that he could manage many

brothers
stopped

saddle, they set out to ride 120 miles to Palm Tree Creek station.⁴⁸

At Hornet Bank, the first light began to appear in the eastern sky at about 4.45 a.m., and the Jiman began to move in, guided by Baulie. Sylvester, now 14 years and eight months, knew nothing of this until he was awakened by the sound of Aborigines talking in the skillion in which he and James slept. He could not see them, the station was still in darkness, but he reached for a double-barrelled pistol hanging above his head, grasping the weapon which was immediately knocked from his hand. He recognised the voice of Baulie and appealed to him for help, but blows rained upon him. He was struck heavily on the head. Other blows hit him on a thigh and shoulder. He tried to rise on his iron camp-stretcher, but stumbled and fell between the bed and a wall. Just before he lost consciousness, he crawled under the bed while the attackers continued to pummell it with their weapons, thinking him still in it. James, aged six, on being alarmed, had sprung out the skillion window. Believing Sylvester dead, the assailants left him and followed James, soon catching him.⁴⁹

48. Serocold, SMH, 30 November 1857.

49. Details of the attack appear in several sources: Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857, copy enclosed with a letter from Pollett Cardew, Brisbane, 7 November 1857, to Wickham, and both enclosed with letter, Wickham to Col. Sec., 11 November 1857. in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/4578; another deposition by Sylvester before Charles Coxen, J.P., at Dalby, 10 November 1857, reproduced in the Moreton Bay Free Press, 18 November 1857; William Miles, Leichhardt District, 4 November 1857, to Col. Sec., and William Wiseman, Cockatoo, to C.C.C.L., 16 November 1857, both of whom no doubt would have interviewed Sylvester; also the depositions taken by Henry Gregory of Gwambagwyne from William Miles and Thomas Boulton and published in the North Australian on 8 December 1857. More can be obtained from Murray-Prior's memoirs and also from T.J. Barker's interview with William Fraser, published in the Queensland Times, 7 May 1909, under the byline "Red Gum".

brothers.⁴ They passed through Drayton, where they stopped long enough for Sylvester to be interviewed by the

The
seems to
brother D
the next
door of t
within hi
and was c
did not r
asked wha
were to b
to take t
the ratio

Whi
verandah
believing
deter them
him. He w
fell insta
skillion u

The
house, was
through th
is how she
this? You
have given
hurt us, y
me, not th

50. Murr

51. Murr

52. Murr

53. Murr

Murr
Engl
she
were
info

seriousl
spear wo

The tutor, Neagle, in the room beside the kitchen, seems to have been the first to die. John Fraser and his brother David, in the other skillion on the verandah, were the next to go. John, on hearing the commotion, went to the door of the room. Although a loaded pistol was on a table within his reach, he did not take it. He opened the door and was confronted by Baulie and others behind him. They did not rush him, but instead gave him time to talk. John asked what they wanted: Baulie answered that all the whites were to be killed.⁵⁰ John entreated them not to kill, not to take the women. Instead, he urged, they could take all the rations, blankets, tobacco, everything they wanted.⁵¹

While he spoke, he made the mistake of moving onto the verandah to confront the Aboriginal horde, possibly believing that a show of courage by an unarmed man would deter them. He did not see a man come from a corner behind him. He was struck behind the ears with a nullah-nullah and fell instantly.⁵² The attackers then rushed into the skillion upon David.

The door to the women's room, in the middle of the house, was fastened. Martha tried to reason with Baulie through the door. He was sometimes known as Boney, and this is how she now addressed him. Why, she asked, are you doing this? You have been a brother to me for a long time. I have given you much food and many blankets. If you don't hurt us, you may have all the rations. She pleaded: Not me, not the girls.⁵³

50. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp. 30-31.

51. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp. 30-31.

52. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp. 30-31.

53. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp. 30-31. I have not used Murray-Prior's exact words because he uses pidgin English which Martha Fraser may not have used or if she did there is no way of knowing whether her words were reported verbatim by, firstly, the Aboriginal informant and, secondly, Murray-Prior.

seriously injured in the attack, having sustained three spear wounds and four wounds from nullah nullah blows. He

him we
which

and, f
callin
presen
known
Bank;
had al
noise
number

and co
them b
They t
the st
boxes

54.

55.

56.

Giv
describer

Baulie did not want to harm her, but the men behind him were angry and anxious to get on with the business for which they had come.⁵⁴

By this time, Sylvester had regained consciousness and, from his hiding place under his bed, heard his mother calling the names of several Aborigines, asking if they were present. Sylvester knew some of the attackers: one was known as Jacky and had once worked as a servant at Hornet Bank; another was Little Jacky; a third was Bobby; and he had already recognised the voice of Baulie. Judging by the noise which they were making he guessed the attackers numbered about 100.⁵⁵

Martha and her daughters were induced to go outside and collected in a group, and in return to questions put to them by Martha, the blacks promised to spare their lives. They then commenced to plunder the station, breaking into the store and seizing the firearms and ammunition, opening boxes and taking anything they thought valuable.⁵⁶

54. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.30-31. Murray-Prior says that he learned the Aborigines' side of the story from a young station black whom he picked up at Taroom a year after the massacre as a guide across the "Capsius Plains and the Dawson River to Kinnoul - no great distance, somewhere about 16 miles". The young man was very communicative and as they travelled gave him details of the attack. I have not used the pidgin English used by Murray-Prior but have approximated it in English. Nothing in this account disagrees with the facts as revealed by other observers, particularly Sylvester Fraser. Murray-Prior was convinced that the young man who gave him this account had witnessed the detailed scenes he described. When they reached Kinnoul, Miles was angry with him for having brought this Aborigine to Kinnoul, describing him as a "regular bad one".

55. MBFP, 18 November 1857.

56. Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857; also MBFP, 18 November 1857.

be del
treat
elder
all th
Sylves
shriek

been p
their
that t
the vic
Bernan
up. Ca
Aborig
back d
and lo
distan
Whitef
as they
fight
the las
househ
sheep,

attack
bed.
ached
clothe
loaded
could

57.

58.

desire fo
these fee

After some time the attackers retired and appeared to be deliberating as to how the women and children were to be treated. At length they returned and Martha and the two elder girls, Elizabeth, 19, and Mary, 11, were raped. Then all the children were killed. Martha was the last to die. Sylvester could only lie where he was, listening to the shrieking as each was battered to death.⁵⁷

The sun rose at 5.22 a.m. The two hired hands who had been paid off the previous day had either slept well in their hut or they had heard what happened and, surmising that they had not been detected, remained quiet throughout the violence. The commotion had died down when Newman and Bernangl emerged from their shelter. The sun was now well up. Cautiously they approached the house, seeing no Aborigines. One was braver than the other: he reached the back door, where a coolamon used for washing was hanging, and looked in. At the same time, he was spotted from a distance. Some of the raiding party rushed back crying, Whitefellow! Whitefellow! They caught Newman and Bernangl as they raced back to their hut. Bernangl put up a strong fight before both were killed. Half an hour after sunrise the last of the Aborigines left Hornet Bank with clothing, household articles and weapons and, scattering many of the sheep, took at least 100 with them.⁵⁸

A quarter of an hour later, when he was sure that the attackers had finally gone, Sylvester crawled from under his bed. He was terribly gashed on the head; his arms and legs ached from the blows but he managed to pull on some clothes. The pistol which he had tried to use lay fully loaded on the floor. He picked it up and moved as best he could out of the room and found the body of James lying

57. MBFP, 18 November 1857; also Wiseman, 16 November 1857; and Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

58. Murray-Prior, pp.30-31; also Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857, and William Miles, deposition, North Australian, 8 December 1857.

between th
of his mot
was comple
bodies of
bodies but
for the ri
miles away

By c
who by nov
bands and
their esta
people. M
along the
moving slo
them. Nor
about 11 a
way, but i
there were
be treated

At a
Euro
appa
lack
thei
reco
agil

Sylv
at home.
working on
listened t

59. Sylv
1857
Nov
Quee

60. Sylv
1857
was
and

the encour

between the kitchen and the house. Near it were the bodies of his mother and sisters. He went though the house, which was completely sacked. On the verandah he found the naked bodies of John and David. He did not stop to examine any bodies but, without hat and boots, pistol in hand, he made for the river and, following it, set out for Eurombah 10 miles away.⁵⁹

By chance he did not encounter any of the attackers who by now would have been breaking up into their familial bands and separating as they headed for the various parts of their estate to rejoin their women, children and old people. Many of them, however, were moving eastwards, some along the river. Because they were droving sheep, some were moving slowly and Sylvester ran the risk of overtaking them. Nonetheless he reached Eurombah without incident at about 11 a.m. Willie Yaldwyn describes his arrival this way, but in view of William Cardew's later statement that there were no spare men at Eurombah, this description must be treated with reserve.

At a long table outside their hut, the shearers at Eurombah were busy at their morning meal when an apparition with blood-matted hair, stained face and lack-lustre eyes came staggering into their midst, to their no small consternation, for no one could recognise in the object the erstwhile bright face and agile form of the well-known Wessie Fraser.⁶⁰

Sylvester's objective was to see Boulton, who was not at home. But Pollet Cardew's nephew, William Clare Cardew, working on the station at the time, was there. Young Cardew listened to Sylvester's story and then set about checking

59. Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857; also, Wiseman, 16 November 1857; MBFP, 18 November 1857; Queensland Times and Hurd in The Queenslander, 1 February 1919.

60. Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857; and Randell, p.75. Willie Yaldwyn apparently was not present when Sylvester arrived at Eurombah, and so this description must be hearsay.

the out-sta
whether the
rapidly. R
heard the n
superintend
ask for ass
were not su
to Hornet B
which no do
request was
him to Will
station to
and, arrang
procure hor

When
found an ap
near the st
Then they s
other child
brothers on
stockyard.
waddies and
having bloc

61. Sylve
1857;
made
with
1858.

62. Miles
8 Dec
1857;
1858;
17 Fe
asked
29 De
Colin
to N
Macle
work
the K
Kinne
Memor

the out-stations of Eurombah and possibly Hornet Bank to see whether the shepherds were safe.⁶¹ Meanwhile, word spread rapidly. Returning to Eurombah from Juandah, Thomas Boulton heard the news along the road from Simpson, Yaldwyn's superintendent at Taloom, where Boulton went immediately to ask for assistance, apparently because he believed there were not sufficient men at Eurombah to make up a party to go to Hornet Bank and also leave others to protect Eurombah, which no doubt he feared would next be attacked. Boulton's request was refused. At Eurombah he saw Sylvester and took him to William Miles who was renting Kinnoul, the nearest station to the east. Miles immediately stopped his shearing and, arranging for five men to follow as soon as they could procure horses, hastened to Hornet Bank.⁶²

When they arrived that evening, Miles and Boulton found an appalling scene. Entering through the slip-panel near the stockyard they saw the body of Jane, aged nine. Then they saw the bodies of Martha Fraser, "Lizzy" and two other children between the house and the kitchen, the brothers on the verandah and then Mary's body near the stockyard. Because of the number of nullah-nullahs or waddies and tomahawks strewn about, some of them broken and having blood and hair on them, they surmised that a large

61. Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857; also William Clare Cardew, sworn declaration made at Palm Tree Creek, 17 February 1858, enclosed with a letter from Pollett Cardew to Wickham, 13 March 1858.

62. Miles and Boulton depositions, North Australian, 8 December 1857; Miles to Col. Sec., 4 November 1857; William Fraser to North Australian, 9 February 1858; and William Cardew, Palm Tree Creek, 17 February 1858. Yaldwyn later denied Boulton had asked for assistance at Hornet Bank (North Australian, 29 December 1857). William Miles was born at Colinton, Midlothian, Scotland, 5 May 1817, and came to N.S.W. in 1837, working for six years in the Macleay River district; between 1844 and 1853 he worked in the New England district and moved stock to the Dawson in 1853. From 1857 to 1861 he was renting Kinnoul from Miller and Turnbull. (Note in Oxley Memorial Library photographic file.)

number of Aborigines had taken part in the attack. For the first time, Sylvester saw the body of James Neagle lying in his room behind the kitchen. Near their hut were the bodies of Newman and Bernangl, partly dressed. The remaining shepherds on Hornet Bank, on becoming aware of the disaster, soon deserted their posts and fled.⁶³

Thomas Moore, one of Miles' shearers, saw that the store had been broken into and all the rations taken. The furniture and household effects were "in a terrible state".⁶⁴ All the clothes appeared to have been taken. Among them were two red-flannel jumpers and two blue ones and also a waistcoat made in a peculiar manner, which Sylvester said he would recognise again if he saw them.⁶⁵

Inspecting the bodies, Miles was horrified to realise that Martha and her two elder daughters had been "violated in their persons and frightfully mangled".⁶⁶ Only one male, Neagle, had been mutilated but in a "shameful manner".⁶⁷ Blood was to be seen everywhere, even on the verandah posts "where the blacks had smeared their hands after the outrage".⁶⁸ In less than a year, Miles realised, 18 whites had now been killed on Hornet Bank or

-
63. Miles and Boulton depositions, North Australian, 8 December 1857; Sylvester Fraser, deposition, 7 November 1857; also Wiseman, Cockatoo, 16 November 1858, to CCCL; and William Fraser in a letter to the North Australian, 9 February 1858.
64. Queensland Times, 9 May 1909, quoting Thomas Moore, of Ipswich.
65. MBFP, 18 November 1857.
66. Miles, Leichhardt district, 4 November 1857, to Col. Sec., 57/4668, in Oxley Library, COL. mfm, A2/40.
67. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.29; also Miles' deposition, North Australian, 8 December 1857.
68. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.42. Murray-Prior also says (p.29) that the murderers had placed the victims "all in a row", but the statements of Sylvester Fraser and others do not indicate this.

dispersing the Dawson party. As a result three were killed and "a considerable number wounded". The conduct of the

29. Anderson, p.4. It is believed that he was also developing another station, Waterton, between Taroom and Isla, at this time.

101

Eurombah. He and Boulton and the shearers covered over the women's bodies.⁶⁹

Miles and Boulton decided that the victims should not be buried before a magisterial enquiry had been held. The nearest magistrate was William Henry Yaldwyn at Taroom, 23 miles away. At 8 p.m. that night, having completed his inspection of the out-stations and finding nothing amiss and perhaps having called at Hornet Bank before returning to Eurombah, William Cardew set out on horseback for Taroom station, arriving at about 11.30 p.m. He reported the whole affair to Yaldwyn, pointing out that the bodies still lay unburied at Hornet Bank. There were no spare men at Eurombah for this task, he said.⁷⁰

Yaldwyn understood this, but said so many of his men had absconded that he was unable to do anything. He advised young Cardew to apply to Miles at Kinnoul. Cardew was disappointed and annoyed, believing that there were a large number of shearers, washers and other men, perhaps as many as 30, at Taroom head-station at the time. He asked Yaldwyn to hold a inquest but even this was declined. Cardew returned to Eurombah next morning.⁷¹

One possible reason for Yaldwyn's attitude may have been that with his men having absconded - although William Cardew did not think this had happened - his station would have been quite unprotected in the event of another attack. His attitude brought upon him considerable odium, including

69. Miles, 4 November 1857; also Thomas Boulton, deposition, North Australian, 8 December 1857.

70. William Cardew, Palm Tree Creek, declaration, 17 February 1858.

71. William Cardew, Palm Tree Creek, declaration, 17 February 1858.

115

shed at Hornet Bank calls aloud for revenge, and we hope that it will not be long before the revenge is gratified.²⁶

a report
action

N
perform
victims
magiste
official
grave,
servant

S
charge

72. F

t
2
W
B
b
l
a
B
S
b
i
V
V
S
b
J
b
H
D
h
w
w
h
w
b
y
l
s

73. W

F
l
F

B
and a d

not of the same "tribe". Nonetheless, N.M. Pearse informed the 1858 Select Committee inquiry that the Aborigines for hundreds of miles knew that event would take place.

a report by Wiseman to the authorities, but no official action was taken.⁷²

Next day, as Sylvester watched, Boulton and Miles performed the simple "last rites of humanity", burying the victims with the help of the shearers from Kinnoul. No magisterial enquiry was held; no minister of religion officiated. The five female victims were buried in one grave, while the three brothers, the tutor and the two other servants were buried in an adjoining grave.⁷³

Second-Lieutenant Walter Powell, who had now taken charge of the Upper Dawson police detachment, heard of the

72. For the correspondence on this matter see: Wickham to the Secretary for Lands and Public Works, Sydney, 23 March 1858, enclosing statements by Pollet Cardew, W.C. Cardew and Thomas Boulton, NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 58/1125. Also, William Fraser in a bitter letter to the North Australian 9 February 1858, publicly censured Yaldwyn for his failure to assist. Born in 1801, William Henry Yaldwyn of Blackdown, Surrey, came to Victoria in 1836 and selected land at Kyneton; returned to England in 1841 but then made several more visits to Australia including 11 months on the goldfields in the Ovens Valley in the early 1850s; moved to the Dawson River Valley with his son William and purchased Taroom station in 1852. This was renamed Carrabah in 1863 because of the development of the town of Taroom. J.O. Randell, author of Yaldwyn of the Golden Spurs, believes that Yaldwyn may have failed to assist at Hornet Bank because of a desire not to get involved. Described as an "ebullient, generous and humane man", he was apparently a man who liked to be on good terms with everyone else, and so feared to offend; also he was generous to the Aborigines, whom he employed on his station. Soon after the Hornet Bank massacre, he was accused of harbouring known murderers among the blacks on his station. It was at his station that a young Jiman, aged nine or 10 years at the time, known later as Carrabah George, successfully sought sanctuary from the white avengers.

73. William Cardew, sworn statement, Palm Tree Creek, 17 February 1858; Leichhardt District Deaths Register 1858; Queensland Times, 9 May 1909; and William Fraser, North Australian, 9 February 1858.

But closer to the frontier the feeling was of loathing and a desire for revenge. The Drayton Correspondent of the

32. Se
33. Se
No

massacr
pursuit
westwar
Aborigi
the whi
band tr
where t
by "pre
have to
river".
Hornet
had use

B
they ca
river.
brought
dismoun
scrub a
great g
though
before.
as the
opened
fall.⁷⁶

T
quickly
darknes

74. M
O

75. M

76. M
C
c
i
a
r
t

W
the Fra

32. Serocold, memoirs, p.24.
33. Serocold, letter to the Sydney Morning Herald, 30 November 1857.

massacre on the second day and immediately set out in pursuit. His troopers soon picked up a track which led westwards⁷⁴ Having assumed that Sylvester was dead, the Aborigines probably believed that the massacre was unknown to the whites and that they were in no immediate danger. The band tracked by Powell's men were making for rugged country where the Dawson runs through a gorge, edged on both sides by "precipitous rocks on the top of which a horseman would have to ride for miles before he could get down to the river". Once inside this gorge, 10 miles upstream from Hornet Bank, they could expect to be safe. For years they had used this as a place to hide.⁷⁵

Before sunset on the second day after the massacre they camped in an open place in the scrub, not far from the river. One of them, a former trooper, had a rifle and brought down a crow from a tree. Powell and his men dismounted, left their horses behind, crawled through the scrub and got close to them undetected. "They were having great games", Murray-Prior said later. "Some were going though a hideous travesty of the doings of the night before." One of the police covered the man with the rifle as the others selected their targets. On a signal, they opened fire. The man who had shot the crow was the first to fall.⁷⁶

The sun had just gone down and darkness was descending quickly. The remainder of the band, under cover of darkness, fled into the surrounding scrub and the broken

74. Morisset, Maryborough, 11 January 1858, to Wickham in Oxley Library mfm COL. A2/39, 58/650.
75. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.28.
76. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.28-29; also Wiseman, Cockatoo, 16 November 1857; Willie Yaldwyn corroborates Murray-Prior's description of this incident (Randel', p.76). Murray-Prior was wrong about the day on which this happened; the official records show that Powell's men came upon this band on the evening of 28 October.

When Cowper was questioned in the N.S.W. Parliament on the Fraser massacre he mentioned that on becoming Colonial

19
mf
pp
country
behind
and the
taking
for 10
returni
Kinnoul

O
Native
Creek f
Immedia
hiring
some of
some of
McDonal
property
11,000

77. Mu
11
mf
Da
29
in
In
in
wh
di
ho
lu
mo
wh
ra
Gu
re
Me
ma
tw
29
Na
le
si
(E
Ro

an outr
were sup

country where the police horses could not follow. They left behind five dead and three wounded, most of their plunder and the sheep. Powell and his men returned to Eurombah, taking the sheep with them. Powell followed up the tracks for 10 days, without again encountering Aborigines, before returning to the police barracks between Eurombah and Kinnoul.⁷⁷

On hearing of the disaster, Thomas Ross the suspended Native Police officer who had been languishing at Palm Tree Creek for the past month, acted quickly and decisively. Immediately he proceeded towards Hornet Bank, on the way hiring men, partly at his own expense and partly at that of some of the neighbours, and collected scattered sheep and some of the discarded plunder. Boulton and a man named McDonald pointed out to him the location of some of this property. The neighbours helped to recover most of the 11,000 Hornet Bank sheep which had been left to wander after

77. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.28; Morisset, Maryborough, 11 January 1858, to Wickham, 58/650, in Oxley Library mfm COL. A2/39; also MBFP, 18 November 1857. Walter David Tayler-Powell was born at Bampton, Oxfordshire, 25 March 1831, son of an archdeacon, who later settled in Madras, India, in 1839 as a chaplain to the East India Company. Walter Powell served as a midshipman in the merchant marine, arriving in Melbourne in 1852, where he left the ship and went to the Victorian diggings, but after suffering dysentery, he shipped home. Returning to Melbourne in 1853, he tried his luck at the diggings again, but soon joined the mounted gold escort and remained until September 1855, when he left for England via Shanghai; but the ship ran onto a reef among the Louisiade Islands, near New Guinea, and Powell and the crew took to the long boat, reaching Cape Grafton, near the present-day Cairns. Menaced by Aborigines and sharks, the party slowly made its way down the coast in the long boat during two months of near-starvation, reaching Port Curtis on 25 November 1855. The officer then in charge of the Native Police at Port Curtis, Lieutenant John Murray, learning of Powell's escort experience, promptly signed him up as a Second-Lieutenant in the Force. (From Bird, J.T.S., Early History of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, 1904, pp.189-195.)

an outrage the murderers had fled to stations where they were supposed to be perfectly quiet.³⁵

the sheep
of the s
he had h
him, Ros
until Wi

78. Wi
an

for bla
recognis

spelling may have been a mistake by the informant Wiseman; if the man was a German, as most sources agree, then the spelling Bernangl, not Bernangle, appears more probably correct.

42. Que

105

the shepherds there had deserted, but Ross saw to the safety of the sheep. Serocold sent his overseer and three men whom he had hired specially for the task to do what, unknown to him, Ross had already done. Ross took charge of the station until William Fraser returned from Ipswich.⁷⁸

Sy
his ride
become p
miles, a
three da
Pollet C
Eurombah
much of
inform W
is addre
Sylveste
probably
taking t

Th
official
of the na
some eve
from a s
not all c
some disc
required

The
Eurombah
Hornet B
depositio
taken up

1. Can
Col
Can
whi
the
Syl
pre
mas
hav

⁷⁸. William Fraser, North Australian, 9 February 1858; and Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

119

for blackfellows". Powell said two of the men were recognised by William Fraser as having been at Hornet

an
wh
su

CHAPTER 5 : DAYS OF ANGER

Sylvester Fraser, known as West, Westy or Wessie, and his ride to Ipswich to inform William of the tragedy has become part of Queensland folklore. The distance was 320 miles, and it is claimed that he covered it on horseback in three days. Some writers assume that he was accompanied by Pollet Cardew, but there is no evidence that Cardew was at Eurombah at the time of the massacre. Pollet Cardew spent much of his time at Ipswich; certainly he was the first to inform Wickham officially of the disaster, but his message is addressed from Brisbane and encloses a deposition made by Sylvester before magistrates in Ipswich.¹ Pollet Cardew probably rode to Brisbane, a distance of about 25 miles, taking the deposition with him.

This chapter deals with the immediate reaction of officials and others to the Hornet Bank massacre. Because of the nature of the sources, it must appear episodic and some events are difficult to date, so that some variation from a strictly chronological narrative is necessary. Also, not all of the material is necessarily accurate, so that some discussion of the individuals involved and sources is required.

The dates on which Sylvester left Hornet Bank or Eurombah and arrived at Ipswich are not known: he was at Hornet Bank on 28 October for the burial and he signed a deposition at Ipswich on 7 November; thus he could have taken up to 10 days to make the trip. Expert opinion is

1. Cardew to Wickham, Brisbane 7 November 1857, in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle 4/719.2 58/1125. Pollet Cardew seems to have had business interests in Ipswich which kept him there most of his time. Denholm, thesis, p.346, claims that Pollet Cardew rode with Sylvester, but there is no mention of his being present on the Dawson in the months before the Fraser massacre; and his continued absence would explain his having a superintendent there.

that he c
that the
hours a d
of horse
favourabl
southern
which was
because f
doubt tha
reactio
were brok
blow to h
two days
trip in t
and its w

Wil
his bullo
Wilson an
up and br
after suc
Recoverin
preparati
to Pollet
friend, M
William a
Dawson, p

The
the Moret

2. Thi
of
Mal
198

3. Que
on
lif
fam
not

answer was, 'Shoot them'. One was accordingly shot, why the other was spared I know not, possibly the supply of cartridges was running low.

magistra
think it

that latitude lasts about 35 minutes.

46. Murray-Prior, p.30.
47. Serocold, SMH, 30 November 1857.

107

that he could have made the ride in three days, provided that the weather was favourable, that he could manage many hours a day and that he was frequently provided with changes of horse at stations along the way.² The weather was favourable: after the extensive rains early in the year, southern Queensland was experiencing a severe dry spell which was threatening crops; he could ride at night, because full moon occurred on 2 November; and there is no doubt that in the circumstances fresh horses would have been readily offered. His injuries were not severe; no bones were broken and although his scalp was scarred for life, the blow to his head had not seriously disabled him in the first two days after the attack. Apparently Westy did make the trip in three days - the Queensland Times said this in 1909 and its writer, T.J. Barker, had interviewed William.

William, known as Billy Fraser, was on top of one of his bullock-drays loading them from the stores of G.H. Wilson and Co. in East Street, Ipswich, when Sylvester rode up and broke the news. Sylvester was "fearfully affected" after such a strenuous ride. William became frantic. Recovering himself, he left Wilson's yard, and after making preparations for the return, and having made the statement to Pollet Cardew, they rode to the home of their old family friend, Mrs Malcolm McLean, to bid her "good-bye"; then William and Sylvester galloped off on the road to the Dawson, probably leaving on 8 or 9 November.³

The news of the tragedy had spread like wild-fire over the Moreton Bay district, everyone sympathising with the

2. This opinion is expressed by Robert Sample, Secretary of the Australian Endurance Riding Association, of Maleny, Queensland, in a letter to the author, 26 May 1980. Mr Sample has ridden in the Upper Dawson.
3. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909. This article was based on an interview with William Fraser apparently late in life at the home of Mrs Malcolm McLean, the old Fraser family friend, in Ipswich; but date of interview is not given.

121

magistrates in the neighbourhood and forwarded, I did not think it necessary to do so a second time."⁴⁵

the
obta
T.J.
in t
"Red

brothers.
stopped l
correspon

On
where Wil
Daandine
his retur
three oth
the annal
forth the
of those
William a
to bring
because h
measures
Dawson wi
possible
letter, Co
brothers.
statement
done.⁵

The
horses aga
stopping-p
graveside
tomahawk i
until he h
was the ca

The
Walker, W
on 1 Novem

4. Quee
5. MBF
6. Quee

word, you
Murray-Pr

the North Australian on 8 December 1857. More can be obtained from Murray-Prior's memoirs and also from T.J. Barker's interview with William Fraser, published in the Queensland Times, 7 May 1909, under the byline "Red Gum".

108

brothers.⁴ They passed through Drayton, where they stopped long enough for Sylvester to be interviewed by the correspondent of the Moreton Bay Free Press.

On 9 November William and Sylvester reached Dalby, where William wrote an urgent appeal to Charles Coxen of Daandine station, the first magistrate whom he had met on his return from Ipswich. The massacre of his family and three others was "a calamity, I believe, unprecedented in the annals of Australian history, and as such should call forth the most stringent and energetic measures on the part of those who represent the Government in these districts". William added that if Coxen had no power to act he asked him to bring the subject to the notice of the Government, because he was convinced that "unless the most stringent measures are resorted to, the aboriginals of the Upper Dawson will only be encouraged to perpetrate similar, and if possible more terrible, atrocities". After receiving this letter, Coxen had an interview next day with the Fraser brothers. He said he was powerless to act but took a statement from Sylvester and said he would see what could be done.⁵

The brothers reached Hornet Bank in three days, fresh horses again being made ready for them at each stopping-place. William's first action was to go to the graveside of his mother and sisters. With an uplifted tomahawk in his hand, he vowed that he would never rest until he had sunk it into the head of the blackfellow who was the cause of the murders.⁶

The victims of the other attack of that fatal night, Walker, Wiggins and Jemmy Sandeman, reached Palm Tree Creek on 1 November after a ride of 120 miles. Walker had been

4. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

5. MBFP, 18 November 1857.

6. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

122

word, you make a good wife for me. According to Murray-Prior, Jerry was a pet at Taroona station.

Murray-Prior's
English name
she d
were
infor

seriously
spear wound
had suffered
companions
had rallied
found a Dr
recovering
Myall Jem
police und

On r
Lieutenant
Wondai Gun
available
Premier ar
that every
of the out

Up n
returning
news of th
Cockatoo o
before pro
which were
but Scott

7. Ser

8. Mur
Col.

9. Wick
NSA,

10. Wise
in N
Scot
he w
Wise
pres
Rock

11. Wise

Murray-Prior
because o

55. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.30-31. I have not used Murray-Prior's exact words because he uses pidgin English which Martha Fraser may not have used or if she did there is no way of knowing whether her words were reported verbatim by, firstly, the Aboriginal informant and, secondly, Murray-Prior.

seriously injured in the attack, having sustained three spear wounds and four wounds from nullah nullah blows. He had suffered spasms and difficulty in breathing and his companions had feared that the wounds were mortal, but he had rallied next morning. At Palm Tree Creek station, they found a Dr Aldred. By 10 November Walker and Wiggins were recovering.⁷ The leaders of this attack, Peawaddy and Myall Jemmy (also known as Tommy) were later shot by the police under Powell.⁸

On receiving Cardew's letter, Wickham had instructed Lieutenants John Murray at Port Curtis and Francis Nicoll at Wondai Gumbul to proceed to the area at once with all available force at their disposal. He also informed the Premier and Colonial Secretary, Charles Cowper, who replied that every effort should be made to punish the perpetrators of the outrage.⁹

Up north, Andrew Scott and William Wiseman had been returning to the district together when they had received news of the disaster from a messenger.¹⁰ They reached Cockatoo on 16 November. Wiseman was forced to stay there before proceeding to Hornet Bank in order to rest his horses which were "fatigued" by 17 days of continuous travelling, but Scott pressed on.¹¹

7. Serocold, SM, 30 November 1857.
8. Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset, in Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2.
9. Wickham to Col. Sec., 11 November 1857, 57/4578 in NSA, Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2.
10. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 16 November 1857, to CCCL, Sydney, in NSA, Col. Sec. Special Bundle 4/719.2; also Andrew Scott to SMH, 8 January 1858. Scott merely says that he was a considerable distance from home at the time; Wiseman says that he had ridden hard for 17 days, but presumably since starting the journey perhaps from Rockhampton.
11. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

Murray-Prior slept badly that night at Yaldwyn's homestead, because of the great heat. At one stage he was

Givi
described
massacres
Wiseman st
"scarcely
subdued an
superiors.
had been h
Palm Tree
might soon
very sever
Aborigines
Burnett di
involved i
were treac
whom they
"Severity
save the l
when large
murder was
immense as
the Upper

Wise
he had gra
propriety
these fine
received m
news has o
indignatio
The settle
detestation

12. Wise
13. Wise
had
were

12 miles
that he

55. MBFP, 18 November 1857.
56. Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857; also MBFP, 18 November 1857.

58.

110

Giving his first report on the tragedy, Wiseman described it as one of the most atrocious and wholesale massacres in Australian records. As on previous occasions, Wiseman stated his conviction that the Aborigines would "scarcely cease these outrages" before they were effectively subdued and taught to believe that the whites were their superiors. There were rumours, he said, that the Aborigines had been heard to threaten that John Scott and his family at Palm Tree Creek would be the next victims, and he felt there might soon be another massacre unless they were to receive a very severe lesson. He reported that a very large body of Aborigines had assembled about 40 miles from Cockatoo in the Burnett district. Wiseman was sure that many of those involved in the Hornet Bank massacre were among them, and were treacherously receiving kindness from the whites with whom they had taken refuge in this more settled district. "Severity with these would be in the end mercy and might save the lives of many white people." Wiseman said that when large numbers of Aborigines collected, plunder and then murder was the result. Such had been the result of the immense assemblage of blacks which he had seen last June on the Upper Dawson.¹²

Wiseman had known the Frasers for 12 or 13 years and he had gradually become attached to them because of their propriety of conduct and respectability. He had known "all these fine children" from their earliest days and had received much kindness from them on many occasions. "This news has overwhelmed me with feelings of grief, horror and indignations such as I hoped could never affect me."¹³ The settlers were united in their "sorrow for the victims, detestation of the ferocious treachery of the savages and a

12. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

13. Wiseman, 16 November 1857. This suggests that Wiseman had known the Frasers since 1846, that is when they were at Jimbour.

desire for
these feel

When
two Fraser
warrants fo
issued and
Eurombah,
ingest had
had visited
unburied.¹⁵

There
were doing
Scott part
mounted to
settlers ha
and Auburn
establish c
away from t

Secor
days of pur

14. Wisem

15. Wisem
Bundl

16. Jean
n.d.,
n.d.
this
Histo
princ
Scott
to vi
Queer
house
accep
"hist

17. Murra
Col.
57/49

124

12 miles from Wondai Gumbul, the officer telling him then

recruited.

57. MBFP, 18 November 1857; also Wiseman, 16 November 1857; and Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.
58. Murray-Prior, pp.30-31; also Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857, and William Miles, deposition, North Australian, 8 December 1857.

111

desire for revenge", he said. He deeply sympathised with these feelings.¹⁴

When Wiseman reached Hornet Bank, he found that the two Frasers and Andrew Scott were absent. He heard that warrants for the apprehension of the murderers had been issued and so took no further action. On his way there, at Eurombah, however, he had heard from Thomas Boulton that no inquest had been held on the bodies and that no magistrate had visited the scene of slaughter while the bodies were unburied.¹⁵

There is no doubt what Scott and the Fraser brothers were doing at this time. After returning to Hornet Bank, Scott participated in the punitive expeditions already being mounted to hunt down the murderers.¹⁶ In mid-November the settlers had formed a party and were patrolling the Dawson and Auburn districts. Their objective, they said, was to establish confidence among the men who were daily running away from their employers.¹⁷

Second-Lieutenant Powell returned to Eurombah after 10 days of pursuing the Hornet Bank attackers, but apart from

14. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.
15. Wiseman, 2 December 1857, NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2.
16. Jean Bull, Historic Queensland Homesteads, Brisbane, n.d., quoting Andrew Robert Scott in Queensland Life, n.d. The same remarks about Scott's involvement in this white retribution are made in Matthew Fox's History of Queensland, pp.264-65, in which the principal informant would have been Andrew Robert Scott, eldest son of Andrew Scott. Fox's method was to visit the principal pastoral properties of Queensland in 1919 and interview the head of the household on the history of the family. He would then accept five pounds payment for a volume of his "history" not yet printed.
17. Murray-Prior, Pearce Serocold, McArthur and Pigott to Col. Sec., NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2, 57/4995.

125

recruited. They protested against the employment of any

60. Sylv
1857
was
and

the encount
It can be a
horses, he
and perhaps
killers. F
while both
taken from
Fraser was
this purpos
he could fi
there is no
commissione
Police almo

Powel
five weeks
with which
expected da
Fraser brot
worried abo
Nicoll had
days' ride
accompany t
charge of t
Nicoll even
they report
Lieutenant

18. Skinn
Skinn
presu
by me

19. Weste
infor
famil

same year

60. Sylvester Fraser, deposition, Ipswich, 7 November 1857; and Randell, p.75. Willie Yaldwyn apparently was not present when Sylvester arrived at Eurombah, and so this description must be hearsay.

112

the encounter on the first day, his efforts were futile.¹⁸ It can be assumed that after Powell had rested his men and horses, he set out again, this time with the two Frasers, and perhaps Scott at first, in another hunt for the killers. Presumably Sylvester was taken as an eye-witness, while both Frasers would have been able to identify property taken from Hornet Bank. It was later claimed that William Fraser was granted a commission in the Native Police for this purpose. Morisset had four authorised positions which he could fill with temporary officers in emergencies, but there is no official record that Fraser was then so commissioned, although he was commissioned in the Native Police almost 10 years later.¹⁹

Powell had little official assistance in the first five weeks after the massacre. He had only six troopers with which to follow up the culprits, but more troopers were expected daily. No doubt he welcomed the assistance of the Fraser brothers, who were thirsting for revenge and were not worried about any brutalities committed by the police. Nicoll had sent eight troopers from Wondai Gumbul, three days' ride from Hornet Bank, but oddly did not himself accompany them. Thomas Ross, although suspended, had taken charge of them and they were out with William Fraser when Nicoll eventually reached Hornet Bank. On their return, they reported having shot nine Aborigines. Second-Lieutenant William Moorhead of Wondai Gumbul, however, was

18. Skinner, Police of the Pastoral Frontier, p.276-77. Skinner gives as his source for this QSA NMP B/J1, presumably NMP-J1, but this document was not located by me.
19. Western Star, 7 November 1914. Presumably the information on William Fraser's career came from his family living then in Roma.

126

same year he said in another letter to the Colonial

COIN
to N.
Macle
worke
the D
Kinno
Memor

soon on the
several mor

Sub-L

Dawson at t
brought up
and followe
be the trac
three or fo
as part of
Robert Walk
Rockhampton
him from th
the Fraser

Carr

Lower Dawso
Auburn and
Rawbelle st
same distan
large group
the hut of
arrived a f
were in gre
commit some
police. Be
off the run

20. Murra
also,
Wickh
Moorh
the V
Nativ
p.14)

21. Carr
ident
the F

22. Wisem

of the maki

Colinton, Midlothian, Scotland, 5 May 1817, and came to N.S.W. in 1837, working for six years in the Macleay River district; between 1844 and 1853 he worked in the New England district and moved stock to the Dawson in 1853. From 1857 to 1861 he was renting Kinnoul from Miller and Turnbull. (Note in Oxley Memorial Library photographic file.)

soon on the scene. Moorhead's force killed and wounded several more.²⁰

Sub-Lieutenant F.W. Carr was stationed on the Lower Dawson at the time of the Hornet Bank murders. He was brought up to the Upper Dawson four or five days afterwards, and followed tracks from another station, "knowing them to be the tracks of the blacks concerned" in the murders, shot three or four who had in their possession clothes identified as part of the Hornet Bank plunder.²¹ Second-Lieutenant Robert Walker and five troopers had been summoned from Rockhampton to Joseph Thompson's Camboon property to protect him from the Aborigines which had been threatening him since the Fraser murders.²²

Carr had brought up his detachment from Banana on the Lower Dawson to assist in controlling the situation in the Auburn and Burnett districts. On 2 December he arrived at Rawbelle station, 50 miles east of the Dawson and about the same distance north of Redbank on the Auburn. He found a large group of Aborigines from the Dawson encamped around the hut of the squatter, Berry, who told him they had arrived a few days previously. Berry and his companions were in great dread of the Aborigines whom they feared would commit some outrage if they were not dispersed by the police. Berry had already tried unsuccessfully to warn them off the run. With his four troopers, Carr set about

-
20. Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset; also, Morisset, Maryborough, 11 January 1858, to Wickham, 58/650, in Oxley Library mfm COL. A2/39. Moorhead had been a soldier in India, then adjutant to the Volunteer Artillery in Sydney before joining the Native Police (Morisset to 1861 Select Committee, p.14).
21. Carr to 41 Enquiry, p.129. He does not say who identified the plunder. Carr had been appointed to the Force on 8 May 1857.
22. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

68. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.42. Murray-Prior also says (p.29) that the murderers had placed the victims "all in a row", but the statements of Sylvester Fraser and others do not indicate this.

114

dispersing the Dawson people. As a result three were killed and "a considerable number wounded". The conduct of the troopers, he reported, was not satisfactory.²³

The actions of the troopers were supported by a public reaction which was almost unanimously one of disgust and vengefulness; the frontier settlers demanded "retributive justice" and that if the authorities did not quickly punish the murderers more such outrages would be committed. As early as 11 November, William Miles had written to Cowper saying that unless more steps were taken to protect the settlers on the Dawson, the district would have to be abandoned or they could all expect to be slaughtered.²⁴ In a highly emotional letter to the Sydney Morning Herald written on 10 November, George Serocold said it was evident that other stations would be attacked. John Scott of Palm Tree Creek had received notice that his was to be the next. The attack on the Frasers cried to heaven for revenge, he said. He opposed mercy being shown to the murderers. If no active measures were immediately adopted by the Government, there would be a squatters' crusade as soon as the shearing finished. In one year, he said, 20 people had been murdered on the Upper Dawson, the population of which did not exceed 180 whites.²⁵

The Brisbane press was of two minds about how to react to the Hornet Bank disaster. The Moreton Bay Free Press, demanded that the perpetrators of these deeds should be taught that they could not commit these crimes with impunity.

If the arm of the law is unable to reach them, the most extreme measures should be resorted to in order to inflict the most wholesome and salutary punishment. The blood of the innocent and virtuous

23. Carr, Rawbelle, 3 December, to Murray.
24. Miles, 4 November, to Col. Sec., in Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/40.
25. Serocold, SMH, 30 November 1857.

128

their desperation, pulled up hollow reeds, such as grow on margins of lagoons, and, with one end in their mouths and the other

17
71. Wi
17

sh
ho
gr

Th
hostilit
sufferer
against
whole tr

Le
ou
by
pe
of
di

Th
all resp
which th
justifie
shown th
robbery
such of
Without
children
not be s

Th
Governme
Force, l
squatter
country.
quickly,
settlers
officers

26. MB
27. MB
28. MB

incident
Aborigi

71. William Cardew, Palm Tree Creek, declaration,
17 February 1858.

shed at Hornet Bank calls aloud for revenge, and we hope that it will not be long before the revenge is gratified.²⁶

The Moreton Bay Courier, while deeply deploring these hostilities of race and sincerely sympathising with the sufferers, was prepared, however, "to raise its voice against" any wholesale and blind attempt to exterminate a whole tribe or race.

Leaving Christianity out of the question, we pride ourselves on being a highly civilised people, governed by policy and laws in the highest degree of perfection. As such, we ought to know, that the blow of retributive justice should fall with discrimination, and on the guilty only.

The Aborigines had been treated as British subjects in all respects, save in the appropriation of their lands, in which the whites had not done them justice; "... we are not justified in killing the innocent," it said. If it could be shown that a whole tribe had combined for the purpose of robbery and murder, then the law should take its course upon such of the males as had reached the age of discretion. Without knowledge, there was no guilt and innocent women and children who were subject to the will of the males should not be sacrificed to an indiscriminating revenge.²⁷

The Courier condemned the short-sighted policy of the Government in reducing the strength of the Native Police Force, leaving exposed to the hostile tribes the adventurous squatter who was pushing out into the remote parts of the country. The Native Police Force must be re-established quickly, it said, and it might be usefully supplemented by a settlers' militia under the command of the Native Police officers.²⁸

26. MBFP, 18 November 1857.

27. MBC, 14 November 1857.

28. MBC, 14 November 1857.

BU
and a de
Moreton
when rea
the subs
women ar
nature w

Ly
scathing
in deali
treating
disastro
those wh
blacks w
British

Th
Herald w
atrociti
punishme
reported
Life in
of ruthl
must ado
a ooth'
into the
vengeanc
children

29. MB

30. No

31. SM

32. Be
MB

But closer to the frontier the feeling was of loathing and a desire for revenge. The Drayton Correspondent of the Moreton Bay Free Press, wrote: "Little did we imagine that when reading the horrible indecencies inflicted upon, and the subsequent butchery of, one hundred and seventy nine women and children at Cawnpore, that a tragedy of similar nature was being enacted at our very doors..."²⁹

Lyons, the editor of the Ipswich North Australian, was scathing in his comments on the Courier's call for fairness in dealing with the Aborigines. He said that: "Talk about treating the blacks as British subjects... would be disastrous and fatal in the extreme to do so and none but those who are totally ignorant of the habits of the wild blacks would ever dream of advocating such suicidal policy. British subjects indeed! British Fiddlesticks!"³⁰

The Moreton Bay correspondent of the Sydney Morning Herald wrote: "It makes one's blood boil to read of such atrocities and to think that there is little chance of punishment".³¹ On 17 November the Sydney newspapers reported the fall of Delhi to the Indian mutineers. Bell's Life in Sydney said that "in dealing with the present race of ruthless barbarians belonging to the Upper Dawson, we must adopt the motto of 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'". A blow must be struck which would carry terror into the hearts of the tribe, it said. A signal act of vengeance must follow this fearful sacrifice of women and children.³²

29. MBFP, 18 November 1857.

30. North Australian, 17 November 1857.

31. SMH, 16 November 1857.

32. Bell's Life in Sydney, 5 December 1857, quoted by the MBFP, 23 December 1857.

corroborates Murray-Prior's description of this incident (Randel', p.76). Murray-Prior was wrong about the day on which this happened; the official records show that Powell's men came upon this band on the evening of 28 October.

When Cowper was questioned in the N.S.W. Parliament on the Fraser massacre he mentioned that on becoming Colonial Secretary he had remonstrated with Wickham upon the manner in which the Native Police force was conducted. He was glad that Captain Morisset was now doing all in his power to bring the corps into a complete state of efficiency.³³ Cowper expressed the hope that Mr Morisset would advance all his available force in the Upper Dawson. "I hope to be informed ere long that these murders are effectively stopped", he wrote.³⁴

The squatters were now convinced the Aborigines of the northern frontier districts had conspired to attack the "outside" stations (that is outside the more settled districts) in the same manner as they had at Hornet Bank. They had threatened to attack the head-station at Eurombah and other widely separated stations, saying that the "white fellows" would soon be dead. Four magistrates, Murray-Prior, Serocold, McArthur and Pigott, wrote to the Colonial Secretary claiming that the late fearful murders were the result of the very small punishment which had been meted out following previous murders. The Aborigines, they felt, believed that the whites were cowards and unable to protect themselves. The Aborigines in their districts travelled over "a very great extent of country". Well-known blacks from stations near Gayndah had been seen far out beyond the stations and among the wild tribes. Each attacking band, they said, must have been led by men well acquainted with the localities. In all cases the women and children had been horribly abused. On all occasions after

33. SMH, 20 November 1857. It is not clear when Cowper had remonstrated with Wickham; he had become Premier and Colonial Secretary twice already - in August 1856 and September 1857.

34. Cowper, draft letter, 23 November 1857, in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle 4/719.2; draft in letter 57/4683.

went up and saw the bodies lying dead. The only explanation I can give is that, as St Paul says:

an outrage
were sup

Ph
3 Decemb
district
committi
in India
had been
there.
among th
Gayndah.

By
the Uppe
ordinary
pursuing
settled
till a m
had been
under hi
the dist
occurred

Ha
murderer
was at E
on 27 Nov
also thro

35. Mur
3 M
Lib

36. Wa
NSA

37. Wis

38. Wis

in
fo

an outrage the murderers had fled to stations where they were supposed to be perfectly quiet.³⁵

Philip Lamb, at Rocky Springs on the Auburn, wrote on 3 December to his brother in Sydney that the blacks in his district were harbouring the Dawson tribe who had been committing atrocities equalled only by those of the Sepoys in India. As a result, the settlers in the Burnett district had been compelled to turn all the blacks off the stations there. Lamb claimed that some of the Fraser murderers were among the tribe frequenting his station, 84 miles from Gayndah.³⁶

By 8 December, very few Aborigines appeared to be in the Upper Dawson. Wiseman believed that the more-than-ordinary activity of the squatters and Native Police in pursuing them had forced them "inwards" towards the more settled districts, where they would "lie about in security till a more favourable period".³⁷ By 10 December, Powell had been reinforced by 10 troopers making a total of 17 under his orders. Wiseman felt that this number would keep the district fully protected. No further outrages had occurred to that date.³⁸

Having heard that a large number of the Fraser murderers were collected near Taroom station, Powell, who was at Eurombah at the time, came upon the camp at daylight on 27 November. In dispersing them "three Blacks were shot, also three gins, as they were running away, were mistaken

35. Murray-Prior, Serocold, McArthur, Pigott, Bungaban, 3 December 1857, to Col. Sec., 57/4995, in Oxley Library, COL, mfm, A2/39.

36. Walter Lamb, Sydney, 14 December 1857, to Col. Sec., NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle 4/719.2, 57/5004.

37. Wiseman, Bungaban, 8 December 1857.

38. Wiseman, 8 December 1857.

for black
recognis
Bank.³⁹

Wi
Lieutenan
reached
very unea
night, th
surrounde
several o
neighbour
Billy, a
property
Walker o
shot and
statement
massacre
Cockatoo
the killi
whom, he
Eurombah

Fre
Attorney-
been prov
innocent
murdered,
magistrat

Two
mad
oth

39. Pow

40. Rob
Mur
sar
4/7

in a line with his hut. He was said to have accounted for two of the aggressors with his first rifle shot.

sold it
daughter

78. William Fraser, North Australian, 9 February 1858;
and Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

119

for blackfellows". Powell said two of the men were recognised by William Fraser as having been at Hornet Bank.³⁹

William Fraser was again with Powell and Second-Lieutenant Robert Walker, who had now joined them, when they reached King's station, Rochedale. King told them he was very uneasy about the Aboriginal camp at Juandah. That night, they rode the 17 miles to Juandah where they surrounded the camp at daylight. William Fraser identified several of the Aborigines as having been "always in the neighbourhood of Hornet Bank" and one in particular, Billy Billy, a "most notorious rascal". Fraser had discovered property which he swore had been taken from his home. Walker ordered the troopers to fire: seven Aborigines were shot and one was mortally wounded. Fraser in a sworn statement claimed that Billy Billy was concerned in the massacre of his family. Murray reported on 4 January from Cockatoo that Walker, Powell and Fraser had been involved in the killing of 11 Aboriginal men and three women, all of whom, he said, had been concerned in the recent murders at Eurombah and Hornet Bank.⁴⁰

Frederick Walker later complained to the Queensland Attorney-General that at Juandah the Aborigines, who had been proven to the satisfaction of five magistrates to be innocent of participation in any crime, were subsequently murdered, some on the verandah, some in the kitchen of a magistrate who in vain remonstrated.

Two Blacks who had by some whim been spared were then made to bury the victims, and one Ruffian said to the other, 'What shall we do with the sextons?' The

39. Powell, Taroom, 16 December 1857, to John Murray.

40. Robert Walker, Juandah, 30 December 1857, to John Murray; and Fraser, Juandah, in a sworn statement same day, both in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2.

133

sold it to G.K.E. Fairholme in September 1853.⁶ Here his daughter Rosa was born on 27 March 1857.

Syl
pre
mas
hav

ans
why
sup

Des

Fraser's
Moreton B
district
Mounted P
perpetrat
the use o
the Leich
Press war
very soon
put the l
and exter
surrounde
Dawson ma
Cowper:
outside s

Lie

Native Po
December
"Finding
evidence

41. Fre
Gen
Cor

42. SMH

43. MBF

44. Mur
Col

Ab

the Abor

Sylvester, but there is no mention of his being present on the Dawson in the months before the Fraser massacre; and his continued absence would explain his having a superintendent there.

answer was, 'Shoot them'. One was accordingly shot, why the other was spared I know not, possibly the supply of cartridges was running short.⁴¹

Despite these efforts by the Native Police with Fraser's assistance, the colonists were not satisfied. The Moreton Bay correspondent of the SMH said that nobody in the district believed that the black troopers of the Native Mounted Police would be instrumental in bringing the perpetrators of the late outrages to justice. He advocated the use of white troopers only.⁴² An unnamed pioneer of the Leichhardt district in a letter to the Moreton Bay Free Press warned that if proper protection were not afforded very soon, there would be no course for the settlers but to put the law at defiance, defend themselves and their homes, and exterminate the "black fiends by which we are surrounded".⁴³ These writers were echoing what the Upper Dawson magistrates had said in their letter of 3 December to Cowper: "Without further assistance from the Government the outside stations would most likely have to be abandoned".⁴⁴

Lieutenant John Murray, second-in-command of the Native Police, reached the Upper Dawson district late in December and visited Hornet Bank. He reported to Morisset: "Finding that all the necessary depositions and available evidence concerning the recent murders had been taken by the

41. Frederick Walker, Nulalbin, 10 July 1861, to Attorney-General, in Queensland Col. Sec. Inwards Correspondence, mfm Oxley Library, Brisbane.
42. SMH, 19 December 1857.
43. MBFP, 23 December 1857.
44. Murray-Prior, Pearce Serocold, McArthur and Pigott to Col. Sec., 57/4995, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/39.

About six weeks after the murders, Murray-Prior says, the Aborigines mustered very strongly against the

3. Quee
on a
life
fami
not

magistrat
think it

Yal
with grea
station,⁴
have beli
Powell an
Eurombah
scoundrel
to fire,
been a te
most dang
Jerry had
in 1854.
Dawson had
harassing

This
McArthur's
home, he s
you want t
was not af
spear, nul
and pistol
best. Hav
heroic sty
Mrs King,
kill her h

45. Mur
the
stat
comp
his
Mour
Jame

46. Hen

47. Mur

station a
Creek th

3. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909. This article was based on an interview with William Fraser apparently late in life at the home of Mrs Malcolm McLean, the old Fraser family friend, in Ipswich; but date of interview is not given.

4. Quee
5. MBFP
6. Quee

magistrates in the neighbourhood and forwarded, I did not think it necessary to do so a second time."⁴⁵

Yaldwyn was reported to have treated the Aborigines with great kindness and to have let them into his station,⁴⁶ but that did not save some Aborigines who may have believed themselves safe there. Murray, accompanied by Powell and Walker and their troopers, reached Taroom from Eurombah on 29 December 1857, and "finding two notorious scoundrels called 'Jerry' and 'Jackey' I ordered the police to fire, and they were both killed". Murray said Jerry had been a terror in this neighbourhood for a long time, the most dangerous person on the district. Murray believed Jerry had been the murderer of John McLaren on Isla station in 1854. Murray reported that the troopers in the Upper Dawson had behaved remarkably well through a great deal of harassing and fatiguing work.⁴⁷

This Jerry was well known. One day he had arrived at McArthur's Bungaban station and, finding John McArthur at home, he said: I hear that you are angry with me... that you want to shoot me. When McArthur agreed, Jerry said he was not afraid. He challenged McArthur to a duel - his spear, nullah-nullah and boomerang against McArthur's musket and pistol. They would soon find out which weapons were best. Having given the challenge, Jerry walked away in heroic style. The same Jerry went to Rochedale, saw Mrs King, told her that soon he would come to the station, kill her husband and steal her for his gin, adding: My

45. Murray to Morisset, 19 January 1858. Before joining the Native Police John Murray had owned a sheep station in the Wide Bay district, but he had been compelled to abandon it because of frequent attacks on his sheep by Aborigines (Narelle Taylor, "The Native Mounted Police of Queensland, 1850-90", B.A. Thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1970, p.44).

46. Henry Pearce to 1858 Select Committee, p.29.

47. Murray, Cockatoo, 4 January 1858, to Morisset.

word, you
Murray-Pri
harboured
neighbours
there. Bu
Police. W
side of a
found him
Yaldwyn, h
side of th
senior off
enough to
you must s
Jerry bolt
By just ke
them for s

Murr
not a witn
satisfacti
Jerry, how
had the op
not long a
naked and
and his co

When
weather, h
scrubbers
before vis
were lying
Aborigines
only by a
corpses",
agreeable"

48. Murr

49. Murr

station and to Redbank station at the head of the Cheltenham
Creek that they intended...

Mur
when he s

4. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.
5. MBFP, 18 November 1857.
6. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

122

word, you make a good wife for me. According to Murray-Prior, Jerry was a pet at Taroom station and was harboured there, much to the indignation of Yaldwyn's neighbours, who believed several known murderers were there. But this did not protect Jerry from the Native Police. When they arrived, they divided and followed each side of a long chain of deep waterholes in the creek. Jerry found himself trapped near Yaldwyn himself. Seizing Yaldwyn, he tried to use him as a shield, dodging on either side of the old man as they tried to shoot at him. The senior officer called to Yaldwyn: "You are quite strong enough to throw him off. If you do not, I will shoot and you must stand the risk". At this Yaldwyn got free and Jerry bolted for the creek and dived into the deep water. By just keeping his mouth above water, he managed to elude them for some time, but was at last caught and killed.

Murray-Prior, who was in the district at the time but not a witness to the events he described, had the satisfaction of informing King that Jerry was no more. Jerry, however, was not a blood-thirsty murderer. He had had the opportunity of killing John Scott of Palm Tree Creek not long after McLaren's murder when he had come upon Scott naked and defenceless, bathing in his waterhole; but Jerry and his companions did not molest him.⁴⁸

When Murray-Prior arrived at Taroom in extremely hot weather, he found that Yaldwyn had been getting in a lot of scrubbers (wild cattle). The Native Police had also shortly before visited the station. The carcasses of wild bulls were lying about the stockyard and the bodies of several Aborigines, among them Jerry's, were not far away, covered only by a number of boughs thrown over them. "All these corpses", he remarked, "did not make the atmosphere very agreeable". Nonetheless this did not deter the Jiman.

48. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.35-36.

49. Murray-Prior, pp.56-57.

136

Murray-Prior claimed later that the matter was settled
 can be said that on seeing the Jiman

11. Wisen

Murray-Pri
 because of
 he saw an
 room, and
 near the h
 fire had b
 these, Mur
 whites on

Find
 had been a
 ordered th
 Powell and
 return hom
 were at or
 much more

The
 period was
 him a lette
 him to ass
 the massacr
 Scott and T
 help in app
 barracks a
 troopers we
 Aboriginal
 Aboriginal
 arousing Ni
 raised obst
 although Sc
 being used
 camp from t

50. Murra

51. Ment
 8 Jan
 the J

was about

Wiseman says that he had ridden hard for 17 days, but presumably since starting the journey perhaps from Rockhampton.

11. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

123

Murray-Prior slept badly that night at Yaldwyn's homestead, because of the great heat. At one stage, he saw or imagined he saw an Aborigine watching him from the window of the room, and next morning learnt that a man had been spotted near the house and the tracks of two Aborigines and a camp fire had been found next morning. Such small incidents as these, Murray-Prior said, were quite sufficient to keep the whites on the watch "after the Fraser affair".

Finding that the Aborigines concerned in the outrages had been allowed up to some of the stations, John Murray ordered their dispersion, orders which were ably executed by Powell and Walker. When Murray left the Upper Dawson to return home to Port Curtis, he claimed that no Aborigines were at or near any of the stations and the "inhabitants much more confident in their safety for the future".⁵⁰

The behaviour of Lieutenant Francis Nicoll during this period was strange. One of the Royds of Juandah had sent him a letter at Wondai Gumbul soon after the murders asking him to assist, but he took no notice.⁵¹ Three weeks after the massacre, following his return to the district, Andrew Scott and Thomas Ross rode to Wondai Gumbul to seek Nicoll's help in apprehending the murderers. They reached the police barracks at 11 a.m. and found Nichol still in bed; the troopers were lolling on the ground with gins and other Aboriginal males; the whole camp was like that of an Aboriginal camp in the scrubs. Scott had difficulty in arousing Nicoll's interest in the recent murders. Nicoll raised obstacles to action, such as the lack of horses, although Scott had counted 15 in the yard; another six were being used to convey blankets and other requirements to the camp from the township. Scott saw Nicoll three days later

50. Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset.

51. Mentioned by Andrew Scott in his letter to the SMH, 8 January 1858. Scott does not say which Royds sent the letter to Nicoll but it may have been E.M. Royds.

137

was about 50 miles distant. On the second day out they came

13. Wisem
had k
were

12 miles f
that he wo
had farewe
for England
having fare
immediately
They waited
seven days
began the s
officer, Th
arrived a c
"told a wo
bush".⁵²

Accor
work since
had been ta
supply of s
Condamine P
of four mil
the Hornet
never made
merely shru
affair."⁵³

Scott
inducing fu
Native Poli
one known a
begging for
Toby, was w
murders at
in all the

52. Andre

53. Henry
May 1
Coxen

station...

13. Wiseman, 16 November 1857. This suggests that Wiseman had known the Frasers since 1846, that is when they were at Jimbour.

accept
"histo
17. Murray
Col. S
57/498

124

12 miles from Wondai Gumbul, the officer telling him then that he would personally go to the Dawson, but only after he had farewelled a friend, Mr Lester, who was about to leave for England. Three days later Nicoll returned to barracks having farewelled his friend, but instead of departing immediately for the Dawson, he sent his troopers on ahead. They waited at Hornet Bank for him to follow but eventually, seven days from Scott's first interview with Nicoll, they began the search for the attackers without waiting for their officer, Thomas Ross having taken charge of them. Nicoll arrived a day after the troopers had left Hornet Bank and "told a woeful story, that he had lost himself in the bush".⁵²

H.

According to W. Coxen, Nicoll had not done a day's work since he had been in the Force. The whole of his time had been taken up visiting the stations where he could get a supply of spirits, "and latterly he has been between the Condamine Public House and the Tieryboo Station, a distance of four miles apart." Coxen said that he had told Nicoll of the Hornet Bank massacre three days after the event. "He never made the slightest attempt to render assistance but merely shrugged his shoulders and said it is a sad affair."⁵³

Scott and the two Frasers alleged that Nicoll was inducing further outrages by recruiting troopers for the Native Police from the murderers at Hornet Bank, among them one known as Bobby, from whom Sylvester had heard his mother begging for mercy for herself and her daughters. Another, Toby, was well-known to have been responsible for the murders at Eurombah, as well as others who had been involved in all the outrages in the district and were also being

52. Andrew Scott to SMH, 8 January 1858.

53. Henry ^{W.}Coxen, Alderton, Darling Downs, to Morisset, 15 May 1858, Oxley Library COL mfm A2/42. Henry William Coxen was the nephew of Charles Coxen.

recruited.
Aborigines
Tree Creek,
service, fo
places had
They said i
continuatio
Force would
the settler
long neglec
which were

Nicol
by claiming
responsibil
prefer agai
Division ha
district wi
eight troop
that his tr
He requeste
the atrocit
women and c

Scott
to Morisset
resignation
saying "the
farce, carr

54. Willi
Bank,
Oxley
be in
not s
wound
Dawson

55. Nicol
Libra

56. Andre

138

station..." As well, they found hundreds of spears and

John

accept five pounds payment for a volume of his
"history" not yet printed.

17. Murray-Prior, Pearce Serocold, McArthur and Pigott to
Col. Sec., NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2,
57/4995.

125

recruited. They protested against the employment of any
Aborigines from Cockatoo, Bangaban, Taroom, Juandah, Palm
Tree Creek, Kinnoul, Eurombah or Hornet Bank in the Queen's
service, for they had information that some from all these
places had been perpetrators in a long-prepared conspiracy.
They said in a letter to the Government that the
continuation of Nicoll as an officer in the Native Police
Force would probably cause a war of extermination between
the settlers and the Aborigines. They accused Nicoll of
long neglect of his duty, laziness and apathy⁵⁴ (charges
which were brought against him also by Pollet Cardew).

Nicoll was suspended on 22 January 1858. He responded
by claiming that the Upper Dawson was Lieutenant Murray's
responsibility, not his; that he had serious charges to
prefer against Mr Cardew and others; that the Maranoa
Division had been neglected, and he was left to defend the
district with one second-lieutenant, a camp-sergeant and
eight troopers, one third of the proper complement; and
that his troopers had not received any clothing for 1857.
He requested a full and searching inquiry into his case, as
the atrocities recently practised upon the Aborigines - men,
women and children - demanded investigation.⁵⁵

Scott repeated his charges against Nicoll in a letter
to Morisset on 11 March 1858.⁵⁶ Nicoll tendered his
resignation to the Colonial Secretary on 12 March 1858,
saying "the Native Police Force has degenerated into a mere
farce, carried at the Public's expense". On 11 July in the

54. William and Sylvester Fraser, Andrew Scott, Hornet
Bank, 11 January 1858, to Principal Secretary, Sydney,
Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42. This letter appears to
be in the handwriting of Frederick Walker, although
not signed by him. Walker, after recovering from his
wounds soon became active in patrolling the Upper
Dawson to prevent further attacks.
55. Nicoll, Wondai Gumbul, 7 February, to Col. Sec., Oxley
Library, COL. mfm A2/42.
56. Andrew Scott, Hornet Bank, 11 March 1858, to Morisset.

139

John Hay Mackenzie Ross of Baralaba, grandson of the

by me.
19. Western
inform
family

same year h
Secretary t
construed a
because I w
children",

Nicoll
the Native
and disgrac
Frederick W
Lieutenants
original Fo
military of
code of cond
behaviour t
have hated
and drinking
gone the sar
and an early

Storie
Native Polic
developed w
far-fetched
which crops
place, numbe
trapping by
attempted to
a homestead
of Lagoons o
junction wit
Juandah stat
Hornet Bank

57. Nicoll
In Oxley
58. See th
Select
chairm

blacks was

- presumably NMF-01, but this document was not issued by me.
19. Western Star, 7 November 1914. Presumably the information on William Fraser's career came from his family living then in Roma.

126

same year he said in another letter to the Colonial Secretary that his letter of resignation should not be construed as an admission of having erred. "I resigned because I was not inclined to become a butcher of women and children", he said.⁵⁷

Nicoll's case was in many ways symptomatic of some of the Native Police officers at that time. Many took to drink and disgraced themselves, from the first Commandant, Frederick Walker, to John Murray later. Nicoll with Lieutenants Irving and Fulford had been members of the original Force under Walker and each had been a former military officer. There was something in their military code of conduct which was at variance with Native Police behaviour toward the Aborigines. All these men appear to have hated their work and preferred lounging around stations and drinking to "butchering" Aborigines. All seem to have gone the same way: drunkenness, dismissal from the force and an early death.⁵⁸

Stories of the ruthless punishment meted out by the Native Police to the Aborigines after Hornet Bank have been developed with retelling over the years until some now sound far-fetched, but no doubt are partly based on fact. One which crops up in several sources but with differences of place, numbers killed and officers' names concern the trapping by the police of a band of Aborigines as they attempted to cross a lagoon or as they attempted to hide in a homestead. The location is sometimes given as the Chain of Lagoons or Police Lagoons on Palm Tree Creek near its junction with the Dawson: sometimes it appears to be Juandah station where there was a large lagoon; or even at Hornet Bank itself. The following story is representative

57. Nicoll to Col. Sec., 12 March 1858 and 11 July 1858. In Oxley Library COL. A2/42.
58. See the evidence of Ferrett and O'Connell to the 1861 Select Enquiry, p.88, and also the comments of the chairman, Mackenzie, p.145.

140

blacks was killed; the others dived into the river and

22. Wisema

of the making
as one of a
Brisbane Tru

Among
Caboo
fello
immens
of a
Jacky
revenge
the Fr

The mu
ghast
histor
off th
trust
of cre
repuls
basest

The Fr
Christ
savag
clothe
wear)
the ho
hope o
acquai
religi
family
withou
upon t
began

As it
native
terrib
troop
descri
wreake
whole
and th
hemmed
They h
either
where
the ri
lagoon
at the
wherev
with b
the la

Anot

21. Carr to Enquiry, p.129. He does not say who identified the plunder. Carr had been appointed to the Force on 8 May 1857.
22. Wiseman, 16 November 1857.

127

of the making of legend: it was related by J.H.L. Zillman as one of a series of historical sketches which appeared in Brisbane Truth in 1909.

Among the blackfellows who had become domesticated at Caboolture station...was a fine, tall, well-made young fellow known as Broadfoot Jacky because of his immensely broad feet. He had formerly been a member of a band of black troopers in the Burnett district... Jacky, when a trooper, had taken part in the terrible revenge which was wreaked upon the black murderers of the Fraser family in the Burnett district.

The murder of the Fraser family was one of the most ghastly tragedies of which we have any record in the history of early settlement in our State. It shows off the white people in their most stupid mood of trusting the most untrustworthy creatures on the face of creation, and it represents the blacks in the most repulsive features of cruelty, ingratitude and the basest treachery.

The Fraser family was composed of kind-hearted Christian persons and wished to be brethren to the savage aborigines. They supplied them with food and clothes (clothes which they were too barbarous to wear) and gave them fresh access to the station and the houses, they endeavoured to instruct them in the hope of elevating their minds and making them acquainted with the elements of the Christian religion; yet one calm night, when all members of the family were sleeping the sleep of the just, and without a note of warning, the nude savages rushed upon the sleeping whites, yelling like fiends and began butchering them with waddies and tomahawks...

As it happened, [Sylvester] pulled up where a troop of native police were encamped and gave the alarm of the terrible tragedy. Black Jacky...was a member of this troop of police, and from him I have often heard a description of the manner in which vengeance was wreaked upon the murderers. By daylight, he said, the whole regiment of police had surrounded the station, and the unsuspecting darkies suddenly saw themselves hemmed in on every side, caught like rats in a trap. They hid away in the homes and sheds about, but were either shot dead on sight or bayoneted in the corners where they were crouching. Some broke away through the ring of black police, but it was only to reach the lagoon close by, where the troopers acted like Paddy at the Fair. 'Whenever he saw a head, he hit it,' so wherever a head bobbed above the water it was riddled with bullets. Jacky told me how some of the blacks in the lagoon were nearly left unnoticed. They had, in

141

Another newspaper account, apparently also using J H

23. Call, Rawbelle, 3 December, to Murray.
 24. Miles, 4 November, to Col. Sec., in Oxley Library,
 COL. mfm A2/40.
 25. Seronold, SMH, 30 November 1857.

128

their desperation, pulled up hollow reeds, such as grow on margins of lagoons, and, with one end in their mouths and the other end in the air, they were able to keep under the water completely, for an indefinite time. But... the black police knowing all these blackfellow tricks, were enabled to perceive the whereabouts of the hidiers, and waded or swam into the waters, driving out the darkies before them, to be shot in the shallows or as soon as they reached the shore. It appeared at last as if every blackfellow had been shot, but it was not so.

Jacky himself told me that he had been the means of discovering one more. The police were all assembled in the kitchen where they had been breakfasting on whatever they could get, and that was very likely what they had brought with them, for with every company of black police there was the huge pack horse, loaded like a camel, with provisions, in charge of some young black boy, who seemed to regard himself, in his red-striped pants, as of great importance. It was while Jacky was in the act of lighting his pipe, so he told me, that he noticed the flame from the fire stick flickering, and on further observation, and in glancing upwards he saw that the descent of small clouds of soot was the cause of that. A glance upwards showed him the crouching form of a blackfellow holding himself up as best he could, in the timbers of the chimney. He was invited to come down and have his breakfast. He jumped down, begged for his life and declared that he had taken no part in the murders. But all to no purpose. The proposal was made to him to make a bolt for the bush and he was promised that if he could get away he would not be chased or killed. Half a dozen black police took their stand outside with their loaded guns. The signal was given for the blackfellow to start. He made a jump forward, but it was his last dash for liberty, for the volley of shots caused him to fall, a lifeless mass, and he was shortly after placed on a heap with the other bodies, where, amid a blazing heap of deadwood, three score or more of the black murderers were cremated that morning.⁵⁹

The above story is not completely supported by the documentary facts, and is quoted to show how such an

59 J.H.L. Zillmann, Truth 18 and 25 April 1909. Zillman added that Mr Alfred J. Jones, the then member for Gayndah, had confirmed most of the particulars he had given. Jones had said that his father, still living, an old resident of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts, had often told him all the circumstances of the murder of the Fraser family, which he well remembered.

142

troopers' camp. The myalls who have been on the warpath according to Murray-Prior were all...

26. MB.
 27. MB.
 28. MB.

incident
 Aborigin
 lagoon c

 Wi
 the kill
 W.R. Phi
 station
 that Fra
 murders
 shot men
 across J
 the Royd
 had not

As
 gravesid
 in hand
 responsi
 has it th
 as Fraser
 graphic r
 in Juanda
 killed le
 fight and

60. W.R.
 26
 61. Que
 62. Dai

tribes

26. MBFP, 18 November 1857.
27. MBC, 14 November 1857.
28. MBC, 14 November 1857.

incident had become distorted by 1909. No such killing of Aborigines took place at Hornet Bank but the killings in a lagoon certainly did.

William Fraser himself seems to have been involved in the killing of Aborigines in similar circumstances. When W.R. Phipps of Taroom, who was born in 1884, visited Juandah station as a boy he was told by some of the old hands there that Fraser had come to the station in the aftermath of the murders of his family looking for those responsible. He had shot men, women and children as they had tried to flee across Juandah Lagoon.⁶⁰ He had done this, even though the Royds brothers had believed the Aborigines at Juandah had not taken part in the massacre.

As mentioned already, Fraser had sworn by the graveside of his family with uplifted blood-stained tomahawk in hand that he would sink it into the head of the man responsible. He later said: "And I did it."⁶¹ Legend has it that this happened on Juandah Creek, at a spot known as Fraser's Revenge.⁶² It is more likely that this graphic name should apply to the killing of the Aborigines in Juandah lagoon; William Fraser could not then have killed leaders such as Baulie and Bielbah, for they lived to fight another day.

-
60. W.R. Phipps, Taroom, conversation with the author, 26 April 1979
61. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.
62. Daily Mirror, Sydney, 8 July 1857.

Wh
Dawson p
situatio
a hostil
potentia
suggeste
than one
harmless
certain
treacher
peeping
Auburn a
target.
irrational
now witho

One
Pearce Se
of the De
imaginati
after the
authoriti
squatters
clear tha
that. He

Whe
the
Nat
a c
mak
abo
and
any
cou
our
sho
mar
fig
sav

CHAPTER 6: FEAR AND REVENGE

When the initial anger among the settlers of the Upper Dawson passed, the whites had time to consider their situation: they saw that they were a handful of settlers in a hostile environment among hundreds, perhaps thousands, of potential killers. The numbers who had attacked Hornet Bank suggested bands from a wide area, possibly involving more than one tribe; station blacks, previously believed to be harmless, were suspected of complicity; the whites were certain now of a conspiracy to wipe them out. They believed treachery stalked the night, and occasionally they saw it peeping in their windows. Each squatter on the Dawson, Auburn and Burnett believed his own homestead was the next target. Fear set in among the whites, and fear led them to irrational and even more brutal behaviour than before, but now without the previous semblance of legal sanction.

One of those most affected by this fear was George Pearce Serocold, a man of firm Anglican upbringing, grandson of the Dean of Ely and a former^{er} Royal Navy officer, whose imagination had early been stirred by Hornet Bank. Days after the massacre, he had been "predicting" that unless the authorities meted out condign punishment to the blacks, the squatters would take the matter into their own hands. It is clear that Serocold was looking for an excuse to do just that. Here are his own words:

When the news of the Hornet Bank massacre went around the district, all the squatters turned out and the Native Police from different tribes acted with us, and a considerable number were shot. It was necessary to make a severe example of the leaders of the tribe and about a dozen of them were taken into the open country and shot. They were complete savages and never wore any clothes, and were so much alike that no evidence could ever be produced to enable them to be tried by our laws. These men were allowed to run and they were shot at about 30 or 40 yards distant. I saw a black man run and he fell as he was shot, and I saw his figure still running on. I watched most carefully and saw the same extraordinary sight several times, and I

Sec
we
ex
'T
Wh
vi
un
wh
sh
On
Queenslan
station
partners
Gregory v
Satge say
Her
fro
was
oth
in
bag
Fra
fro
the
det
He
station.
from Tarc
He
was
thr
in
doc
the
1. Ser
wri
dou
but
dea
as
the
the
2. De

went up and saw the bodies lying dead. The only explanation I can give is that, as St Paul says: 'There is a natural and there is a spiritual body'. What I saw was the latter. The physical body was visible to me by clairvoyance. The seen and the unseen are nearer to each other than we think, and when we pass out of this muddy vesture of decay we shall all know this.¹

One of the leading pastoralists in south-central Queensland at this time, Gordon Sandeman, had Gwambagwyne station in partnership with Henry Gregory; they were partners already in Burrandowan station on the Burnett; Gregory was a brother of Augustus Gregory the explorer. De Satge says:

Henry Gregory was tough as whalebone, and used to ride from Gwambagwyne to Burrandowan, a two days' ride, it was said, with one pocket full of oatmeal and the other of sugar, and no other provisions, disdainingly, in that semi-tropical climate, blanket and ration bags. ...single-handed, after the murders of the Fraser family, he pursued the blacks tracking them from camp to camp, 'dispersing' them, and doing thereby as much to protect his neighbours as a whole detachment of police.²

He took this action because of an attack on his own station. One broad moonlight night Gregory had returned from Taroom to Gwambagwyne.

He had hardly fallen into a sound sleep when a spear was thrust through the slabs of his hut that went through his blanket, and narrowly missed him as he lay in his bunk. He started up, and on unbarring the door, found a large mob of blacks trying to force open the door of the store, which formed the next building

1. Serocold, memoirs, pp. 22-23. These words were written shortly before Serocold died in 1912 and no doubt he was contemplating his own spiritual future; but the vision of the black men still running after death suggests his conscience wanted them to continue as "spiritual" bodies after he had helped to murder them, lest he be held responsible in an after-life for their extinction.
2. De Satge, p.160.

in
for
and
thu
out

The
settlers'
said at t
in Somers
in Sydney
Pringle's
near the
that Leic
in the jo
Murray-pr
in 1843 a
Brisbane,
Murray-Pr
Leichhard
explorer'
was a man
have roya
ancestry

Mur
at Bromel
married M
River, in

3. De
4. Leic
Aus
Mur
5. Han
Pos
Geo

within reach. Mrs Scott was as cheerful as usual. When she

of the m

37. Wiseman, Bungaban, 8 December 1857.

38. Wiseman, 8 December 1857.

40. Robt
Mur
sam
4/7

in a line with his hut. He was said to have accounted for two of the aggressors with his first rifle shot, and then to have gone out and shot several others, thus liberating the cowardly hands that dared not come out of the store.³

Thomas Lodge Murray-Prior has so much to say about the settlers' reaction to Hornet Bank that something should be said at this stage about him. He was born in 1819 at Wells in Somerset and served in the Royal Navy before he arrived in Sydney in May 1839. He was soon placed in charge of Pringle's station, Rocky Creek, in the New England district near the present-day Tamworth. It was there in May 1843 that Leichhardt met him and together, except for one break in the journey, they rode to the Moreton Bay district. Murray-prior had acquired a run called Rosewood near Ipswich in 1843 and, after stopping there, they rode on together to Brisbane, where Leichhardt bought a chestnut mare from Murray-Prior. They retained their acquaintance, for in 1846 Leichhardt lent him fifty pounds, which was refunded to the explorer's friend, Lieutenant Lynd, in Sydney. Murray-Prior was a man who always cut a dashing figure.⁴ He claimed to have royal lineage, and Isobel Hannah has traced his ancestry back to Charlemagne.⁵

Murray-Prior went into partnership with H.H.R. Aikman at Bromelton in the Logan district in August 1844 and married Matilda Harpur, of Cecil Plains on the Parramatta River, in 1846. In 1850, he acquired Bromelton outright but

3. De Satge, p.160.

4. Leichhardt, Letters, pp.792-93 and 811; also Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 5, p.323, Murray-Prior.

5. Hannah, Isobel. "The Royal Descent of the First Postmaster-General of Queensland", in Queensland Geographical Journal, 1953, Vol. LV, No.41.

sold it t
daughter
Ernest Ch
first job
a station
River, Br

Alt
Murray-Pr
to the Ho
supported
evident t
extermi
again soo
Pigott's
used to g
them the
of their
white fel
brother I

6. Rod
of
Han

7. Mor

8. Dav
Jou
Vol
Fras
purch
dro
dis

9. Mur
hav
fam
the
pol
Leg
hav
Mur

40. Robert Walker, Juandah, 30 December 1857, to John Murray; and Fraser, Juandah, in a sworn statement same day, both in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2.

133

sold it to G.K.E. Fairholme in September 1853.⁶ Here his daughter Rosa was born on 27 March 1851.⁷ In March 1854, Ernest Charles Davies arrived from Wales to take up his first job - to help Murray-Prior move his stock to Hawkwood, a station which he had acquired in that year on the Auburn River, Bromelton being taken over by Vaughan and Fraser.⁸

Although written some 26 years after the event, Murray-Prior's memoirs are reliable, the statement referring to the Hornet Bank massacre and subsequent events being supported by other sources. Murray-Prior says it was evident that the Hornet Bank murders were part of a plan to exterminate the whites. The blacks, he says, assembled again soon after the murders in large numbers at Peter Pigott's Auburn station and in their corroborees at night used to go through the Hornet Bank tragedy in derision. To them the whites seemed to be very indifferent to the murder of their friends. A gin said to Pigott: I believe the white fellows do not care. If a blackfellow kills my brother I cry much. Many blackfellows cry.⁹

6. Roderick, Colin. In Mortal Bondage: The Strange Life of Rosa Praed, Sydney, 1948, pp.8-9; and Isabel Hannah.

7. Morris Miller, p.426

8. Davies, E.C. "Some Reminiscences of Early Queensland", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.6, No.1, 1959, p.33. It is not clear who this Fraser was: he did not proceed with the Bromelton purchase, for Vaughan and another acquired it, Fraser dropping out. Davies implies he was one of the Logan district Frasers.

9. Murray Prior, memoirs, p.32. Murray-Prior appears to have dictated his memoirs to a female member of his family in or soon after late 1883 because he refers to the recent retirement of his friend, Jacob Lowe, from politics; Lowe retired from the Queensland Legislative Assembly on 15 September 1883. Again I have interpreted speech by an Aborigine as reported by Murray-Prior rather than use pidgin English as he does.

147

On one occasion, a black fellow named Jackey Jackey, who had been one of the

Col
Abo
the Abori
Range, co
miles. T
them. At
of powder
single ch
Murray-Pr
blacks an
doctor, a
ammunitio
station h

A s
Hawkwood
Cockatoo
sheep to
one night
tent; it
armed only
boys, Cock
Billy pret
to make no
intended t

Dur
shame that
Bank, of v
should hav
what he ha
In fact, a

10. Mur
in
year
dist
big
(Par

11. Mur

he said.

About six weeks after the murders, Murray-Prior says, the Aborigines mustered very strongly east of the Auburn Range, coming from a radius of perhaps three to four hundred miles. The whites in general were quite unprepared for them. At Pigott's, before that station borrowed one pound of powder from him, they would have had no more than a single charge to fire if they had been attacked.¹⁰ Murray-Prior was better off, Hawkwood having three coast blacks and a gin, Earnest Davies, Sydney Ling, a German doctor, and one or two others and plenty of arms and ammunition. They were in the midst of shearing and with the station hands made up a strong force.

A southern livestock-buyer named Horton came to Hawkwood on his way to Gayndah one day after camping on Cockatoo station, where he had been making up a flock of sheep to send to Victoria. Horton said that while camped one night he noticed the silhouette of an Aborigine on his tent; it was a bright moonlit night and on going outside, armed only with an axe, he had found one of his own black boys, Cockatoo Billy, and some others a little way off. Billy pretended great friendship and Horton thought it best to make nothing of the incident; but he was sure they had intended to kill him.¹¹

During dinner Horton said it seemed to him a crying shame that after such a foul massacre as that at Hornet Bank, of which the blacks were openly boasting, nothing should have been done. He said he had no doubt that, from what he had picked up, the blacks intended more mischief. In fact, a message had been sent both to Palm Tree Creek

10. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.32. The Auburn was taken up in 1849; later Pigott and Murphy owned it for many years; then J.H. McConnel of Cresbrook, Moreton Bay district, bought it in 1911; the Auburn was the biggest run in the Burnett district in 1931 (Parry-Okeden, p.7).

11. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.32.

station ar
Creek that
Fraser's ar

After
of Dykehea
was to tak
two were t
and Cockat
for the ev

On t
in t
earl
cons
over
the
with
two
depe

No w
14. Shear
Murray-Pri
shearer, C
party of A
abandoned
leader and
was a free
to keep a
set off ag
numerous t
"council o
urged that
as vermin.
kill picca
you. If y

12. Murr

13. Murr

- James Cook University of North Queensland, 1970, p.447.
46. Henry Pearce to 1858 Select Committee, p.29.
 47. Murray, Cockatoo, 4 January 1858, to Morisset.

station and to Redbank station at the head of the Cheltenham Creek that they intended serving them as they had served the Frasers and taking the Marys [women] into the bush.¹²

After dinner, Murray-Prior, Horton and Alfred Thomas of Dykehead agreed that something should be done. Horton was to take a message down the Auburn River while the other two were to communicate with the stations further up river and Cockatoo station to the west. A meeting was arranged for the evening a few days later at Hawkwood.

On that evening we mustered pretty strong and camped in the Hawkwood verandah. Everything was ready for an early start. Our troop we named the Browns. It consisted of McArthur from Bungaban, Serocold and his overseer from Cockatoo, Pigott and a black boy from the Auburn, Thomas from Dykehead, Horton and myself with Ernest Davis [sic] and Billy Hayes and Freddy, my two black boys (Brisbane boys upon whom we could depend).¹³

No working men were included in the party of 13 or 14. Shearing was in full swing at Hawkwood then, and Murray-Prior left the station in the hands of his leading shearer, Con Daly. The Browns' intention was to surprise a party of Aborigines camped near Auburn, but it had been abandoned before they arrived. The Browns had no recognised leader and the party was not in working order; every member was a freelance and no watch was kept. Next day they agreed to keep a watch and John McArthur was named Captain. They set off again, moving up the Auburn until they came upon numerous tracks going towards Redbank station. They held a "council of war"; some, especially the blacks in the party, urged that everything with dark skins be knocked on the head as vermin. Murray-Prior's Billy said: Suppose you don't kill piccaninnis, in time they become warriors and kill you. If you kill the women, no more piccaninnis are born.

12. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.32.

13. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.32.

agreeable

48. Murra

49. Murra

Murr

when he sa
wittingly
agreed tha

Erne
overseer.

Ostend, Be

late in 18

in height

boxer and

creation o

the suspec

One

McAr

rode

trage

Horn

purpe

stat

the M

could

Davie

mistaken, a

chest, shap

the party o

were campe

between Pic

14. Murra

15. See C

which

this

trust

shar

16. Davie

John

agreeable". Nonetheless this did not deter the Jiman.

48. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.35-36.

49. Murray-Prior, pp.56-57.

Murray-Prior claimed later that the matter was settled when he said that on seeing the first gin or piccaninni wittingly hurt, he would leave with his party. It was agreed that only the fighting men should suffer.¹⁴

Ernest Charles Davies was now Murray-Prior's overseer. The son of a Welsh clergyman, he was born at Ostend, Belgium, on 26 December 1836, and arrived in Sydney late in 1853. A "splendidly build man of up to 6 ft. 2 in. in height and broad in proportion, he was a fine athlete, boxer and horseman."¹⁵ Davies had this to say about the creation of the vigilante band and its first encounter with the suspected murderers:

One evening just before shearing commenced Mr Arthur McArthur, of Bungaban station, on the upper Dawson, rode up to Hawkwood with the news that a terrible tragedy had occurred at a station further out called Hornet Bank... Mr McArthur had ridden down for the purpose of getting a party together from the various stations, to pursue and inflict condign punishment on the blacks, and we made up our minds to do what we could to avenge the murder of our neighbours.¹⁶

Davies says the Upper Dawson blacks could not be mistaken, as they all bore a large raised tattoo on the chest, shaped like a boomerang. Just before they started, the party got word that a very large body of such Aborigines were camped in heavy brigalow scrub running for many miles between Pigott's station and some others and that the camp

14. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.33-34.

15. See Cilento's introduction to Davies' reminiscences, which adds: "...he glorified in the exploration of this new land, but he was no bushman, and genial and trusting, was more than once over-reached by the city sharpers..." He died at Buderim, Queensland, in 1931.

16. Davies, 37. This McArthur is referred to by others as John McArthur.

was about
upon tracks

From
Aborigines
in the ever
the scrub,
camped for
ridge and s
as the trac
the scrub t
quietly as
the men off
as sentinal
and there w
their horse
managed to
reach them,
other, carr

I got
over.
had s
disgu
frigh
had j
right
clean

After
well inside
through it,
names of th
boxes, and
Fraser's [s

17. Davie

18. Davie

19. Davie

50. Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset.
51. Mentioned by Andrew Scott in his letter to the SMH, 8 January 1858. Scott does not say which Royds sent the letter to Nicoll but it may have been E.M. Royds.

137

was about 50 miles distant. On the second day out they came upon tracks which were followed until early sunset.⁷

From a high ridge the party saw the smoke of the Aborigines' camp, three or four miles away. Being too late in the evening to tackle them, because they were well inside the scrub, the Browns retired a few miles to water and camped for the night. Next morning they returned to the ridge and set the trackers to watch for movement; as soon as the trackers reported that the Aborigines were leaving the scrub to hunt game, the white party began riding as quietly as possible towards the camp in the hope of cutting the men off. The Aborigines must have had some women posted as sentinals, for the Browns soon heard their warning cries and there was nothing left for them to do but to gallop their horses as hard as they could go. Most of the blacks managed to get into the scrub before the white party could reach them, "though we raced hard in a line, one behind the other, carrying our carbines in our hands ready".¹⁸

I got a flying shot at one and apparently bowled him over. When the rush was over I returned to where I had seen the black drop, but to my surprise and disgust, my prey turned out to be a gin, more frightened than hurt, I am glad to say. The bullet had just caught her on the point of the elbow and run right along the forearm to the wrist, just making a clean cut as if with a knife, but only skin deep.¹⁹

After searching for some time the party found the camp well inside the scrub, concealed by bushes. Searching through it, they found: "Bibles and prayerbooks with the names of the Frasers written in them, women's dresses, work boxes, and a quantity of blankets all branded with the Fraser's [sic] name, women's hats and other plunder from the

17. Davies, p.38.

18. Davies, p.38.

19. Davies, p.38.

151

52. Andrew
53. Henry
May 18
Coxen

station..."
other weapo
"and other

The B
huge bonfir
into three
waterhole s
some items
have were r

The w
again. Som
some at ano
whole they
within our
were certain
loot which
tattoo marks

Murray
plainer as t
close to a v
the station
while the re
force rushed
station huts
way. Some A
old Scotch w
out: "Tak y
gentlemen.

20. Davies
21. Davies
22. Davies
23. Murray

52. Andrew Scott to SMH, 8 January 1858.
53. Henry ^{W.}Coxen, Alderton, Darling Downs, to Morisset, 15 May 1858, Oxley Library COL mfm A2/42. Henry William Coxen was the nephew of Charles Coxen.

138

station..." As well, they found hundreds of spears and other weapons including tomahawks, possum rugs, dilly-bags "and other blackfellow impedimenta in profusion".²⁰

The Browns gathered everything together and made a huge bonfire of it all, except the tomahawks, which were put into three or four large dilly-bags and dropped into a waterhole some miles away. The bibles and prayerbooks and some items they thought the surviving Frasers might like to have were returned to them by McArthur and Serocold.²¹

The white party picked up the tracks of their quarry again. Some of the fugitives were found at one place and some at another during the six weeks' hunt, "and upon the whole they got their deserts at our hands, so far as it was within our power to deal out rough justice." The vigilantes were certain they had "got the right men" because of the loot which had been found in the first camp and the raised tattoo marks.²²

Murray-Prior continues the story. The tracks became plainer as they neared Redbank station, where the huts were close to a very deep-banked creek. Two Browns proceeded to the station as if they were travellers just passing through, while the rest surrounded the blacks' camp. Soon the main force rushed the camp, but the Aborigines fled towards the station huts where the two "travellers" now barred their way. Some Aborigines rushed into a hut where Mrs Ross, "an old Scotch woman", was sitting. In great terror, she cried out: "Tak your wull on them, tak your wull on them, gentlemen. Never mind an auld woman!"²³

20. Davies, p.39.

21. Davies, p.39.

22. Davies, p.39.

23. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.34.

152

was available. The following episode Mr. James

- Dawson
55. Nicoll
Librar
56. Andrew

John
founder of
arrived at
grandmother
them. His
tied to a
The manager
and, when he
and handed

When t
dived
attach
where
her ar
shephe
camp t
It tra
warned
the hi
also l
these
They w

Later,
blacks onto
the blacks b
themselves a
come to the
damper. As
troopers sai
fill themsel
named Jackan
Walker fired

24. "Battl
the Au
anothe
1947.
Comman
begun

out! Ther

- wounds soon became active in patrolling the Dawson to prevent further attacks.
55. Nicoll, Wondai Gumbul, 7 February, to Col. Sec., Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42.
56. Andrew Scott, Hornet Bank, 11 March 1858, to Morisset.

John Hay Mackenzie Ross of Baralaba, grandson of the founder of Redbank station, later said that when vigilantes arrived at Redbank the blacks gathered around his grandmother and hung onto her dress, begging her to save them. His aunt was also there. One of the station blacks tied to a rope by the vigilantes was called Long Charlie. The manager of Rocky Springs station had hold of the line and, when he accidentally dropped it, Charlie picked it up and handed it to him.

When the shooting started, and Charlie was shot at, he dived under five horses and got away with the rope attached to him. Charlie made his way to Rocky Bar, where my late mother was. She had only one girl with her and a few old gins who were at the time shepherding a few sheep. My mother...went down to the camp to see what was the matter...the gins had gone. It transpired that Charlie had come in the night and warned them... Next day signal smokes were seen from the hills and the boys who were working for my father also lost no time in bolting into the bush. None of these boys were implicated in the Hornet Bank murder. They were all Redbank station boys.²⁴

Later, Ross said, "Inspector" Walker followed the blacks onto the Dawson and Burnett waters from Rockybar, but the blacks beat him to the scrubs. The troopers stripped themselves and got among the blacks and persuaded them to come to the camp for a feed. They gave them some flour and damper. As they were sitting around the fire, one of the troopers said: "Now is the time." Walker said, "Let them fill themselves, and we will pepper them after". A boy named Jackanapes heard Walker give the order to fire. As Walker fired, Jackanapes knocked him down. Only one of the

24. "Battler" quoting a letter from J.H. Mackenzie Ross in the Australasian Pastoralist and Grazier, n.d., but another source, quoting this one gives the year as 1947. Obviously Ross was referring to former Commandant Frederick Walker, who at this time had begun patrolling the district with ex-troopers.

57. Nicoll
In Oxley
58. See the
Select
chairman

blacks was
escaped.²⁵

Murray
principal r
others got a
While some c
the rest put
stable and k
leaving, the
their camp.
night and se
stable, but
front of the
cracks in th
happened to
for the night
previous sta
the night be
drafted off
innocent of
shot."²⁷

The Br
until the Na
18 months, d
parties out,
were account

25. "Battl
called
referr
26. Murray
27. Austra
28. Murray

57. Nicoll to Col. Sec., 12 March 1858 and 11 July 1858.
In Oxley Library COL. A2/42.
58. See the evidence of Ferrett and O'Connell to the 1861
Select Enquiry, p.88, and also the comments of the
chairman, Mackenzie, p.145.

140

blacks was killed; the others dived into the river and
escaped.²⁵

Murray-Prior says of the Redbank massacre that the
principal ringleader managed to rush into the creek and many
others got away, including Charlie another ringleader.
While some of the Browns were pursuing the fleeing blacks,
the rest put the gins and the remaining men into an old
stable and kept them there until the morning. Just before
leaving, the gins were drafted out and allowed to return to
their camp. They had been in a great state of alarm all
night and several times had tried to break out of the
stable, but the vigilantes had fires going at the back and
front of the building and could watch them through the
cracks in the slabs.²⁶ Murray-Prior does not say what
happened to the remaining men who were put in the old stable
for the night, but a newspaper says: "He confirmed the
previous statement that the blacks were all shut in a hut
the night before the shooting. In the morning the gins were
drafted off with their piccaninnies...and then boys actually
innocent of the Hornet Bank affair were led off and
shot."²⁷

The Browns then patrolled the district for three weeks
until the Native Police arrived. "The war was kept up for
18 months, during which there were continually one or two
parties out, and gradually a good many of the ringleaders
were accounted for."²⁸

25. "Battler", above. The article says: "A boy who
called himself Jack Napes...", but this man is
referred to elsewhere as Jackanapes.

26. Murray-Prior, p.37.

27. Australasian Pastoralist, n.d.

28. Murray-Prior, p.37.

lagoon
at the
wherev
with b
the la

Another
Mackenzie R
the killing
which attack
Baking Board
claimed that
doubled back
upon the sce
the tracks.
Redbank the
black boy ea
leads and to
from the hom
happened to
makes it cle
the police a

On the
their own de
reported in
in large num
he had no of
situation.³⁰

A part
the Lower Da
very scrubby
to penetrate
occasionally
and catch th
the officer:
weapons, wen
them in a hu
they joined

29. Rockha

30. Moriss

154

times.62 I

the ring of black police, but it was only to reach the lagoon close by, where the troopers acted like Paddy at the Fair. 'Whenever he saw a head, he hit it,' so wherever a head bobbed above the water it was riddled with bullets. Jacky told me how some of the blacks in the lagoon were nearly left unnoticed. They had, in

141

Another newspaper account, apparently also using J.H. Mackenzie Ross as its source, offers some explanation for the killing of the innocent at Redbank. One of the bands which attacked Hornet Bank was believed to have headed for Baking Board, a few miles west of Chinchilla. It was claimed that they left a track along a creek and then doubled back to their own country. "When the police came upon the scene, they were supposed to have said, 'Never mind the tracks. They are evidently making for Redbank'... At Redbank the police went to the blacks' camp and arrested a black boy each. They then cut up the station wool ropes for leads and took the boys to a patch of scrub about a mile from the homestead."²⁹ It was not stated what then happened to the "boys" but it can be inferred. This also makes it clear there were two massacres at Redbank - one by the police and the other by the vigilantes.

On the Auburn and Burnett the squatters were left to their own devices. Morisset could not intervene. He reported in February 1858 that the Aborigines were mustering in large numbers between the Auburn and Burnett Rivers, but he had no officer to send with troopers to deal with the situation.³⁰

A party of eight or 10 police with an officer were on the Lower Dawson, Murray-Prior continues. The country was very scrubby and broken, almost impossible for the pursuers to penetrate the scrub. The natives used to show themselves occasionally and jeer at the police - telling them to come and catch them. The troopers then suggested a strategem to the officer: next morning they stripped, piled their weapons, went into the scrub and invited the myalls to join them in a hunt, which the fugitives accepted. Afterwards they joined the troopers in a feast and corroboree at the

29. Rockhampton Morning Bulletin, 30 October 1957.

30. Morisset, Maryborough, 20 February 1858, to Wickham.

155

Gayndah, had confirmed most of the particulars he had given. Jones had said that his father, still living, an old resident of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts, had often told him all the circumstances of the murder of the Fraser family, which he well remembered.

troopers' camp. The myalls who have been on the warpath according to Murray-Prior, were all men of one family, a father and eight sons. They came to the camp and had a "grand feast" of beef and damper, which the officer had prepared. The police watched their opportunity, jumped up, grabbed their carbines and, before the myalls knew what they were about, shot the old man and seven others. The eighth got away.

Murray-Prior claimed that they had been involved in the Hornet Bank massacre. The father of the group had a bump behind the ears caused by a blow from the butt of his revolver, given while escaping not many days before from Redbank. "It was a most treacherous affair, but the two surviving young Frasers were with the police and they had recognised some portion of their sisters' clothing in one of the camps and were mad for their revenge."³¹

The Browns got word that several of the ringleaders were at Boondooma, Lawson's station on the Boyne River. A party went there and camped some distance away, while Murray-Prior went to the homestead where he found that Lawson was absent; but he was received and given lunch by Lawson's brother-in-law, Ball. Over lunch Murray-Prior asked why murderers were being harboured at Boondooma. He had observed several Aborigines being used to erect rough sheepyards. Ball denied this allegation, saying that the men were all quiet "inside" blacks, that is, they had been let inside the station because they were not considered to be dangerous and could be used as unskilled labour. As they were speaking, Auburn Boney, not the Hornet Bank Boney, came to a window and demanded to know of Murray-Prior why he was there. Towards evening, Chessborough Macdonald arrived from Cadarga and being friendly with the local Aborigines, took Boney's part, saying that he had done much to keep the local

31. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.37-38.

tribes qu
again. H
not spear
any sheep
given him
having pa
were watc
pleading,
not inter

Soc
of the "r
Waterhole
daylight
morning w
"The blac
up the fi
covered a
did not k
were caug
war."³²

Mur
warfare w
and the A
we disper
was the c
lot."³³

32. Mur
up
this
was
one
exp
Coor
the
Cra
from

33. Mur

61. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.
62. Daily Mirror, Sydney, 8 July 1857.

tribes quiet. Auburn Boney was invited to the house to talk again. He defended himself, saying that the Aborigines had not speared any whites on Murray-Prior's property nor killed any sheep recently. He had been working for Pigott, who had given him a four-day pass to come to Boondooma, one day having passed already. He wanted to know why the whites were watching him and the others at Boondooma. After this pleading, supported by Ball and Macdonald, Auburn Boney "was not interfered with" then.

Soon after this the Native Police came upon a number of the "ringleaders" in dense scrubb near the Cocoa Waterholes without being detected. Next morning before daylight the police troopers stole up on the camp; the morning was dark and cold and the camp fire had burnt out. "The blacks as usual got up, scratched themselves and made up the fires. As the firelight fell upon the camp, each boy covered a myall and fired. Panic seized the blacks and they did not know which way to rush. Most of the ringleaders were caught but Boney escaped. This put an end to the war."³²

Murray-Prior insisted that only the first few weeks of warfare were carried on by the white settlers on the Burnett and the Auburn. "When the Native Police came to the front, we dispersed and went to our homes. The Redbank slaughter was the only serious struggle of the kind that fell to our lot."³³

32. Murray-Prior memoirs, pp. 39-41. Lawson Brothers took up Boondooma in 1846. The blacks were very bad on this run and several murders were committed. Cadarga was known as "the home of the 15 esquires" because at one time so many young jackeroos were gaining colonial experience there. This was a big run, taking in Coondara which in 1931 was part of the Auburn, and was the most westerly run on the Burnett, reaching to Craig's Range, within 50 miles of Chinchilla. (All from Farry-Okeden, pp.3-8).

33. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.41.

It
says, the
almost in
camp just
more camp
the first
of the do
strangers
could be
"casus be
custom wh
away. On
myalls jo
peope to

At

The
us.
sta
sha
was
alw
mas

Lat

try to pe
which he
being qui
believed
the myall
his arriv
very bad
chair in
assistanc

34. Mur
pid

35. Mur

our laws. These men were allowed to run and they were shot at about 30 or 40 yards distant. I saw a black man run and he fell as he was shot, and I saw his figure still running on. I watched most carefully and saw the same extraordinary sig t several times, and I

It would often leak out through quiet black boys, he says, that myalls were in an Aboriginal camp, but it was almost impossible to catch them. The quiet blacks would camp just on the confines of the scrub and perhaps three more camps would be formed, each further in. On approaching the first where the station blacks were camped, the barking of the dogs would warn the blacks of the inner camps that strangers were about and they would clear out before they could be reached. Although an attempt was made to make a "casus belli" of harbouring myalls, there seemed to be a custom which prevented the tribe from turning strangers away. One of the friendly leaders, when accused of letting myalls join his camp, said: Even if I do not want strange people to live in my camp, what can I do?³⁴

At the end of the period Murray-Prior wrote:

These 18 months of warfare were an anxious time for us. Business often took me then a good deal from the station. When I came home I used to canter pretty sharply to the top of the ridge from which the place was visible with my heart in my mouth, for there was always the fear that all hands might have been massacred.³⁵

Later Murry-Prior rode to Palm Tree Creek station to try to persuade John Scott and his wife to stay at Hawkwood which he considered much safer, the station blacks there now being quiet and others not being allowed into it. He believed his own station blacks were the means of keeping the myalls from committing depredations in his district. On his arrival at Palm Tree Creek he found Scott, who had had a very bad attack of rheumatic fever, sitting in a squatter's chair in his verandah. He was unable to walk without assistance, but he had his pistols lying all around him

34. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.43; again Murray-Prior's pidgin English is not used.

35. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.44.

within re
went to h
separate
double-ba
and when
hit a bla
through m
were in v
Tree Cree

The
districts
The North
report of
children
and their
report fr
civilised
barbariti
March 185
to an "unc
more unwo
members o
their hor

Aft
from vari
"confiden
Maryborou

36. Mur

37. Nor

38. Lan
185
unc
And
nam
"unc

as "spiritual" bodies after he had helped to murder them, lest he be held responsible in an after-life for their extinction.

2. De Satge, p.160.

within reach. Mrs Scott was as cheerful as usual. When she went to her kitchen, which would have been in a small hut separate from the main one, she "used to put a double-barrelled pistol in her belt. She could use it too, and when I laughed at her and asked if she thought she could hit a blackfellow, she challenged me to try. She put a ball through my hat at 20 or 30 paces distance." His entreaties were in vain: Scott and his wife would not move from Palm Tree Creek.³⁶

The apprehension of the colonists in the northern districts was increased by what they read of news in India. The North Australian of 2 February 1858 carried a graphic report of the massacre of 60 British men, 25 women and four children at Cawnpore.³⁷ More and more the Dawson blacks and their allies were likened to the Sepoys; and with each report from India, the disgust deepened. But at least one civilised voice was raised in protest against the barbarities committed by panicky, trigger-happy whites. In March 1858, George Lang, the eldest son of J.D. Lang, wrote to an "uncle" from Maryborough that "nothing could have been more unworthy of human beings than the procedure both of the members of the Police Force and the white population than their horrid indiscriminate murders of the Blacks".³⁸

After a tour of the interior Lang said he had learned from various sources that a party of 12 squatters and their "confidential overseers" scoured the country between Maryborough and the Upper Dawson, but away from the scrubs

36. Murray-Prior memoirs, pp.57-58.
37. North Australian, 2 February 1858.
38. Lang, George D. Letter from Maryborough, 31 March 1858. Ms held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. The uncle has been assumed by other writers to have been Andrew Lang, but George Lang had no uncle of that name. Possibly it was a family friend known as "uncle".

of the mu
80 men, w
scrubs an
to the He
they foun
Ross's he
[Hawkwood

Amo
three tim
been a ha
been in n
boy emplo
station a
Leith-Hay
him to th
first in

Acco
shot more
Aborigines
or vigilan
killed by
as Henry C

Herl
Burnett d
this aneco

39. Lang
40. Lang
men
Weth
200
mil
in T
of M
atta
41. Lang

of the murder of the Frasers altogether, and shot upwards of 80 men, women and children. "Not content with scouring the scrubs and forest country, they were bold enough to ride up to the Head Stations and shoot down the tame blacks whom they found camping there, ten men were shot in this way at Ross's head station [Redbank] several at Prior's station [Hawkwood] and Hay's and Lamb's several more".³⁹

Among other incidents noted by Lang, the whites shot three times an old blind Aborigine who had for some time been a harmless hanger-on at head stations and could have been in no way identified with the Fraser murders; a black boy employed by Cameron of Coonambula went to Murray-Prior's station and was shot there; an armed Aborigine employed by Leith-Hay captured another Aborigine in the bush, brought him to the head station, tied him to a sapling and shot him first in an arm and then through the head.⁴⁰

According to Lang the Native Police claimed to have shot more than 70 Aborigines,⁴¹ thus making a total of 150 Aborigines known by him to have been shot by either police or vigilantes. He was, however, referring only to those killed by Murray-Prior's Browns and not by other whites such as Henry Gregory, Andrew Scott and the Fraser brothers.

Herbert Bloxsome, a long-time resident of the Upper Burnett district, in his history of its settlement, tells this anecdote:

39. Lang, 31 March 1858.

40. Lang, 31 March 1858. The most easterly station mentioned by George Lang is Humphrey's station, Wetheron, 10 miles east of Gayndah. Gayndah is about 200 miles by road from Hornet Bank, and within 100 miles of Maryborough. This supports Denholm's remark, in The Colonial Australians, pp.41-42, that the people of Maryborough in 1857 expected the town to be attacked by the Jiman.

41. Lang, 31 March 1858.

On
who
mas
the
thro
tol
mob
see
Whi
som
the
wou
lar
Ab
pol
sho

Cha
realised
endeavour
station by
could not
blacks had
"cabbawm w
as Serocol
for months
his pillow
children t

Some
Gayndah, w
afraid to

- 42. Blox
Uppe
- 43. Haly
"cab
form
it b
Jack
for
- 44. Loos
Resi
1976
Quee

On one occasion, a black fellow named Jackey Jackey, who had been one of the ringleaders in the Hornet Bank massacre, was travelling with a Dawson River tribe to the Bunyas for a feast, and when he was passing through the Auburn station, some of the other blacks told some of the station whites that he was in the mob. As a wanted man he had to flee... Later he was seen at Camboon and later still at Cracow station. While there a police patrol happened to come along and some of the local blacks betrayed him to them, and as the country round the station was all open and he would be seen if he tried to get away...he climbed a large tree and hid in the foliage. The local Aborigines, however, again gave him away. When the police called to him to come down, he refused and they shot him.⁴²

Charles Robert Haly of Taabinga station on the Burnett realised that two or three Dawson blacks were on his run endeavouring to incite the local blacks to attack his station by night. He called in the Native Police, which could not trace them.⁴³ As far as Haly was concerned, the blacks had to recognise their position respecting the "cabbawm white man". Haly appears to have been as nervous as Serocold. He said in a parliamentary debate in 1861 that for months after Hornet Bank he slept with a dagger under his pillow to plunge into the hearts of his wife and children to save them from a fate worse than death.⁴⁴

Some of the Dawson blacks had fled as far east as Gayndah, where James Blain Reid had seen several. They were afraid to return to the Dawson because of the Native Police,

42. Bloxsome, H.S. "Exploration and Settlement of the Upper Burnett", p.349.
43. Haly to the 1861 Select Committee, p.461. Apparently "cabbawm" here means "chief" or "boss". Haly brothers formed Taabinga station on the Burnett in 1846; then it became the property of C.R. Haly and J.W.W. Jackson; C.R. Haly was the first member of Parliament for the Burnett district (Parry-Okeden, p.3).
44. Loos, Noel, and Reynolds, Henry. "Aboriginal Resistance in Queensland", A.J. Pol. & Hist., 22(2) 1976, quoting parliamentary debate as published by the Queensland Guardian, 27 July 1861.

he said.
Gayndah,
and face.
shot thro
front of
believed

In m
behaviour
hinterland
drove ever
outskirts
tomahawks
blankets w
to the bla
then follo
man in the
the orders
inside the
driving th
Native Pol
mile from
men and a

In m
incidents
come large
years afte
Lang, surv
be taken a
killed aft
These isol
movement o

45. Reid
46. Lang

district, bought it in 1911; the Auburn was the biggest run in the Burnett district in 1931 (Parry-Okeden, p.7).

11. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.32.

148

he said. A few days before he had left his station near Gayndah, he had seen a Dawson black, wounded in the thigh and face. Reid said he knew of an Aborigine who had been shot through the nose, through the throat and along the front of his body without killing him. This man now believed that no ball could kill him.⁴⁵

In Maryborough itself, so George Lang wrote, the behaviour of the whites was no better than in the hinterland. The police accompanied by some white volunteers drove every man, woman and child out of a camp on the outskirts of the town, set fire to "all the clothing, bark, tomahawks and weapons of the blacks and burning wilfully the blankets which at no inconsiderable expense are served out to the blacks yearly by the Government". The white party then followed and shot a 12-year-old boy dead and wounded a man in the thigh. A few days later, the Native Police under the orders of their white officers set fire to another camp inside the town, destroying their clothing and blankets and driving them into the river. "Not content with this the Native Police proceeded to the boiling-down station about a mile from the town and deliberately shot dead two old black men and a young one."⁴⁶

In many ways this chapter merely cites isolated incidents for which the evidence may not be sound, having come largely from the memories of white participants many years after the events. Nevertheless, the report of George Lang, surveying recent events to the end of March 1858, must be taken as reliable, and his estimate of 150 Aborigines killed after the Fraser murders accords with other evidence. These isolated incidents do, however, show a pattern of movement of the Jiman and their allies eastwards from Hornet

45. Reid to 1858 Select Committee, p.25.

46. Lang, 31 March 1858.

162

Rannes. This group had been on the p

12. Murra

13. Murra

Bank which
Also, even
present th
the white

The
eastwards,
and into t
towards Ma
pursued in
direction
areas. Th
in the sou
Dawson Riv
after Horn
eastwards.
fugitives
retribution
traditional
whom they c

This
Holmer, who
concluded t
grouping of
branch.⁴⁷
Upper Dawso
far-western
from Wide B
Downs at Da
northwards
included su
Burnett, th

47. See H
Queen
Abori
Lynet
Surve

peripatet

12. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.32.

13. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.32.

Bank which has considerable ethnographic significance. Also, even if the details may be inaccurate in parts, they present the best picture we have of the range and measure of the white settlers response to the Hornet Bank outrage.

The movement of the Upper Dawson people so far eastwards, first across the Auburn, then across the Burnett and into the Boyne and finally to Gayndah and possibly towards Maryborough, not only indicates that they were being pursued in that direction but also that they went in that direction because they had tribal affiliations in those areas. They may have had other tribal affiliations, such as in the south from Dulacca to Dalby and northwards along the Dawson River as far as Rannes, but the available records after Hornet Bank show a distinct pattern of movement eastwards. This pattern does not suggest a rabble of fugitives fleeing through hostile territory to escape white retribution, rather a group of people from or in their traditional homelands moving into the lands of people among whom they could expect protection.

This is borne out by the research of Professor Nils M. Holmer, who has studied the languages of this area and has concluded that there was a distinct Wakka Wakka-Kabi Kabi grouping of which the Wakka Wakka were the western branch.⁴⁷ It is almost certain that the Jiman of the Upper Dawson, if that was their true name, were the far-western members of a grouping of peoples which stretched from Wide Bay to the Carnarvon Ranges and from the Darling Downs at Dalby and Chinchilla and also perhaps Dulacca northwards to the Lower Dawson. This grouping probably included such people as the Goreng Goreng of the Upper Burnett, the extinct Jangerie Jangerie of the Auburn, the

47. See Holmer, Nils M. "Linguistic Survey of Southern Queensland", manuscript, Part I, in the Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra: also Holmer in Oates, Lynette F., 1973 Supplement to a Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia, Armidale, 1975, Vol.2, p.215.

Barunggam
of the Upper
correct, i

Jiman
basinas a
probably wa
probably we
Bank was on
to the west
of the Daws
and part of
Gungabula p
there is so
westwards,
reprisals w
later settl
who in the
gorges of t
such a band
celebrates
the Maranoa
westwards,
Bidyara of

The t
after Horne
Mathew and
Jiman, Wakk
a loose con
common: la
has come do
and their w

48. See m
Revis
1970.
the J
centr

16. Davies, 37. This McArthur is referred to by others as John McArthur.

Barunggam of Dalby, the Mandandanji of Dulacca and the Jiman of the Upper Dawson.⁴⁸ If the grouping described above is correct, it is fairly clear who attacked Hornet Bank.

Jiman territory was not the Upper Dawson geographical basin as accepted by Tindale. Just as the Auburn Range probably was not the eastern boundary, the Carnarvon Ranges probably were not the western; rather, it seems that Hornet Bank was on the western edge of that territory, the people to the west being the Gungabula who occupied the headwaters of the Dawson and its tributaries rising in the Great Divide and part of the Carnarvons. There is no evidence of the Gungabula participating in the Hornet Bank attack; but there is some evidence that they were later forced westwards, if not as a direct result of the immediate reprisals which followed Hornet Bank but as a result of later settler animosity to all "myalls", particularly those who in the 1860s and 1870s could hold out in the rugged gorges of the Carnarvons. It is probably the killing of such a band of Gungabulas which the verse of Bill Hallett celebrates (see Chapter 7). Because of other incidents in the Maranoa, the Gungabula were forced even further westwards, so that today they are almost merged with the Bidyara of Charleville and Augathella.

The traceable pattern of Aboriginal movement eastwards after Hornet Bank and the early linguistic work of John Mathew and the recent work of Nils Holmer indicate that the Jiman, Wakka Wakka and their linguistic affiliates comprised a loose confederation of peoples who had two things in common: language and an enemy. Some confirmation of this has come down through the years through Aboriginal people and their white friends. An Aborigine of Camboon station,

48. See map, back insert in Oates, W.J. and Lynette F., A Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia, Canberra, 1970. The Oates appear to have been wrong in placing the Jiman in the great Mari linguistic group of central-western Queensland and northern N.S.W.

17. Davie
18. Davie
19. Davie

Jimmy Reid,
Redbank sta
part in the
the Jiman w
Goreng, the
from some o

Meanw
family. Ac
Auburn that
on Dykehead
evident int
blackfellow
also had se
he was on h
cabbage-tre
his saddle.
for him wit
a powerful
his rifle w

Zillm
which borde

This r
Sydney
scene
South
blacks
was fo
which
thorou
of the

49. Hamilt
termed
50. Bloxso
51. Queens
interv
presum

17. Davies, p.38.
18. Davies, p.38.
19. Davies, p.38.

22. Davies
23. Murray

Jimmy Reid, now dead, told C.L.D. Hamilton, formerly of Redbank station, that the mid-Dawson tribe, the Wulili, took part in the Hornet Bank massacre. In Hamilton's opinion, the Jiman were the chief culprits, aided by the Goreng Goreng, the Wakka Wakka, the Wulili and "the odd renegade from some other area"⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the Frasers continued to avenge their family. According to Bloxsome, there is a tradition on the Auburn that Sylvester Fraser was riding past Harris's Gully on Dykehead when he saw a blackfellow behind a tree with the evident intention of killing him; but young Fraser shot the blackfellow before he could attack him.⁵⁰ William Fraser also had several close shaves with the Aborigines: in one he was on horseback when a spear went through the rim of his cabbage-tree hat, down his shoulder-blade and then stuck in his saddle. Unable to see the assailant, he went searching for him with his rifle in hand, but was suddenly attacked by a powerful Aborigine. In the ensuing struggle, the stock of his rifle was broken.⁵¹

Zillman in Brisbane Truth in 1909 told another story which borders on legend and is certainly inaccurate in parts:

This member of the family [William Fraser] was in Sydney at the time, and soon after returned to the scene of the murders, with authority from the New South Wales Government to shoot down and kill any blacks that he might meet within the district. This was for a definite period, I think it was six months, which, Mr Jones said, was carried out with the thoroughness of a murder maniac, up to the very hour of the lapsing of the time for which such permission

49. Hamilton, 16 August 1979, to author. The Wulili are termed the Wuli-Wuli by Holmer.
50. Bloxsome, "Upper Burnett", p.147.
51. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909. T.J. Barker, who interviewed William Fraser, does not make it clear but presumably the Aborigine was killed.

was a
infor
had w
this
was d
had h
broug
stock
journ
trave
'Big
halt,
It was
that
boy,
static
who ha
for th
bullet
purpos
innoc
repeat
carrie
police
shoul
surviv
infam

When W
Taroom distr
stations of
Carrabah Geo
Fraser would

Phipps
whom he firs
50 years of
whites in Ta
Hornet Bank
piccaninni,
and on seein
he was not p

52. Zillma
53. W.R. P
26 Apr

21. Davies, p.39.
 22. Davies, p.39.
 23. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.34.

was available. The following episode, Mr Jones informed me, he had heard from the only white man who had witnessed what took place. I am informed that this man is still living in the Burnett district. He was driving through the bush with a black boy whom he had himself raised from infancy. The boy had been brought up on his station and was employed at stock-riding and accompanying his master on his journeyings throughout the district. They were travelling through the bush, when suddenly they met 'Big Fellow Fraser', as he was called, who ordered a halt, saying, 'I am going to shoot that black ----.' It was useless expostulating. Fraser was informed that the black boy had been brought up like a white boy, that he had lived nearly all his life on the station, and that he had nothing to do with the blacks who had murdered the family, but all to no purpose, for the cruel brute began to threaten, 'I may put a bullet through you if you hinder me in carrying out my purpose.' And there and then the poor cowering innocent black boy was shot through the body repeatedly, and thrown into the gully like so much carrion. The terrible vengeance which the black police had already wreaked upon the actual murderers should have been sufficient. It was a disgrace to the surviving son and his name has been rendered infamous..."⁵²

When W.R. Phipps was young, it was common talk among Taroom district people that Fraser would go among the stations of the district and shoot innocent blacks. Carrabah George's wife, Maria, told Phipps that William Fraser would shoot any blacks whom he saw.⁵³

Phipps, who was born in 1884, recalls Carrabah George, whom he first saw in about 1900 when George was about 50 years of age. Maria, who used to visit the homes of the whites in Taroom to do washing for them, told him of the Hornet Bank massacre. She said that when she was a piccaninni, the Aborigines were frightened of William Fraser and on seeing him they would run into the bush. Even when he was not present, whites would call out to them, "Look

52. Zillman, Truth, 2 May 1909.

53. W.R. Phipps in conversation with author, Taroom, 26 April 1979.

out! There
 to run into
 have a laugh

Matthe
 Hornet Bank
 of natives v
 guilty.⁵⁵
 of Aborigine
 in revenge t
 exaggerated.
 written in r
 William Fras
 as well as m
 massacre".⁵⁷
 had the auth
 Aborigines h
 six months,
 He had asked
 from the N.S
 Fraser repli
 had ever bee
 again answer
 killing only
 murderers, a

Murray
 William and
 hunting the

54. Phipps
 55. Matthe
 56. Anders
 57. Queens
 58. Queens

out! There's Fraser coming!", thus causing the Aborigines to run into the bush. This was done to frighten them and to have a laugh at their expense.⁵⁴

Matthew Fox, who obtained most of his information on Hornet Bank from Andrew Robert Scott in 1919, says hundreds of natives were killed in retaliation - innocent as well as guilty.⁵⁵ Andrew Scott always maintained that the numbers of Aborigines claimed to have been killed by William Fraser in revenge for the murders of his family were exaggerated.⁵⁶ Barker, in the Queensland Times article written in response to Zillman's allegations, said that William Fraser "accounted for the instigator of the crime, as well as many more who had taken part in the massacre".⁵⁷ But, referring to claims that William Fraser had the authority of the N.S.W. Government to shoot any Aborigines he encountered in the district for a period of six months, Barker says that no such thing ever occurred. He had asked Fraser whether he had ever received a permit from the N.S.W. Government to shoot down the Aborigines; Fraser replied emphatically, "No". Asked whether a warrant had ever been issued against him for killing Aborigines, he again answered, "No".⁵⁸ Fraser admitted publicly to killing only one Aborigine, the supposed ringleader of the murderers, and that was in the interview with T.J. Barker.

Murray-Prior says that on their return from Ipswich William and Sylvester devoted a great deal of their time to hunting the blacks. "There is little doubt that many fell

54. Phipps to author, 26 April 1979.

55. Matthew Fox, p.45.

56. Anderson, pp.4-5.

57. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909

58. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

to their rif
could blame

The Fr
months, poss
William Henr
Wallumbilla,
in for ratio
the murder o

One da
north of the
the Hornet B
on Gubberamu
Rose Roseby,
Lalor, who h
district in
rifles and w
would shoot

Appare
much later,
"managing an
during the c
nings to

59. Murray

60. Emmers
Brisba
of a P
Waverl
Willia
Queens
Arthur
centra
Satge,

61. Roseby
held b
were w
anecdo

27. Australasian Pastoralist, n.d.
 28. Murray-Prior, p.37.

29. Rockham
 30. Morisse

to their rifles that were never officially heard, but who could blame them?"⁵⁹

The Frasers kept up their vendetta for at least five months, possibly longer. In March 1858, J.A. Macartney and William Henry Yaldwyn met William and Sylvester at Wallumbilla, a few miles east of Roma, where they had come in for rations and ammunition. They had been out avenging the murder of their mother, sisters and brothers.⁶⁰

One day William Fraser came to Gubberamunda station north of the present-day Roma. He claimed that leaders of the Hornet Bank attack were with the local Aborigines camped on Gubberamunda Creek, and said he was going to shoot them. Rose Roseby, in her memoirs, says that her father and James Lalor, who had come overland together from the Namoi River district in 1860, stopped Fraser doing so by taking their rifles and warning him that "the first shot he fired, they would shoot him!"⁶¹

Apparently Fraser held no grudge against them, for much later, when Rose was young, Fraser, who was then "managing an old station joining our place", would come during the cattle musters to the Roseby place in the evenings to "yarn" with her parents about the old

59. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.42.
 60. Emmerson, Kathleen, From Cellars to Refrigerators, Brisbane, 1969, quoting J.A. Macartney, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer", n.d., Arthur Macartney later owned Waverley station, in the Maryborough district, when William and Sylvester lived on the Isaacs. "No man in Queensland, I suppose, has ever ridden as hard as Arthur Macartney, or has traversed so much of the central and western districts of that Colony..." (De Satge, p.140)
 61. Roseby, Rose. "That Reminds Me", typescript memoirs, held by Marjery Byrnes, Spring Ridge, near Roma. They were written in 1962, when Rose Roseby was 83. This anecdote, on pp.2-3, was related to her by her mother.

times.⁶² If still, in 18 apparently n

Perhaps legend is the main street woman wearing mother's. H but acquitted in Bird's hi may have lived there. in later acc legend, beca behaviour. colonial att incident is Drayton or T court reports. Australian fo shooting of shooting of Toowoomba, w Fraser was w

62. Roseby
 63. Bird, J Rockham
 64. For in 100 Af Mirror Queens Cannon p.72
 65. North Morgan Session incident record Dalby

29. Rockhampton Morning Bulletin, 30 October 1957.
30. Morisset, Maryborough, 20 February 1858, to Wickham.

times.⁶² If this account is accurate, then Fraser was still, in 1860, seeking to take his revenge, although apparently now without success.

Perhaps the most persistent part of the Hornet Bank legend is the story that William Fraser, riding through the main street of a town some time later, noticed an Aboriginal woman wearing a dress which he believed had been his mother's. He dismounted and shot her dead. He was arrested but acquitted by the local magistrates. This story appears in Bird's history of Rockhampton, published in 1904.⁶³ It may have lingered in that district from the days when Fraser lived there. It is repeated, with some additional details, in later accounts.⁶⁴ It is a plausible part of the legend, because it fits other known facts of Fraser's behaviour. He could have done it and, in view of the colonial attitudes at the time, got off scot-free. The incident is said to have happened in the main street of Drayton or Toowoomba in Spring 1858, but a search of the court reports published in the Drayton Gazette and the North Australian for the whole of 1858 has revealed nothing. The shooting of the Aboriginal woman and another incident, the shooting of an Aboriginal strapper at a race meeting in Toowoomba, were said to have been the last acts before Fraser was warned by the authorities to stop.⁶⁵

62. Roseby, memoirs, p.6.
63. Bird, J.T.S. The Early History of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, 1904, p.201.
64. For instance, Joyce, William, "Vengeance Rider Slew 100 After Queensland's Grimmiest Massacre", Daily Mirror, Sydney, 8 July 1957; Pike, Glenville, Queensland Frontier, Adelaide, 1978, p.61; and Cannon, Michael, Life in the Country, Melbourne, 1973, p.72
65. North Queensland Register, 28 September 1929. John Morgan of Toowoomba, who has served as Clerk of Petty Sessions in the towns and cities in which these incidents could have happened, has searched old court records but has found no reference to William Fraser. Dalby had no newspaper until 1865.

31. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp.37-38.

The combined efforts of the police, the vigilantes and the Frasers had a salutary effect not only on the Upper Dawson people but apparently also those westward in the Maranoa. In March 1858 Augustus Gregory's expedition in search of Leichhardt left from the Koyds' Juandah station, calling at Eurombah, from which, under the guidance of Thomas Boulton, they made their way through the dense scrubs and broken country to the west for about 30 miles to the head of Scott's Creek. Crossing the basaltic ridge of the Great Divide the party reached the Maranoa on 5 April. On 21 April, they saw a party of armed natives near the Victoria River (Barcoo), "the first natives seen during the journey".⁶⁶

Although news of the Hornet Bank massacre had been received with shock in Sydney at the time, the colonial legislative remained strangely indifferent until 15 June 1858, when Arthur Hodgson of Eton Vale, Darling Downs, moved in the Assembly that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the matter. After debate it was agreed that the select committee should "inquire into and report upon the murders which have recently taken place on the Dawson River, and generally on the state of outrage between the white population and the Aborigines in the Northern Districts, with a view to providing for the better protection of life and property". Hodgson was appointed chairman, the other members being Cribb, Donaldson, Jones, Cowper, Buckley, Foster, Richardson, Smith and Taylor.⁶⁷

66. Gregory, A.C. and F.T. Journals of Australian Explorations, Brisbane, 1884; facsimile edition, Adelaide, 1969, pp.200-202.

67. "Report from the Select Committee on Murders by the Aborigines on the Dawson River", New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, Vol.2, 1858, Sydney; hereafter referred to as 1858 Select Committee report.

On
murders
those "i
between
country,
of the N
nature o
that set
Aborigin
was to m
repressi
from the
report t
accommod
occupati
The Nativ
character
blacks in

The
a large p
outrages,
recruited
had been
It is tru
organisat
selected
original
number of
but altho
their att
was ignor

It
extermina

68. 185

69. 185

Coondara which in 1931 was part of the Auburn, and was the most westerly run on the Burnett, reaching to Craig's Range, within 50 miles of Chinchilla. (All from Parry-Okeden, pp.3-8).

33. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.41.

157

On 3 August the Select Committee reported that the murders on the northern frontier might be attributed to those "inevitable collisions which take place more or less between the blacks and whites in opening out a new tract of country, aggravated in a great measure by the inefficiency of the Native Police Force, and the mountainous and scrubby nature of the district". The Committee seemed to be saying that settler expansion was right, the collisions with the Aborigines were regrettable but inevitable, and the solution was to make the Native Police Force more effective in repressing the Aborigines trying to defend their homelands from the white invader. There was no suggestion in the report that the whites should attempt to reach an accommodation with the Aborigines. The process of occupation by force would continue but more efficiently. The Native Mounted Police Force was to have a preventative character, "sufficiently numerous and active to overawe the blacks in their aggressions upon the settlers"⁶⁸

The Select Committee blamed the sudden disbandment of a large part of the Native Police for the upsurge in outrages, saying that disbanded troopers, who had been recruited in or near the districts in which they had served, had been the leaders in most of the attacks on whites.⁶⁹ It is true that in recruiting for the Force after the re-organisation of 1856, Aborigines in northern districts were selected rather than those in the southern districts, as the original troopers in 1848 and others later had been; the number of these disbanded northern troopers is not known, but although they may have helped the northern tribes in their attacks, their influence was minimal. The Committee was ignoring the real reasons for the attacks

It repudiated any attempt to wage a war of extermination against the Aborigines, but was satisfied

68. 1858 Select Committee report.

69. 1858 Select Committee report.

34. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.43; again Murray-Prior's pidgin English is not used.

35. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.44.

there was no alternative to carrying on matters with a strong hand and punishing with severity all future outrages on life and property in order that the bloody conflicts between the Aborigines and the settlers might be avoided in future.⁷⁰ In other words, the conquest of Central Queensland by force was to continue unchecked.

70. 1858 Select Committee report.

uncl
Andr
name
"unc

AF
Police's
formatio
enforcem
John Mur
Second-L
Second-L
Frederic
patrolli
about th
to extren
troopers
men, Toby

MO
Curtis d
Maryborou
Wickham,
Aborigine
River tri
Fitzroy.
district,
Colonial

sev
bee
whi
par
ber
to
com
by

1. Fro
Col
2. Mur
3. Mor
4. Wic

uncle has been assumed by other writers to have been Andrew Lang, but George Lang had no uncle of that name. Possibly it was a family friend known as "uncle".

41. Lang

CHAPTER 7: GUERRILLA WARFARE

After a period of serious inadequacy in the Native Police's response to Hornet Bank and the consequent formation of white vigilante groups, official law enforcement began to improve. In January 1858, Lieutenant John Murray had two detachments patrolling the Dawson: Second-Lieutenant Walter Powell with four troopers and Second-Lieutenant Robert Walker also with four.¹ Frederick Walker had assembled seven former troopers and was patrolling the country with them. Murray was apprehensive about this, informing Commandant Morisset that they might go to extremes and also Walker might induce some of the police troopers to join his band. Already one of Murray's best men, Toby, had joined them.²

Morisset toured the Burnett, Leichhardt and Port Curtis districts in February and on his return to Maryborough reported to the Government Resident in Brisbane, Wickham, that following several collisions with the Aborigines responsible for the Fraser murders, the Dawson River tribe was supposed to have gone principally to the Fitzroy. They had been driven out of the Upper Dawson district, he said.³ Wickham therefore advised the Colonial Secretary in Sydney that

several of the murderers of the Fraser Family have been destroyed by the Police, under circumstances which leave no doubt as to their being the guilty parties, a chastisement which will have a most beneficial effect, and in the only way to put a stop to the barbarous outrages which have lately been committed by the Blacks, as every act of leniency is by them attributed to cowardice.⁴

1. From attachment to Colonial Secretary, 58/920 in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle 4/719.2.
2. Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset.
3. Morisset, Maryborough, 20 February 1858, to Wickham.
4. Wickham, Brisbane, 5 March 1858, to Colonial Secretary.

The
however,
the north
and Powell
summary a
murders a
inference
within re
Also, he
they were
this, he
official
"the most
away from

It
about the
trial for
worried t
circumsta
Hornet Ba
Fraser ef
the killi
killing o
This, cle
armed ser
and witho

The
1858 had
The estim
pounds, a
6,442 pou
equipment
strengthen

5. Col
NSA

in The Colonial Australians, pp.41-42, that the people of Maryborough in 1857 expected the town to be attacked by the Jiman.

41. Lang, 31 March 1858.

160

The N.S.W. Colonial Secretary, Charles Cowper, however, was disturbed by some aspects of police action on the northern frontier. Referring to the reports of Murray and Powell, he commented that he was prepared to hear that summary and severe punishment had followed the recent murders and other atrocities on the Dawson, but there was an inference in the reports that some Aborigines, "entrapped within reach of gunshot were in cold blood destroyed". Also, he took exception to the shooting of "three gins, as they were running away". There was something abhorrent in this, he said, and if there were a similar occurrence official action would be taken to ensure that the lives of "the most ignorant savages" were not unnecessarily taken away from them.⁵

It is significant that Cowper was not complaining about the killing of large numbers of Aborigines without trial for the crimes of which they were accused; nor was he worried that those executed were selected upon the basis of circumstantial evidence such as their having been at or near Hornet Bank just before the massacre or the finding of some Fraser effects in their camps; rather he objected only to the killing of Aborigines like trapped animals and to the killing of Aboriginal women as they were running away. This, clearly he felt, was not acceptable behaviour by the armed servants of the Crown; but execution without proof and without trial was acceptable.

The officers of the Native Mounted Police Force in 1858 had every reason to be confident of its effectiveness. The estimates of expenditure for that year were 16,596 pounds, an increase of 2,035 pounds. Of the 1858 estimates, 6,442 pounds were to be spent on salaries and the balance on equipment and supplies. The force was to be considerably strengthened to comprise: 1 Commandant; 1 Secretary and

5. Col. Sec. to Wickham, 15 March 1858, draft letter, in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, NSA 4/719.2.

44. Loos
Resi
1976
Quee

Clerk; 4
3 first-l
sergeants

Mor
day he wa
clear of
Rosedale
station.
run. The
with a to
without a
stripped,
Aborigine
who found
Hornet Ba

Abor
party on
1858, but
Lieutenant
the Fitzro
lost them
party, 20
were saved
McLennan,
great many
and very
massacre
from the
No Fitzroy
spoke an e

6. NSA

7. Wis
Keep

8. Joh

- for the Burnett district (Pally-Okeeden), p. 57.
44. Loos, Noel, and Reynolds, Henry. "Aboriginal Resistance in Queensland", A.J. Pol. & Hist., 22(2) 1976, quoting parliamentary debate as published by the Queensland Guardian, 27 July 1861.

Clerk; 4 supernumerary officers in reserve for emergencies; 3 first-lieutenants; 11 second-lieutenants; 10 camp-sergeants; and 120 troopers.⁶

Morisset had been over-confident. On 20 February, the day he was writing to Wickham that the Upper Dawson was now clear of Aborigines, a hutkeeper was found dead at Bog Hut, Rosedale station, Sandy Creek, north of Palm Tree Creek station. by William Yaldwyn who had recently acquired the run. The victim had been struck on the back of the head with a tomahawk. Shortly afterwards the sheep were found without a shepherd, who was then discovered dead and stripped, wounded on the chest and head. The tracks of many Aborigines were found. Yaldwyn called in the Native Police who found among the tracks the footprints of Baulie of Hornet Bank.⁷

Aborigines had attempted to ambush Wiseman and his party on the road between Rannes and Gracemere in January 1858, but had been driven off by his orderlies. Second-Lieutenant George Murray, a brother of John Murray, based on the Fitzroy, had pursued the attackers for three days but lost them in the scrub.⁸ In the attack on Wiseman's party, 200 to 300 Aborigines struck at night. The whites were saved by the quick action of an orderly, Donald McLennan, who shot three. Wiseman later claimed that a great many of this party had come down from the Upper Dawson and very probably many of them had been implicated in the massacre of the Fraser family and had moved north to escape from the Native Police and the whites pursuing them there. No Fitzroy River blacks were with them, he said, as they spoke an entirely different language from all those near

6. NSA Col. Sec. 4/719.2, 57/2732.
7. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 5 March 1858, to CCCL.; also Keegan, Roma, 19 November 1979, to author.
8. John Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset.

45. Reid
46. Lang,

Rannes.
Christmas
shepherds

In
Dawson wa
press, no
the Nativ
1858 poin
Aborigine
Commandan
12 months
17,000 po
Force had
dissatisf
Burnett a
police of
life and p
the Govern

The
effect of
why was it
committed
were stati
answer: t
among othe

The
to act in
defence of
of being s

9. Wise
10. Wise
11. M.B.
12. M.B.

45. Reid to 1858 Select Committee, p.25.

46. Lang, 31 March 1858.

47. See H
Queen
Abori
Lynet
Surve

Rannes. This group had been on the Rannes run just before Christmas 1857, killing bullocks and sheep and robbing shepherds' huts.⁹

In March 1858, the strength of the police on the Upper Dawson was now three officers and 14 troopers.¹⁰ The press, nonetheless, was not happy with the performance of the Native Police. The Moreton Bay Free Press on 17 March 1858 pointed out that 47 Europeans had been murdered by the Aborigines since the dismissal of Frederick Walker as Commandant of the Native Police. It complained that in the 12 months since the Legislative Assembly had authorised 17,000 pounds to meet the expenses of the Native Police, the Force had become more inefficient. So great was the dissatisfaction with the Force that the squatters on the Burnett and Dawson were taking steps to organise a native police of their own - a measure which the fearful loss of life and property and the inadequate protection afforded by the Government corps had rendered necessary.¹¹

The paper asked an important question about the true effect of the Force on those it was supposed to control: why was it that the most atrocious outrages had been committed in those places where detachments of the Force were stationed?¹² It did not attempt to give an obvious answer: that the abuses committed by the Native Police, among other reasons, provoked the Aborigines to retaliate.

The Free Press claimed also that officers had refused to act in certain cases, using the most paltry pretexts in defence of their cowardly and disgraceful conduct. Instead of being stationary, the police detachments should have been

9. Wiseman, no place given, 19 May 1858, to CCCL.

10. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 5 March 1858, to CCCL.

11. M.B.F.P., 17 March 1858.

12. M.B.F.P., 17 March 1858.

peripatet.
into which
lacking th
the train
open to th
way they c
Government
did not sa
an ulterio
instance,
in Sydney
northern d

Six
was still
killed at
owned by t
of Iderawa
owned all
had been d
murdered o
from the h
attackers
the chimne
Wiseman sa
led on by
scheme, wh
will gradu
obviously,
had a perf
whites.

13. M.B.

14. Wiser
4/71

15. Wiser

16. Wiser

47. See Holmer, Nils M. "Linguistic Survey of Southern Queensland", manuscript, Part I, in the Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra: also Holmer in Oates, Lynette F., 1973 Supplement to a Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia, Armidale, 1975, Vol.2, p.215.

48. See ma
Revised
1970.
the J
centra

peripatetic. It blamed Morisset for much of the disrepute into which the Native Police had fallen, accusing him of lacking the will and the force of character necessary for the training and discipline of his men. The only course open to the squatters was to protect themselves in whatever way they could, which they would have to do, "despite all Government fulminations to the contrary".¹³ Although it did not say so in this article, the Free Press may have had an ulterior motive in making this strong criticism - for instance, revealing another weakness in the Government based in Sydney and implying that a separate government for the northern districts would be more effective.

Six months after the Hornet Bank massacre, the Dawson was still not "quiet". Two Chinese and two Englishmen were killed at Camboon on 5 or 6 April 1858.¹⁴ Camboon was owned by the late Joseph Thompson, but James Reid, formerly of Ideraway station, near Gayndah, occupied the property and owned all the sheep on it; Wiseman understood that 5,000 had been driven off by the blacks.¹⁵ Two men were murdered on Eurombah on or about 15 April in a hut 10 miles from the head-station and four miles from Hornet Bank. The attackers were believed to have entered the hut at night by the chimney; the men were found beheaded. Reporting this, Wiseman said: "Such an outrage shews that the natives are led on by men determined to carry out as far as they can the scheme, which some amongst them have proclaimed, that they will gradually murder all the whites."¹⁶ Wiseman, obviously, could not comprehend that the "natives" may have had a perfectly reasonable desire not to be conquered by the whites.

13. M.B.F.P., 17 March 1858.

14. Wiseman, 19 April 1858, to CCCL., NSA Col. Sec. 4/719.2, 58/1410.

15. Wiseman, 19 April 1858, to CCCL.

16. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 26 April 1858, to CCCL.

Lieu
Murray and
pursuing t
men. Wise
and punish
about sum
Wiseman wa
see that s
outrages w

The
Aborigines
O'Connell
Curtis) ha
the hut an
unofficial
active; W
before; an
in that di
patrolling
latter must
while attac
away unsc
and broken
of the Leic
travel in t
[sic] the c
endeavours
commit thes
Wiseman adv
extremely a
and proper
could devis
had.

17. Wisen

18. Wisen

48. See map, back insert in Oates, W.J. and Lynette F., A Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia, Canberra, 1970. The Oates appear to have been wrong in placing the Jiman in the great Mari linguistic group of central-western Queensland and northern N.S.W.

Lieutenant O'Connell Bligh, Second-Lieutenant George Murray and Sub-Lieutenant Carr and their troopers were soon pursuing the murderers; so were Frederick Walker and his men. Wiseman hoped that the offenders would be "apprehended and punished on the spot";¹⁷ Wiseman had no scruples about summary justice being meted out to the Aborigines. Wiseman was no more able than the Moreton Bay Free Press to see that such a practice was one immediate cause of the outrages which he deplored.

The latest killings showed daring on the part of the Aborigines who had now become guerillas. Murray, Carr and O'Connell Bligh (Powell having been transferred to Port Curtis) had been constantly patrolling the neighbourhood of the hut and the Eurombah run generally. As well, Walker's unofficial force, now numbering 10 ex-troopers, had been active; Wiseman himself had been to the hut only a week before; and Henry Gregory had raised a party and had gone in that direction. It was now evident that this constant patrolling had not deterred the guerillas. Although the latter must have known they took great risks of detection while attacking such a hut, they also knew that, if they got away unscathed, they had a great natural asset. "The scrubs and broken country which extend continuously over the whole of the Leichhardt District, so that the Wild Natives can travel in them from one end of the district to the other, is [sic] the cause that notwithstanding the unremitting endeavours of the Police, these savages are enabled to commit these murders and escape without any punishment", Wiseman advised.¹⁸ The local squatters were becoming extremely anxious about the ultimate fate of their servants and property. They wanted to know whether the Government could devise any better plan for their protection than it had.

17. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 26 April 1858, to CCCL.

18. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 26 April 1858, to CCCL.

Becav
the change
order to s
their weap
After the s
attackers
and balls,
was on the
murderers
45 miles no
men who fou
In the first
the road 13
ear. Thirt
missing. W
Aborigines
at Cracow s
robbed and
blacks" now
and Fitzroy
perhaps two
Aborigines
cover.¹⁹

Wisem
propriety
report on t
Gracemere
for Lands a
point out t
Aboriginal
loss of hum
indeed such

19. Wisem
1858,
1858
p.55.

50. Bloxsome, "Upper Burnett", p.147.
51. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909. T.J. Barker, who interviewed William Fraser, does not make it clear but presumably the Aborigine was killed.

Because of several factors, Wiseman was convinced of the change of tactics by the Aborigines from killing in order to seek revenge to killing whites in order to obtain their weapons which would be used in a new form of attack. After the shepherds were murdered at Camboon in April, the attackers did not take any sheep - only a carbine, powder and balls, and some axes. Two days later, Lieutenant Murray was on their trail; Powell and two troopers followed. The murderers proceeded to the Banana station of Hay and Holt, 45 miles north of Camboon, where they attacked three white men who fought them off, killing one and wounding others. In the first week of April, a shepherd had been attacked on the road 13 miles from Camboon and killed, shot through the ear. Thirty pounds were still on his body, but his dog was missing. Wiseman believed he had been shot by two Aborigines who had absconded from Banana recently. The huts at Cracow station, by which he had come to Camboon, had been robbed and the shepherds threatened. "Numerous and inimical blacks" now lined a frontier of 300 miles along the Dawson and Fitzroy Rivers, Wiseman reported; the scrubs covered perhaps two-thirds of this country and allowed the Aborigines to travel from one end of it to the other under cover.¹⁹

Wiseman was always meticulous in preserving the propriety of his behaviour as a public official. When his report on the attack on his party between Rannes and Gracemere early in 1858 was misconstrued by the Secretary for Lands and Public Works, Wiseman went to great pains to point out that he had not intended to say that the loss of Aboriginal lives was trifling. "I have not thought that the loss of human life by violence was a trifling affair as indeed such as knows my unimportant career during eighteen

19. Wiseman to Attorney-General, from Camboon, 29 April 1858, printed in N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V & P. 1858, Vol.2, 1858 as an appendix to the Select Committee report, p.55.

52. Zillmar
53. W.R. Ph
26 Apr

years in th
testify...
frontiers m
have never
say that no
tribes...as

The G
frontier.
South to re
Bligh, then
Commandant.
where he wa
district re
that local
Dawson shou
to check th
continue, a
system of ex
replied tha
available of
the safety o

Contra
Dawson to he
strength on
Murray (Com
troopers of
Moorhead wit
(Maranoa);
troopers of

20. Wisema
21. Wickha
Legisl
22. Moriss
in N.S
p.414

52. Zillman, Truth, 2 May 1909.

53. W.R. Phipps in conversation with author, Taroom,
26 April 1979.

years in these wild and frontier parts of Australia could so testify... During eighteen years I have been living on the frontiers mixing constantly with the wild Aborigines yet I have never yet shed the blood of one, and I might venture to say that no other person is better known amongst most tribes...as their friend than myself."²⁰

The Government was now decidedly nervous about the frontier. When Morisset proposed in June 1858 to go to the South to recruit more troopers he suggested that Lieutenant Bligh, then in the Upper Dawson, should relieve him as Commandant. Wickham disagreed, saying Bligh should stay where he was. "The very unsettled state of the Leichhardt district requires the presence of experienced officers in that locality..." Wickham believed the force in the Upper Dawson should be made as efficient as possible, "with a view to check the outrages which the blacks appear determined to continue, and which have the appearance of an organised system of exterminating the white population."²¹ Morisset replied that he was concentrating on the Upper Dawson every available officer and trooper in the force, consistent with the safety of other districts.²²

Contrary to Wickham's wishes, Bligh returned from the Dawson to headquarters at Maryborough. At that time the strength on the Upper Dawson comprised Lieutenant John Murray (Commanding); Second-Lieutenant Phibbs with six troopers of the Second Division; Second-Lieutenant William Moorhead with eight troopers of the Third Division (Maranoa); and Second-Lieutenant George Murray with eight troopers of the First Division. Also available were

20. Wiseman, no place given, 19 May 1858, to CCCL.

21. Wickham to Morisset, 5 June 1858, in N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.414.

22. Morisset, Cooper's Plains, 17 June 1858, to Wickham, in N.S.W. Legislative Assembly V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.414.

57. Queens

58. Queens

Second-Lieu
troopers of
Wheeler at
Division;
with five t

Wickh
situation,
"We observe
answer to a
that the Go
the late mu
Government
additional
frontier, a
augmentation

The A
making their
were on Dula
had come 50
movement awa
as well as t
Maranoa in t
murders had
Mary McManus
family arriv
few days sev
news of the
the Dawson f

23. Moriss
Legisl

24. Darlin

25. Miller

57. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909
 58. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.

61. Roseby,
 held by
 were wr
 anecdot

Second-Lieutenant Carr at Banana and Rannes with six troopers of the First Division; Second-Lieutenant Frederick Wheeler at the Fitzroy with six troopers of the First Division; and Second-Lieutenant Powell was at Port Curtis with five troopers of the First Division.²³

Wickham may have been nervous about the Dawson situation, but the Government in Sydney apparently was not. "We observe by the late Parliamentary intelligence that in answer to a question put by Mr Hodgson, Mr Cowper stated that the Government had received no official information of the late murders on the Dawson, and further that the Government had no intention immediately of affording any additional protection to the settlers on the northern frontier, as they had not been advised that any further augmentation of the Native Police Corps was required."²⁴

The Aborigines forced out of the Upper Dawson were making their presence felt in neighbouring districts. They were on Dulacca station in mid-1858; John Miller said they had come 50 to 60 miles from the Dawson.²⁵ This confirms movement away to the south from the Dawson after Hornet Bank as well as to the east and north. Some may have reached the Maranoa in the present-day Roma district, where the Fraser murders had a frightening effect on new white arrivals. Mary McManus says in her reminiscences that she and her family arrived at Mount Abundance in June 1858; but after a few days seven of their men left, leaving only three. "The news of the murders of the Fraser family at Hornet Bank on the Dawson frightened them, or they pretended to be

23. Morisset to Wickham, 17 June 1858, in N.S.W. Legislative Assembly V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.414.
 24. Darling Downs Gazette, 10 June 1858.
 25. Miller to 1858 Select Committee, p.43.

frightened.
 goldfields.

Frede
 June 1858.
 man. He st
 square-shou
 practical k
 continued u
 for its ing
 Walker still
 districts, c

Some p
 Dawson trou
 writing on J
 had recently
 He was glad
 the murder o
 Camboon, in
 Lieutenant M
 hostile trib
 to keep them
 Dawson settl
 them to be h
 them "all ri
 "bounce" the
 effect, to f
 others, he a
 them, giving
 the police,
 This subscri
 such persons

26. McManu
Settle
and Ea
 27. McManu

61. Roseby, Rose. "That Reminds Me", typescript memoirs, held by Marjery Byrnes, Spring Ridge, near Roma. They were written in 1962, when Rose Roseby was 83. This anecdote, on pp.2-3, was related to her by her mother.

168

frightened. The real cause was the rush to the Peak Downs goldfields. Both events happened about the same time."²⁶

Frederick Walker was living on Hornet Bank station in June 1858. Mary McManus said he was "a fine specimen of a man. He stood six feet or over, broad-chested and square-shouldered. He was well-educated and possessed much practical knowledge on almost every subject." But he continued until death his "railings against the Government for its ingratitude in not recognising his services." Walker still patrolled the Mount Abundance and other districts, chiefly the Upper Dawson, at this time.²⁷

Some pastoralists saw dangers in advertising the Dawson troubles. A subscriber to the Darling Downs Gazette, writing on 30 June 1858, reported that many false reports had recently been circulated of murders by the Aborigines. He was glad to say that nothing serious had occurred since the murder of four men at Reid and Thompson's station, Camboon, in April, and at last the Native Police under Lieutenant Moorhead seemed to be "up and doing". The hostile tribes only required proper management by the police to keep them quiet. He alleged that some of the Upper Dawson settlers were afraid of the Aborigines and allowed them to be harboured on their head-stations and, to keep them "all right" with themselves, allowed the Aborigines to "bounce" them for flour, tobacco and anything else and, in effect, to feed them after they had killed neighbours. These others, he alleged, even prevented the police from pursuing them, giving the murderers intimations of the movements of the police, all for the purpose of securing themselves. This subscriber claimed the blacks fully understood that such persons were really afraid and, consequently, employees

26. McManus, Mary A. Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of the Maranoa District in the Late Fifties and Early Sixties, Brisbane, 1913, p.6.

27. McManus, p.6.

65. North Queensland
Morgan
Session
incident
records
Dalby h

of such gene
who made sur
escaped. If
a master who
some such se
rations, eve
gone onto th

Moriss
5 August 185
Leichhardt i
Wickham that
the late out
some of the
although Mor
party had pr
Gregory's st
attacked it
had been sho
any "mischie
pursued them
and broken r
had reached
consisting o
with a month
follow the b
Gregory's st
was to conti
return.²⁹ S
Upper Dawson
with them on

28. Darling Downs
this "
have b
the sq
Aborig

29. Moriss
V. & P

- p.72
65. North Queensland Register, 28 September 1929. John Morgan of Toowoomba, who has served as Clerk of Petty Sessions in the towns and cities in which these incidents could have happened, has searched old court records but has found no reference to William Fraser. Dalby had no newspaper until 1865.

of such generous persons were killed, while the settlers, who made sure the Aborigines kept off their stations, escaped. If he were a working man, he would not engage with a master who harboured the Dawson blacks. He remarked that some such settlers, afraid of the blacks, would not provide rations, even for payment, to the Native Police, who had gone onto their runs to protect them.²⁸

Morisset returned to Wide Bay (Maryborough) on 5 August 1858 after visiting all the detachments in the Leichhardt including the Upper Dawson. He reported to Wickham that a large party of the Aborigines responsible for the late outrages in the Dawson district had been driven to some of the large scrubs between Palm Tree Creek and Banana, although Morisset himself had not encountered them as his party had proceeded up the Dawson. He learned at Henry Gregory's station Gwambagwyne that 50 to 60 Aborigines had attacked it about a fortnight before he arrived and that one had been shot. They had retreated immediately without doing any "mischief". Phibbs and five troopers and Gregory had pursued them for six days, but they escaped in the scrubs and broken ranges, travelling about 30 miles a day. When he had reached the Upper Dawson, Morisset arranged for a party, consisting of Phibbs, Carr, George Murray and 17 troopers with a month's rations and accompanied by Henry Gregory, to follow the blacks to their strongholds, starting from Gregory's station. Meanwhile, Moorhead with eight troopers was to continue patrolling the out-stations until their return.²⁹ Several ringleaders in the past outrages on the Upper Dawson had been shot by Bligh's men in an encounter with them on the Dawson, before he had returned to

-
28. Darling Downs Gazette, 15 July 1858. The identity of this "subscriber" is not known; but he appears to have been an employee, caught in the middle between the squatters and police on one side and the Aborigines on the other.
29. Morisset, 8 August 1858, to Wickham, N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P., 1858, Vol.2, p.416.

67. "Report from the Select Committee on Murders by the Aborigines on the Dawson River", New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, Vol.2, 1858, Sydney; hereafter referred to as 1858 Select Committee report.

Maryborough. Their names were later given by one of their own "countrymen" staying on Pigott's Auburn station. Some old gowns and other articles of wearing apparel had been found in the camp, which also proved their participation in the "late scenes of bloodshed and plunder".³⁰

Before leaving the Dawson, Morisset removed the police camp from the site between Eurombah and Kinnoul to a spot on Robinson's Creek near Gwambagwyne, where there was abundant water and grass and which was about equidistant from all the frontier stations. It was in that part of the country in which the blacks generally travelled to and from the "broken country" when engaged in their "murderous expeditions against the whites". Gregory agreed to put up the buildings required and to supply the police with rations.³¹

Criticism of the discipline in the Force appearing in newspapers was refuted by Morisset, who claimed the troopers were most orderly and well behaved. They were never allowed to have any communication with the blacks, he said, consequently the claim that the troopers had allowed murderers to escape for the sake of their gins could not be true. Desertions were not frequent: the only ones who had left the Force since the mutiny at Rannes were 12 recruits from the Clarence, and this had been because of the severity of their officer [Wheeler]. Morisset said it was a malicious untruth, as alleged in the press, that "blood money" had been paid to the troopers.³²

The situation on the Dawson was now so serious that settlers on the older runs, who before Hornet Bank were

30. Morisset to Wickham, 8 August 1858, referring to enclosed report by Lieutenant Bligh. The enclosure was not printed with Morisset's letter, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.216.

31. Morisset to Wickham, 3 August 1858.

32. Morisset to Wickham, 8 August 1858.

inclined
keeping
to atte
allowed
gave in
that so
the Nat
were no
the rec
to a ce
Wide Ba

Pe
the sit
1858. Ca
massacre
assistan
taxed, a
of the M
and eigh
paying a
their se
referrin
Frederic
Cockatoc
it monst
expendit
taxation
been vot
past 12
"these s
were kil
police h
Eurombah

it repudiated any attempt to wage a war of extermination against the Aborigines, but was satisfied

68. 1858 Select Committee report.

69. 1858 Select Committee report.

70. 1858

inclined to "let in" Aborigines as cheap labour, were now keeping them out. At the time E.M. Royds left the Dawson, to attend the 1858 inquiry in Sydney, no Aborigines were allowed into any Dawson stations. It was thought that they gave information to the neighbouring tribes. Royds said that some of the Aborigines who had been used as troopers in the Native Police had been recruited at Juandah, but they were not of the same tribe as the one which had committed the recent murders, although he believed they were connected to a certain extent. The Juandah recruits had been sent to Wide Bay and Moreton Bay.³³

Pollet Cardew and Andrew Scott were not pleased with the situation. In a letter to Cowper written on 19 November 1858, Cardew said he and his neighbour, 12 months since the massacre, were as completely defenceless, as regards assistance from the Government by whom they were heavily taxed, as they had been before it. Because of the neglect of the Native Police officers, Cardew had spent two hundred and eighty pounds and Scott nearly two hundred pounds in paying and rationing extra watchmen to protect the lives of their servants and their property. Cardew was, no doubt, referring to the private security services being provided by Frederick Walker, who had been staying first at Serocold's Cockatoo station and lately at Eurombah. Cardew considered it monstrous that he and Scott should be put to this expenditure and at the same time be subjected to enormous taxation. He pointed out that eighteen thousand pounds had been voted to meet the annual cost of the Force. During the past 12 months the only time that the police had visited "these scenes of murder and violence" was when his shepherds were killed in April, and also he had heard that a party of police had passed through the area but had not called at Eurombah.³⁴

33. E.M. Royds to 1858 Select Committee, p.20

34. Cardew, Eurombah, 19 November 1858, to Col. Sec., Oxley Library, COL., mfm A2/41.

Re
unofficial
period
Morisset
had long
and he
had set
best tro
greatest
officers
and the
collisio
regular
had resc
attempts
unsuccess
extravag
fulfil.³

Mo
saying h
apprehen
and Euro
would su
the prot
constant
directed
prevent
believe
rather,
the bett

35. Mo
CO
36. Mo
CO

Relations were not good between the official and the unofficial law-enforcement agencies on the Dawson in the period after Hornet Bank. In reply to Cardew's complaint, Morisset said that Walker had once boasted to him that he had long sought an opportunity of injuring the Native Police and he now had a very good one. Walker, Morisset claimed, had set about annoying the regular force by persuading its best troopers to join his irregular one and had "created the greatest disaffection among the rest". Morisset said his officers had been compelled to be careful to keep their men and the forces of Cardew and Scott from coming into collision, because of the taunting messages which the regular troopers often received from their rivals. Walker had resorted to this method when he found his initial attempts to induce the regulars to defect were unsuccessful. Walker, Morisset claimed, had made extravagant promises to them which he never intended to fulfil.³⁵

Morisset rejected Cardew's and Scott's allegations, saying his officers had never ceased in their exertions to apprehend or destroy those responsible for the Hornet Bank and Eurombah murders. Every other squatter on the Dawson would support this. He did not consider it necessary for the protection of a station that the Native Police should be constantly on it; on the contrary, his officers had been directed to keep patrolling the outskirts or stations to prevent the hostile Aborigines coming in. He did not believe officers should contact squatters when patrolling; rather, the less they knew about the movements of the police the better.³⁶

35. Morisset, 20 January 1859, to Wickham, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/41.

36. Morisset, to Wickham, 20 January 1859, Oxley Library, COL., mfm A2/41.

attacks
had led
in 1848
Mr Blig
year;
men at
in that
store t
Septemb
been qu
the murd
men on
been the
includin
attempt
destroy
referrin
which tw
attack.

Mo
never he
he exist
that the
same tri
that tri
Bielbah
the poli
the Daws
Cardew's
restored
over the

2. Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset.
3. Morisset, Maryborough, 20 February 1858, to Wickham.
4. Wickham, Brisbane, 5 March 1858, to Colonial Secretary.

Cardew alleged the ringleader in a number of serious attacks since 1848 had been a man named Bielbah. This man had led the attacks on Macpherson's Mount Abundance station in 1848, when nine men had been killed; the spearing of a Mr Bligh and the killing of one of his men in the following year; the killing of two men at Dulacca in 1849 and three men at Tieryboo in the same year; the killing of a Mr Jones in that year at Wallan and the burning to the ground of a store there. In an engagement with the Native Police in September 1849, Bielbah had escaped and appeared to have been quiet until the "unfortunate year" 1854, when he led the murders of Kettle near Dulacca and Maclaren and his two men on the Dawson. Since then, Cardew claimed, Bielbah had been the leader of every murder in the Upper Dawson, including those at Hornet Bank, but not that at Taroom. No attempt had been made by the Native Police to apprehend or destroy this "monster", he said.³⁷ Cardew appears to be referring to the incident at Yaldwyn's Taroom station in which two shepherds were killed soon after the Hornet Bank attack.

Morisset was asked to comment on this and said he had never heard of Bielbah and he was inclined to believe that he existed only in Cardew's imagination. Morisset asserted that the murders on the Dawson had all been committed by the same tribe and in the many collisions between the police and that tribe many of the ringleaders had been shot. If Bielbah had escaped, it was not from design on the part of the police. It was their endeavour to render the whole of the Dawson peaceable and not to favour any station more than Cardew's and Scott's. Morisset claimed that since he had restored the Native Police Force to something like order over the last eight or nine months, the outrages on the

37. Cardew, Eurombah, 19 November 1858, to Col. Sec., Oxley Library, COL., mfm A2/41. Cardew refers to this man as "Bulba", but he is more commonly known as Bielbah.

frontier
promptly
thereby
efficien

Th
troopers
worrying
referred
taken to
Wiseman
Dawson s
replied
by Carde
shepherd
himself
risk, le
remainin
no wish
said he
and none
service
paid thi
engaged
station
ex-troop
as the d

38. Mo
mfi

39. At
18
Ox

40. Wa
Li

41. Wi
Li

equipment and supplies. The force was to be considerably strengthened to comprise: 1 Commandant; 1 Secretary and

5. Col. Sec. to Wickham, 15 March 1858, draft letter, in NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, NSA 4/719.2.

174

frontier had been comparatively few and any attacks had been promptly repelled or followed by adequate punishment, thereby affording the best evidence of the increasing efficiency of the Force.³⁸

The existence of a private security force of former troopers under the command of Frederick Walker had been worrying the Government for some time. The matter was referred to the Attorney-General, who recommended steps be taken to disband this force. Wickham was informed, and Wiseman asked to settle the matter with Walker and the Dawson squatters.³⁹ When Wiseman interviewed him, Walker replied that five of the former troopers were now employed by Cardew on Eurombah under Walker's orders, four as shepherds and one as a stockman. These men and Walker himself occupied the out-stations exposed to the greatest risk, leaving the European shepherds to take charge of the remaining sheep at the head-station. He stated that he had no wish to act at variance with the Government.⁴⁰ Walker said he had not lately been on patrol with the ex-troopers and none were now under his orders except those in the service of Pollet Cardew as shepherds. The ex-troopers were paid thirty-five pounds a year and Walker himself was engaged as overseer with 10,000 sheep under his charge at a station 20 miles from the Eurombah head-station. These ex-troopers were with him and they of course carried arms, as the district was still not safe without them.⁴¹

38. Morisset, 20 January 1859, to Wickham, Oxley Library, mfm A2/41.

39. Attorney-General's Department, Sydney, 19 January 1859, to Department of Lands and Public Works, Sydney, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/41.

40. Walker, Eurombah, 14 March 1859, to CCCL, in Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/41.

41. Wiseman, Eurombah, 15 March 1859, to CCCL, Oxley Library, COL., mfm A2/41.

6. NSA
7. Wise
Keeg

8. John

Wi
superint
the five
and warn
would be
Eurombah
employed
told the
Upper Da
arrest h
clear wh
William

So
Bank were
served in
1856 had
Lieutenan
requested
southern
as the Mu
in 1854,
agreement
released
take poli
Native Po
Murray's
the so-ca
reach the
animals.
Resident
override
previous

42. Wis
Lib

6. NSA Col. Sec. 4/719.2, 51/2132.
7. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 5 March 1858, to CCCL.; also Keegan, Roma, 19 November 1979, to author.
8. John Murray, Port Curtis, 19 January 1858, to Morisset.

Wiseman also called at Hornet Bank, where the superintendent, Thomas Ross, was absent. He spoke to one of the five ex-troopers who were employed there as shepherds and warned him against going out with Walker, otherwise he would be put in handcuffs and sent to Sydney. Next day at Eurombah, Wiseman saw Ross who declared the ex-troopers were employed as shepherds. Wiseman was convinced he had been told the truth, but nonetheless made arrangements with the Upper Dawson magistrates to read the Riot Act to Walker and arrest him if he again patrolled illegally.⁴² It is not clear where the Fraser brothers were at this time, but William may have been attempting to develop Sollow Hills.

Some of the ex-troopers now on Eurombah and Hornet Bank were by then well-known in the district. They had served in the Native Police for seven years, but late in 1856 had mutinied at Rannes. They had been sent there by Lieutenant John Murray from Port Curtis, after they had requested to be allowed to return to their homes in the southern districts of NSW. Some had come from as far away as the Murray River. The Government Resident at Port Curtis in 1854, Captain Maurice O'Connell, had obtained the agreement of the Colonial Secretary that they should be released after seven years' service and should be allowed to take police horses, which they would hand over to the last Native Police post before reaching home. Lieutenant Murray's action, however, prevented this, thus precipitating the so-called mutiny at Rannes. They set out on foot to reach their homelands, taking two police horses as pack animals. In January 1857 O'Connell, no longer Government Resident at Port Curtis, wrote to Cowper, urging him to override Murray's orders and honour the Government's previous undertaking and also to order the officers in

42. Wiseman, Eurombah, 15 March 1859, to CCCL, Oxley Library, COL., mfm A2/41.

9. Wiseman
10. Wiseman
11. M.B.F.
12. M.B.F.

charge of
ex-troop

Th
by William
allow the
declined
afterward
when they
as his br
men".⁴⁴
29 Decemb
country.
Second-Li
were to r
honourabl
"deeply g
breach of
believed
leave the

Wis
wish to d
service a
acknowled
assisted
terminate
means of
expiratio

43. O'C
in
44. Mil
Lib
ref
fro
3.)
45. O'C
NSA

9. Wiseman, no place given, 19 May 1858, to CCCL.
10. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 5 March 1858, to CCCL.
11. M.B.F.P., 17 March 1858.
12. M.B.F.P., 17 March 1858.

charge of the police posts along the way to assist the ex-troopers to reach their homes.⁴³

The behaviour of the troopers at Rannes was witnessed by William Miles in December 1856. They requested him to allow them to accompany his dray to the Upper Dawson; Miles declined, but they followed him nonetheless and shortly afterwards made their appearance there. Miles remarked that when they did, Ross had been forced to "take the same steps as his brother officers had done since to disband his men".⁴⁴ The mutineers had begun their journey on foot on 29 December 1856 through, to them, a dangerous and hostile country. They had been lent the two pack horses by Second-Lieutenant Robert Walker of the Native Police and were to relinquish them at the next post. O'Connell, an honourable man to the backbone, expressed himself as being "deeply grieved" that he had been implicated in a gross breach of public faith to the troopers. O'Connell said he believed the chief crime of the men was their desire to leave the service after seven years.⁴⁵

Wiseman was in something of a quandary. He did not wish to dismiss the ex-troopers from Cardew's and Scott's service and to order them back to their homes, but he acknowledged there had been an agreement that they would be assisted to reach their homes when their service was terminated. These men were now in a position to earn the means of returning if they desired. Some of them, at the expiration of their agreements with Cardew and Scott, were

43. O'Connell, 29 January 1857, to Col. Sec., Port Curtis, in NSA Col. Sec., Special Bundle, 4/719.2.
44. Miles, Kinnoul, 9 December 1858, to John Murray, Oxley Library, COL. mfm, A2/41. Miles appears to be referring to Ross's difficulties with his men en route from Ghinghinda to Eurombah in March 1857 (See Chap. 3.)
45. O'Connell, Port Curtis, 29 January 1857, to Col. Sec., NSA Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2.

14. Wisem
4/719
15. Wisem
16. Wisem

to have a
should pu

It
Upper Daw
early in
patrol.
period:
attacks o
keep thei
Cardew wo
known as
Neddy, Bi
was not t
Not all t
for Moris
had induc
them.⁴⁷
depredati
reached W
woman and

It
employing
early as
were being
stations
at Taroom
Boney had
Auburn sta
station in

46. Wise
Libr
47. Thom
Wise
48. O'Co

14. Wiseman, 19 April 1858, to CCCL., NSA Col. Sec.
4/719.2, 58/1410.
15. Wiseman, 19 April 1858, to CCCL.
16. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 26 April 1858, to CCCL.

to have as payment a horse and saddle each. This, he felt, should put an end to the matter.⁴⁶

It is not clear what these ex-troopers did in the Upper Dawson between their arrival sometime in 1857 and early in 1858 when they were part of Walker's unofficial patrol. There is no mention of them in the records for that period: perhaps they joined the Jiman in some of the attacks of that period; but if they did they managed to keep their deeds secret for it is unlikely Scott, Fraser and Cardew would have employed them as shepherds had they been known as murderers. The five at Hornet Bank were named Neddy, Billy, Paddy, Jerry and Boney. Obviously the last was not the Boney (Baulie) who had betrayed the Frasers. Not all the 10 employed as shepherds had come from Rannes, for Morisset had complained that Walker and his ex-troopers had induced the best of the local troopers to join them.⁴⁷ Yet, some of the Rannes troopers committed depredations on the road south through the Dawson. A few reached Wandai Gumbul where they behaved badly, firing at a woman and stealing ammunition from huts.⁴⁸

It is significant that Scott and Cardew were again employing Aborigines on their stations by March 1859. As early as January 1856 Wiseman had reported that Aborigines were being allowed into Juandah, Bungaban and Cockatoo stations on the Dawson. Certainly others had been employed at Taroom by William Yaldwyn after Hornet Bank and Cockatoo Boney had claimed that he had been working for Pigott at Auburn station when the Browns visited him at Bundooma station in the Burnett district. Others may have been

-
46. Wiseman, Eurombah, 15 March 1859, to CCCL, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/41.
47. Thomas Ross in a statement to Wiseman, enclosed with Wiseman to CCCL, Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/41.
48. O'Connell to 1858 Select Committee, p.6.

- had.
17. Wisem
18. Wisem

working a
north alo
Scott and
order of
after the

Gue
Queenslan
correspon
Curtis go
Fitzroy,
savage to
part of A
the histo

An
years in
continued
Dawson.

...t
goin
and
depe
can
for
aver

The
the run ev
police unt
Carnarvon

49. Mur
50. Rus
Melb
gold
Rive
(Mes
51. A Un
Aven

had.

17. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 26 April 1858, to CCCL.

18. Wiseman, Cockatoo, 26 April 1858, to CCCL.

working at the Duttons' station, Bauhinia Downs, further north along the Dawson by this time also. It seems that Scott and Cardew had accommodated themselves to the new order of things by employing black labour at least 18 months after the massacre.

Guerilla warfare was maintained in south-central Queensland for 18 months after Hornet Bank.⁴⁹ A correspondent of the Melbourne Age reported from the Port Curtis goldfield in 1858 the "border warfare about the Fitzroy, the Dawson, and the adjacent districts to be as savage to this day as any war with the aborigine that in any part of Australia ever darkened with disgraceful incidents the history of our progress".⁵⁰

An English observer, George Carrington, after some years in Queensland, noted in 1871 that this border war continued as the frontier moved northwards away from the Dawson.

...there is a steady, but irregular, guerilla warfare going on, the blackfellow having, on his side, cunning and knowledge of the country, and the other side depending on their superior weapons and skill. There can be no doubt, however, about the final result, as for every white man killed, six blackfellows, on an average, bite the dust.⁵¹

The former servant at Hornet Bank, Baulie, had been on the run ever since the attack, but he managed to elude the police until March 1860. Baulie was now living in the Carnarvon Ranges at the head of the Dawson with a band of

49. Murray-Prior, memoirs, p.44.

50. Rusden, G.W. History of Australia, Vol.III, Melbourne, 1884, p.234. The first Queensland goldfield was discovered at Canoona on the Fitzroy River about 30 miles from Rockhampton in June 1858 (Meston, History, p.39).

51. A University Man [George Carrington]. Colonial Aventures and Experiences, London, 1871, p.154.

19. Wiseman,
1858,
1858
p.55.

about 30 v
attacking
dangerous
the Coxens
"quiet" bl
party was
alarmed ar
come and m
police arr
country wa
useless.⁵²

The
recognised
He tried t
sending a
him and th
severely h
speared.
Baulie, wh
a warrant
murderers.
blacks wer
fighting,
near the e
had seen C
the troope
English.⁵³

At t
were dead.
the Fraser
asked whet

52. John

53. Carr
Carr
In m
four

19. Wiseman to Attorney-General, from Camboon, 29 April 1858, printed in N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V & P. 1858, Vol.2, 1858 as an appendix to the Select Committee report, p.55.

about 30 who sometimes came down upon the stations, attacking them and destroying cattle. This was the only dangerous band of blacks left in the area. In 1860 one of the Coxens had formed a new station in the Maranoa and the "quiet" blacks about the station had told him that Bahlee's party was about to attack. Coxen's people were greatly alarmed and one of them went for the police. The blacks did come and made every show of attacking the station, the police arriving just as they had surrounded the place. The country was very boggy then and the police horses were useless.⁵²

The officer was Second-Lieutenant F.W. Carr who recognised them as Dawson blacks, the worst he had known. He tried to parley when he arrived but they attacked, sending a shower of spears, nullah-nullahs and boomerangs at him and the troopers. He was struck on the wrist and severely hurt. Several troopers were struck and one man was speared. The police then opened fire. Carr later said Baulie, whom he knew personally, was among them; there was a warrant out for his apprehension as one of the Hornet Bank murderers. Baulie was no coward: even when some of the blacks were shot, he encouraged the others to go on fighting, telling them not to give up, that the police were near the end of their ammunition, which was true. Baulie had seen Carr give cartridges from his own pouch to some of the troopers. Carr heard Baulie say this in good English.⁵³

At the end of this engagement, 15 of the Dawson people were dead. This was the end of Baulie, the "betrayer" of the Frasers. At the 1861 Select Committee Enquiry, Carr was asked whether Baulie might not be still alive, for a man

52. John Ker Wilson, to 1851 Select Committee, p.73.

53. Carr to 1861 Enquiry, p.129-30. Morisset considered Carr to be a very efficient officer, as good as any. In mid-1861 he had been in the Force rather more than four years. (Morisset to the 1861 Enquiry, p.146).

21. Wickha
Legisl

22. Moriss
in N.S
p.414.

like him h
Chinchilla
Baulie's d
R.R. Macke
the Fraser
that the D
thought th
the police
continued
time".⁵⁵

It i
particular
also known
him once.

There
four
was
this
height
than
twent
him.
by th
looki

One o
Brish
civil
scrub
looke
that
toward
go ar
butte
is no

54. Carr
the F
band
of th
which
Bank,
sever
clear

55. Macke

21. Wickham to Morisset, 5 June 1858, in N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.414.
22. Morisset, Cooper's Plains, 17 June 1858, to Wickham, in N.S.W. Legislative Assembly V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.414.

like him had since been seen at Charley's Creek (near Chinchilla), but Carr said he could have no doubt of Baulie's death.⁵⁴ The chairman of this Committee, R.R. Mackenzie, said he believed the tribe responsible for the Fraser murders was now largely extinct. Carr replied that the Dawson tribe was now considerably thinned and he thought the "worst lot" had disappeared. He commented that the police had warrants for one particular man, who continued to give them "any amount of trouble at the present time".⁵⁵

It is likely that the man at Charley's Creek and the particular man still being hunted by the Police was Bielbah, also known as Bulba, Bilbah and Billbo. William Telfer met him once.

There was one blackfellow there named Bilbah, six feet four inches in height, a villainous scoundrel. When I was out in Roma in 1860 at Euthulla station, I saw this Aboriginal. He stood six feet four inches in height, a ferocious scoundrel, more like a wild animal than a human being. They said that Fraser had offered twenty-five pounds for his head if anyone would shoot him. He used to stop at the station, being protected by the manager from the Native Police. When they were looking for him, he would be in the house.

One day I was out on the run with some sheep, a Brisbane aboriginal named Tommy was with me, he was civilised. He said, 'There's something moving in the scrub over there. I think it is the blacks.' I looked over and saw the blacks moving. Just after that I saw a tall Aborigine come out of it. He came towards us. Tommy said it was Bilbah. He said, 'You go and meet him, give him a piece of bread and butter. If he takes it, [it] is a peace offer, there is no danger'. I went and met him. He stuck his

54. Carr to 1861 Enquiry, p.135. Skinner, in Police of the Pastoral Frontier, argues that the leader of this band was Bielbah but both Ker Wilson, Carr and members of the Select Committee referred to him as Baulie which approximates the name of the servant at Hornet Bank, whereas the name Bielbah or similar is used by several reliable sources to refer to a man who was clearly not the Hornet Bank servant.
55. Mackenzie and Carr to 1861 Select Committee, p.130.

23. Morisset
Legisl
24. Darlin
25. Miller

spea
out
hand
scru
whil
him'

Telf

he and oth
stayed the
a "tribe"
their dogs
weird, dis
been shot
Several re
also Bielba
of the Fras
Bielbah was
later.⁵⁷

One o

Hannah Cox,
"had the re
Hornet Bank
credit". S
station, no
Police "who
Government
usually had
along for t
police were
the Roma di
one morning
Cattle Cree
corroboree

56. Telfe

57. Telfe
headw

23. Morisset to Wickham, 17 June 1858, in N.S.W. Legislative Assembly V & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.414.
24. Darling Downs Gazette, 10 June 1858.
25. Miller to 1858 Select Committee, p.43.

spear into the ground, lowering his tomahawk, reaching out [his] hand and took a piece of bread. Placing his hand on his head, [he] bowed and walked away into the scrub again. Tommy said, 'He will never molest you while you stay here, as you have made peace with him'. So I saw no more of him after that.⁵⁶

Telfer says that having left Roma on 26 January 1860, he and others came to a station on the Bungil Creek; they stayed there for the night. On the creek nearby was camped a "tribe" of Aborigines. "The howling of the blacks and their dogs kept us awake all night, a most unearthly and weird, dismal sound. Crying after their friends, who had been shot by the Native Police, they were quite naked..." Several refugees from the Upper Dawson tribe were with them, also Bielbah who was wanted in connection with the massacre of the Fraser family at Hornet Bank. Telfer says that Bielbah was shot dead by the Native Police seven years later.⁵⁷

One of the pioneer women of the Roma district, Mrs Hannah Cox, encountered Bielbah whom she called Billbo. He "had the reputation of being one of the ringleaders in the Hornet Bank massacre, and had several other murders to his credit". She said he would seldom come near Gubberamunda station, north of Roma, as he had been chased by the Native Police "who would shoot him on sight, as there was a Government reward of 50 pounds for him, dead or alive. He usually had one or two gins with him and he would send them along for tucker and see the lay of the land, and if any police were about." Shortly after Mrs Cox came to live in the Roma district, one of Bielbah's gins came to her early one morning for food and told her that he was going to Cattle Creek near Mount Abundance head-station where a big corroboree was to be held and where he intended to pay back

56. Telfer, reminiscences, p.27.

57. Telfer, reminiscences, p.88. The Bungil Creek headwaters are near the Dawson headwaters.

26. McManus
Settler
and Ear
27. McManus

an old sco
departed,
the Police
his way to
Billbo, wh
firearms.
[it] with

The r
Rockhampton
She was rep
found six c
paid troope
stock. Gul
but he esca
Lieutenant
Creek, a st
intention o
him to thei
that Gulliv
Dee River,
trooper nam
Powell took
to Rockham

58. From
the R
Weste
and r
Cutti
Ridge
place
but i
corre
menti
the P
A2/42
on Ho
the B
Gubbe
Byrne
Goond
Gubbe

26. McManus, Mary A. Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of the Maranoa District in the Late Fifties and Early Sixties, Brisbane, 1913, p.6.
27. McManus, p.6.

an old score to one of the leaders. "After the gins departed, Mrs Cox immediately saddled her horse, galloped to the Police Station and gave information that Billbo was on his way to Cattle Creek. The police immediately followed Billbo, who put up a great battle, but had no hope against firearms. Mrs Cox later received half the reward, dividing [it] with a local policeman."⁵⁸

The murder of a white woman named Fanny Briggs near Rockhampton cause a sensation two years after Hornet Bank. She was reported missing on 6 November 1859 and her body found six days later. Fanny Briggs was believed to have paid troopers including Gulliver with grog to round up stray stock. Gulliver was arrested along with two other troopers, but he escaped from custody at Rockhampton. Second-Lieutenant Powell learned that Gulliver had gone to Raglan Creek, a station owned by James Landsborough, with the intention of inducing Aborigines there to desert and go with him to their own country, the Upper Dawson. This implies that Gulliver and the others were Jiman. They reached the Dee River, where they were made drunk on rum by a former trooper named Kennis, who secured Gulliver. On his arrival, Powell took charge of Gulliver and proceeded to return him to Rockhampton, but on the way Powell shot him and he died

58. From "Women of the West: Mrs Hannah Cox, Pioneer of the Roma District", an article published in the Western Star, Roma, no date but apparently in 1928, and reprinted in the Western Star, 26 September 1967. Cutting in possession of Mrs Marjorie Byrnes, Spring Ridge, near Roma. Telfer says that William Fraser had placed a reward of 25 pounds on the head of Bielbah; but it seems more likely that Hannah Cox's account is correct about the reward; Fraser did not directly mention Bielbah in his letter of 11 January 1858 to the Principal Secretary (Oxley Library, COL. mfm A2/42), in which the suspected leaders of the attack on Hornet Bank were named, but Bielbah may have been the Bobby mentioned in it. Mrs Cox arrived at Gubberamunda station with her first husband, William Byrnes, on 1 August 1860, having journeyed from Goondiwindi with James Lalor, the owner of Gubberamunda.

this "s
have be
the squ
Aborigi

29. Morisse
V. & P,

within fiv
tried to e
dray in wh
Gulliver w
run even i
that Powel
had been t
had raped
giving inf
participat
was one of
massacre i
Scott and

Quee
1859 amid
Brisbane th
Aborigines
resistance
1860 five r
the east s
responsible
from one of
Guts, also
Fraser murd
one of the
blacks to a
named him a
near the Co
were report

59. For o
Brigg
see t

60. Carr

61. Murra

this "subscriber" is not known; but he appears to have been an employee, caught in the middle between the squatters and police on one side and the Aborigines on the other.

29. Morisset, 8 August 1858, to Wickham, N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P, 1858, Vol.2, p.416.

within five minutes. Powell reported that Gulliver had tried to escape, but a farmer from whom Powell borrowed a dray in which to transport Gulliver later claimed that Gulliver was so insensible with drink that he could not have run even if he had freed himself from his bonds, and implied that Powell had murdered him. Powell said later that Kennis had been told by Gulliver that he and troopers Toby and Alma had raped Fanny Briggs and then murdered her to prevent her giving information.⁵⁹ It was later claimed that he had participated in the Hornet Bank murders. It is possible he was one of the Juandah Aborigines recruited after the massacre into the Native Police by Nicoll to which Andrew Scott and William Fraser strongly objected.

Queensland was separated from N.S.W. on 10 December 1859 amid great jubilation after a decade of agitation. In Brisbane the official celebrations did not include the Aborigines who, inland, were still carrying on the war of resistance now moving well away from Hornet Bank. Early in 1860 five men were killed at Reed's Castle Creek station on the east side of the Lower Dawson. Carr followed the blacks responsible, killing eight and recovering property stolen from one of Reed's huts. One of those killed was Double-Guts, also believed to have been one of the leaders of the Fraser murderers.⁶⁰ Haly had already named Double-Guts as one of the Dawson blacks who tried to incite the Burnett blacks to attack his station by night, and Murray-Prior named him as the leader of a "mob" dispersed by the Browns near the Cocoa Waterholes.⁶¹ Also, a party of Europeans were reported early in 1860 to have been murdered at

-
59. For official correspondence on the murder of Fanny Briggs and subsequent arrest and killing of Gulliver, see the Moreton Bay Courier, 24 Januar, 1861.
60. Carr to 1861 Select Committee, p.130.
61. Murray-Prior, memoirs, pp. 40-41.

Clematis Creek, on the north-west corner of the Upper Dawson basin.⁶²

In July 1861 Frederick Walker made a number of allegations concerning the administration of justice towards the Aborigines in Queensland in his letter to the Attorney-General, Atcliffe Pring. One was that despite the urgent protest of a magistrate, a Victorian Aborigine named Tahiti "who had faithfully served the Government for eight years" was illegally taken in irons and murdered. When after a delay of 10 months the Government ordered an inquiry to be held, Wiseman, a magistrate who "instituted a mock enquiry and I dare him to contradict it, did his best to screen the murderer". Walker said another magistrate had told him that, notwithstanding the repeated decisions of the Supreme Court, the Aborigines were not British subjects and not amenable to British law.⁶³

A strong feeling prevailed, Walker said, that "this state of things" was connived at by the Government for it had frequently reiterated that the proceedings of the officers of the Native Police were founded upon positive instructions from the former Colonial Secretary in the N.S.W. Government, Charles Cowper. He believed that a forced construction had been put upon Cowper's instructions. Walker told Pring he feared the Government had been constantly misinformed upon these matters, but he hoped the Government's eyes would be opened and that "means will be taken to put a stop to an infernal system, which has already cast a deep stain upon the honour of this

62. Daniel Cameron, Dawson River, 10 February 1860, to Chief Secretary, QSA, 60/400.

63. Walker, Nulalbin, 10 July 1861, to Attorney-General, Col. Sec. inwards correspondence, Oxley Library mfm, reel not known. (Reference supplied by Mr Alan Queale, Amnerley, Queensland.)

basis of Leichhardt's map of 1845, as had others. Early in 1860 Scott had received a notice from Wiseman that the

Colo
kill
beca
had
ine

arr
stat
that
neig
movi
empl
carr
bull
nigg
as a

Hawk
ago.

64.

65.

66.

Colony".⁶⁴ Walker, the former flogger of troopers and killer of resisting Aborigines, a man who had been disgraced because of his mismanagement of the Native Police, obviously had an axe to grind, but his criticism was valid even if ineffectual.

The Upper Dawson was now quiet. James Nisbet, who arrived in 1859 to work on William Kelman's Ghinghinda station, was 10 years on the Upper Dawson and not once in that time heard of any wild blacks being in the neighbourhood of that station.⁶⁵ But, left behind the moving frontier were many maimed Aborigines. Of the 16 employed on Cockatoo in the mid-1860s one was King Derby who carried a brass plate and had two fingers damaged by a bullet wound, according to William Slade. "Another of these niggers had 16 bullet wounds." This latter man was employed as a tracker and house boy.⁶⁶

Herbert Bloxsome in 1945 related that an old man named Hawkwood Tommy was king of the Hawkwood "tribe" many years ago.

He had only one eye and the forehead above was missing. He used to tell the story that he, as a child, was being carried on his mother's back at a time when the black police were rounding up a mob of semi-wild blacks to punish them for spearing cattle,

64. Frederick Walker, Nulalbin, 10 July 1861, to Attorney-General.

65. Nisbet, p.22. James Nisbet left Liverpool in August 1857 for Sydney, went to Bathurst where he worked for 18 months; sailed from Sydney in March 1859 for Rockhampton, where he travelled to Ghinghinda station. Date of death not known, but last entries in his reminiscences, apparently written in Ryde, N.S.W., were made in 1912.

66. Slade, William, memoirs, Warwick Daily News, 19 April 1938. William Ball Slade, born Taunton, Somerset, 1853, sailed from Gravesend in 1861 and was employed on Cockatoo Creek station 1864-68.

Andrew Scott's tenders for five runs were accepted on 23 March 1861. Among them were two, Morandah and

and a stray bullet grazed his protruding brow and eye, leaving him blind in one eye for life.⁶⁷

The moving frontier also left behind many dead. In the late 1880s Michael O'Sullivan, a police inspector posted to Taroom, saw enough human bones to "fill a hand cart" at a bend in the Dawson River near Carrabah station. This, he said, was the result of a round-up of Aborigines "in the late 1860s".⁶⁸

A "true story" of the reprisal carried out by the Native Police against a band of Dawson blacks in the "early days when squatters stocked the Dawson runs with sheep" is told in a poem called "Bill Hallett's Story of the Dawson Blacks". This poem, by John G. Cumming, of Merivale, Injune, is based on a story told by Bill Hallett of Pony Hills, about midway between Taroom and Injune, who was born near Taroom in the 1870s. In part, it says that after the

"Dawson Blacks came stealing at the break of day
To spear the waking shepherds in their blankets where
they lay..."

the Black Police troop patrolling the Dawson district was called in. The troopers

"...found the Myalls resting, slothful, sleeping
unaware,
When a volley from the muskets broke upon the mountain
air.
Thus the tribe was shot to pieces - there escaped but
only few
Who scattered through the ranges to a refuge that they
knew."

67. Bloxsome, "Upper Burnett", in J.R.H.S.Q., Vol.3, No.5, 1945, p.345.

68. O'Sullivan, Michael. Cameos of Crime, Sydney, 1939, p.61. This is 10 years after Hornet Bank. Perhaps he meant late 1850s.

blacks...I, of course, did not touch on the massacre the evening I spent with Mr Fraser, but it was currently believed that he never lost an opportunity of

But t
refuge

Dawson
of the

the Qu
Sir Ge
the co
eviden
feasib
eviden
of the
taken
necess
Govern
contin
would

Commit

69.

70.

named
Coope

But the Native Police patrol tracked them to their mountain refuge and at dawn opened fire.

"Chaos came among the Myalls. Some rose to face the foe,
While others leapt the precipice, to crash to death below...
But the scene upon the plateau, we will screen as with a veil.
Far better that we hide from you the ending of the tale."⁶⁹

Black resistance now having been broken in the Upper Dawson, drawing a veil over such events was the normal wish of the victors. But this veil had many holes.

In his speech on the opening of the second session of the Queensland Parliament on 30 April 1861, the Governor, Sir George Bowen, recommended to members that they consider the condition of the Aborigines of Queensland and take evidence before a Parliamentary committee as to the feasibility of improving it. He also recommended that evidence be taken on the organisation and present condition of the Native Police Force to consider what means might be taken to increase the discipline and efficiency of "this necessary protective force".⁷⁰ This shows that the Government had already decided that such a force was a continuing necessity, was protective and that very little would change.

On the same day R.R. Mackenzie moved that a Select Committee be established to investigate the Native Police.

69. Bill Hallett's story was published in the Western Star, Roma, during the 1960s. The event it describes could have happened at any time between the Hornet Bank massacre and the disbandment of the Native Police in 1897. Grahame Walsh of Injune believes the massacre referred to in this poem was located just west of Robinson's Gorge National Park in the north-central Upper Dawson basin.

70. Moreton Bay Courier, 1 May 1861.

named Hodgkinson retraced their steps and set off to Fort Cooper, near the present-day Nebo, encountering the mailman

This v
commit
compos
and a
witness
inquir
taking
matter

affect
events
In 183
other
the ne
had di
when G
they t
condit
statio
partic
a vita
agreed
attitu
long b
N.S.W.
Brisba
men fo
in 183

71.

72.

73.

appoi
of Ac

This was agreed, and Mackenzie was appointed chairman of a committee heavily stacked in favour of the squatters. Its composition was challenged by the Moreton Bay Courier⁷¹ and a squatter, William Henry Walsh of Degilbo, called as a witness, refused to attend, saying that the outcome of the inquiry could already be assumed. The Assembly considered taking action against him for contempt, but dropped the matter.⁷²

The dominance of Robert Ramsay Mackenzie in affairs affecting the frontier is important in considering later events. He was a Scot who arrived in N.S.W. in about 1826. In 1837 he purchased the occupancy rights of Salisbury and other runs in the New England district, and was probably on the neighbouring run, Terrible Vale, in 1846.⁷³ Mackenzie had disposed of his New England properties by early 1856 when George Pearce Serocold met him in Sydney and together they travelled to the Moreton Bay district to study conditions there before jointly purchasing Cockatoo Creek station on the Upper Dawson. Although he did not participate in the management of this station, Mackenzie had a vital interest in conditions on the Dawson and no doubt agreed with Serocold's reaction to Hornet Bank. His attitudes towards the Aborigines had probably been fixed long before 1861; while examining Samuel Sneyd, a former N.S.W. Mounted Police sergeant and then Chief Constable in Brisbane, Mackenzie referred to the hanging of seven white men found guilty of the Myall Creek massacre of Aborigines in 1838 as "judicial murder". He claimed the men had been

71. MBC, 7 May 1861.

72. "Report of the Select Committee on the Native Police Force", in Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1861, Brisbane. Walsh appears to have been not so much pro-Aborigine as anti-establishment.

73. Leichhardt, Letters, Vol. 3, Arousseau's note, p.1055.

goaded
explor
mainte
way of
Macker
of the
to lea

consid
Force;
its of
the se
civili
Aborig
1861.
existi
recomm
It rec
state
to the

74.

75.

76.

Willi

goaded into killing the blacks.⁷⁴ While examining the explorer Augustus Gregory, Mackenzie suggested that the maintenance of the Native Police Force was the most humane way of dealing with the blacks. Gregory agreed.⁷⁵ Mackenzie must have been well aware of the "humane" methods of the Native Police long before this; if not, he was soon to learn during the 1861 inquiry.⁷⁶

The 1861 Select Committee was established to consider: the present condition of the Native Police Force; the charges of unnecessary cruelty brought against its officers when dealing with the natives and protecting the settlers against their aggressions; and the prospect of civilising or in any way improving the condition of the Aboriginal population. It presented its report on 17 July 1861. Like the 1858 Committee, this one merely confirmed existing policies for the occupation of Aboriginal lands and recommended further reorganisation to improve "efficiency". It recommended monthly returns of all proceedings and on the state of the troopers be furnished by each officer-in-charge to the Commandant, who in turn would furnish a general

74. Mackenzie, 1861 Select Committee, p.48.

75. 1861 Select Committee, p.39.

76. Bernays, who knew him well, gave the following almost comical description of him. His outstanding characteristics were that of being a big man and good-looking, but "his best friend would not accuse him of mental brilliance". A man of high character and genial disposition, he was phlegmatic to some extent and humourless, but he possessed excellent organising ability. Mackenzie had a Scotch deliberation in his speech, marred by a squeaky voice which "sounded as though an oilcan should be applied to his larynx". In later life he inherited a baronetcy. (Bernays, C.A. Queensland Politics During Sixty Years (1859-1919), Brisbane, [1919?], p.10-11.) For an excellent word picture of Mackenzie see R.B. Joyce's article on him in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.5: 1851-1890, Melbourne, 1974, p.171.

It seems that late in 1868 the two brothers split up: William went to Ipswich, where he was well known. but

abstra
none a

all at
aborti
addict
were s
the Co
Cotton
Zillma

the Fo
Marybo
the Co
stock
indisc
to the
already
heavily

the Cor
John O
Aborig
1860, r
by Bliq
"zealou
for thi
involve

77. J

78. J
T
c
r

79. 1

80. M

he al
Emmer

abstract to the Government.⁷⁷ If such reports were made, none appear to have survived.

The Committee despaired of the Aborigines, noting that all attempts to Christianise or educate them had proved abortive. Credible witnesses had shown that they were addicted to cannibalism, had no idea of a future state and were sunken in the lowest depths of barbarism. Nonetheless, the Committee recommended the establishment of a Missionary Cotton Company, as proposed by the Moravian missionary, J.L. Zillman.⁷⁸

It recommended Lieutenant John Murray be removed from the Force because of an affray at Mortimers' station near Maryborough. Murray had sent a sub-lieutenant, a brother of the Commandant, Morisset, to check reports of attacks on stock there; young Morisset had lost control of his men who indiscriminately killed Aborigines found in the area, much to the protest of the Mortimers. Murray, however, was already on the way out of the Force. He had been drinking heavily for some time, as Morisset was forced to reveal to the Committee. Despite the furore created by Lieutenant John O'Connell Bligh having led an attack on a small group of Aborigines in the main street of Maryborough on 3 February 1860, resulting in the death of at least four including one by Bligh's revolver bullets, that officer was praised as a "zealous and efficient officer".⁷⁹ Bligh gave as a reason for this action his suspicion that one of the blacks was involved in the attack on a white woman.⁸⁰ He appears to

77. 1861 Select Committee, preamble.

78. 1861 Select Committee, recommendations. The Brisbane Truth writer, J.H.L. Zillman, appears to have been a descendant of this man, as they lived in the same district at different times and had almost identical names.

79. 1861 Select Committee, recommendations.

80. Moreton Bay Courier, 2 April 1861.

have h
sword
citize
or two
Phibbs
was no
in Jul
the Ma
from t
effect

Freder
have ad
distrib
Aborig
evidenc
was to
Committe

81. M

Hornet

have had Fanny Briggs in mind. Bligh was presented with a sword in honour of his "valorous conduct" by some of the citizens of Maryborough, but others were horrified and one or two wrote to the newspapers about it. Second-Lieutenant Phibbs was also present during the Maryborough incident but was not censured.⁸¹ He was, however, on the Upper Dawson in July 1861, and may well have been transferred because of the Maryborough incident. Morisset had already resigned from the Force for personal reasons and when this took effect, Bligh was appointed Commandant in his place.

The Select Committee said that Second-Lieutenant Frederick Wheeler of the Moreton Bay district appeared to have acted with indiscretion during a visit to the Logan district. He had allowed his men to attack and kill several Aborigines, including a woman, without attempting to gain evidence of their complicity in recent cattle-spearing. He was to be reprimanded and sent to another district. The Committee members reported that: "Were it not that in other

81. Moreton Bay Courier, 4 April 1861.

In 1868 or 1869, Christina Scott took her children to Hornet Bank. They travelled to Brisbane by ...

respect
would f

Committ
conditi
Police
thesis.
the aft
the wor

82. 1
w
c
N
h
n
n
b
u
l
t
d
h
m
d.
c
m
p
a
o
h
t
2
R
b
C
a
i
t
R
t
c
J
V
w
a
w
st

in 1860
1876. 48

respects he is a most valuable and zealous officer, they would feel it their duty to recommend his dismissal."⁸²

The main value for the historian of the 1861 Select Committee's report lies in the wealth of information on conditions in the northern frontier districts and the Native Police Force, much of which has already been used in this thesis. It says a good deal about events at Hornet Bank and the aftermath, and was presented only three months before the worst massacre of whites - at Cullin-la-Ringo, on the

82. 1861 Select Committee, recommendations. This officer was later responsible for a spectacular instance of cruelty towards an Aborigine. In March 1876 at the Native Police barracks on Mistake Creek near Clermont he ordered the flogging of a 16-year-old Aborigine named Jemmy who had been found in the barracks at night contrary to Wheeler's instructions. After the boy had been flogged with a horsewhip by the troopers until it broke, he was flogged by Wheeler with a leather girth strap. He was then flogged by another trooper and finally by Wheeler again before being cut down. As he had lain on the ground, Wheeler kicked him in the back. Jemmy was then forced to march three miles to the station where he lived, but he died three days later. A doctor was called and the principal cause of death found to be peritonitis. The station manager reported the matter and a local justice of the peace charged Wheeler with murder. The officer appeared before George Murray, former Native Police officer, now a magistrate at Clermont, who, after hearing the evidence of six witnesses, committed him to appear at the Circuit Court in Rockhampton on 2 October 1876. He was taken in custody to Rockhampton, but there another magistrate granted him bail on the sureties of two local citizens. When the Circuit Court sat in October, Wheeler failed to appear. G.W. Rusden says that Mr Justice Lutwyche intervened to enable Wheeler to be granted bail and this gave him the opportunity to flee from trial. Rusden claims to have official proof of this, saying that Lutwyche "ordered the acceptance of bail and the criminal absconded". (All from QSA CCT 7/N31 and JUS/82; also, Rusden, G.W. History of Australia, Vol.III, Melbourne, 1884, pp.234 and 249.) Wheeler was said to have left Australia; he was never apprehended. Obviously, the old sentiment, that no white man should be punished for killing an Aborigine, still prevailed in Queensland in 1876.

Nogoa R
indirec
more se
practic
Aborigi

83. Th
wh
Pa
Sy
Ri
fo
I
Ho

the exam
Grantham

Nogoa River 160 miles north-west of Hornet Bank.⁸³ One indirect effect of it was to confirm the practices of the more severe of the Native Police Officers and the evil practice of employing Aborigines to dominate and kill other Aborigines for the sake of the white man's gain.

83. There is some evidence that at least one of the bands which attacked Hornet Bank also attacked the Wills Party at Cullin-la-Ringo and that William and Sylvester Fraser, who were then living on the Isaacs River, participated in the white retribution which followed this later massacre in which 19 whites died. I am preparing a separate paper on the links between Hornet Bank and Cullin-la-Ringo.

the example of Andrew Gordon and negotiated the purchase of Grantham station near Ipswich, which he used as a fattening

The
disaster
appears
children
endured,
of a fam
Andrew S
careful
and Will

Fr
born in
the Pres
William,
as squat
any run
living a
dependen
of Henry
in Nicho
was Cath
friends
years be
Bank, the
of his pe
after the
imagine a
life and

1. Cer
Bri
2. Que
3. Cer
Bri
4. Mur

tap, chie
"homely,

CHAPTER 8 : THE VICTORS

The Fraser brothers never fully recovered from the disaster at Hornet Bank. William Fraser's only achievements appears to have been marriage, the fathering of seven children and a long life of sheer endurance; Sylvester also endured, although for a shorter time and without the comfort of a family of his own to replace the one lost so horribly. Andrew Scott continued on the course already set, the careful accumulation of a family and pastoral empire. Scott and William Fraser married in the same month.

Fraser, a Presbyterian, and Mary Ann Foley, a Catholic born in the Hunter River district in 1841, were married in the Presbyterian Church at Ipswich on 22 February 1860. William, who had just turned 27 years, gave his profession as squatter, although it is unlikely that he had established any run as a going concern at this time; he was still living at Hornet Bank and appears to have been still dependent upon Andrew Scott.¹ Mary Ann was the daughter of Henry Foley, a publican since 1840, who conducted a hotel in Nicholas Street, Ipswich.² A witness to the marriage was Catherine McLean, presumably one of the old Fraser friends in whose house John Fraser senior had died four years before.³ When William "brought his wife to Hornet Bank, the verandah posts [were] still stained with the blood of his people, where the blacks had smeared their hands after the outrage," Murray-Prior said. "We can hardly imagine anyone doing so, but the Frasers had led a rough life and were not over-refined in feeling."⁴

1. Certified copy of entry, Register of Marriages, Brisbane.
2. Queensland Times, 7 May 1909.
3. Certified copy of entry, Register of Marriages, Brisbane.
4. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.42.

tap, chiefly used by the men. O'Sullivan found the Scotts "homely, hospitable people". He spent a "jolly" night at

An
in the H
William
the marr
not to t
district
He trave
law, Tho
and made
Anderson
plenty o
to culti
growing
Andrew R
1860s, h
Thomas B
to the o
retained
is the ma
Hornet B
Broom Cre
Fraser ok
Hornet B
these acc
look nort

The
Queenslan
Governmen

5. Cer
197
6. And
in
7. Bul
CLO

were lost
Goongarry

Andrew Scott married Christina Brodie at East Maitland in the Hunter Valley on 2 February 1860, the Minister being William McIntyre of the Free Church of Scotland.⁵ After the marriage, Scott made his home in Maitland, preferring not to take his wife to Queensland, the Dawson River district still not being considered safe for a white woman. He travelled to Queensland frequently, and his father-in-law, Thomas Brodie, went to Hornet Bank during these visits and made many of the early improvements to the station. Anderson says "Brodie was a man who believed in work and plenty of it", and his idea of relaxing in the evening was to cultivate the land on the creek bank. He began the growing of tobacco on Hornet Bank in the 1860s. When young Andrew Robert Scott went to Hornet Bank to live late in the 1860s, he found some plugs of tobacco in the woolshed. Thomas Brodie also built a large house at Hornet Bank, close to the one in which the Frasers had lived, the old one being retained as a store until replaced by another, which today is the main house.⁶ As well as obtaining the lease of Hornet Bank in 1858, Andrew Scott obtained Slate Hills and Broom Creek runs in the same area. Also, he and William Fraser obtained the lease of Sollow Hills, to the south of Hornet Bank, where the occupier was John Turnbull.⁷ But these acquisitions were not enough and both men began to look northwards.

There had been a great rush to acquire runs in Central Queensland in the late 1850s. In 1859 O'Connell, the Government Resident at Gladstone, wrote:

5. Certified copy of Marriage Register, Sydney, 17 May 1979.
6. Anderson, p.5. See photograph of Hornet Bank station in Appendix C.
7. Bull, "Hornet Bank, Taroom", pp. 61-62; also QSA CLO.13.

were lost on Hornet Bank (that is, Consolidated Goongarry).⁶⁰ When the good season of 1902 arrived

Du
no
se
ei
th
co
pr
at
sh
no

On
the Isaacs
flowing
first ca
river pro
'Isaacs'
from F. J
the count
1845; th
Aborigina
described
of Grosve
of the Is
noted, bu
One of th
Fraser at

Sta
squatters
expeditio
up the Is

8. Vos
The
9. Lei
10. Lei
11. Lei
12. Lei

Awa
the remot

During the present year unoccupied runs to the northward have suddenly acquired high value; many settlers from Port Phillip - having been convinced, either by their observation or from the reports of those who visited it last year, of the value of the country for pastoral purposes - have acquired properties in it; and altogether there are said to be at the present moment at least one hundred thousand sheep arrived or arriving to occupy the country northward of the Fitzroy.⁸

One of the routes for these seekers after new land was the Isaacs River, rising behind the present-day Mackay and flowing southwards to join the Fitzroy. Leichhardt's party first camped on the river on 13 February 1845. "As the river promised to be of some importance, I called it the 'Isaacs' in acknowledgement of the kind support we received from F. Isaacs, Esq. of Darling Downs."⁹ Leichhardt found the country along the Isaacs waterless and dry in February 1845; the river itself was dry.¹⁰ John Gilbert and the Aboriginal guide Charley, after a reconnoitring trip, described the open grassy country near the present-day site of Grosvenor Downs as "a beautiful country".¹¹ The head of the Isaacs had a potential for squatting, Leichhardt noted, but the squatters could expect some difficulties.¹² One of the victims of these "difficulties" was to be William Fraser at Grosvenor Downs.

Starting in December 1859, a party of New England squatters led by John Mackay, who turned 21 years during the expedition, overlanded to Rockhampton whence they proceeded up the Isaacs to Dennison Creek, then over Connor's Range

8. Voss, Vivian R. De V., p.19, quoting Kennedy Allen, The City and District of Rockhampton, p.6.
9. Leichhardt, Journal, p.149.
10. Leichhardt, Journal, pp.159-60.
11. Leichhardt, Journal, p.167.
12. Leichhardt, Journal, p.172.

Away from this family, Sylvester Fraser had lived in the remote recesses of the northern settled district.

into the site of short of Already descend: they wer for food

The of Horne luck with at Horne runs to together camped, t a supper country w good watc travellin cutting t but as An "Scott, t going int measured cross wit although

And Isaacs fo

13. Rot Mac Mac art art yea par the
14. Rot

in Brisba after Hor

into the valley of the Pioneer River, selecting runs on the site of the city now named after Mackay, before returning, short of food, seriously ill and faced with disaster. Already one of their number had died, when on 19 June 1860, descending a tributary of the Isaacs, to use Mackay's words, they were "agreeably surprised to see three white men who for food supply were as badly off as ourselves".¹³

They were Andrew Scott, William Fraser and Thomas Ross of Hornet Bank. Obviously, William Fraser had had little luck with Sollow Hills and he and Ross, still superintendent at Hornet Bank, had decided to join Scott in seeking new runs to the north. The two parties agreed to travel together towards Rockhampton, and that night when they camped, they used the last of their flour and sugar to make a supper for all. They had observed during the day that the country was "infested by blacks" and on Scott's suggestion a good watch was kept. Next day they started early, travelling down the east side of Dennison Creek, then cutting through the bush to Funnel Creek, which was deep, but as Andrew Murray, one of Mackay's party, later remarked, "Scott, the hardy pioneer, stripped off, got a pole, and going into the deepest part, took the depth, came out, measured the height of the lowest part and found we could cross without much damage... The water was immensely cold, although Mr Scott made no complaint."¹⁴

Andrew Scott had had his eye on the new country up the Isaacs for some time. He had selected runs simply on the

13. Roth, H. Ling, Discovery and Early Settlement of Port Mackay, Queensland, Halifax, 1908, p.38, quoting Mackay's "Discovery of the Pioneer River", a newspaper article published in Singleton, N.S.W., in 1891. This article appears to be based on notes written many years after the expedition and is inaccurate in parts, particularly dates. For references to this meeting, the journal of Andrew Murray is more reliable.

14. Roth, H. Ling, p.38; and Andrew Murray, p.41 onwards.

in Brisbane, but who had known him since the early days after Hornet Bank. On 26 November 1868

basis of Leichhardt's map of 1845, as had others. Early in 1860 Scott had received a notice from Wiseman that the Commissioner was going to inspect the land for which he had applied. Under the law then applying, he could hold it provided that he marked it out in some way acceptable to the Commissioner: Scott now had to get to the selected land on Leichhardt's Skull Creek before Wiseman.¹⁵

Mackay was still suffering attacks of fever on 23 June, when they came upon the tracks of drays which they followed to the camp of Dan Connor, a pioneer who had followed them northwards. Mackay and another member of his party, John McCrossin, sold their horses to Scott, to be given over to Willie Fraser when the party reached Rockhampton, where McKay's party would no longer need horses. Next day, because Wiseman was in the area, Scott and Ross rode out to meet him, apparently to report having marked their runs, while Fraser stayed with the stricken Mackay party at Connor's camp. Next day Ross returned, apparently leaving Scott to escort Wiseman to the new runs, and the party pressed on towards Rockhampton, "Willie" Fraser doing some good shooting at a tree target", according to Murray. On 5 June Fraser shot some squatter pigeons which were "a treat to all of us". Next day they reached Yaamba hotel for dinner; on 8 July they entered Rockhampton; and on 16 July Mackay's party boarded the steamer Tamar for Brisbane. Taking the horses with them,¹⁶ Fraser and Ross apparently returned overland to the Dawson, and leaving Scott to follow.

15. Murray, Andrew. "Journal of an Expedition from Uralla, N.S.W., into Queensland to take up new Country for Grazing, 31 December 1859-7 August 1860", manuscript in Mitchell Library, p.41. Wiseman wrote to Scott on 29 March 1860 (Wiseman letter book, QSA CCL 7/G1).

16. Murray, p.41 onwards.

23 Ma
Goony
Demba
not c
under
Queen
them,
could
making
of 18
his y
Bank
Downs
time
both
the s
1864

Cuthb
on ho
weath
sever
lead
40 mi

17.

18.

19.

20.

2 Nove

Andrew Scott's tenders for five runs were accepted on 23 March 1861. Among them were two, Morandah and Goonyella¹⁷; the other three, Cawell, Wallambah and Dembah No.1, were disposed of by transfer in 1862. It is not clear how many runs William selected on the Isaacs, but under the conditions of leases granted then by the Queensland Government he had nine months to put stock on them, otherwise any other person doing so after that period could legally claim them.¹⁸ This means that Fraser was making a new start away from the Upper Dawson before the end of 1861. Quite likely he took Sylvester with him, although his young wife probably stayed at home, either at Hornet Bank or in Ipswich. It appears that he chose Grosvenor Downs for his head-station. He was on the Isaacs at the time of the Cullen-la-Ringo massacre in October 1861 and both he and Sylvester were on this run in 1863.¹⁹ Among the stations sending their produce to Mackay for shipment in 1864 was Fraser's Grosvenor Downs.²⁰

One of those who visited Grosvenor Downs in 1864 was Cuthbert Ferstonhaugh, who in February was making his way on horseback to Burton Downs further up the Isaacs in bad weather; the ground was boggy and his horse had gone down several times before it "caved in", and he had to walk and lead the horse eight miles to make Fraser's station, about 40 miles below Burton Downs.

I stayed the night with Fraser, whose brother was the sole survivor of the 'Hornet Bank massacre' by the

17. Queensland Government Gazette, 23 March 1861.

18. Roth, p.41. The relevant legislation is An Act for Regulating the Occupation of Unoccupied Crown Lands in the Unsettled Districts and An Act to Regulate the Occupation of Land applied for by Tender, both given the Royal Assent on 17 September 1860.

19. See later this chapter; also Pugh's Almanac, 1864. Pugh apparently used information applying to the previous year.

20. Roth, p.56.

which
bushra
Aborig
Stock
seven
bonds
street
inform
unfort
some m
pursue
hotel
left M
arousi
includ
organi
south-
stoppe
refres
enquir
after
heard
toward
anothe
Willia
21.

blacks...I, of course, did not touch on the massacre the evening I spent with Mr Fraser, but it was currently believed that he never lost an opportunity of shooting a wild blackfellow as long as he lived. Mr Fraser lent me a fine strong white half-bred Arab stallion to go on with. I asked him what he valued the horse at, in case anything happened to him. He said forty pounds, and on that understanding I started off early next morning. I had a memorable ride. There was no track. In fact, Fraser told me that he did not know of anyone ever having followed the Isaacs up to Burton Downs, but he believed it must be all through scrub, and so I found it.²¹

By 1864 Mackay was a town of incidents, in one of which William Fraser figured later that year. Two bushrangers, an American negro named Henry Ford and an Aborigine, William Chambers, held up the Australian Joint Stock Bank at Mackay on 12 September 1864, leaving with seven hundred and forty six pounds. The manager escaped his bonds after about three quarters of an hour and ran down the street, waving a revolver and his "hair standing on end", to inform the Acting Police Magistrate. The sergeant of police unfortunately had no ammunition and confusion reigned for some minutes as the sergeant tried to organise a posse to pursue the outlaws. They had held up the Lake Elphinstone hotel a few days previously and, confident of success, had left Mackay at a casual trot on their horses without arousing suspicion. At last a posse of several settlers including Fraser, who happened to be Mackay at the time, was organised and set off in pursuit along the road to the south-west. The bank-robbers, with remarkable insouciance, stopped at Bagley's hotel some 20 miles from Mackay and refreshed themselves with a bottle of beer, casually enquiring which was the road to Rockhampton. Some minutes after they had left, the sergeant and his posse rode up, heard about this enquiry and resumed the chase down the road towards Rockhampton. Ford and Chambers, however, had taken another road. Some five miles down the Rockhampton road, William Fraser became suspicious; so he and another settler

21. Fetherstonhaugh, Cuthbert. After Many Days, Sydney, 1917, pp.239-40.

named
Cooper
who ha
before
and, r
their
sergea
consta
away.
south
anothe

of the
says:
been e
into c
which
distrib
drough
Willia
In tha
for ap

this t
office
Cooper
his di
been k
had be

22.

23.

24.

25.

26.

What happened to the other whites in this chronicle?
Let us begin with George Pearce Serocold. Three years after

sheep,
banana

70. Moreton Bay Courier, 1 May 1861.

named Hodgkinson retraced their steps and set off to Fort Cooper, near the present-day Nebo, encountering the mailman who had passed the outlaws going westwards some time before. By this time the volunteers' horses were knocked up and, reasoning that they would probably get nothing for their troubles from the bank, gave up the pursuit. The sergeant, reinforced now with a number of special constables, continued, but Ford and Chambers got clear away. They were, nonetheless, apprehended at Boggabri, just south of the New South Wales border, nine months later on another matter.²²

The Fraser brothers were now about to experience some of the difficulties Leichhardt had foreseen. Ling Roth says: "In the country back of Mackay the stations which had been established with sheep by 1864 were to be transformed into cattle stations because of the effects of grass seed which penetrated the wool and flesh of sheep in that district and ultimately destroyed them."²³ Flood and drought also had their effect,²⁴ until in September 1866 William decided to give up. He had failed as a squatter. In that month he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, applying for appointment to the Native Police.²⁵

Possibly his decision was prompted by the dismissal at this time of Sub-Inspector Charles Blakeney, officer-in-charge of the Native Police detachment at Fort Cooper, who had been found lacking in energy in patrolling his district, especially on two occasions when whites had been killed by the Aborigines. The investigating officer had been Inspector George Murray.²⁶ William Fraser was

22. Roth, pp.70-73.

23. Roth, p.56.

24. Western Star, 7 November 1914.

25. QSA COL/B7.

26. Queensland, V & P, 1867, Vol.I, p.1220.

sheep, he sold out to Ramsay and Jopp⁸¹ and took up a banana plantation at Cleveland near Brisbane. In November

appoint
of Act
fourte
barrac
Broad
Inspe

Grosve
Police
servic
althou
men as
in dea
force
for up
Willia
mentio
Februa
their
Cather
The se
1868,²
office
Force,
countr
childr

27.

28.

29.

30.

states
gin ex

appointed to the Native Police on 6 March 1867 with the rank of Acting Sub-Inspector on a salary of one hundred and fourteen pounds a year, his first posting being to the barracks on Arthur Macartney's Waverley run in the Broadsound district. The officer-in-charge at Waverley was Inspector Frederick Wheeler.²⁷

It is not known when William Fraser walked off Grosvenor Downs, but he seems to have joined the Native Police from Rockhampton.²⁸ Nothing is known of his service in the Native Police over the next 18 months, although it can be assumed that a combination of two such men as Wheeler and Fraser, both notorious for their severity in dealing with the Aborigines, would have been a formidable force on the Isaacs, especially as Fraser had lived there for up to six years. At some time Mary Ann had joined William on the northern frontier. Fetherstonhaugh did not mention her being at Grosvenor Downs when he visited it in February 1864. It seems that in that year she gave birth to their eldest child, Elizabeth Jane, who was followed by Catherine Margaret two years later, then George McDonald. The second son, William Henry, was born in Mackay in 1868,²⁹ when quite possibly William was the officer-in-charge at Fort Cooper. After 18 months in the Force, Fraser was notified of his posting to the "back country" but, rather than take Mary Ann and the four young children there, he resigned.³⁰

27. Queensland, V & P, First Session 1868, "Statistics of Queensland, p.158.

28. QSA ELE/1C. A man of that name was enrolled as a voter there in 1867-68.

29. Certified copy of death certificate, William Fraser, Brisbane; also certified copy of death certificate of William Henry Fraser, Brisbane.

30. Western Star, 7 November 1914. It is not stated where in the "back country" William was posted.

Willia
Sylves
1870.³
north
terrib
helple
sugar
1866.
used t
tramwa
Sylves
Homebu
moved
the el
1898.³
not li

Upper
and Ba
Ross a
Sollow

31.

32.

33.

34.

35.

36.

that t
from h

It seems that late in 1868 the two brothers split up: William went to Ipswich, where he was well known, but Sylvester was working on a station in the Mackay district in 1870.³¹ Bird says "West" Fraser was on stations to the north and when in one of his queer spells, the blacks were terribly afraid of him although he seemed to be quite helpless.³² By at least 1878 Sylvester had entered the sugar industry, which had begun in the Mackay district in 1866. He probably worked as a carter, many carriers being used to haul the cut cane to the early mills or to the steam tramways laid through the canefields. From 1878 to 1885 Sylvester's address was Te Kowai, the name of a mill near Homebush just south-west of Mackay.³³ Later Sylvester moved to Normanton in the Gulf Country, first appearing on the electoral roll in 1889, and living there until 1898.³⁴ He still seems have have been a carter, although not licensed.³⁵

In the 1860s Andrew Scott frequently bought and sold Upper Dawson properties. He acquired neighbouring Eurombah and Baroondah, but in 1864 the occupiers of Hornet Bank were Ross and Gordon.³⁶ Scott and William Fraser had given up Sollow Hills: John Turnbull still held this run in 1868;

31. North Queensland Register, 28 September 1929.

32. Bird, p.200.

33. QSA ELE.4 to ELE.11. Te Kowai had been built by T.H. Fitzgerald, who had come from New Zealand, but it was owned by the Melbourne-Mackay Sugar Company along with four other mills in the district. Fitzgerald had surveyed Mackay in 1865 but was forced out of the sugar industry in 1874. (See: Wood, C.T. "The Queensland Sugar Industry, as Depicted in the Wish and Davidson Diaries", in J. Royal Hist. Soc. Qld, Vol.VII, No.3, 1864-65.)

34. QSA ELE.13 to ELE.21.

35. QSA Normanton 87/33 CPS ILC/RI.

36. Fox, p.25.

79. 1861 Select Committee, recommendations.
 80. Moreton Bay Courier, 2 April 1861.

he also held a Sallow Vale in the Leichhardt district.³⁷ Emmerson says the droughts of 1866 and 1868 struck hard; also by this time shepherd labour was running short. Chinamen were brought in and in some places Kanakas were employed. In the early 1870s, girls, daughters of graziers, worked as shepherdesses.³⁸

Andrew Scott seems to have lost interest in the Isaacs early, having the good sense to get out while William Fraser hung on during the 1860s. Joseph King had originally tendered for Durham Downs in January 1856, when it comprised 22,000 acres. It had changed hands a number of times before Scott acquired it in 1866.³⁹ From Ipswich either late in 1868 or early in 1869 William Fraser made his way to Durham Downs, and worked there while Scott held it, once again being dependent upon him.⁴⁰

Again quoting Emmerson, times had been hard for the squatters in the 1860s; the lessees of Glenhaughton, Carrabah and Bungaban failed and had been forced to move away from the Upper Dawson.⁴¹ But not Scott: in mid-1868, he held nine runs in the Leichhardt district - Narran, Gumble, Durran Downs, Old Down, Slate Hills, Hornet Bank, Hornet Plains, Lin's Forest, Roughley - but Hornet Creek was in the hands of the Bank of New South Wales.⁴²

37. Queensland Government Gazette, 27 July 1868.
 38. Emmerson, p.401.
 39. QSA LAN. AF456. This property is still known officially as Durran Downs, possibly due to another clerical error.
 40. Western Star, 7 November 1914; also, QSA ELE.1E.
 41. Emmerson, p.401.
 42. Queensland Government Gazette, 27 July 1868.

I
 Hornet
 river b
 Dalby;
 The wea
 experie
 had fiv
 Logan a
 at abou
 daught
 followe
 years.⁴
 educati
 Euromba
 teachin
 provisio

An
 this tir
 Scott, s
 the stat
 riding,
 went to
 only sch
 during t
 Remembra
 Hornet E
 friend o

43. An
 Qu
 re
 to
 (C
 44. Fo
 Ma
 19
 45. Vi
 46. Co

Prior as "the old man"; nonetheless in his years since 1852 on the Dawson he had developed an immense property

them fo
 Nisbet

In 1868 or 1869, Christina Scott took her children to Hornet Bank. They travelled to Brisbane by sea, then up river by steamer to Ipswich, where they left by train for Dalby; the rest of the journey to the Dawson was by drays. The weather was very wet during this last stage, and they experienced many mishaps en route.⁴³ Andrew and Christina had five sons: Andrew Robert, Wallace Oakhampton, Robert Logan and Thomas Allison and another, born first, who died at about two years of age. As well, there were four daughters, Janet, born at Hornet Bank in February 1871, followed by Jane, Christina and Florence over the next seven years.⁴⁴ A tutor was employed for the children's early education at Hornet Bank. It is claimed that Scott gave Eurombah station to John Young Black in return for his teaching the children for three years, the reward including provision of board.⁴⁵

Andrew Scott employed Aborigines on Hornet Bank at this time. Mrs Vivienne Cotton, a granddaughter of Andrew Scott, says: "There was an excellent reliable black boy on the station and he used to take them there [to Dalby], all riding, then they went on to Brisbane by train." The boys went to the Normal School in Brisbane, then considered "the only school of mention". The boys boarded at the school during the late 1870s. This school was where the Flame of Remembrance and Anzac Square now stand in Brisbane.⁴⁶ Hornet Bank was transferred in 1870 to Robert Logan, a friend of Andrew Scott who had been a witness to his wedding

43. Anderson, p.5. Mrs A.C. Dibden, of Hamilton, Queensland, a granddaughter of Andrew Scott, was reported to have said her father, Robert Scott, went to Hornet Bank in 1868 when he was nine months of age (Courier Mail, 17 October 1971).
44. Fox, Matthew, Vol.I., pp.265-69; also, Gordon Marsland, Windsor, Queensland, to author, 24 August 1980.
45. Vivienne Cotton, Charleville, 29 May 1979, to author.
46. Cotton, 29 May 1979.

them for want of means to establish them, having, as James Nisbet noted, a flock of sheep which he had

in 1860,
1876.⁴⁸

Sc
disposed
consolid
Fisk⁴⁹ i
in turn
acquired
purchase
he had m
Bank, G
taken ov
was not
to repla
being mo
Queensla
become e
Andrew C
near Ips

Sc
Hornet E
rode ove
then in
from Hor
Afterwar
desiring

47. Co
Re
48. F
Su
pr
49. Q
50. F
51. A

without
his orde

apprehended. Obviously, the old sentiment, that no white man should be punished for killing an Aborigine, still prevailed in Queensland in 1876.

in 1860,⁴⁷ but it was transferred back to Scott in 1876.⁴⁸

Scott still had plans for expansion. In 1876 he disposed of Durham Downs, which by this time had been consolidated into a holding of 53,000 acres, to W.H. Fisk⁴⁹ in order to purchase Victoria Downs station, which in turn passed into the hands of Herbert Hunter when Scott acquired Vindex station near Winton. For the Vindex purchase he took into partnership Andrew Gordon, with whom he had made the arrangement in 1854 to dispose of Hornet Bank, Gordon not having proceeded and John Fraser having taken over. It was now becoming clear that the Upper Dawson was not good sheep country, and Scott was one of the first to replace them with Durham shorthorn cattle, the sheep being moved to Vindex. Scott acquired many runs in Western Queensland in partnership with Gordon, but when Vindex had become established it, like many others before, was sold. Andrew Gordon then purchased from Sir Joshua Bell The Grange near Ipswich, where Gordon lived until his retirement.⁵⁰

Scott stocked Vindex and Maxwellton with sheep from Hornet Bank and as long as they were in his possession he rode overland twice a year to inspect them. Although he was then in his seventies, he rode more than one thousand miles from Hornet Bank to Vindex, Maxwellton and return.⁵¹ Afterwards he sold these remote stations at a profit and, desiring to settle nearer to civilised centres, he followed

47. Copy of Marriage Certificate, Scott and Brodie, Registrar-General's Office, Sydney.

48. From note to Lack, Clem, "Massacre at Hornet Bank", Sunday Mail, 9 June 1940, in Oxley Library press-cutting file on Hornet Bank.

49. QSA LAN. AF456.

50. Fox, Matthew, Vol.I, pp.265.

51. Anderson, p.6.

without complaint, and Patrick for his blind obedience to his orders to "disperse" groups of Aborigines

the exam
Grantham
depot for
control c

The
16,000 ac
purchasir
he had ac
Dawson ar
which Hor
which pos
parts of
acquiring
Goongarry
Bank, Hor
Dandry, C
Baroodah
Baroodah
and Lin's
miles or
but the C
parts - c
highly in
shorthorn

A v
Inspector
take char
Hornet B
Soon aft
of rum a

52. Fo
53. Fo
54. QS
55. Fo

which he
of N.S.W

Sylvester Fraser, who were then living on the Isaacs River, participated in the white retribution which followed this later massacre in which 19 whites died. I am preparing a separate paper on the links between Hornet Bank and Cullin-la-Ringo.

207

the example of Andrew Gordon and negotiated the purchase of Grantham station near Ipswich, which he used as a fattening depot for his stock. For a number of years it was under the control of his eldest son, Andrew Robert.⁵²

The original Hornet Bank run was small, probably 16,000 acres carrying about 4,000 sheep. By selective purchasing, Scott had gradually expanded it. In the 1860s he had acquired Baroondah, on the opposite side of the Dawson and to the west, and then in the 1870s Eurombah, by which Hornet Bank had been hemmed in on three sides and which possessed superior watercourses.⁵³ He kept the best parts of these two properties, selling off the balance but acquiring others, so that by February 1889 Consolidated Goongarry, as it was called, comprised 18 runs: Hornet Bank, Hornet Plains, Hornet Creek, Commissioner's Creek, Dandry, Cowanga, Canal No.2, Picton, Robinson's Creek, Baroondah No.1A, Esk Forest, Stephenton, Baroondah No.2, Baroondah No.2A, Eurombah, Canal No.3, Robinson's Creek No.2 and Lin's Forest. At this stage it totalled 646 square miles or one-tenth of the total area of the Upper Dawson, but the Queensland Land Board ordered it be divided into two parts - of 288 and 358 square miles.⁵⁴ It was now a highly improved pastoral property, carrying 10,000 Durham shorthorn cattle.⁵⁵

A visitor to Hornet Bank in the late 1880s was Inspector Michael O'Sullivan, riding from Roma to Taroom to take charge of the police station there. He called at Hornet Bank, staying the night and talking to Andrew Scott. Soon after arriving Scott gave O'Sullivan a half a pannikin of rum and poured the same for himself from a barrel with a

52. Fox, Matthew, p.266

53. Fox, Matthew, p.266

54. QSA LAN. AF456.

55. Fox, Matthew, p.268

221

which he raised in 1848 to serve in the northern districts of N.S.W. with such devastating effect

3. Cer
Bri

4. Mur

tap, chief
"homely,
Hornet Ba
violin, w
whether h
affirmai
the room

Chr
father Ro
Scott him
a small c
homestead
their emp
been demo
by anothe
building,

By
settlemen
comprehen
for close
again cut
drought,
November

56. O'S
Que
Dep
gre
Hor
O'S

57. Det
dem
of
Que
bui
Als
yea

58. Fox

59. Emm

and deepl

3. Certified copy of entry, Register of Marriages, Brisbane.
4. Murray-Prior memoirs, p.42.

tap, chiefly used by the men. O'Sullivan found the Scotts "homely, hospitable people". He spent a "jolly" night at Hornet Bank, listening to Scotch music and playing the violin, which pleased Scott. Next morning his host asked whether he had slept well. When O'Sullivan replied affirmatively and asked why, Scott said that he had slept in the room "in which the Fraser women were murdered".⁵⁶

Christina Scott died at Hornet Bank in 1889; her father Robert Brodie had died there in 1867; and Andrew Scott himself died there on 5 June 1892. All are buried in a small cemetery about a quarter of a mile from the homestead, well away from the mass graves of the Frasers and their employees. The original homestead appears to have been demolished in the year of Andrew's death and replaced by another of similar appearance. The original kitchen building, where Neagle had a room, has disappeared.⁵⁷

By this time the government's policy of closer settlement was taking effect, being reaffirmed in the comprehensive Acts of 1910. Hornet Bank was partly resumed for closer settlement early in the 20th Century; it was again cut up after the 1914-18 War.⁵⁸ The Queensland-wide drought, which began at the end of the century, lasted until November 1902, ruining graziers.⁵⁹ In 1902, many cattle

56. O'Sullivan, p.61-62. O'Sullivan was a policeman in Queensland for 40 years, rising to the position of Deputy Commissioner. Gordon Marsland says his great-grandmother, Scott's daughter Janet, was at Hornet Bank at this time but did not believe O'Sullivan ever stayed there.

57. Details from the headstones at Hornet Bank; date of demolition of the original homestead from W.J. Ashton, of Taroom, quoted by Reginald S. Hurd in the Queenslander, 1 February 1919. Hurd said that the building had been pulled down "some 27 years ago". Also, Michael O'Sullivan said it was pulled down a few years after he was there in 1888.

58. Fox, Gwen, p.91.

59. Emmerson, p.402.

and deeply sympathised with the settlers' desire for

were lost
Goongarry
Hereford
were small
the harsh
closer-sett
people to
the big p
Bank is st
holding ha
square mi

Before
William F
then he be
owned by
district s
or 1875 to
and washp
his career
when he mo
profession
McDonald
many years
most of h
After the
Mackay dis
Isabella C
other, an
Mary Ann's

60. Toov

61. Emme

62. West
ELE

63. West

64. Deat

think wors
squatter."

were lost on Hornet Bank (that is, Consolidated Goongarry).⁶⁰ When the good season of 1903 arrived, Hereford cattle were replacing the Durham shorthorn; they were smaller, developed earlier and were believed to stand the harsh Central Queensland conditions better. The closer-settlement program early in this century brought new people to the district, farmers rather than graziers, and the big properties were further split up.⁶¹ Today, Hornet Bank is still in the hands of the Scott family, but the holding has been reduced to 31,000 acres or less than 50 square miles.

Before Scott had disposed of Durham Downs in 1876, William Fraser had left, taking a job first at Myall Creek, then he became overseer at Westgrove near Injune, a station owned by the Collins brothers of Tamrookum in the Logan district south of Brisbane. He was at Westgrove from 1874 or 1875 to at least 1885, and was in charge of the woolshed and washpool at Euthulla station near Roma; then late in his career he took to droving.⁶² It is not known exactly when he moved to Roma, but he was there in 1890, giving his profession then as that of a drover. His elder son, George McDonald Fraser, was by this time at Durham Downs.⁶³ For many years William made Roma his home during which it seems most of his children lived either in that town or near it. After the first four children, born before he left the Mackay district, he and Mary Ann had had two others, Isabella Charlotte and Ellen Christina. There had been one other, an unnamed male, who had died some time before Mary Ann's death in 1899 at the age of 58 years.⁶⁴

60. Toowoomba Chronicle, 26 October 1957.

61. Emerson, p.402-03.

62. Western Star, 7 November 1914; and QSA ELE/1H to ELE/11.

63. Western Star, 7 November 1914; also QSA ELE/14.

64. Deaths Register, 1899, Roma Courthouse.

think worse than a traitor to his caste in qua a squatter."⁹³ In other words, Wiseman preferred the

Away
the remote
colony, ba
carrying h
could no
men in No
Sylvester
as Wolston
1898, at 5
Roman Cath
been Presb
influence
long ago.
was marrie
married, h
evidence o
him at the
house and
patients a
him."⁶⁵

When
of his hea
man, about
dark and b
was determ
was shaky,
the idea t
to be very
in his cor

Sylv
George Mur

65. Quee
1898

66. Quee
1898

merit of E
controlled

11. Leichhardt, Journal, p.167.
12. Leichhardt, Journal, p.172.

14. Roth

Away from this family, Sylvester Fraser had lived in the remote recesses of the northern settled districts of the colony, barely surviving by means of his carting, and carrying his reputation and periodic insanity. By 1898 he could no longer carry his special burden: in that year five men in Normanton were committed to an asylum for the insane, Sylvester being admitted to the Woogaroo Asylum, now known as Wolston Park Hospital, Wacol, near Ipswich, on 23 August 1898, at 54 years of age. He gave his religion as being Roman Catholic, a surprising statement as his parents had been Presbyterian and Anglican. The only known Catholic influence in his life had been Mary Ann, but that had been long ago. When admitted to Woogaroo, Sylvester claimed he was married; he may have adopted Catholicism when he married, but a search of Queensland records has shown no evidence of any marriage. The first case-history report on him at the hospital says: "He believes the ward is his house and says his wife lives there. He says the other patients are all his men and that they are working for him."⁶⁵

When admitted Sylvester still bore a scar on the top of his head "inflicted by the blacks"; he was an "oldish" man, about five feet nine inches in height; his hair was dark and beard turning grey. The hospital staff thought he was determined to be demented and dirty in his habits. He was shaky, but his organs seemed to be fairly sound. He had the idea that he was tremendously fat. The staff found him to be very incoherent, wandering from one subject to another in his conversation.⁶⁶

Sylvester may have been committed to Woogaroo by George Murray, now Chief Stipendiary Magistrate on the bench

65. Queensland Department of Health, Woogaroo case book, 1898.
66. Queensland Department of Health, Woogaroo case book, 1898.

in Brisbane
after Horn
"visited b
not recogn
regards lo
the realit
month Sylv
deteriorat
foolish",
hospital,
condition.
being give
the hospit

The
alive, but
members of
in Normant
to Woogaro
but more l
him after
same stern
had enable
the horror
them from

On t
held. Iro
son of Wil
render ass
destructio

67. Quee
1898

68. West
Depa

69. Cert
Yald
time

merit of English civilisation, especially a civilisation controlled by the established families of

particularly dates. For references to this meeting, the journal of Andrew Murray is more reliable.

14. Roth, H. Ling, p.38; and Andrew Murray, p.41 onwards.

211

in Brisbane, but who had known him since the early days after Hornet Bank. On 26 November 1898, Sylvester was "visited by Mr Murray, who knew him well, but whom he did not recognise and who found his memory hopelessly astray as regards long past events". Even Murray could not bring back the reality of old killings and old revenge. In the same month Sylvester's physical condition started to deteriorate. By 20 January 1899, he was "very demented and foolish", and by 24 May he was confined to bed in the hospital, his face and arms twitching, in a semi-comatose condition. He died on 22 June 1899, the cause of death being given as chronic Bright's disease, and was buried in the hospital's cemetery.⁶⁷ Today nothing marks his grave.

The hospital authorities knew that William was still alive, but apparently did not contact him for in 1914 members of his family believed Sylvester had died "recently" in Normanton. Perhaps they did know he had been committed to Woogaroo and did not wish to acknowledge this publicly, but more likely they had completely lost any contact with him after hearing that he had gone to Normanton.⁶⁸ That same stern Calvinistic detachment from their emotions, which had enabled them to survive the rigours of pioneering and the horrors of Hornet Bank, may have conveniently detached them from one who had gone his own distant and demented way.

On the day of his death, a magisterial enquiry was held. Ironically the magistrate was William Yaldwyn, P.M., son of William Henry Yaldwyn, the man who had refused to render assistance and to hold an inquest after the destruction of Sylvester's family.⁶⁹

67. Queensland Department of Health, Woogaroo case book, 1898; and certified copy, deaths register, Brisbane.

68. Western Star, 7 November 1914; and Queensland Health Department case book, 1898.

69. Certified copy, death register, Brisbane; William Yaldwyn was a magistrate in South Brisbane at this time.

225

In 1902 William Henry Fraser took up Tickencote run in the Maranoa, north of Mitchell and in November 1908 William, now 75 years old, lived there.⁷⁰ In 1910 a Congregational clergyman, J.F.T. Short, was travelling in the Maranoa and on 10 October, on a road near Mungallala, he opened a gate and met another man who introduced himself as William Fraser. Short said later that although he was now an aged man, Fraser was able to give a vivid account of the Hornet Bluff. Short was impressed by Fraser's "kindly smile and bitterness".⁷¹ The bitterness was not entirely gone. In 1910, William Henry sold Tickencote, a run of 142 square miles, to J.D. Handley, for 1,500 pounds. Four hundred cattle were purchased separately on a bang-tail muster, but another 100 were purchased from Mrs Ibbotson, one of William's daughters. When Handley took delivery, Fraser was present. He was then an old man with a white beard, about 5 feet 8 inches tall, who used to do the cooking for his son and a black man who worked on the property. Fraser told Handley he did not like having to cook the damper and meat for the black man. He said: "I would just as soon shoot the black bastard as cook him the tucker."⁷²

William Henry then acquired Belmore station, a small property in the same district, and in 1913 was running 1,500 sheep on it. By contrast the Scottish Australian Investment Company in the same year was running 350 horses, 2,500 cattle and 86,200 sheep on nearby Mount Abundance station.⁷³

70. QSA AN/N10; and QSA ELE/70.

71. Courier Mail, 29 October 1957, letter from J.F.T. Short.

72. QSA LAN/N10; also, W.J. Handley, Mungallala, to author, 27 June 1980 and 15 August 1980. Handley quotes Mr Hec Carlyon of Mitchell, who met Fraser in 1910, as describing Fraser's height.

73. Queensland Post Office Directory, 1913-14.

2 November
ill for
bladder
failure
the fun
street
familie
remaine
beside
monume
marked

"Mr Fra
Queensl
in past
receive
Queensl
his dea
"histor

H
aged 80
been a
Mitchel
station
Hornet
part of
the Rom

74. C
75. W
R
76. W
77. Q
78. C

effort
young;

19. See later this chapter; also Pugh's Almanac, 1864. Pugh apparently used information applying to the previous year.
20. Roth, p.56.

William Fraser died in the Mitchell Hospital on 2 November 1914, aged 82 years and 10 months. He had been ill for about three weeks, having suffered carcinoma of the bladder and prostate, cachexia and finally cardiac failure.⁷⁴ His body was taken to Roma and on 4 November the funeral cortege left the home of Mrs Ibbotson in Albert street for the Roma cemetery. Members of the oldest families in the district were present.⁷⁵ William had remained a Presbyterian all his life, but he was buried beside Mary Ann whose grave is marked by a tall marble monument in the ornate Catholic style of the time; his is marked by nothing but an iron plate bearing a number.

Reporting his death, the Roma Western Star had said: "Mr Fraser was one of the oldest pioneers of this part of Queensland, and for the greater part of his life was engaged in pastoral pursuits...The news of his death will be received with regret by a large number of old residents in Queensland."⁷⁶ The Ipswich Queensland Times, reporting his death, said William Fraser was a member of the "historical" Fraser family.⁷⁷

His son, William Henry, died in Brisbane in June 1948 aged 80 years; he had not married and like his father had been a Presbyterian.⁷⁸ The old Belmore station north of Mitchell did not survive; today it is part of another station, where it is known as "Fraser's Paddock". While Hornet Bank station is promoted in the Taroom district as part of its history, the Frasers are virtually unknown in the Roma and Mitchell districts.

-
74. Certified copy, Register of Deaths, Brisbane.
75. Western Star, 7 November 1914, also, personal visit to Roma Cemetery by author, April 1979.
76. Western Star, 4 November 1914.
77. Queensland Times, 5 November 1914.
78. Certified copy, deaths register, Brisbane.

effort be made to improve, educate and Christianise the young; and more stringent

Let us
the Hor
and the
run by
They ha
separat
for sta
"with 3
shillin
up abou
been pa
distric
buying
Februar
as the
being n
honour

M
and was
Mackenz
selecti
ministr
1868 an
a l on
where h

T
until s
among h
Althoug

79. A
a

80. A
M

William Fraser became suspicious; so he and another settler

21. Fetherstonhaugh, Cuthbert. After Many Days, Sydney, 1917, pp.239-40.

214

What happened to the other whites in this chronicle? Let us begin with George Pearce Serocold. Three years after the Hornet Bank massacre he and Mackenzie sold their sheep and the runs last taken up, and added to the Cockatoo Creek run by buying adjoining land and a small herd of cattle. They had fairly good seasons and, Queensland having been separated from New South Wales, there was a strong demand for stations. In 1862 they decided to sell Cockatoo Creek "with 30,000 sheep and 1,000 head of cattle, the sheep at 17 shillings a head, which, with cattle, horses, drays etc made up about thirty three-thousand pounds after all expenses had been paid". Serocold bought runs in the Isaacs River district at the time Andrew Scott and William Fraser were buying runs there, but left Australia for England in February 1863. He did not return and died in 1912. As well as the mountain near the Comet River in Central Queensland being named after him, a granite monolith was erected in his honour at Rolleston, Central Queensland, in 1947.⁷⁹

Mackenzie became Colonial Secretary in February 1866 and was Premier from August 1867 to November 1868. Mackenzie, the great dealer in runs, fiercely opposed free selection and defended the interests of the squatters. His ministry was dominated by squatters. He resigned in August 1868 and did not seek re-election in 1869. Having inherited a dukedom in December 1868, he retired in 1871 to Scotland where he died in September 1873.⁸⁰

Thomas Lodge Murray-Prior stuck it out on the Auburn until some time late in 1858. The scab disease broke out among his sheep and 8,000 had to be destroyed to check it. Although his neighbours rallied to his aid with gifts of 900

79. All from Serocold, George Pearce, unpublished memoirs and editorial note, National Library, Canberra.

80. Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.5: 1851-1890, Melbourne, 1974, p.171.

228

in it. There have been others again who have been influenced in the execution of their duties

24.
25.
26.

sheep,
banana
1864 he
elected
Postmas
Bernays
married
courtly
later h
for his
his cla
Charlem
20 chil
suppose
Postmas
seldom
consist
hero."⁸
tales;
"inside
vigilan

H
same lo
whether
Hawkwo
and use
account
She rec
took th
Also, s

81. B
82. A
D
M
B
M
p
a

by a la
preserv

24. Western Star, 7 November 1914.
25. QSA COL/B7.
26. Queensland, V & P, 1867, Vol.I, p.1220.

sheep, he sold out to Ramsay and Jopp⁸¹ and took up a banana plantation at Cleveland near Brisbane. In November 1864 he bought Maroon station in the Logan district. He was elected to Parliament in 1861 and held the post of Postmaster-General in several periods from 1861 to 1874, Bernays describing him as a "journeyman minister". He married twice and had many children. Described as suave, courtly and cultured, he collected paintings, some of them later being held by the Brisbane Art Gallery. He was noted for his strong loyalty to the throne, probably because of his claim to have been descended from the Emperor Charlemagne. He died in 1892, having married twice and had 20 children. In 1863 Rachel Henning wrote of him: "I suppose it does not require any great talent to be a Postmaster-General. I hope not, for such a goose I have seldom seen. He talked incessantly and all his conversation consisted of pointless stories of which he himself was the hero."⁸² We must be grateful for his fondness for telling tales; without it we may never have had much of the "inside" story of Hornet Bank and the actions of the white vigilantes afterwards.

His daughter, Rosa Caroline Campbell Praed, had the same love of telling stories but she was not interested in whether they were true. Incidents during her time at Hawkwood made strong impressions which she later embellished and used in her supposedly factual reminiscences, including accounts of the Hornet Bank disaster and subsequent events. She recounts these events as a contemporary, but she freely took them from her father's memoirs without acknowledgement. Also, she misused his material: for instance, Murray-Prior

81. Bloxome, History of Settlement, p.127.

82. Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vo.5, p.323; David Adams (ed.) The Letters of Rachel Henning, Melbourne, 1969, p.144; also see Hannah, Isobel, and Bernays, C.A., p.55. C.L.D. Hamilton remarked that Murray-Prior was alleged to have introduced the prickly pear to the Auburn district (Hamilton to author, 16 August 1979).

by a landslide. They appeared then to have been well preserved.⁹

states
gin exp
that th
murders
Aborigi
Tree Cr
are com

I
Praed a
left wi
her lif
gaining
Queensl
appeare
Austral
1885.

tragedy
at her
she mak
the inv
gone by
Fraser
had des
slipping
the...t
this id
London,

T
writing
correct
seven o
to Ring
this su
of Horn
she was
time of

him fo

30. Western Star, 7 November 1914. It is not stated where in the "back country" William was posted.

216

states (memoirs, p.71) that after the Hornet Bank massacre a gin expressed surprise to Peter Pigott, of Auburn station, that the whites did not seem to be concerned about the murders of their friends; whereas Rosa has a young Aboriginal man saying these words to Mrs John Scott of Palm Tree Creek (Australian Girlhood, p.81). Such transpositions are common in her reminiscences.

In 1872 Rosa married Arthur Campbell Bulkley Mackworth Praed and after some time on a pastoral run on Curtis Island left with him in 1876 for England, where she spent most of her life, dying in 1935. She was an avid letter-writer, gaining much material for her books from her relatives in Queensland. Her first novel, An Australian Heroine, appeared in 1880; and her first so-called factual work, Australian Life: Black and White, appeared in London in 1885. In this latter appears an account of the Hornet Bank tragedy, based on material in her father's memoirs written at her request some time after September 1883. In this book she makes the famous claim (pp. 67-80) that one evening at the invitation of an Aboriginal youth named Ringo she had gone by boat across a river to witness a rehearsal for the Fraser murders. She remarks in the book that if only she had described to her parents what she had seen, instead of slipping back into bed undetected, "it is just possible that the...tragedy might have been averted." Rosa was so fond of this idea that she repeated it in My Australian Girlhood, London, 1902.

This story appears to be as false as anything in her writing. First, she could not get even personal facts correct: she claimed to have gone to Hawkwood when she was seven or eight years of age and that she had listened there to Ringo's stories of corroborees for "months - years"; this suggests she was as much as 10 years of age at the time of Hornet Bank. In fact, her family moved to Hawkwood when she was three and she was six years and eight months at the time of the massacre. Also, there is good reason to suspect

230

E.M. Carr, in notes to three vocabularies provided to him for his The Australian People, 1938.

35. Q
35. F

that the
from her
coming u
he says
games.
doings c
assemble
(Pigott
though t
account
of hidet
mocked w
pp.69-70
are the
inaccura
author.8

Wi
the mass
Dulacca
and beca
extended
of the L
was Colo
and Mine
Toowoomb
Creek, i

Wi
Taroom (

83. Fo
Mo
Mo
Sy
co
se
Au

84. He
fi

the log
by two p

that the corroboree scene is, like so much else, borrowed from her father's memoirs. Referring to Powell's troopers coming upon one of the bands which had raided Hornet Bank, he says in his memoirs, "They (the blacks) were having great games. Some were going through a hideous travesty of the doings of the night before ..." (p.28); and, "The blacks assembled again soon after in numbers at the Auburn station (Pigott's) and used in their corroborees at night to go through the Hornet Bank tragedy in derision" (p.31). In her account of the supposed "rehearsal", Rosa says: "A series of hideous gestures was gone through. The figures were mocked with yells of derision..." (Australian Life, pp.69-70). The key images in her account and her father's are the same. Rosa Campbell Praed was responsible for more inaccurate statements about Hornet Bank than any other author.⁸³

William Miles, who was renting Kinnoul at the time of the massacre, stayed there until 1861 when he took up Dulacca station. In 1864 he was elected Member for Maranoa and became leader of the campaign to have the railway extended from Toowoomba to Condamine. He served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly until 1887, and during that time was Colonial Secretary, in 1877, Secretary for Public Works and Mines, 1877-78 and again in 1883-87. He died in Toowoomba in 1887. The town of Miles, originally Dogwood Creek, is named after him.⁸⁴

William Henry Yaldwyn was not a young man when he held Taroom (Carrabah) station; he was referred to by Murray-

83. For biographical details of Rosa Campbell Praed, see Morris Miller, Vol.I, p.426; Colin Roderick, In Mortal Bondage, the Strange Life of Rosa Praed, Sydney, 1948; and for a discussion of her contribution to Aborigines in Australian literature, see J.J. Healy, Literature and the Aborigine in Australia, Brisbane, 1978, pp.60-73.

84. Helen Brown, thesis; and Oxley Library photographic file notes.

Prior as
on the L
head-sta
in the d
building
shearing
enquiry
held int
but alth
that fail
to the L
from N.S
over man
to Engla
Sydney w

Po
Hornet B
Dawson.
of his t
for the
Only occ
managem
superint
because
court in
guilty a
man, he
both a r
Hornet B
to becom
Upper Da

85. Qu
en

86. Ta
no
wa

the log and dug his way out of the cellar. He was tracked by two policemen and a black guide

The
Dawson by

Prior as "the old man"; nonetheless in his years since 1852 on the Dawson he had developed an immense property, the head-station of which in the 1860s was probably the largest in the district, comprising a big homestead and many buildings. In 1857 he had employed as many as 30 men in the shearing season. Nothing came of the proposed official enquiry which the North Australian said in 1858 was to be held into his failure to render assistance at Hornet Bank, but although he suffered some social odium as a result of that failure, he was one of the first five members appointed to the Legislative Council after Queensland was separated from N.S.W. in December 1859. In the early 1860s, he handed over management of the property to his son Willie and went to England, returning to Australia in 1864 and living in Sydney where he died in 1866.⁸⁵

Pollet Cardew, who had had only a nominal part in the Hornet Bank story, remained fairly detached from the Upper Dawson. He seems to have preferred town life, spending much of his time in Ipswich, at that time the rival to Brisbane for the position of the incipient colony's premier town. Only occasionally did he visit the Dawson, leaving the management of Eurombah to Boulton.⁸⁶ But the superintendent soon left the employment of Cardew, possibly because of a violent disagreement; he appeared in Taroom court in July 1858 on a charge of striking Cardew, pleaded guilty and was fined five pounds. A comical, blustering man, he was so nervous of the Aborigines that he carried both a rifle and a revolver at all times years after the Hornet Bank massacre. He had mixed fortunes in his efforts to become a squatter. He applied for several runs in the Upper Dawson, including Clifton, but seems to have abandoned

85. Queensland 1900, Alcazar Press, Brisbane, 1900, see entry for William Yaldwyn; also Randell, pp.107-38.

86. Taroom Police Office records, 11 July 1858, location not noted. One of the magistrates who heard the case was Pollet Cardew himself.

them for
Nisbet n
Kelman's
achieved
"gentlem
ensuing
was used

Of
disaster
was much
John Mur
promotio
affair o
recommen
already
inquiry.
after th
was prom
Morisset
"addicted
criticise
travelled
Bowen to
1863 and
a ship o
in 1866,
the civi
1904 when
known of
Morisset
endurance

87. Nis
and

88. Mor

There is no doubt that Aboriginal population along the Dawson by this time was declining rapidly.

throughou
480 pairs

1980.

45. Vivienne Cotton, Charleville, 29 May 1979, to author.
46. Cotton, 29 May 1979.

219

them for want of means to establish them, having, as James Nisbet noted, a flock of sheep which he had "sat down" on Kelman's Ghinghinda run in 1859. He appears later to have achieved some status: in March 1866 he was one of several "gentlemen" who promised to deliver lectures during the ensuing winter months at the Royal Theatre in Roma, which was used as a meeting place as well as for entertainment.⁸⁷

Of the police officers involved in the Hornet Bank disaster, few achieved honour. Nicoll, as already noted, was much "wasted" by drink and apparently dead by 1861. John Murray was "intemperate", had been passed over for promotion, disgraced because of his mishandling of the affair on the Mortimers' run and dismissed on the recommendation of the 1861 Select Committee. Morisset had already resigned for personal reasons by the time of that inquiry. Walter Powell, the first officer to take action after the massacre, had been regarded as a good officer; he was promoted First-Lieutenant in June 1860 but he too, as Morisset revealed to the 1861 Select Committee, had become "addicted to intemperance and had become inactive"; he was criticised during the Committee's hearings for having travelled by boat after sending his troopers overland to Bowen to take up a new post. He left the Force at Bowen in 1863 and continued his earlier misfortunes at sea, wrecking a ship of which he was master on the south Queensland coast in 1866, but nonetheless managing to secure a position in the civil service as a harbourmaster, and was still alive in 1904 when J.T.S. Bird interviewed him.⁸⁸ Nothing more is known of Carr and Patrick, those two "reliable" officers in Morisset's opinion; Carr was reliable because of the sheer endurance of bad food and rough living which he accepted

87. Nisbet, p.22; also R.B. Taylor, The History of Roma and District, 1846-1885, Roma, 1975, pp.55-56.

88. Morisset to 1861 Inquiry, p.145; also Bird, p.195.

233

throughout Queensland in 1897 in addition to a surplus of 480 pairs from 1896 -

50. Fo

51. Ar

without
his orde
the cons

The
at Horne
William
mid-1860
Fraser, h
Patrol, f
prevent c
introduc
N.S.W. H
distincti
Moorhead
several A
action af
appointed
August 18
had attai
Murray ac
participa
Bank, he
He was re
Springsur
1861. He
Warwick,
where he
died in 1

The
Frederick

89. Ski
Rom

90. Tay

91. Bri

he said.1
blankets

50. Fox, Matthew, Vol.I, pp.265.

51. Anderson, p.6.

54. QSA

55. Fox

without complaint, and Patrick for his blind obedience to his orders to "disperse" groups of Aborigines no matter what the consequences.

Thomas Ross stayed with Andrew Scott as superintendent at Hornet Bank for at least two years and was with Scott and William Fraser when they selected runs on the Isaacs in mid-1860. If he occupied a run, he gave it up sooner than Fraser, because he was an early member of the Maranoa Patrol, formed in 1861 by the Queensland Government to prevent cattle-stealing, sly-grog selling and the introduction into the Maranoa of contraband goods from N.S.W. He appears to have served in the Patrol with distinction, rising to the rank of sergeant.⁸⁹ William Moorhead, who with troopers from Wondai Gumbul killed several Aborigines and wounded others in the second police action after the massacre, resigned from the Force, being appointed Clerk of Petty Sessions at Roma in 1863. But in August 1865 he resigned from the several positions which he had attained and died in the same month.⁹⁰ Only George Murray achieved some honour out of all this. While not participating in the immediate police action after Hornet Bank, he was in the Upper Dawson from at least July 1858. He was renowned later as the man who brought order to the Springsure district after the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre of 1861. He became a magistrate at Clermont, Copperfield, Warwick, Toowoomba, South Brisbane and finally Brisbane, where he was the senior police magistrate in Queensland. He died in 1910, having retired in 1903.⁹¹

The most famous of these Native Police officers was Frederick Walker, Commandant of the Mounted Native Police

89. Skinner, Police, p.293; also, Taylor, History of Roma, p.28.

90. Taylor, History of Roma, pp.27, 42, 50, 51.

91. Brisbane Courier, 1910 (no precise date).

which he
of N.S.W.
for "irre
had a che
service t
authoriti
Aborigine
people bu
in India.
parties w
Leaving t
Duttons,
saw "L" t
Country a
near the
Walker fo
lost them
rendezvou
Albert Ri
his troop
says: "A
conducted
the annal
15 Novemb
while sur
coast to
recogniti
him compl

Wil
He had kn
Jimbour f
station i

92. How
Tas
Pre
of
and
Fee

he said.¹⁹ Next year the distribution of pairs of
blankets in the centres in

Mes
and deadl

53. Fox, Matthew, p.266
 54. QSA LAN. AF456.
 55. Fox, Matthew, p.268

- yea
 58. Fox
 59. Emm

which he raised in 1848 to serve in the northern districts of N.S.W. with such devastating effect. After his dismissal for "irregularities" in his administration in 1855, Walker had a chequered career, sometimes offering his own security service to the squatters, sometimes falling foul of the authorities, always criticising official policy towards the Aborigines, whom he believed should be treated as conquered people but with respect and certain rights, as had been done in India. Walker was a great bushman, leading one of the parties which in 1861 set out in search of Burke and Wills. Leaving the Bauhinia Downs station of his friends, the Duttons, he took with him only former native troopers. They saw "L" trees on the Barcoo headwaters, crossed the Gulf Country and fired at a large party of hostile Aborigines near the Norman River, killing 12 and wounding others. Walker found traces of Burke and Wills near the Gulf but lost them as he tried to track them southwards. Then he rendezvoused with the steamer Victoria at the mouth of the Albert River on 7 December. After a difficult trip, he and his troopers returned to Rockhampton on 5 June 1862. Howitt says: "A more prompt, well pursued and successfully conducted expedition of the same extent does not occur in the annals of Australian exploration". Walker died on 15 November 1866 on the Leichhardt River of fever contracted while surveying the route for a telegraph line from the east coast to the Albert River, without receiving that recognition for his services of which Mary McManus had heard him complain years before.⁹²

William Henry Wiseman was a key figure in all this. He had known the Fraser family since they first arrived at Jimbour from Sydney in 1846. Though they were of lower station in life than he, he was aggrieved by their slaughter

92. Howitt, William. History of Discovery in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand from the Earliest Date to the Present Day, Vol.II pp.301-04; for other descriptions of Frederick Walker's expedition in search of Burke and Wills, see Meston, History, pp.200-01, and Feeken, Feeken and Spate, p.175.

and deeply
 revenge.
 Leichhardt
 Wiseman wa
 N.S.W.; h
 represente
 massacre a
 settlers a
 Wiseman is
 been in Au
 his backgr
 research t
 nobleman.
 and his ca
 that Wisem
 Continent
 the black
 this money
 such a lar
 becoming o
 known; bu
 ever owned
 residential
 early days
 seems he n
 profession
 best in th

As w
 maintainin
 civil serv
 correspond
 one of the
 part, that
 afraid of
 the true s
 swayed by
 I read the

Meston reported that syphilis was far more poisonous and deadly among the Aborigines

strongest
 conniving

ALSO, Michael O. Sullivan. 1888.
years after he was there in 1888.

58. Fox, Gwen, p.91.

59. Emerson, p.402.

222

and deeply sympathised with the settlers' desire for revenge. As the Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Leichhardt district, which included the Upper Dawson, Wiseman was then the representative of the Government of N.S.W.; he possessed great powers, and certainly he represented law and order on the frontier; but after the massacre at Hornet Bank he took no action to restrain the settlers and Native Police officers in their excesses. Wiseman is a mystery, difficult to solve. He had he said been in Australia 18 years, but almost nothing is known of his background. Denholm has speculated in unpublished research that Wiseman was the illegitimate son of an English nobleman. If so, this would explain much of his attitude and his career. Serocold, who had travelled with him, said that Wiseman was an educated man who had travelled on the Continent and had gone through twenty-thousand pounds; as the black sheep of a wealthy family, he may have been given this money to get out of England. Why he frittered away such a large sum of money without investing in land and becoming one of the new landed gentry of Australia is not known; but he did not. There is no evidence that Wiseman ever owned anything more than town blocks: he owned eight residential sites and several shop sites in Drayton in the early days and one of the first houses in Rockhampton. It seems he never owned a pastoral run, although his professional expertise would have enabled him to select the best in the northern districts.

As we have seen, he was sensitive to criticism, maintaining at all times the appearance of the unbiased civil servant but also revealing in occasional correspondence his upper-class biases. A letter from him to one of the Archers from Bungaban, 3 November 1855, says in part, that the Governor-General, Sir William Denison, "is afraid of Parker, Lang, Cowper and Campbell... He has not the true spirit of the Aristocrat, who would scorn to be swayed by the braying of such apes. I am perfectly mad when I read their confounded rot and Donaldson is as bad, nay I

236

strongest tendency for liquor, and they adopt every means of conniving to obtain it.

63. West

64. Deat

think wors
squatter."
autocratic
by the peo

Wise
career; h
Rockhampto
station.
Rockhampto
Lagoon to
magistrate
1862.94

Ille
knowledge
nobleman w
of the com
ranks of t
be a refin
obvious di
had twice
alleged "b
from tryin
honourable

Wise
He tried t

93. Wise
at G
Gene

94. Hoga
Rich
Wise

95. Wise

Of co
wage

- ELE/11.
63. Western Star, 7 November 1914; also QSA ELE/14.
64. Deaths Register, 1899, Roma Courthouse.

think worse than a traitor to his caste in qua a squatter."⁹³ In other words, Wiseman preferred the autocratic rule of the aristocrat to that of "apes" elected by the people of N.S.W.

Wiseman remained a civil servant to the end of his career; he and Charles Archer chose the site of Rockhampton, which was laid out on part of Gracemere station. His house of 16 rooms was constructed in Rockhampton in 1859, commanding a site looking across Yeppen Lagoon to Mount Morgan Range. Wiseman was appointed police magistrate for the Cape York Peninsula district in October 1862.⁹⁴

Illegitimacy would explain a lot about Wiseman: knowledge in the colonies that he was the bastard son of a nobleman would have ensured him a station in life above that of the common man but not high enough to admit him to the ranks of the "pure merinos" of Australia. He would always be a refined sort of servant. This must have hurt him. His obvious dislike of the new rich, such as Gordon Sandeman who had twice petitioned Denison to remove him because of alleged "bias" in his judgements,⁹⁵ perhaps dissuaded him from trying to become one of them. Better to remain an honourable servant than become one of the "apes".

Wiseman explains a lot about events at Hornet Bank. He tried to be a model English gentleman, convinced of the

93. Wiseman, Bungaban, 3 March 1855, to an unnamed Archer at Gracemere, in Mitchell Library, Archer Papers IV, General Correspondence, A 3882.
94. Hogan, Janet. Building Queensland's Heritage, Richmond, Victoria, 1978, chapter on Gracemere; also Wiseman letter book, QSA CCL mfm 7/G1, last entry.
95. Wiseman, Bungaban, 3 March 1855.

merit of E
controlled
Imparting
a duty upo
the native
rejection
right to c
resisted b
Wiseman, a
Upper Daws
invading w
tears he w
self-deceit
his best to
deaths.

The e
all these p
Queensland
discussed

65. Queensland Department of Health, Woogaroo case book,
1898.
66. Queensland Department of Health, Woogaroo case book,
1898.

merit of English civilisation, especially a civilisation controlled by the established families of England. Imparting this civilisation to the people of other lands was a duty upon Englishmen and receiving it an obligation upon the natives. He could not understand the Aborigines' rejection of such a gift. The English, he believed, had a right to civilise others by force; and if the barbarian resisted by force he must be punished with greater force. Wiseman, as the representative of the Government on the Upper Dawson, allowed great crimes to be committed by the invading white settlers in the name of civilisation. The tears he wept for the slain Frasers were the tears of self-deceit, for the policies which he had espoused and done his best to enforce had been a fundamental cause of their deaths.

The experience of the Hornet Bank massacre lay behind all these people; the extent that they may have influenced Queensland attitudes towards the Aborigines will be discussed in the final chapter.

Barunggam.³¹ According to Meston, the northern Darling
downs blacks spoke "u" " 22

68. West
Depa
69. Cert
Yald
time

The
present-day
had a devas
Augustus G
considered
1861 Select
the main ca
cited vener
habits and
what he mea

The c
as the fron
had been he
contempt.
European di
rapidly. T
and that is
pastoral fr
was the sam
stealing sh
counteracte

On 7
into questi
Mackay dist
Aborigines

1. Grego
2. Eden,
3. For d
Abori
parti
Histo
Viola
Unive
Lectu

from the ear
natives, an

68. Western , 7 November 1914, and Queensland
Department case book, 1898.
69. Certified copy, death register, Brisbane; William
Yaldwyn was a magistrate in South Brisbane at this
time.

CHAPTER 9 : THE VANQUISHED

The first twenty years of white occupation of the present-day Queensland outside the Moreton Bay district had had a devastating effect on the Aborigines. The explorer, Augustus Gregory, now Surveyor-General of the new Colony and considered to be something of an expert on them, told the 1861 Select Committee Inquiry that lack of reproduction was the main cause of decline in the number of Aborigines. He cited venereal diseases, whooping cough, measles, changes of habits and drinking as other causes. He did not explain what he meant by changes of habits.¹

The distressed condition of the Aborigines left behind as the frontier advanced allowed the fear with which they had been held by the whites to be replaced by the utmost contempt. Charles Eden in 1871 said: "...tobacco, rum and European diseases, unknown to them before, diminish them rapidly. They are very good guides for a day's shooting, and that is all I can say in their favour."² On the pastoral frontier itself the killing continued: the pattern was the same, the Aborigines reacted to white invasion by stealing sheep or even killing a shepherd, and the whites counteracted with a ferocity unusual in wild animals.³

On 7 May 1874, the Commissioners appointed to inquire into questions raised by a petition from residents of the Mackay district on the employment and protection of the Aborigines of that district was presented. The Commission,

1. Gregory to 1861 Select Committee, pp. 39-44.
2. Eden, p.24.
3. For details of incidents and the effects on the Aborigines, see the works of Henry Reynolds, particularly "The Other Side of the Frontier", in Historical Studies, Vol.17, No.66, 1976; and "Racial Violence in North Queensland", in James Cook University of North Queensland, History Department, Lecture Notes, Second Series, 1975.

from the earliest days of settlement, station-owners engaged
natives, and later held

author, 27 June 1900 and
quotes Mr Hec Carlyon of Mitchell, who met Fraser in
1910, as describing Fraser's height.

73. Queensland Post Office Directory, 1913-14.

226

which comprised Augustus Gregory, Charles Coxen, John G. Hausmanⁿ and W.L.G. Drew, also considered what could be done to ameliorate the conditions of the Aborigines of the colony and to make their labour useful to the settlers and profitable to themselves. The four-page report was not accompanied by evidence. The Commissioners had, however, send a circular to residents in the interior and elsewhere seeking information on the number, present conditions and prospects of the Aborigines of each district. More than 100 replies were received, as well as numerous other communications.⁴

The Commissioners reported that the Aborigines in all districts were decreasing fast in numbers; they were passionately fond of intoxicating liquors which they could obtain freely if they had the money; introduced diseases were fearfully ravaging the young and middle-aged; some were satisfactorily employed by Europeans while others had an unconquerable aversion to persistent labour; and little could be done for the old and middle-aged except to supply them with food and shelter, but by education and training much might be done for the young. The Commissioners recommended that protectors be appointed in specific districts; reserves for the exclusive use of Aborigines be set up; Aborigines be excluded from towns where intoxicating liquors were sold; every effort be made to induce them to reside on reserves; huts and other buildings be erected on these reserves and rations, clothing and implements be provided together with medical care; light rural occupations be encouraged on the reserves; a special

4. "Report of the Commissioners on the Aborigines in Queensland", Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, Vol. II, 1874, four pages only. They said these documents were so voluminous that it would serve no useful purpose to print them with the report. They recommended that some competent person be employed to extract portions to preserve for permanent record. Such extracts do not appear to have been printed, and the original materials seem to have been lost.

240

suspended by a chain around his neck.³⁸ Another such
"kind" in the district

76. W
77. Q
78. C

effort
young;
suppres
denied
source
have su
with ou

O
was ado
Bowen a
the exp
in Apri
whites

T
d
p
w
m
w
c
p
t
a
d
c
l
s
m
b
t
n
t
t
m
h
e
o
d
m
d
e
i
i

5. 18
6. Ro

State.
settle

76. Western Star, 4 November 1914.
77. Queensland Times, 5 November 1914.
78. Certified copy, deaths register, Brisbane.

effort be made to improve, educate and Christianise the young; and more stringent legislation be enacted to suppress the sale of liquor. They stated: "It cannot be denied that the settlement of Europeans...has been the source of great evil to the Aborigines and that those tribes have suffered least which have had the least intercourse with our countrymen."⁵

Only one of the recommendations of the 1874 commission was adopted, i.e. the establishment of reserves at Mackay, Bowen and Bribie Island. No new legislation was passed and the experiments did not last long.⁶ The Brisbane Courier in April 1876 summed up the relations between blacks and whites in Queensland:

Throughout the far north and the north-western districts there can be no doubt that we still hold possession by a kind of conquest. If the Aborigines were more civilised than they are, we should either make treaties with them or we should be at open war with them. It would then be either peace or war on certain terms, and we should be guided by the principles of action recognised in such cases. But the scattered tribes of Australian natives, not having attained to such principles, have to be dealt with in detail, and the process is a very undefined one, certainly not strictly justifiable under the civil law; and yet the exigencies of the case are not sufficiently urgent to demand the application of martial law. The consequence is that a combination of both is put into practice, and a great deal is left to the discretion of the European officers and non-commissioned officers who are placed in command of these detachments [of the Native Police]. Much, therefore, depends upon the personal character of the men entrusted with these responsible duties. They have their instructions, no doubt, and they are expected to act on these. Circumstances, however, often occur when they must act on their own discretion, and it is then that the characters of the men come out. An officer may act with great determination, and yet his acts may not be marred by inhumanity. There have certainly been such officers in the Native Police Force, and there are such men now

5. 1874 Commission report, p.3.
6. Rowley, p.174.

State. In 1914 the recorded population of the Taroom settlement was 246 and in 1900

i
i
u
o
d
v
t
e
i
e

T
Police
conditio
rejected
informa
officers
already
Commiss
deficien
a genera
officers
their du
was recd

Th
complair
Walsh of
Aborigin
johnny c
station
other Ab
Arcadia
still in

7. Br
al
8. Br

in it. There have been others again who have been influenced in the execution of their duties by an unnatural ferocity. They have not cared to gain any other influence over the Aboriginal tribes in their district than that arising out of relentless vindictiveness. Not less savage in their natures than the savages themselves, it is with them a war of extermination...and the case now under judicial investigation at Claremont is a sample of the degrading effect of this unrestrained ferocity.⁷

The Courier pleaded that the conduct of the Native Police be investigated by the Commission inquiring into the condition of the Aborigines. The Commissioners, however, had rejected such a proposal, saying the only trustworthy information which could be obtained would be that of the officers themselves and that all that could be learnt was already known to many persons in the colony. The Commissioners instead recommended that to overcome deficiencies in the organisation and discipline of the force a general depot be established in a central position where officers and men could be drilled and otherwise instructed in their duties. The admittance of Aboriginal evidence in court was recommended by the Commission.⁸

The "war of extermination" of which the Courier complained continued, although details are vague. Grahame Walsh of Injune says that according to local legend, 32 Aborigines were shot when they were surprised while cooking johnny cakes in Postman's Gully on Anchorosa station by station men many years ago. The bodies were then placed by other Aborigines in bark cylinders and left in a cave in Arcadia Valley, near the Dawson River. The remains were still in the cave 15 to 16 years ago when they were covered

7. Brisbane Courier, 6 April 1876. The Courier is alluding to the case of Inspector Frederick Wheeler.

8. Brisbane Courier, 6 April 1876.

by a la
preserv

Ac
saline
of Horne
station
visible
estimate
date for
that hun
open in
reported
poisoned

Th
land to
Gungabul
the Bidy
the coun
appears
very ear
virtuall
informan
days. P
reliable
settleme
Augathel
tribesl

9. Gr
au
in
st

10. Wa

11. Br

Melbourne, 1969, p.144; also see Hannah, Isobel, and Bernays, C.A., p.55. C.L.D. Hamilton remarked that Murray-Prior was alleged to have introduced the prickley pear to the Auburn district (Hamilton to author, 16 August 1979).

by a landslide. They appeared then to have been well preserved.⁹

According to Walsh, Jiman were killed at Salt Lake, a saline spring near Scott's Creek about 12 miles south-west of Hornet Bank. On Boxvale, an out-station of Westgrove station, the bones of massacred Aborigines were still visible in the 1940s. The bones were in a small area but no estimate of the number of Aborigines involved was made. No date for their deaths has been estimated, but Walsh believes that human bones would not last longer than 50 years in the open in that climate. On Moolayembah Creek Aborigines were reported to have been killed when drinking water from a hole poisoned by whites in a pass in the Carnarvon Ranges.¹⁰

The people believed to have originally occupied the land to the immediate west of the Upper Dawson, the Gungabula, now live much farther west. The Gungabula regard the Bidyara country as their own and have no knowledge of the country marked as theirs by Tindale. Breen says it appears they must have been displaced from that country at a very early age in the white settlement. Their language is virtually identical with that of the Bidyara, but the main informants agree there were greater differences in the early days. Present-day members of both tribes could give nothing reliable on the locations of the tribes at the time of white settlement. Bidyara and Gungabula country is now centred on Augathella, Charleville and Clermont, with a few of both tribes living at Mitchell.¹¹

9. Grahame Walsh, July 1979, in conversation with author. Walsh has not been able to date this incident. Anchorosa station is part of Pony Hills station near Injune.

10. Walsh, July 1979, to author.

11. Breen, pp.3-4.

Gayndah. If they stayed in the Burnett district, they may

this sug
of Horne
she was
time of

E
him for
them, c
by Abor
evidenc
the Daw
displac
followi

A
40 year
suppres
famous
Austral
able to
He worke
taking w
and sack
and catt
Toby and
but he w
Creek, r
believed
waggon f
the liqu
disappea
daughter
a giant
While th
white br
days bef

Th
taken to
forming

12. Cu
Lo

populat
old inh

this suggests she was as much as 10 years of age at the time of Hornet Bank. In fact, her family moved to Hawkwood when she was three and she was six years and eight months at the time of the massacre. Also, there is good reason to suspect

E.M. Carr, in notes to three vocabularies provided to him for his The Australian Race, 1887, says that one of them, claimed to belong to the Burnett, was probably spoken by Aborigines then living on the Burnett but internal evidence led him to believe the language really belonged to the Dawson River country. This supports other evidence of a displacement of some Upper Dawson people to the Burnett following the Hornet Bank massacre.¹²

Although the Upper Dawson had been occupied for almost 40 years, the spirit of the Aborigines was not entirely suppressed. One of them in the 1880s became a renegade, as famous there today as any bushranger in south-eastern Australia. His name was Toby, a "giant of a man", reputedly able to move 35 miles in a night without tiring seriously. He worked on a Dawson River station but soon became a thief, taking what he wanted from the station store, until caught and sacked. He took to the bush and began attacking sheep and cattle with his spears. Soon he got the name of Wild Toby and squatters, stockmen and police began to hunt him, but he was elusive, using a prominent hill near Woleebee Creek, now known as Toby's Knob, as a lookout. He was believed to be fond of whisky and tobacco, and when a supply waggon from Maryborough was found with the driver dead and the liquor and tobacco taken, Wild Toby was blamed. He disappeared for eight months, but after the 12-year-old daughter of a squatter alleged that she had been attacked by a giant Aborigine a large posse turned out to hunt him. While they did, Toby entered a homestead and abducted a white bride of six weeks, holding her in the bush for two days before releasing her.

Three weeks later, Toby was apprehended by police, taken to a nearby station and chained hand and foot to a log forming part of a cellar. During the night Toby dislodged

12. Carr, E.M. The Australian Race, Vol.III, Melbourne and London, 1887, p.102.

population groups over the intervening years. Some of the old inhabitants had

the log a
by two po
apparentl
from his
Constable
thinking
him up wi
Dwyer mov
leaves To
Dwyer ben
split Dwy
putting f
to his we
Wright, s
the serge
Toby's bo
displayed

Tob

Dawson.
and went
tracker.
of other
Aborigine
the Upper
fights wi
significa
have come
1890.¹⁴

13. Bla
Col
Abo
W.R
Que
dat
ref
"ma
Que

14. Pet
quc

84. Helen Brown, thesis; and Oxley Library photographic file notes.

the log and dug his way out of the cellar. He was tracked by two policemen and a black guide, who came upon him, apparently unarmed, leaning against a tree some distance from his spears and a nullah-nullah. Sergeant Wright, Constable Dwyer and the black tracker approached cautiously, thinking him asleep, until Dwyer was close enough to bail him up with his revolver. Toby meekly raised his arms as Dwyer moved forward with his handcuffs. But under some leaves Toby was holding a tomahawk between his toes. As Dwyer bent down to secure him, Toby lifted the tomahawk and split Dwyer's skull. Wright immediately opened fire, putting four bullets into Toby, who managed to run 50 yards to his weapons, grasping the nullah-nullah and hurling it at Wright, striking him. He was about to throw a spear, when the sergeant's fifth shot struck his head, killing him. Toby's body was beheaded, and for many years his skull was displayed at Juandah station.¹³

Toby was not the last of these wild men of the Dawson. In 1890 an Aborigine at Taroom assaulted a woman and went bush, followed by a trooper with an Aboriginal tracker. He was caught a few miles from Roma in the company of other Aborigines carrying spears. In the same year, Aborigines in the Roma district, believed to have come from the Upper Dawson, were still using traditional clubs in fights with their own people, leading to death. It is significant that Aborigines in the wild state could still have come so close to such a settled centre as Roma in 1890.¹⁴

13. Blaikie, George. "Defeat of a Superman", Sunday Mail Color, 26 November 1978; J.W. Bleakley, The Aborigines of Australia, Brisbane, 1961 pp.72-73; W.R. Phipps, Taroom, 26 April 1979, to author; The Queenslander, article on the Hornet Bank murders, no date but before death of William Fraser in 1914, as it refers to his still being alive. This article seen in "massacres" folder at Royal Historical Society of Queensland office, Newstead House, Brisbane.

14. Peter Keegan, Roma, 19 November 1979, to author, quoting the Western Star, n.d.

86. Taroom Police Office records, 11 July 1858, location not noted. One of the magistrates who heard the case was Pollet Cardew himself.

There is no doubt that Aboriginal population along the Dawson by this time was declining rapidly, but in the absence of official counts figures must be guessed from other sources. One such source is the number of blankets issued to them each year. The issuing of blankets on the Queen's birthday, 24 May, began in Queensland in 1861.¹⁵ At Banana on the Lower Dawson in 1866, the number of blankets available was inadequate: only 35 pairs were sent from the Colonial Stores, Brisbane, to Banana, whereas another 25 pairs would have been required to satisfy the demand from those who assembled at the local court house to receive them. Even so, a few old men and women were unable to come to the courthouse.¹⁶ On the assumption that each Aborigine received only one blanket, the contactable population in the Banana district in 1866 would have been just over 120 Aborigines. No such estimate is available for this time at Taroom.

The Queensland census of 1871 and 1876 did not mention Aborigines; the 1881 and 1886 censuses did but only the total for the whole colony. They showed: 1881, 20,000 Aborigines in Queensland; 1886, 11-12,000 Aborigines. Another census in 1901, showed 20,000 Aborigines in Queensland, making the 1886 figure seem to be inaccurate, but presumably it included the recently occupied Cape York Peninsula. Official figures in 1897, however, help to indicate Aboriginal population throughout the colony and in particular districts.

Quoting from several sources, including a report by Archibald Meston, the Queensland Home Secretary, Horace Tozer, in 1897 reported that a total 7,756 pairs of blankets were distributed to adult Aborigines from 151 stations

15. Emmerson, Kathleen, notes, in Chinchilla historical museum.
16. J.W. Clyde, Banana, to Col. Sec., Brisbane, 8 June 1866, QSA. COL. A/80, 66/1632.

throughout
480 pairs
blanket w
was the l
since the
intention
in the se
include so
friendship
number of
been 16,47
Peninsula
Therefore
that year,
about 30,0
population
been 200,0

At T
distributed
some who d
Aboriginal
appears to
report to
colony mad
expenditur
years from
shillings
Misappropri

17. Toze
of t
Secr
Proc
18. Toze

87. Nisbet, p.22; also R.B. Taylor, The History of Queensland and District, 1846-1885, Roma, 1975, pp.55-56.
88. Morisset to 1861 Inquiry, p.145; also Bird, p.195.

throughout Queensland in 1897 in addition to a surplus of 480 pairs from 1896 - a grand total of 8,236 pairs. One blanket was given to each Aborigine who asked for it. This was the largest distribution of the best quality blankets since the first year of distribution in Queensland. "The intention was to give a blanket to every available aborigine in the settled districts...The next distribution will include some Cape York Peninsula tribes, with whom friendship has only recently been established". The total number of Aborigines receiving the blankets appears to have been 16,473. Meston estimated 12,000 were on Cape York Peninsula outside the settled districts in 1897.¹⁷ Therefore the total Aboriginal population of Queensland in that year, as he reckoned in his Geographic History, was about 30,000. He had estimated that the Aboriginal population in Queensland before the coming of the whites had been 200,000.

At Taroom in 1897, only 47 pairs of blankets were distributed - presumably to 94 Aborigines. Allowing for some who did not attend the Queen's Birthday ceremony, the Aboriginal population of the town and immediate district appears to have been little more than 100.¹⁸ In his report to the Queensland Government on the Aborigines of the colony made in 1896, Archibald Meston had said total expenditure on them, exclusive of blankets, at Taroom in the years from 1882-83 to 1895-96 was sixty one pounds, two shillings and elevenpence, or less than five pounds a year. Misappropriation of the blankets by whites was widespread,

17. Tozer, Horace. "Measures adopted for the Amelioration of the Aborigines", a memorandum to the Chief Secretary, Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1897, Vol.2, p.4 of the memorandum.

18. Tozer, memorandum, p.4.

he said.19
blankets i
Alpha, 39;
Condamine,
Mitchell,
Surat, 50;
indicates
south-cent

By 1
alarming r
Kabi, was
Island. I
island, wh
and happy"
the previo
died. "Th
deplorable
by opium,
The death-
two years
Fraser's I
among the

19. Mest
Quee
unde
Repo
Quee
Proc
in N
Peni
expe
thre
prot
Gove
Abor
Evan
Expl
Colo

20. Toze

21. Toze

90. Taylor, History of Roma, pp.27, 42, 50, 51.
 91. Brisbane Courier, 1910 (no precise date).

he said.¹⁹ Next year the distribution of pairs of blankets in the centres in and around the Upper Dawson was: Alpha, 39; Augathella, 89; Banana, 50; Chinchilla, 17; Condamine, 14; Duaringa, 77; Eidsvold, 50; Miles, 19; Mitchell, 60; Rolleston, 29; Roma, 69; Springsure, 55; Surat, 50; Yuleba, 10; Taroom, 47; total 646 pairs. This indicates that the adult Aboriginal population of south-central Queensland in 1897 was about 1,500.²⁰

By 1897 Aboriginal societies were declining at an alarming rate. For instance, the Wide Bay tribe, the Kabi Kabi, was only saved by the creation of a reserve on Fraser Island. In February of that year 52 were removed to the island, where, by the end of the year, they were "healthy and happy", not one death having occurred on the island. In the previous two years in the Maryborough district 46 had died. "The whole of these men and women were in a deplorable state of mental and physical degradation caused by opium, drink, imperfect nutrition, exposure and disease. The death-rate among these blacks has been incredible. In two years 46 had died out of 105. After eight months on Fraser's Island there has not been a single death recorded among the 52..."²¹

19. Meston, Archibald. "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland (By Archibald Meston, Special Commissioner under instruction from the Queensland Government), Report to the Hon. Horace Tozer, Home Secretary", in Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, Vol.4, 1896, p.11. Meston travelled only in North Queensland, particularly on Cape York Peninsula, but already he had had considerable experience of the Aborigines. In 1895, Meston had threatened to take a seat in Parliament and, under the protection of Parliamentary privilege, expose the Government's bad record in its handling of the Aborigines, if it did not act to help them. (See Evans, Raymond, appendix to his section of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination; Race Relations in Colonial Queensland, Sydney, 1975.)

20. Tozer, memorandum, p.4.
 21. Tozer, memorandum, p.1.

Meston
 and deadly
 because it
 the other.
 was no worse
 depth of de
 various pa
 recommended
 As a result
 Protection
 the Legisla
 years after
 outcome of
 Aborigines
 the whites,
 still appli

The u
 widespread
 shocked at
 in the Wint
 passage of
 opium were
 Aborigines
 1905 13 per
 Roth said i
 traffic in
 districts "
 be the opiu
 among those
 opium.²⁴ I
 quoting a r
 to the Abor

22. Meston
 23. Joint
 24. Chief

92. Howitt, William. History of Discovery in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand from the Earliest Date to the Present Day, Vol. II pp.301-04; for other descriptions of Frederick Walker's expedition in search of Burke and Wills, see Meston, History, pp.200-01, and Feeken, Feeken and Spate, p.175.

Meston reported that syphilis was far more poisonous and deadly among the Aborigines than among the whites, because it was a new disease with the one race and old with the other. The average Aboriginal drunkard, he believed, was no worse than the white and rarely reached the same depth of debasement. Opium was killing them in scores in various parts of Queensland, chiefly in the west. Meston recommended the total abolition of the Native Police Force. As a result, the Government introduced the Aborigines Protection and Restriction on the Sale of Opium Bill into the Legislative Assembly on 11 November 1897 - just over 40 years after the massacre at Hornet Bank.²² The effective outcome of this legislation when enacted, was to confine all Aborigines not in employment, i.e. of no economic value to the whites, to settlements indefinitely, a provision which still applies in Queensland today.

The usage of opium dross by Aborigines had been widespread by 1884, when E. Smith wrote that he was "much shocked at witnessing the effects of opium on the niggers" in the Winton, Surat and Roma districts.²³ After the passage of the 1897 legislation, permits for the sale of opium were issued, although the Chief Protector of Aborigines, A.W. Roth, opposed this. In Rockhampton in 1905 13 permits were issued; one was issued in Taroom. Roth said in his annual report for 1905 that the opium traffic in the Duaringa, Blackwater, Emerald and Clermont districts "could not be worse". The Chinese were claimed to be the opium-sellers, although non-Chinese names appeared among those of persons convicted of illegally dealing in opium.²⁴ In 1908, the then Chief Protector, R.B. Howard, quoting a report from Roma on the supply of liquor and opium to the Aborigines, said: "The Taroom blacks exhibit the

22. Meston, Report, pp.12-13.

23. Joint Submission, p.12.

24. Chief Protector's Report, 1905, p.8.

afraid of E
the true sp
swayed by t
I read thei

strongest t
conniving t
police ther

Early
Aboriginal
head of the
Wakka Wakka
intertribal
speak Goren
groups of 30
group and k
were judged
control the
referred to
Rockybar na
put up this
massacre and
of the Jimar
in their cor
of common di
certain inte
boundary, th
this century
inference wo
Jiman.²⁸

Before
most Aborigi
property on

25. Chief

26. Hamilt

27. Hamilt

28. Hamilt

afraid of Parker, Lang, Cowper and Campbell... He has not the true spirit of the Aristocrat, who would scorn to be swayed by the braying of such apes. I am perfectly mad when I read their confounded rot and Donaldson is as bad, nay I

strongest tendency for liquor, and they adopt every means of conniving to obtain it. When they do so obtain it the police there have difficulty in keeping them in order."²⁵

Early this century C.L.D. Hamilton used to play with Aboriginal children on Rockybar and Redbank stations at the head of the Auburn River. They were mainly Goreng Goreng, Wakka Wakka and "the odd Jiman". In those days the intertribal relations had relaxed. Hamilton, who could speak Goreng Goreng, believed they comprised families or groups of 30 to 40 members with one man who was head of the group and known as "Carmaden". The members of each group were judged on the ability of the head man to discipline and control them.²⁶ The Dawson River blacks were then often referred to as being "quarrelsome" by the Redbank and Rockybar natives, but it seemed to him that the local people put up this facade partly because of the Hornet Bank massacre and partly to agree with the white folk's opinion of the Jiman. The Jiman appeared to be no better nor worse in their conduct than the Goreng Goreng, there being a lot of common dialect expressions among the two people and certain intertribal customs peculiar to their common boundary, the Auburn Range.²⁷ Hamilton said that early this century very few Aborigines on the Auburn even by inference would claim they were closely associated with the Jiman.²⁸

Before the establishment of the government settlements most Aborigines lived on what they could scrounge from the property on which they were camped.

25. Chief Protector's Report, 1908, p.18.

26. Hamilton, Wavell Heights, to author, 1 August 1979.

27. Hamilton, to Mrs K. Emmerson, Chinchilla, no date.

28. Hamilton, 22 November 1979, to author.

Of course
wage of
it with
genera
grog,
disease
please
Further
was re
or sel
for no
the ma

In 190
had interm
distinguish
200 Aborig
the Governme
stations. S
marsupials f

Harold
movement of
Upper Dawson
the name Jim
Upper Dawson
people from
manuscript,
South-East Q
includes a m
described by
Gaiarbau men
between the
and Chinchil

29. Hamilt

30. Hamilt

Of course, those working on the properties were paid a wage of sorts and, characteristic of them, they shared it with others. Some owners treated them well, but generally they were at the mercy of those peddling grog, gambling, sex and the resultant venereal disease. There was almost no hygiene and it was not pleasant to see the conditions of these camps. Further, it was sad that the once-proud race of people was reduced to this state of indolence, lack of pride or self-esteem and existing on handouts. Something for nothing is bad for anyone let alone anyone with the make-up of the Aboriginal.²⁹

In 1909, the respective tribes on or near the Auburn had intermingled and it was not easy for a white man to distinguish them. At Hawkwood and Auburn groups of up to 200 Aborigines were camped. They were given some rations by the Government, while some worked as employees on the stations. Some augmented their incomes by shooting marsupials for their skins.³⁰

Harold Hall of Dalby has attempted to trace the movement of Aboriginal people from the Dalby district to the Upper Dawson late in the 19th Century. It is possible that the name Jiman now given to the tribe who once inhabited the Upper Dawson basin may have been imported at this time with people from the Dalby district. In his unpublished manuscript, "Gaiarbau's Story of the Jinibara Tribe of South-East Queensland and its Neighbours", L.P. Winterbotham includes a map showing the neighbouring tribal areas as described by Gaiarbau, also known as Willie Mackenzie. Gaiarbau mentioned a tribe, whom he called the Yeeman, between the Great Dividing Range, the Condamine River, Dalby and Chinchilla, in part of the territory now ascribed to the

29. Hamilton, 1 August 1979, to author.

30. Hamilton, 11 October 1979.

Barunggam.³¹
Downs blacks
the people of
Wakka, appe
the Dalby an
of Aborigines
come from Ju
and Chinchilla
Dalby boree
Broadwater D

It is
Yeeman from
attackers at
tribal estate
name did live
may have mov
land which w
occupied as
the consent

Hall 1
on Jimbour s
these people
Taroom distr

31. Harold
author
the Ji
Neighb
Instit
known
speak
manusc

32. Meston

33. Harold
Mohr,
quotin
distrib

34. Hall,

Barunggam.³¹ According to Meston, the northern Darling Downs blacks spoke "Wacca",³² and this would explain why the people of the Upper Dawson, also speaking a dialect of Wakka, appear to have had strong cultural associations with the Dalby area. Hall says that at the time of the meeting of Aboriginal people for initiation ceremonies, some would come from Juandah, while others would come from Wallumbilla and Chinchilla and from the early pastoral stations to the Dalby boree ring, situated at Duck Pond, Wilkie Creek, near Broadwater Lagoon, about 20 miles south-west of Dalby.³³

It is possible, then, that people named Jiman or Yeeman from the Chinchilla-Dalby region were among the attackers at Hornet Bank and afterwards returned to their tribal estate. It is equally possible that people of this name did live in the Upper Dawson and that at least one band may have moved to the Chinchilla-Dalby region, remaining on land which was either part of their estate or which occupied as refugees from the Upper Dawson with or without the consent of the Barunggam.

Hall learned from his grandfather, William Hall, born on Jimbour station in 1866, and other relatives that some of these people were taken from the Dalby district to the Taroom district in the 1890s.³⁴ Gwen Fox says that almost

31. Harold Hall, Dalby, 8 and 31 December 1979, to author; also L.P. Winterbotham, "Gaiarbau's Story of the Jinibara Tribe of South-East Queensland and its Neighbours", unpublished manuscript in Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. It is not known when Gaiarbau, the last man of his tribe to speak its language, talked to Winterbotham but the manuscript was apparently written in 1957.
32. Meston, History, p.82.
33. Harold Hall, Dalby, 30 September 1979, to Neville Mohr, Taroom; copy held by the author. Hall was quoting a statement by Tommy, one of the Dalby district Aboriginal leaders, in May 1866.
34. Hall, Dalby, 31 December 1979, to author.

from the ear
natives, and
the girls as
who were mov
daughter of
the Bell fam
the Scotts a
Scott childr
in Taroom, h
eldest being
now living i
member of th
born at Wall
had hunted t
family was v
Dalby to Too

When W
1907, he sna
Robert Logan
but neither v
although the

Accord
were either
century. Ve
mixed black-
some of whom
Taroom. One
Taroom was C
of the local

35. Fox, G
36. Hall to
Turbay
Clemen
Jubile
37. W.G.A.

from the earliest days of settlement, station-owners engaged natives, and later half-castes, as stockmen and yardmen, and the girls as cooks, maids or nursemaids.³⁵ One of those who were moved from the Dalby area was Jane Darlow, the daughter of a stockman on Jimbour station, who worked for the Bell family at Jimbour after leaving school, then for the Scotts at Hornet Bank, acting as a nursemaid for the Scott children. In April 1915 she married William Turbayne in Taroom, having a number of children over 20 years, the eldest being born in Taroom but the youngest, Jean Turbayne, now living in Toowoomba, at Woorabinda. William Turbayne, a member of the Red Kangaroo division of the Wakka Wakka, was born at Wallumbilla, near Roma, where the Fraser brothers had hunted the killers of their family in March 1858. The family was very fit, often walking from Dalby to Warra, Dalby to Toowoomba, and Toowoomba to Ipswich.³⁶

When W.G.A. Holmes of Theodore arrived at Taroom in 1907, he snared wallabies on Hornet Bank station. Both Robert Logan and Andrew Robert Scott were living there then, but neither were keen to discuss "the Aboriginal question", although they employed Aborigines for stock work.³⁷

According to W.R. Phipps, several Aboriginal camps were either in the town or along the Dawson early this century. Very few of the inhabitants of these camps were of mixed black-white blood, and many were young full-bloods, some of whom were employed as trackers by the police at Taroom. One of the oldest of the Aboriginal people then in Taroom was Carrabah George, who was recognised as the "king" of the local "tribe" by the whites; he wore a brass plate

35. Fox, Gwen, p.131.

36. Hall to Neville Mohr, Taroom, 28 October 1979; Jean Turbayne, Toowoomba, June 1979, to author; and Clements, J.C. (ed.), Woorabinda 1937-1977: Golden Jubilee Year, Woorabinda, 1977, p.5.

37. W.G.A. Holmes, Theodore, 30 May 1979, to author.

serve no useful purpose to print such a report. They recommended that some competent person be employed to extract portions to preserve for permanent record. Such extracts do not appear to have been printed, and the original materials seem to have been lost.

suspended by a chain around his neck.³⁸ Another such "king" in the district then was King Billy Palm Tree; while Hornet Bank had its own "king" named Tommy, whose plate is believed to be held in Dalby.³⁹ In 1912 a crew working on the Miles-Wandoan railway discovered an Aboriginal chief's badge, bearing the inscription, "King Charlie - Cracow."⁴⁰ Another plate inscribed, "Jacky - King of Juandah", was found on Hitherdale property in the Wandoan district in June 1968.⁴¹

Groups of Aborigines had been drifting towards Taroom for some time, and in 1909 about one hundred were camped on Bonner's Knob overlooking the town. Gwen Fox says: "Some were plied with drinks by the local whites and for this reason their presence so close to the town was annoying to the townsfolk, several of whom complained".⁴² The first government-controlled Aboriginal settlement had been established at Barambah, in the Burnett district, in 1904, the name later being changed to Cherbourg. In 1910 the Government decided to establish another nine miles east of Taroom, the site being an old property of 7,000 acres which had been abandoned because of prickly pear infestation. The Taroom settlement opened in April 1911 with 70 people gathered from the camp on Bonner's Knob and another on the river west of the town; by the end of that year it held about 200. Evidently deaths outnumbered births in the early years, as had happened at Cherbourg, but the population was maintained by the transferral of substantial numbers of Aborigines, mainly from southern and central parts of the

38. W.R. Phipps, Taroom, 26 April 1979.

39. Kitchener Harvey, Taroom, 26 April 1979, to author.

40. Toowoomba Star, 6 July 1957, quoted by Pilling, Arnold R., in Aboriginal Cultural History: A Survey of Publications 1954-1957, Detroit, 1962.

41. Chinchilla News, n.d. but possibly 4 July 1968.

42. Fox, Gwen, p.131.

State. I
settleme
full-blo
epidemic
superinte

Alt
settleme
certain t
largely d
whether t
those bea
not have
district.
began soc
settlers
there is
camped ne
although
living in
the local
groups fr
Toowoomba
those in
been Jima
live.⁴⁶
have been
escape be
at least

43. Lon
Ins
Can
Woo
the

44. Fox

45. Gwe

46. W.R

5. 1874 Commission report, p.3.

6. Rowley, p.174.

State. In 1914 the recorded population of the Taroom settlement was 246 and in 1926 it was 239, comprising 132 full-bloods and 107 half-casts.⁴³ The 1919 influenza epidemic decimated the natives at Taroom, for 32 died; the superintendent, C.A. Maxwell, was also a victim.⁴⁴

Although the first people moved to the Taroom settlement in 1911 were from the Taroom district, it is not certain they were Jiman. As already noted, the Jiman were largely dispersed from the Upper Dawson as early as 1861; whether they returned is not known, but almost certainly those bearing the crescent-shaped markings of the Jiman would not have done so while the Frazer brothers were in the district. Quite likely an influx of people of other tribes began soon after Hornet Bank, if only because the white settlers needed their labour. Apart from Carrabah George, there is no known connection with the Jiman among the groups camped near Taroom in the early years of this century, although it is unlikely that he was the last of his people living in their traditional land. As well as the people in the local camps in 1911, the white authorities drafted groups from places such as Goondiwindi, Bollon and Toowoomba, and sent them to the Taroom settlement.⁴⁵ Of those in the settlement in 1927, few, if any, would have been Jiman. Carrabah George did not go to the settlement to live.⁴⁶ According to local legend, people believed to have been Jiman were seen heading northwards in 1918 to escape being moved into the Taroom mission station. In 1924 at least remnant groups of Aborigines were still hunting

43. Long, J.P.M. Aboriginal Settlements: A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia, Canberra, 1970, p.108; also, Clements, J.C. (ed.) Woorabinda 1927-77: Golden Jubilee Year, published by the Woorabinda Golden Jubilee Committee, 1977, p.4.

44. Fox, Gwen, p.132.

45. Gwen Fox, p.132.

46. W.R. Phipps, Taroom, 26 April 1979.

7. Br
al
8. Br

with sp
no Abor

floodwa
downstr
decided
part of
settler
the new
populat
1938.50
removal
number
was swo
State,
Cooktow
Populat
to 484

W
them af
Presuma
then mo
may hav
Queensl
to have
already
moved e

47. W
48. B
49. L
50. L
51. L
52. L

women,

7. Brisbane Courier, 6 April 1876. The Courier is alluding to the case of Inspector Frederick Wheeler.
8. Brisbane Courier, 6 April 1876.

with spears in parts of the Carnarvon Ranges,⁴⁷ but today no Aboriginal community exists on the highlands.⁴⁸

In 1926, because of the expected encroachment of floodwaters from a planned dam on the Dawson river just downstream from the Taroom settlement, the authorities decided to move it. Land was acquired 120 miles north on part of a former grazing property, Wooroonah, and the settlement with most of its inhabitants moved there in 1927, the new site being called Woorabinda,⁴⁹ where the population increased rapidly, from 298 in 1927 to 692 in 1938.⁵⁰ In the period 1912-13 to 1964-65, the number of removals to Taroom-Woorabinda totalled 1,223, the highest number being 206 in 1914-18.⁵¹ Population at Woorabinda was swollen by arrivals of Aborigines from all parts of the State, but particularly from the Cape Bedford mission near Cooktown in 1942, when this Lutheran mission was evacuated. Population at Woorabinda in 1946 peaked at 843 but declined to 484 in 1965.⁵²

What happened to the Jiman? There are few traces of them after 1908, when Carrabah George was still alive. Presumably some may have gone to the Taroom settlement, some then moving in 1927 to Woorabinda; some, as Walsh suggests, may have moved into the still wild parts of Central Queensland to escape settlement life. A few of them appear to have gone to Cherbourg, perhaps as early as 1904. As already described, many of the attackers of Hornet Bank moved eastwards, perhaps as far as Witheron station east of

47. Walsh, July 1979.

48. Beaton, p.11.

49. Long, pp.108-09.

50. Long, p.109.

51. Long, p.109.

52. Long, p.109.

Gayndah
have be
establi
Kabi Ka
says th
numeros
princip
origina
and cor
communi
Queensl

I
from 28
She fou
a moeit
remembe
Among th
by Jame
Tennant
they we
Dalby-Cl
likely
the cul
detected
Wakka w
great n
people.
found l
1935 bu
indicat

53. E
A
B

54. T
S

55. S

10. Walsh, July 1979, to author.
11. Breen, pp.3-4.

Gayndah. If they stayed in the Burnett district, they may have been among those drafted to Cherbourg, originally established to cater for the Wakka Wakka of the Burnett and Kabi Kabi of the Wide Bay district. Anne-Katrin Eckermann says that by 1937 Cherbourg had become a melting-pot of numerous groups from all over Queensland. Cherbourg's principle function had now ceased to be to "civilise" the original inhabitants; instead it was a place of detention and correction for incorrigibles from other stations, and a community for groups rounded-up by police all over Queensland.⁵³

In 1934 Constance Tennant Kelly traced representatives from 28 language groups, all then resident at Cherbourg. She found that the Aboriginal people there then operated on a moeity and section system, retained specific totems and remembered numerous ceremonies, food taboos and legends.⁵⁴ Among them were a people she called Emon, the spelling used by James Lalor, Howitt's 1884 correspondent in Roma.⁵⁵ Tennant Kelly gave no details of these people, but clearly they were the Jiman of the Upper Dawson or the Yeeman of the Dalby-Chinchilla region, who, as we have seen, were most likely the same people. Klaus-Peter Koepping, who studied the cultural pattern at Cherbourg over four months in 1973, detected no Emon or any name like it. He found that Wakka Wakka was the most prevalent language used there and that a great number of the inhabitants claimed to be of that people. Goreng Goreng was also still much used. Koepping found 16 language groups not identified by Tennant Kelly in 1935 but could not detect 18 which she had identified, thus indicating that there had been considerable movement of

53. Eckermann, Anne-Katrin. "Contact: An Ethnographic Analysis of Three Aboriginal Communities", unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1972, pp.296-97.
54. Tennant Kelly, Constance, "Tribes of the Cherbourg Settlement Queensland", Oceania, 5 (4), p.461-73.
55. See Chapter 1.

12. Curr, E.M. The Australian Race, Vol.III, Melbourne and London, 1887, p.102.

population groups over the intervening years. Some of the old inhabitants had been transferred to other Government settlements; but it can also be assumed that in the case of tribes which had been represented by only a few members in 1935 no true representatives live there today.⁵⁶ Hamilton, who had played with Jiman children when he was young at Redbank station, could only identify one person who contained Jiman blood in 1979, but that man himself was not aware of this connection with those people.⁵⁷

It is not known whether any person of Jiman extraction now lives in the Upper Dawson basin; the number of Aborigines there are very few and apparently declining. In 1961 no full-blood Aborigines were living in Taroom Shire which approximates the geographical basin; there were only eight half-caste males and 10 half-caste females.⁵⁸ The 1976 census revealed only 10 Aborigines living within the Shire - eight males and two females: in Taroom township were two males and two females; in Wandoan township two males only; in the remainder of the shire four males.⁵⁹ A national survey of Aboriginal communities conducted by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs in Canberra in 1979 sought, among other information, the names of tribes or tribal languages spoken, but failed to locate any members of the Jiman tribe, or any tribal name like Jiman. The survey included government-controlled settlements and uncontrolled

56. Koepping, Klaus-Peter. "Cultural Pattern on an Aboriginal Settlement in Queensland", in Aborigines and Change, ed. R.M. Berndt, Canberra 1977.
57. Hamilton, Wavell Heights, 11 October 1979, to author; the man referred to did not know the identity of his father who, according to Hamilton, is the son of a full-blood Jiman woman and a white man in the Burnett district; his mother was a member of one of the western Queensland tribes.
58. 1961 census figures, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.
59. 1976 census, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

communit
not cove
were com
a leader
metropol
Aborigin
Nonethel
would be
metropol
with the

The
survey sh
also at
Aborigina
last hav
1964. In
Wakka-Wak
Woorabind

"A
and Nebo
do not fo

The
name, are
urban gro
individua
are aware
themselve
had been
white set
customs,
gone fore

60. Dep
Sta

61. Cle

- refers to his still being alive. This article seen in "massacres" folder at Royal Historical Society of Queensland office, Newstead House, Brisbane.
14. Peter Keegan, Roma, 19 November 1979, to author, quoting the Western Star, n.d.

245

community groups comprising two or more families, but did not cover groups in large metropolitan areas. Area surveys were completed by either a departmental representative or by a leader in each group.⁶⁰ As well as the large metropolitan groups, individuals not living in discernable Aboriginal communities may have been missed in the survey. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that any Jiman living today would be domiciled outside Queensland and the Brisbane metropolitan Aboriginal population is very small compared with the total State Aboriginal population.

The Wakka Wakka fared better than the Jiman; the 1979 survey showed only Wakka Wakka at Woorabinda; they were also at Cherbourg along with Goreng Goreng. In 1977 no Aboriginal ceremonies were being held at Woorabinda, the last having been held by the Cape Bedford people there in 1964. In 1968 only Gunggarri, Gundu-Nunding, Gwing-Gwing, Wakka-Wakka and Koko-Bujun languages were being spoken at Woorabinda.

"All the Upper Dawson, Mitchell, Roma, Nogoia, Belyando and Nebo Aborigines have thinned out to the extent that they do not follow up their traditional ceremonies."⁶¹

The Jiman or Yeeman or Emon, no matter what their name, are no longer at Woorabinda and Cherbourg nor in any urban group of Aborigines in Queensland. There may be individuals with Jiman blood, but it is unlikely that they are aware of it. Any who have such blood, probably consider themselves to be Wakka Wakka. The once strong people, who had been "cock of the walk" on the Upper Dawson before the white settlers arrived, people with their own name, dialect, customs, traditions and land-identification, seem to have gone forever.

⁶⁰ Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Canberra, "Community Statistical Survey", unpublished report, 1979.

⁶¹ Clements, p.29.

259

complex than this - the complexities being

15. Emme
muse

16. J.W.
1866

The
Fraser fa
write a
related
revealed
why. Th
about the
of this r
thesis be
Queenslan
a shockin
treacherd
in white
justice
unaccepta

The
preconcep
brutal, l
contact w
white wom
and explo
continent
confirmed
considere
repugnant
the more
unfortuna
could be
They comp
the pasto
to coloni
attempt w
accommoda
accepted

In

15. Emmerson, Kathleen, notes, in Chinchilla historical museum.
16. J.W. Clyde, Banana, to Col. Sec., Brisbane, 8 June 1866, QSA. COL. A/80, 66/1632.

- of t
Secr
Proce
18. Tozer

CHAPTER 10: HORNET BANK IN HISTORY

The primary reason for studying the massacre of the Fraser family at Hornet Bank station in 1857 has been to write a definitive account of the massacre, its causes and related events. Detailed examination of the evidence has revealed what happened, to whom, by whom, how, when and why. This has enabled a number of inaccurate statements about the massacre and its aftermath to be dismissed; some of this misinformation, however, has been repeated in this thesis because it is part of a legend which helps explain Queensland history. The image of the relentless avenger of a shocking crime against his family committed by so-called treacherous black fiends has satisfied a need for a symbol in white society. It is the symbol of white right and justice in the face of unacceptable behaviour by a race of unacceptable people.

The Hornet Bank massacre confirmed white preconceptions of the Aborigines: that they were barbarian, brutal, loathsome in their practices and customs and that contact with them was degrading to whites, especially to white women. Such people stood in the way of the occupation and exploitation of what had been regarded as an empty continent. Any outrage committed by the Aborigines merely confirmed white opinion that the indigines were not to be considered equal with whites in law and humanity; the more repugnant the Aborigines were in the eyes of the colonists, the more easily could they be dismissed and pushed aside as unfortunate impediments to settlement, even as vermin which could be destroyed to serve social and economic necessity. They competed with the squatter for possession and use of the pastoral lands; the pastoral industry was fundamental to colonial life; therefore the Aborigines must go. No attempt was made by most whites on the frontier at an accommodation between the two races. Either the blacks accepted white conquest or they would be crushed. Because

Queenslan
whites, s

pastoral
towards r
progress
which the
and lesse
depending
things.
history i
belief in
ignoring
often und
our pione

symbols,
massacre
Queenslan
in human
hand he r
including
could end
respected
concepts
social sy
impunity
certain l
conquerer
attitudes

1. Rey
Dis
Spr
cha
Rey
his

In the society from which the invaders had come

and the h

18. Tozer, memorandum, p.4.

Queensland governments were dominated by these frontier whites, such practices were officially tolerated.

Conquest of the Australian bush was seen by the pastoralists as a continuing process in the relentless march towards national development and personal fortune: this was progress toward some ideal state of human happiness, in which the humans of one's own kind would be the most happy and lesser breeds would achieve lesser degrees of happiness, depending upon the way they fitted into this scheme of things. In 1974 Henry Reynolds commented: "Australian history is still fundamentally 'Whig history', founded on a belief in unilinear progress, celebrating the triumphs while ignoring the human and ecological costs of settlement, and often uncritically reflecting the values and attitudes of our pioneering heritage."¹

Reflection of the past is most conveniently done by symbols, and it is for this reason that the Hornet Bank massacre and related events are particularly meaningful in Queensland history. William Fraser, particularly, reflects in human shape a part of those pioneering attitudes: on one hand he represents the pioneer who endured against all odds, including the destruction of most of his family, so that he could end his days more than half a century later as a respected pioneer; but also he represents simple frontier concepts of justice which go back to the beginnings of human social systems. Fraser was permitted to punish with impunity those who had wronged him, provided he kept within certain limits of behaviour. He symbolises the right of the conquerer to kill in order to endure. He represents attitudes which persisted in Queensland and perhaps other

1. Reynolds, H. "Progress, Morality and the Dispossession of the Aborigines", Meanjin Quarterly, Spring 1974, Vol.33, No.3, p.307. While much may have changed in Australian historiography since 1974, Reynolds' comment is a fair assessment of past historical attitudes.

parts of r
early deca
residual e
official p
Australian
William Fr
represents
and small,
represents
landholder

In c
convention
instance,
of sheep c
killing of
given to h
and exclus
explanatio
therefore
any or all
decision t
would have
inhabitant
in south-o
unfavourab
were faced
resistance
isolated s
though the
years, lar
the larger
defenders.
linguistic
Wakka Wakk
resistance
commonly u

20. Tozer, memorandum, p.4.
21. Tozer, memorandum, p.1.

parts of north-eastern and northern Australia well into the early decades of this century, and which may still have residual effects in Queensland today in the form of the official protection of the Aborigines. In terms of the Australian frontier and its effects on Australian history, William Fraser may be as strong a symbol as Ned Kelly: one represents the right of the pioneering pastoralist, large and small, to conquer the abhorred Aborigines; the other represents the right of the small farmer against the large landholders and the white police who served them.

In considering why the massacre occurred, a number of conventional explanations have been considered: for instance, the punishment of local Aborigines for the killing of sheep or shepherds; the abuse of Aboriginal women; the killing of Aboriginal dogs; the supposed poisoning of food given to hungry bands; the dispossession of hunting grounds and exclusion from traditional sacred sites. All these explanations cast the Aborigines in a reactive, and therefore a passive, role. It has been shown that, although any or all of these factors may have contributed to the decision to attack Hornet Bank, most probably the attack would have occurred even if none had applied to the inhabitants of that station. The situation on the frontier in south-central Queensland in the 1850s had become so unfavourable for the Aborigines of that region that they were faced with two choices: capitulation or increased resistance. They had seen that since 1842 the killing of isolated shepherds had not deterred the white invasion, even though the frontier had been held at the Dawson for some years, largely because of the terrain and the cover which the larger tracts of brigalow scrub had provided the defenders. The Jiman of the Upper Dawson and their linguistic associates, who appear to have formed a loose Wakka Wakka confederation, decided to increase their resistance. This time they would use a new technique, commonly used by modern terrorists: they would commit

22. Meston
23. Joint
24. Chief

outrages s
withdraw.
one at a t
undefended
white fema
commit a g

The
achieved t
it did not
aid and ad
the ways o
punishment
just how f
force which
districts
Also, they
augmented
same brutal
blacks work

Withi
Upper Dawson
having been
into the Au
merge with
south-east
of the band
began the g
a frontier
learned fro
outside Hor
stock-buyer

The s
the e
known
raidi
at th

22. Meston, Report, pp.12-13.
23. Joint Submission, p.12.
24. Chief Protector's Report, 1905, p.8.

27. Hamilt
28. Hamilt

outrages so horrifying to the invaders that they would withdraw. The plan was to attack and kill whole households, one at a time, beginning with one very exposed and virtually undefended, Hornet Bank; the presence of a large number of white females there would also give the opportunity to commit a greater outrage than the mere killing of white men.

The plan failed for a number of reasons. Although it achieved the desired objective of horrifying the colonists, it did not force them to withdraw. The attackers had the aid and advice of several ex-troopers who were familiar with the ways of the whites, especially their principal means of punishment, the Native Police; but they had not appreciated just how fast the police could move nor the size of the force which could be called upon from all the northern districts to operate against them in their own terrain. Also, they did not foresee the Native Police would be augmented by bands of white vigilantes, who acted with the same brutality as the police and were aided by station blacks working as trackers.

Within four months of the Hornet Bank attack, the Upper Dawson was virtually cleared of hostile bands, most having been forced down the Dawson towards Rannes, eastwards into the Auburn and Burnett where apparently they hoped to merge with the blacks of the settled areas, and south and south-east towards the Condamine, whence, it appears, some of the bands which attacked Hornet Bank may have come. Thus began the great dispersal and wearing down of resistance in a frontier war which lasted about 18 months. Murray-Prior learned from a Jiman, Cockatoo Billy - the man who had stood outside Horton's tent contemplating killing the Victorian stock-buyer one moonlight night - why resistance ended.

The squatters were puzzled that the Aborigines, with the exception of certain ringleaders who were well known, did not follow up the attack on Hornet Bank by raiding other stations, many of which would have been at their mercy. I often afterwards met one of the

leader
the f
the w
and u
was.
Brown
[conf
stati
as Co
kill
land,
on.
man.
were
they
white

The J
succeeding
of the Nati
been faced
take the ma
George Murr

witho
would
have
black
becom
that
count

It was
the Native
Committee In
Rockhampton
the white se
and would ve

2. Murray
3. Nisbet
4. William

27. Hamilton, to Mrs K. Emerson, Chinchilla, no date.
28. Hamilton, 22 November 1979, to author.

leaders, Cockatoo Billy, who, although he had been in the front, had managed to keep out of the way during the war. As he had been a long time with the whites and understood English well, I asked him how this was. He explained that after the first party [the Browns] had been out, they had had a "corbon woolla" [conference of chiefs]. Some wished to attack the station - others to keep as clean as they could and, as Cockatoo Billy said, even suppose they were able to kill all the whites that were in possession of their land, there were any number more in Sydney to come on. Sydney was their idea of the habitat of the white man. Cockatoo Billy said that if all the blackfellows were killed, there would be no more blackfellows; they trusted that if they separated and kept quiet the white man's anger would pass.²

The Jiman and their allies had come close to succeeding in their plan. Without the offensive capability of the Native Police, the squatters on the Dawson would have been faced with a difficult choice: abandon their runs or take the matter into their own hands. Of the officer, George Murray, Nisbet says

without his or similar services in the early days it would have been almost impossible for the settlers to have remained on their holdings in that country. The blacks had killed so many people in the district, become so aggressive and wantonly destructive of stock that unless order had been taken, that part of the country would have been abandoned.³

It was not merely a question of the Aborigines against the Native Police. Giving evidence to the 1858 Select Committee Inquiry, William Archer of Gracemere near Rockhampton said that "if the Native Police were disbanded, the white settlers would take the law into their own hands and would very soon exterminate the blacks".⁴

2. Murray-Prior memoirs, pp.42-43.

3. Nisbet, p.52.

4. William Archer to 1858 Select Committee, p.19.

A
events also
campaign by
over a fair
policies and
us to under
continent w
are able to
Jiman, even
location and
attack. Eve
resistance,
a model whe
generally.
whereas, of
to fight but
of the white
Jiman, retai
least some
territories.
their chief
Wakka, appar

We
lives were a
later into Q
memories wit
colonial gov
memories con
R.R. Mackenz

5. For an
whites
among
Canber
living
Northe
invasi
homela
whites

A study of the Hornet Bank massacre and consequent events also allows us to see in some detail a concerted campaign by colonists against a group of Aboriginal tribes over a fairly large part of Australia. The methods, policies and results of such a campaign are clear, and help us to understand such campaigns in other parts of the continent where the records may not be so helpful. Also we are able to see what happened to a particular tribe, the Jiman, even though there is still some doubt of their name, location and, in fact, actual involvement in the Hornet Bank attack. Even though the data at times is imprecise, the resistance, defeat and decline of this tribe can be used as a model when studying the destruction of Aboriginal society generally. The Jiman were a people who chose to fight, whereas, of course, some other Aboriginal people chose not to fight but to accommodate themselves to the circumstances of the white pastoral invasion. Some fared better than the Jiman, retaining their tribal identities, customs and at least some identification with their traditional territories. The Jiman achieved none of this, although their chief allies in the Hornet Bank attack, the Wakka Wakka, apparently did.⁵

We have also seen how certain white persons, whose lives were affected by the Hornet Bank massacre, merged later into Queensland society, taking their attitudes and memories with them. In some cases their attitudes became colonial government policy; and in other cases their memories contributed to the making of a legend. Such men as R.R. Mackenzie, T.L. Murray-Prior and William Miles were

5. For another form of reaction to the coming of the whites see H.E.W. Stanner, "Continuity and Change among the Aborigines", White Man Got No Dreaming, Canberra, 1979. Stanner gives the example of a tribe living in the Fitzmaurice River district of the Northern Territory into which there was no white invasion, but the tribe left an apparently abundant homeland for the attractions of contact with the whites, particularly their tea and tobacco (pp.46-49).

ministers in
immediately
squatters in
Parliament a
which studie
Aborigines;
Wisemen in
policy; and
Yaldwyn and
Dawson, took
then there w
walking exam
life; and t
disaster and
were affecte
this study:
memoirs stil
and then a f

Mackenzie
Queensland p
Treasurer in
Premier in A
attitude tow
Se at Commi
Lieutenant C
attack by th
much for the
purpose of p
Bligh agreed
the early co
Police, as a
Mackenzie an
enforcement;
dominion upo

6. 1861 S

33. Harold Hall, Dalby, 30 September 1979, to author. Hall was
Mohr, Taroom; copy held by the author. Hall was
quoting a statement by Tommy, one of the Dalby
district Aboriginal leaders, in May 1866.
34. Hall, Dalby, 31 December 1979, to author.

ministers in the Queensland Government in the two decades immediately following separation from N.S.W.; other squatters in or near the Upper Dawson became members of Parliament and sat on decisive committees, including those which studied the Native Police and the condition of the Aborigines; officials such as Augustus Gregory and William Wisemen in their reports to government had some influence on policy; and lesser persons, such as Thomas Boulton, Willie Yaldwyn and James Nisbet, as they moved away from the Upper Dawson, took the "lesson" of Hornet Bank with them. And then there were the two surviving Fraser brothers: one the walking example of a pitiful victim, especially later in life; and the other the monumental figure of frontier disaster and frontier justice. A great number of persons were affected by Hornet Bank, far more than mentioned in this study: the incident appears in many diaries and memoirs still extant, and in all cases it denotes a shock and then a fear which, for the settlers, would not go away.

Mackenzie is worthy of further note: he dominated Queensland politics from the day he was appointed Colonial Treasurer in Bowen in December 1859 to his resignation as Premier in August 1868; and there is no doubt of his attitude towards the Aborigines. As chairman of the 1861 Select Committee inquiring into the Native Police, he asked Lieutenant O'Connell Bligh whether, on the occasion of an attack by the blacks, the Native Police was necessary as much for the "assertion of our superiority" as for the purpose of punishing them for their depredations. O'Connell Bligh agreed.⁶ It is clear that, whatever the motives of the early colonial governments in introducing the Native Police, as a force under the control of men such as Mackenzie and Bligh, it was not used simply for law-enforcement; it was used as a means of imposing white dominion upon the Aborigines.

6. 1861 Select Committee Inquiry, p.156.

A n
Queensland's
of publicati
thesis of th
Australia as
expense of t
rationalisat
in N.S.W. as
European att
Darwinism, a
urban intell
been the sam
written. It
instance, ha

Alt
introduced t
maintaining
paramilitary
disperse arm
had committe
and to some
expressed by

It doe
shoot
extern
Christ
had we
recogn
to mak
weapon
Govern
order

7. For a
attitud
phreno
opinio
context
Histor
Experi
Vol.2:

36. Hall to Neville Mohr, Parramatta, 20 October 1979, to author; and Turbayne, Toowoomba, June 1979, to author; and Clements, J.C. (ed.), Woorabinda 1937-1977: Golden Jubilee Year, Woorabinda, 1977, p.5.
37. W.G.A. Holmes, Theodore, 30 May 1979, to author.

A number of writers have observed that the year of Queensland's separation from N.S.W., 1859, was also the year of publication of Darwin's Origin of Species, and that its thesis of the survival of the fittest was soon used in Australia as a vindication of the triumph of whites at the expense of the "inferior" blacks. This was merely a rationalisation of established attitudes, clearly expressed in N.S.W. as early as the 1830s, and had no bearing on European attitudes on the frontier, although Social Darwinism, as it was later called, may have influenced a few urban intellectuals. The fate of the Aborigines would have been the same if the Origin of Species had never been written. It is unlikely that Mackenzie and Bligh, for instance, had read this work by June 1861.⁷

Although the Native Mounted Police Force was introduced to the northern districts in 1849 as a means of maintaining law and order on the frontier, it operated as a paramilitary force, the chief function of which was to disperse armed bands of Aborigines and to punish those who had committed "outrages". The value of the Native Police, and to some extent the morality of its use, is clearly expressed by Charles Eden in 1871:

It does no doubt seem monstrous to teach a black to shoot down his friends; and a policy tending to extermination is frightfully revolting to the Christian mind. The Queensland Government, however, had well considered this and it was only in recognition of a pressing exigency that they consented to make use of so dangerous and uncompromising a weapon as a native force. Rightly or wrongly the Government had adopted to itself the country, and in order to reap the profit had offered certain

7. For a discussion of early colonial "philosophical" attitudes, especially the influence of the phrenologists, see Reece, Chapter 2. For a supporting opinion on the relevance of Social Darwinism in this context see M.C. Hartwig, "Aborigines and Racism: An Historical Perspective", Racism: The Australian Experience. A Study of Race Prejudice in Australia. Vol.2: Black versus White, Sydney, 1972, p.15.

41. Chinchilla News, n.d. but possibly 4 July 1968.
42. Fox, Gwen, p.131.

advantages to such settlers as would seek a career in the wilds. Its first duty, therefore, was to afford protection to the men who had accepted its bargain. Thinly scattered as these were over a vast country infested by an ever-hostile people, recognising no law other than that of might and violence, it was idle to trust for their protection to the mere influence of a criminal code, too complicated for the native understanding, and too cumbersome and dilatory to have a preventive tendency. It became, therefore, necessary to entrust a discretionary power, however dangerous, to an almost irresponsible force for the due maintenance of the safety of life and property; and as the whites are no match for the patient cunning of the natives, and in order that the operations of the force when called for should - in order to have their proper moral effect - be irresistible, it was deemed expedient by government to avail themselves of that very cunning which would otherwise baffle them.⁸

The Native Police were introduced to the northern districts as a means of maintaining law and order on the frontier, but they did not behave as policemen in the conventional sense, obedient to the central government, answerable for any offences against all citizens and having strictly prescribed limits of operation. The Native Police under Walker and later officers had a free licence to oppress black resistance. They were a paramilitary force which acted as an army in the field, operating at will against a definable enemy of the government and the society which they served. As such, they clearly facilitated the settlement, and also the conquest, of north-eastern Australia. As Rowley has said: "Queensland, in taking over from New South Wales the Native Police dispersal squads, accepted dispersal by force as inevitable; the methods of

8. Eden, pp.113-14. Apart from the force which operated in Port Phillip District from 1842-1852, no other colony used a separate Native Police, although the Protector of Aborigines in Tasmania, Robinson, used native constables on Flinders Island and Aborigines were employed elsewhere as trackers and helpers; thus, the odium of teaching "a black to shoot down his friends" largely applies to Queensland.

the Nati
attentio

As
adjunct
Police w
frontier
Rowley,
patrolli
gatherin
plan a c
Aborigin
tradition
have don
Aborigin

No
destruct
black res
Australia
punishme
Bank mass
towards t
police.
white mou
colonists
neither r
which the
character

The
these hir
tribes to

9. Row
10. Row
11. Nor

44. Fox, Gwen, p.132.
 45. Gwen Fox, p.132.
 46. W.R. Phipps, Taroom, 26 April 1979.

the Native Police were those of military conquest without attention to the rules of warfare."⁹

As well as being a convenient, if unintentional, adjunct to colonial land-settlement policies, the Native Police were an intensely disruptive factor on the northern frontier in several important respects. Again quoting Rowley, this practice of maintaining a continually patrolling Native Police Force to "disperse" any Aborigines gathering, on the pretence that they must be doing so to plan a crime against whites, hit at the very core of Aboriginal social organisation and of the continuity of tradition in the great ceremonies. The disruption "could have done more to hasten the disintegration of the old Aboriginal society than all the killings."¹⁰

Not only did the Native Police contribute to the destruction of Aboriginal society, they also provoked the black resistance they were supposed to control. The North Australian, which had been so fierce in its demands for punishment of the attackers immediately after the Hornet Bank massacre, was by April 1858 much more conciliatory towards the blacks and most antagonistic towards the police. It said the N.S.W. Government had abolished the white mounted police corps to save revenue, giving the colonists in return a Native Police corps which saved neither revenue, property nor lives, "while the atrocities which they commit, or do not prevent, will damn the character of the colony to all succeeding ages."¹¹

The use of Aborigines as troopers in the force allowed these hired killers from other districts to tyrannise local tribes to the extent of killing them, taking their

-
9. Rowley, p.124.
 10. Rowley, p.42.
 11. North Australian, 27 April 1858.

women, t
 for them
 at Horne
 whites.
 Aborigin
 violent

massacre
 older hi
 European
 Aborigin
 incidents
 before th
 that, ob
 been ass
 Aborigine
 newcomers
 ineffectu
 Australia
 detail wi
 applied o
 other dis
 line, sho
 place. E
 every whi
 Mrs John
 her kitch
 hip as a
 of studyi
 too much

50. Long, p.109.
51. Long, p.109.
52. Long, p.109.

54. Te
Se
55. Se

women, treating the local men as servants to fetch and carry for them - sometimes at the point of a gun as had happened at Hornet Bank - and generally to assist the invading whites. This was perhaps the greatest outrage against Aboriginal sensibilities; certainly it contributed to the violent reactions of the frontier tribes.

Another objective in studying the Hornet Bank massacre has been to test the assertions of some of the older historians that the settlement of Australia by Europeans was largely a peaceful process; that the Aborigines, apart from those involved in some isolated incidents, did not resist this process but melted away before the advancing pastoralists and their flocks; and that, obligingly, they began to die out as a race. It has been asserted by Russell Ward, as recently as 1967, that the Aborigines in reacting to violent or outrageous acts by the newcomers who occupy their lands reacted so sporadically and ineffectually that "men seldom had to go armed on the Australian frontier".¹² While this study has not dealt in detail with other parts of Australia, the conditions which applied on the Dawson-Fitzroy frontier in the 1850s, and in other districts as the frontier moved northwards from that line, show that central Queensland was then a very violent place. Firearms were carried by or were available to almost every white person on the frontier, and were often used. Mrs John Scott of Palm Tree Creek station, when walking to her kitchen, did not carry a double-barralled pistol on her hip as a decoration. Perhaps the older historians, instead of studying the documentary evidence of the times, relied too much on what contemporaries, when the violence had past,

12. Ward, Russell. Australia, revised edition, Sydney, 1967, p.26. Ward later modified his views and in a debate with Humphrey McQueen in 1972 says that in his Australian Legend he was only studying the origins and growth of a legend and not describing actual life on the frontier (see Overland, Vol.50/51, Autumn 1972).

had chos
Oscar de
extent f
Queensla
which he
cattle-d
of Oxford
that the
Queensla
Hill, wh
Queensla
dispersi
is a fall
knew an
extreme
caught re
celebrate
comparati
Queensla

violence
whites ag
blacks an
long igno
Aborigina
the pasto
estimated
Aborigine

13.

14.

54. Tennant Kelly, Constance, "Tribes of the Cherbourg Settlement Queensland", Oceania, 5 (4), p.461-73.
55. See Chapter 1.

58. 19
Ca

59. 19

had chosen to write in their memoirs. We have for example, Oscar de Satge, on whom this thesis has relied to some extent for evidence, saying in 1901 that central-western Queensland was singularly free of crime in the period in which he lived there. He mentions only horse-stealing and cattle-duffing as the principle offences. W.S.S. Tyrwhitt of Oxford, who travelled widely in Queensland, concluded that there was a total absence of "ruffianism" in the Queensland bush. The former Native Police Officer, W.R.O. Hill, who served as a magistrate in many districts of Queensland, claimed in 1905 that: "The old talk about dispersing the blacks and wiping them out indiscriminately is a fallacy, for I am in a position to assert that I never knew an officer to allow a shot to be fired unless in extreme necessity, and then only when the blacks had been caught red-handed..."¹³ In 1909 the history written to celebrate Queensland's fiftieth jubilee recorded that the comparative freedom from crime was remarkable, considering Queensland's big area and its slender police protection.¹⁴

Such comments as the early writers did make on violence and crime in Queensland seem to refer to crimes by whites against white law; conflicts between whites and blacks and the effects on both races of this violence were long ignored. Reynolds has recently estimated that Aboriginal attacks resulted in about 500 deaths of whites on the pastoral frontier between 1840 and 1890; he has also estimated that at least 5,000 and perhaps as many as 15,000 Aborigines died violently at the hands of the whites in

13. W.R.O. Hill, quoted by Voss, p.34.

14. Johnston, W.R., thesis, p.169, quoting E.T. Barton (ed.), Jubilee History of Queensland, Brisbane, 1909, p.158. The references from the works of De Satge and Tyrwhitt also come from Johnston's thesis. Tyrwhitt's book, published in Oxford, carries no date.

Queenslan
loss to t
greater.
Aborigine
but by 18
on Cape Y
Meston is
170,000 i
disease,
exclude f
Aborigine
two years
the settl
worse pic

As
Hornet Ba
reshaped
sense thi

15. Rey
His

16. Mes
Mes
is
300
fir
Rad
que
may
Cap
con
exp
dis
not
off
rep
Com
Abo
est
dis

58. 1961 census figures, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.
59. 1976 census, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Queensland in the same period.¹⁵ Of course, the overall loss to the Aboriginal people by non-violent means was far greater. In 1895 Archibald Meston estimated that the Aboriginal population of Queensland in 1824 had been 200,000 but by 1894 had declined to about 30,000, most of whom lived on Cape York Peninsula, as yet unsettled by whites. If Meston is correct, the decline in Aboriginal population was 170,000 in 70 years, largely caused by malnutrition, disease, alcoholism, opium-taking and infertility. If we exclude from the settled districts in 1894 the 20,000 Aborigines whom Meston, after a tour of Cape York Peninsula two years later, estimated lived there, then the decline in the settled districts was from 180,000 to 10,000, a far worse picture.¹⁶

As Denholm concludes, "it is tempting to say that Hornet Bank set the squatters on a destructive course that reshaped their relationship with the blacks. In a material sense this is what happened, but the situation was more

15. Reynolds, H. "The Other Side of the Frontier", Historical Studies, Vol.17, No.66, 1976, p.57.

16. Meston, History, p.81; also Tozer memorandum, quoting Meston. It may seem that Meston's estimate of 200,000 is far too large when Radcliffe-Brown's estimate of 300,000 for the whole of Australia at the time of first settlement is considered. But, Radcliffe-Brown's estimate made in 1930 was based on questionable methods; the total Australian population may have been much higher. Also, Meston had toured Cape York Peninsula, visiting many places to study the condition of the Aborigines there, and thus could be expected to have produced a reliable estimate of that district; further, he had access to documents, now not available, of district censuses provided by police officers over many years; he may also have seen the reports from each Queensland district provided to the Commissioners who in 1874 studied the condition of the Aborigines, reports which were not printed. Meston's estimate of 200,000 therefore cannot easily be dismissed.

complex t
of change
1860s."¹⁷

Whi
wider con
occupatio
displacem
Australia
Bank mass
settlement
stifled a
explain th
Queensland

The
explained
classic E
original
on the pri
then he ha
wrong-doer
socially a
and in som
sufficient
and killing
endangered

ther
orga
if a
part
resp
seiz
own
of t

60. Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Canberra, "Community Statistical Survey", unpublished report, 1979.

61. Clements, p.29.

complex than this - the complexities helped govern the kind of change that emerged in the late 1850s and early 1860s."¹⁷

While this is true, the massacre must be seen in a far wider context than events of its immediate aftermath. The occupation of the continent by the Europeans and the displacement of the Aborigines is the fundamental event in Australian history. In this context therefore the Hornet Bank massacre is one of the key events in Australian settlement history: it released white passions largely stifled after the Myall Creek trials, passions which help to explain the treatment subsequently received by Aborigines in Queensland.

The events surrounding the massacre can also be explained in literary terms: a revenger's tragedy in the classic Elizabethan sense. The justice systems of the original inhabitants of the continent were generally based on the principle of revenge: if an Aborigine were wronged then he had a right to seek satisfaction by punishing the wrong-doer, provided that punishment did not exceed certain socially acceptable limits. Usually the wounding of another and in some cases the deaths of a few individuals was sufficient to achieve satisfaction. Never did this maiming and killing get out of hand to the extent that tribes were endangered. As Strehlow has noted,

there have been, as far as we know, no instances of organised inter-tribal warfare in Australia; and even if a local totemic group was almost wiped out in a particularly fierce blood-feud, the successful raiders respected the sacred sites and made no attempt to seize the hunting grounds of the vanquished for their own use. No usurpers would have risked the vengeance of the local earth-born supernatural beings.¹⁸

17. Denholm, thesis, pp.343-44.

18. Strehlow, T.G.H. The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies, Melbourne, 1956, p.14.

to colonial life; therefore the Aborigines must go. No attempt was made by most whites on the frontier at an accommodation between the two races. Either the blacks accepted white conquest or they would be crushed. Because

In the society from which the invaders had come, however, righting of personal wrongs by force was forbidden; injustice had to be decided by a court, and any punishment inflicted had to be at the direction of the court and by certain officials, never the complainant or victim. The chief objectives were reform of the criminal and the compensation of society by means of work or fines. When the two societies met on the Australian frontier in the 19th century, the previously civilised whites generally reverted, under the conditions prevailing there, to the justice system of the blacks but without the social constraints on extreme action imposed by Aboriginal society. When whites felt themselves wronged during the contest for the pastoral lands, they used revenge as a means of obtaining justice. The revenge system of justice, as applied by whites under the conditions of the frontier, was massively destructive and went close to total genocide. White over-reaction to isolated incidents such as the spearing of sheep and cattle and the occasional killing of a shepherd, in turn forced the blacks to react more extremely than they would have against their own kind for the same crimes. In the 15 years from the first killing of a shepherd on the Darling Downs in 1842 to the disaster at Hornet Bank, reaction and counter-reaction had increased until it got out of hand. In the aftermath of that event, white anger was no longer constrained: total dispersion of the original inhabitants from the Upper Dawson was demanded; any blacks suspected of complicity in the atrocity were summarily executed; no effort was made to bring culprits to trial. Dispersal and killing became the established method of dealing with the blacks in Queensland, as it did to some extent elsewhere. The killing continued long after there was a need for it;

and the ha
stopped.19

By t
Queensland
of the con
produced a
the comple
establishm
the whites
perfection
right for
which dist
black face
the edges
The rigidi
extremely
how bigott
if possibl
could be a
such as th
selected E
particular
was the Ab
followed t
spirit if
pure. The
obsession.

19. For
the
Horn
Whit
Lett
1880
Gres

20. For
Abor
raci
Abor
Quar

Dispossession of the Aborigines, While much may have
Spring 1974, Vol.33, No.3, p.307. changed in Australian historiography since 1974,
Reynolds' comment is a fair assessment of past
historical attitudes.

Wakka Wakk
resistance
commonly u

and the hatred of blacks remained long after the killing had stopped.¹⁹

By the end of the 19th Century, white society in Queensland had trapped itself in a form of racism born out of the conquests of the past, the social relations they had produced and the egocentricity of Australian isolation. In the completion of the process of conquest and the establishment of a distinctive way of life for themselves, the whites in Australia had arrived at a state of seeming-perfection, a near-paradise in which everything was now right for them after the long years of struggle. Anything which disturbed this scene was rejected. The occasional black face in a street and the clusters of tin humpies on the edges of outback towns threatened this near-paradise. The rigidity of the social order then was that of an extremely conservative people, whose attitudes, no matter how bigotted, had to be maintained, even developed, refined if possible, in order to preserve them. Such refinement could be achieved by greater debasement of despised objects, such as the Asians, the Aborigines and to some extent selected Europeans, even "Pommies". But in Queensland, the particular object of this process of refinement of racism was the Aborigine. Each year the punitive malice which followed the events at Hornet Bank had to be reapplied, in spirit if not in fact, in order to keep the new ideals pure. The revengers had now become victims of their own obsession.²⁰

19. For instances of injustice to Aborigines, including the unprovoked killing of several 20 years after Hornet Bank, see: The Way we Civilise; Black and White, the Native Police: A Series of Articles and Letters Reprinted from the "Queenslander", Brisbane, 1880. The editor of the Queenslander at this time was Gresley Lukin, according to Rusden, p.243.

20. For a discussion of social attitudes towards Aborigines in Queensland and the punitive element in racism, see Knud S. Larsen, "White Attitudes towards Aborigines: A Working Framework", Australian Quarterly, December 1978.

W
Dawson, di
he was tem
white sett
disturbed
also were
way: they
of their i
changed as
Upper Daws
historical
few of the
white Aust

Wakka Wakka confederation, decided to increase their resistance. This time they would use a new technique, commonly used by modern terrorists: they would commit

The s
the e
known
raidi
at th

262

When Andrew Scott, soon after arriving on the Upper Dawson, disturbed a nest of hornets by a creek on his run, he was temporarily blinded by their infuriated stings. The white settlers moving into the district at that time disturbed another nest of hornets, the Jiman. These whites also were stung and they too were blinded, but in another way: they were not able to see the long-term consequences of their intrusion and rapacity; and their society was changed as a result. Today the Jiman may have gone from the Upper Dawson, but the hornets are still there; so are the historical images of revenge and counter-revenge. So are a few of the black faces which still sting the conscience of white Australia.

Manuscript

The conditions lies in of Secretary, (for the pe Secretary a private cit the N.S.W. Bundle, 4/ bundles ide of the N.S. Memorial Li material re Queensland is not avail archival co collection collection. Brisbane, w received fr Colonial Se So, while a Brisbane ar Sydney. Al from the N. Sydney Col. the Austral lists some above three Secretary's not the arc follows.

Anderson, K Reporter Br station in Library, Br remarks tha from Andrew does not sa

Austin, C.G apparently Society of

Beaton, Joh Late Prehis Queensland" 1977.

276



The squatters were puzzled that the Aborigines, with the exception of certain ringleaders who were well known, did not follow up the attack on Hornet Bank by raiding other stations, many of which would have been at their mercy. I often afterwards met one of the

2. Murray
3. Nisbet
4. Willia

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript sources

The chief source of manuscript material relating to conditions on the northern frontier in the period 1852-61 lies in official correspondence between the N.S.W. Colonial Secretary, Sydney, and the Government Resident in Brisbane (for the period 1852-59), and the Queensland Colonial Secretary and officers of the Native Police Force and private citizens (1859-61). This material can be found in the N.S.W. State Archives, Sydney, in Col. Sec. Special Bundle, 4/719.2; in the Queensland State Archives, seven bundles identified as NMP-1 to NMP-7; and in copies of much of the N.S.W. archival material on microfilm in the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane, microfilm reels A2/39-42. Much material relating to the Native Police Forces of N.S.W. and Queensland has been lost or has simply disappeared, and so is not available. Some of the material in the Queensland archival collection is duplicated in Sydney; but the Sydney collection contains items not in the Queensland archival collection. For instance, the N.S.W. Government Resident in Brisbane, Wickham, often sent copies of correspondence received from officials and northern residents to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney along with his own letters. So, while an important original item may be missing from the Brisbane archival collections, a copy may be found in Sydney. Also, strangely, the Oxley Library microfilm copies from the N.S.W. State Archives contain items not in the Sydney Col. Sec. Special Bundle. The library catalogue of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, lists some items of official correspondence held in the above three collections, but identified only by the Colonial Secretary's Office system of numbering each letter received, not the archival bundle numbers. Other manuscripts are as follows.

Anderson, Kathleen. "Hornet Bank", one of the "Roving Reporter Broadcasts", given by her on a Queensland radio station in 1942-43, manuscript held in the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane. Anderson says in her introductory remarks that the material used in her talk came first-hand from Andrew Robert Scott, eldest son of Andrew Scott, but does not say when she obtained it.

Austin, C.G. "Pastoral Pioneers", typewritten manuscript, apparently compiled in 1959, held by the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Newstead House, Brisbane.

Beaton, John. "Dangerous Harvest: Investigations in the Late Prehistoric Occupation of Upland South-East Central Queensland", Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1977.

Bloxsome, H
River Distr
Oxley Memor
an early ve
Journal of
1945 (see L

Brown, Hele
1842-1879",

Campbell Pr
in the Camp
Library, Br

Cowin, Wini
Queensland,
Queensland,

Denholm, Da
Wales and Q
National Un

Eckermann, A
of Three Ab
Queensland,

Emmerson, Ka
deposited in
Library.

Gregson, Jes
Gregson fami

Holmer, Nils
typewritten
Aboriginal S

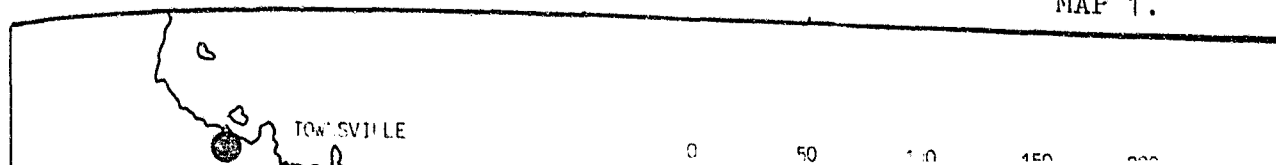
Howitt, A.W.
Victoria, co
Studies, Can

Johnston, W.
Law, the Sta
M.A. thesis,

Lang, George
1858, Mitche

Loos, Noel.
1861-1874",
North Queens

Loos, Noel.
Queensland,
of North Que



2. Murray-Prior memoirs, pp.42-43.
3. Nisbet, p.52.
4. William Archer to 1858 Select Committee, p.19.

264

Bloxsome, Herbert S. "The Early Settlement of the Burnett River District of Queensland", unpublished manuscript in the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane, 1945. This appears to be an early version of the paper which was published in the Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland in 1945 (see Later Works).

Brown, Helen. "The Settlement of the Maranoa District, 1842-1879", B.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1963.

Campbell Praed, Rosa. "Australian Notes", typewritten notes in the Campbell Praed collection, held at the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane.

Cowin, Winifred. "European-Aboriginal Relations in Early Queensland, 1859-1897", B.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1950.

Denholm, David. "Some Aspects of Squatting in New South Wales and Queensland, 1847-64", Ph. D. thesis, Australian National University, 1972.

Eckermann, Anne-Katrin. "Contact: An Ethnographic Analysis of Three Aboriginal Communities", B.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1972.

Emmerson, Kathleen. Letters to Archdeacon Leo Hayes, deposited in the Hayes Collection, University of Queensland Library.

Gregson, Jesse. Memoirs, unpublished, handwritten, in Gregson family papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney, MS 1382.

Holmer, Nils M. "Linguistic Survey of Southern Queensland", typewritten manuscript, in Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Howitt, A.W. Unpublished papers, National Museum of Victoria, copies in Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Johnston, W.R. "A Study of the Relationship between the Law, the State and the Community in Colonial Queensland", M.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1965.

Lang, George D., to an unnamed uncle, Maryborough, 31 March 1858, Mitchell Library, Sydney, ref.: A63.

Loos, Noel. "Frontier conflict in the Bowen District, 1861-1874", M.A. qualifying thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1970.

Loos, Noel. "Aboriginal-European Relations in North Queensland, 1861-1896", Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1976.

living
Northe
invasi
homela
whites

Morwood, M.
Central Wes
Australian

Murray, And
N.S.W., int
31 December
Library, Syd

Murray-Prior
Campbell Pra
most importa
settlers' va
valuable tha
Campbell Pra

Nisbet, Jame
Mitchell Lib
newspaper cu
including st
attack on hi

Parry-Okeder
Pastoral Hol
Memorial Lib
Queenslander

Roderick, Co
Ph.D. thesis

Roseby, Rose
written in l
district.

Rosewarne, S
Analysis of
Impact of th
thesis, Univ

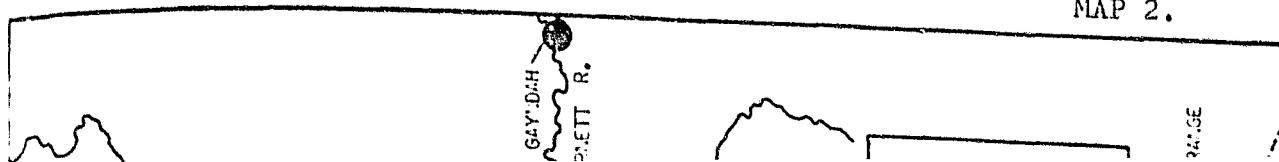
Serocold, Ge
National Lib

Taylor, Nare
1850-1900",
thesis, 1970

Telfer, Will
MS A2376 [Ry

Voss, Vivian
Coastal Dist
University o

MAP 2.



living in the Fitzmaurice River district of the Northern Territory into which there was no white invasion, but the tribe left an apparently abundant homeland for the attractions of contact with the whites, particularly their tea and tobacco (pp.46-49).

Morwood, M.J. "Art and Stone: Towards a Prehistory of Central Western Queensland", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1979.

Murray, Andrew. "Journal of an Expedition from Uralla, N.S.W., into Queensland to take up new Country for Grazing, 31 December 1859-7 August 1860", manuscript in Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Murray-Prior, Thomas Lodge. Unpublished memoirs, in Campbell Praed papers, Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane. A most important source of material on actions of white settlers' vigilante group after Hornet Bank. Much more valuable than the works of his daughter, Rosa Campbell Praed, in this respect.

Nisbet, James. "Pioneering Days in Queensland", MS in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, MS A.1533. Also contains newspaper cuttings on the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre, including statements by Cedric Wills on the cause of the attack on his father and employees.

Parry-Okeden, U.E. "The Burnett in the Forties: First Pastoral Holdings and their History", manuscript, Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane; also published in The Queenslander, 24 September 1931.

Roderick, Colin. "Mrs Campbell Praed: Her Life and Times", Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane [1947?]

Roseby, Rose. "That Reminds Me", typescript memoirs, written in 1962, held by Marjery Byrnes, Spring Ridge, Roma district.

Rosewarne, S.C. "Aborigines in Colonial Queensland: an Analysis of the Aboriginal Response to Colonisation and the Impact of this upon Subsequent White Relations", M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1976.

Serocold, George Pearce. Memoirs, unpublished, Australian National Library, Canberra, MS 626, 1908.

Taylor, Narelle. "The Native Mounted Police of Queensland, 1850-1900", James Cook University of North Queensland, B.A. thesis, 1970.

Telfer, William. Reminiscences, Mitchell Library, Sydney, MS A2376 [Ryde, N.S.W.? n.d.].

Voss, Vivian R. de V. "Early Pastoral Settlement in the Coastal District of Queensland, 1855-1871", B.A. thesis, University of Sydney, 1951.

Winterbotham
of South-Ea
manuscript
Aboriginal
Queensland
tribe betwe
Range west

Parliamentary

Australian
1961 and 19

Commonwealth
Queensland

Death Register
of New South
Queensland.

Department of
Survey", an

Extract of
Office, Edin

New South Wa
heads of hou

New South Wa

New South Wa
1857, Sydney

New South Wa
Marriages, S
births and m
to author in

Queensland,
Aboriginals

Queensland B
Queensland S

Queensland C

Queensland B

Queensland B
certified co
Fraser famil

enforcement, it was used in the
dominion upon the Aborigines.

6. 1861 Select Committee Inquiry, p.156.

266

Winterbotham, L.P. "Gaiarbau's Story of the Jinibara Tribe of South-East Queensland and its Neighbours", unpublished manuscript in library of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, MS 45, apparently written in Queensland in 1957. This includes a map showing Yeeman tribe between the Condamine River and the Great Dividing Range west of Dalby.

Parliamentary and other official sources

Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, census figures, 1961 and 1976.

Commonwealth Electoral Rolls, various divisions, 1901-1914, Queensland State Archives.

Death Register in the District of Leichhardt in the Colony of New South Wales, 1858, held in the Courthouse, Roma, Queensland.

Department of Aboriginal Affairs. "Community Statistical Survey", an unpublished report, Canberra, 1979.

Extract of birth entry, Andrew Scott, General Register Office, Edinburgh.

New South Wales Census 1841. Expressed in a card listing of heads of households, held in the N.S.W. State Archives.

New South Wales Government Gazette.

New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1857, Sydney.

New South Wales, Principal Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney. Various certified copies of entries of births and marriages of Fraser and Scott families, provided to author in 1979.

Queensland, Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Brisbane, 1906.

Queensland Electoral Rolls, various divisions, 1864-1900, Queensland State Archives.

Queensland Government Gazette.

Queensland Post Office Directory, Brisbane.

Queensland Registrar-General, Brisbane and Ipswich. Various certified copies of marriages and deaths concerning the Fraser family, provided 1979.

opinion
context
Histori
Experie
Vol.2:

"Report of the
Legislative
Wales Legislat
Sydney.

"Report from
Aborigines of
Assembly, Vo

"Report of the
Legislative
Police Force
and Proceedi

"Report of the
Queensland,
1861, Brisba

"Report of the
Queensland",
Proceedings,

"Report on the
Meston, Spec
Queensland G
Home Secreta
Proceedings,

Tozer, Horac
the Aborigin
Queensland,
1897, Vol.2.

Wiseman, W.H
corresponde
District, 5
Archives, mi

Woogaroo Cas
provided by

Newspapers a

Australasian

Australian B
Gazette, Bri

Chinchilla M

Darling Down

Moreton Bay

phenologists, see above,
opinion on the relevance of Social Darwinism in this
context see M.C. Hartwig, "Aborigines and Racism: An
Historical Perspective", Racism: The Australian
Experience. A Study of Race Prejudice in Australia.
Vol.2: Black versus White, Sydney, 1972, p.15.

"Report of the Select Committee of the New South Wales
Legislative Assembly on the Native Police Force", New South
Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1856-58,
Sydney.

"Report from the Select Committee on Murders by the
Aborigines on the Dawson River", New South Wales Legislative
Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, Vol.2, 1858, Sydney.

"Report of the Select Committee of the Queensland
Legislative Assembly on the Efficiency and Management of the
Police Force, 1860", Queensland Legislative Assembly, Votes
and Proceedings, 1860, Brisbane.

"Report of the Select Committee on the Native Police Force",
Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings,
1861, Brisbane.

"Report of the Commissioners on the Aborigines of
Queensland", Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and
Proceedings, Vol.II, 1874.

"Report on the Aborigines of Queensland (By Archibald
Meston, Special Commissioner under instructions from the
Queensland Government). Report to the Hon. Horace Tozer,
Home Secretary", Queensland Legislative Assembly, Votes and
Proceedings, Vol.4, 1896.

Tozer, Horace. "Measures adopted for the Amelioration of
the Aborigines", a memorandum to the Chief Secretary,
Queensland, Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings,
1897, Vol.2.

Wiseman, W.H. Letter book, being copies of official
correspondence by Commissioner of Crown Lands, Leichhardt
District, 5 February 1855 to 30 May 1860, Queensland State
Archives, microfilm, CCL 7/G1.

Woogaroo Case Book, 1898. Extract re Sylvester Fraser
provided by the Queensland Department of Health, 22 May 1979.

Newspapers and periodicals

Australasian Pastoralist and Grazier

Australian Pastoralist, Grazing Farmers' and Settlers'
Gazette, Brisbane.

Chinchilla News

Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser, Drayton.

Moreton Bay Courier, Brisbane.

native ... were employed elsewhere as trackers and helpers; thus, the odium of teaching "a black to shoot down his friends" largely applies to Queensland.

Moreton Bay Free Press, Brisbane.

North Australian, Ipswich.

North Queensland Register, Townsville.

Overland, Melbourne.

Pugh's Almanac, Brisbane.

Queenslander, Brisbane.

Queensland Times, Ipswich.

Rockhampton Morning Bulletin.

Sunday Mail, Brisbane.

Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney.

Truth, Brisbane.

Western Star, Roma.

Contemporary works

Adams, David (ed.). The Letters of Rachel Henning, Melbourne, 1969.

Bartley, Nehemiah. Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences, Brisbane, 1896.

Bartley, Nehemiah. Opals and Agate, Brisbane, 1898.

Bunce, Daniel. Australasiatic Reminiscences of Twenty-Three Years' Wanderings in Tasmania and the Australias, including Travels with Dr Leichhardt in North Tropical Australia, Melbourne, 1857.

Campbell, John. The Early Settlement of Queensland, originally published Ipswich, 1875; reprinted Brisbane, 1936.

Campbell Praed, Rosa. Australian Life: Black and White, London, 1885.

Campbell Praed, Rosa. My Australian Girlhood, London, 1902.

Coote, William. History of the Colony of Queensland, Vol.I, Brisbane, 1880.

Curr, E.M. The Australian Race, Vol.III, Melbourne and London, 1887.

9. Row

10. Row

11. Nor

Davies,
an intro
Historic

Demarr,
London,

De Satge
Squatter

Eden, Ch

Eldersha

Fetherst

Flanagan
1888.

Gardner,
North
Isabel M
Essays o
Canberra

Gregory,
Brisban

Heaton,
Time, t

Hodgson,
London,

Howitt, A
London 1

Howitt, W
Tasmania
Present

Lang, Gi

Leichhar
Australia
Upwards
1847.

Leichhar
Leichhar
translate
with ann

Loyau, G
and Burn

9. Rowley, p.124.
10. Rowley, p.42.
11. North Australian, 27 April 1858.

Davies, E.C. "Some Reminiscences of Early Queensland", with an introduction by Raphael Cilento, Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.6, No.1, 1959.

Demarr, James. Adventures in Australia Fifty Years Ago, London, 1893.

De Satge, Oscar. Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter, London, 1901.

Eden, Charles. My Wife and I in Queensland, London, 1872.

Eldershaw, F. Australia as It Really Is, London, 1854.

Fetherstonhaugh, Cuthbert. After Many Days, Sydney, 1917.

Flanagan, Roderick. The Aborigines of Australia, Sydney, 1888.

Gardner, William. "Productions and Resources of the Northern and Western Districts of New South Wales (1842-54)" Isabel McBryde (ed.), Records of Times Past, Ethnohistorical Essays on the Culture and Ecology of the New England Tribes, Canberra, 1978.

Gregory, A.C. and F.T. Journals of Australian Exploration, Brisbane, 1884; facsimile edition, Adelaide, 1969.

Heaton, J.H. Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time, two parts, Sydney, 1879.

Hodgson, Christopher Pemberton. Reminiscences of Australia, London, 1846.

Howitt, A.W. The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, London 1904.

Howitt, William. History of Discovery in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand from the Earliest Date to the Present Day, 2 vols., London, 1865.

Lang, Gideon S. Aborigines of Australia, Melbourne, 1865.

Leichhardt, Ludwig. Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia from Moreton Bay to Port Essington a Distance of Upwards of 3000 Miles during the Years 1844-1845, London, 1847.

Leichhardt, F.W. Ludwig. The Letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichhardt, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1968, collected and translated by Marcel Aourousseau for the Hakluyt Society, with annotated chronology.

Loyau, George. The History of Maryborough and the Wide Bay and Burnett Districts, 1850-1895, Brisbane, 1897.

Lumholtz
Travel in
Queensland

Maclehos
for 1839

McManus,
the Marat
Brisbane

Macpherso
a Pioneer
[1880?].

Mathew,
London,

Matthews
Philosoph

Meston,
Brisbane

Mitchell
Tropical
Gulf of C

New Atlas

O'Sullivan

Perry, Ha
Parry-Oke

Pugh's A

Queenslan
Biograph
Press, Br

Rusden, C

Semon, R

Slade, Wi
Daily New

A Univers
and Exper

The Way V
A Series
"Queensla

debate with Humphrey McQueen in 1972 says that in his Australian Legend he was only studying the origins and growth of a legend and not describing actual life on the frontier (see Overland, Vol.50/51, Autumn 1972).

Lumholtz, Carl. Among Cannibals: An Account of Four Years Travel in Australia and of Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland, London, 1890.

Maclehose, Thomas. Pictures of Sydney and Strangers' Guide for 1839, Sydney 1839; reprinted Sydney 1977.

McManus, Mary A. Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of the Maranoa District in the Late Fifties and Early Sixties, Brisbane, 1913.

Macpherson, Allan. Mount Abundance: Or, The Experiences of a Pioneer Squatter in Australia Thirty Years Ago, London, [1880?].

Mathew, John. Two Representative Tribes of Queensland, London, 1910.

Matthews, R.H. "Divisions of Australian Tribes", American Philosophical Society Proceedings, 1898, Vol.37, No.157.

Meston, Archibald. Geographic History of Queensland, Brisbane, 1895.

Mitchell, T.L. Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia, in Search of a Route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria, London, 1948.

New Atlas of Australia, Queensland, Sydney, 1886.

O'Sullivan, Michael. Cameos of Crime, Sydney, 1939.

Perry, Harry C. A Son of Australia - Memories of W.E. Parry-Okeden, Brisbane, 1928.

Pugh's Almanac, Brisbane, various dates.

Queensland 1900: A narrative of the Past, Together with Biographies of her leading Men. Compiled by the Alcazar Press, Brisbane, 1900.

Rusden, G.W. History of Australia, Vol.III, Melbourne 1884.

Semon, Richard. In the Australian Bush, London, 1899.

Slade, William Ball. Extracts from his memoirs, Warwick Daily News, 19 April 1938.

A University Man [George Carington]. Colonial Adventures and Experiences, London, 1871.

The Way We Civilise; Black and White; the Native Police: A Series of Articles and Letters Reprinted from the "Queenslander". Printed by G.&J. Black, Brisbane, 1880.

Later wor

Adamson,
Township

Australia
volumes a

Bernays,
Years, Br

Bird, J.T.
1904.

Blaikie,
Brisbane,

Bleakley,

Bloxsome,
Burnett",
Queenslan

Breen, J.
Linguisti

Bull, Jea

Cannon, M

Christie,
Sydney, 1

Cilento,
Australia

Clements,
Year, pub
1977.

Collier,

Corris, P
Victoria,
Ethnolist
Institute

Cribb, A.

Crosby, E
South-Eas
Vol.15, P

Davis, El
Sunday Ma

(ed.), Jubilee History of Queensland, Brisbane, 1909, p.158. The references from the works of De Satge and Tyrwhitt also come from Johnston's thesis. Tyrwhitt's book, published in Oxford, carries no date.

Later works

Adamson, T.L. "The Story of Drayton: An Historic Township", in Darling Downs, 1840-1940, Toowoomba, 1940.

Australian Dictionary of Biography, Melbourne, various volumes and dates.

Bernays, C.A. Queensland Politics During Sixty (1859-1919) Years, Brisbane [1919?].

Bird, J.T.S. The Early History of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, 1904.

Blaikie, George. "Defeat of a Superman", Sunday Mail Color, Brisbane, 26 November 1978.

Bleakley, J.W. The Aborigines of Australia, Brisbane, 1941.

Bloxsome, H.S. "Exploration and Settlement of the Upper Burnett", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.3, No.5, 1945.

Breen, J.G. "Bidyara and Gungabula Grammar and Vocabulary", Linguistic Communications, 8, Melbourne, 1973.

Bull, Jean. Historic Queensland Homesteads, Brisbane, n.d.

Cannon, Michael. Life in the Country, Melbourne 1973.

Christie, M.F. Aborigines in Colonial Victoria, 1835-86, Sydney, 1979.

Cilento, Raphael. "Jimbour", Historic Homesteads of Australia, Vol. 1, Melbourne, 1969.

Clements, J.C., ed. Woorabinda 1927-1977: Golden Jubilee Year, published by the Woorabinda Golden Jubilee Committee, 1977.

Collier, James. The Pastoral Age in Australia, London, 1911.

Corris, Peter. Aborigines and Europeans in Western Victoria, Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies No.12, Ethnohistory Series No.1, published by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1968.

Cribb, A.B. & J.W. Wild Food in Australia, Sydney, 1975.

Crosby, Eleanor. "An Archeological Site Survey near Taroom, South-Eastern Queensland", Queensland Museum Memoirs, Vol.15, Pt 2, 1968.

Davis, Elizabeth M. "The Legend of Benjamin Glennie", Sunday Mail Colour Magazine, Brisbane, 29 August 1971.

Denholm,

Dictionary

Emmerson,
Brisbane,

Emmerson,
the Royal
1963-64.

Evans, Ra
Exclusion
in Coloni

Explanato
Majesty's

Farley, R
Aborigine
No.44, 19

Feeken, E
The Disco

Fox, Gwen
Historica

Fox, Matt
Industrie

Fraser, D
Period",
Queenslan

Gunn, Don

Hannah, I
General o
1953, Vol

Harrison,
Isabel (e
on the Cu
Canberra,

Hartwig,
Perspecti
Experienc
Black Ver

Healy, J.
Brisbane,

Hogan, Ja
Victoria,

reports from each Queensland district provided to the Commissioners who in 1874 studied the condition of the Aborigines, reports which were not printed. Meston's estimate of 200,000 therefore cannot easily be dismissed.

Denholm, David. The Colonial Australians, Melbourne, 1979.

Dictionary of British Surnames, London, 1976.

Emmerson, Kathleen. From Cellars to Refrigerators, Brisbane, 1969.

Emmerson, Kathleen. "The Upper Dawson Country", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.7. No.2, 1963-64.

Evans, Raymond; Saunders, Kay; and Cronin, Kathryn. Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination; Race Relations in Colonial Queensland, Sydney, 1975.

Explanatory Supplements to the Astronomical Ephemeris, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1962.

Farley, Roy S. "Fraser Memorial 'Hornet Bank' Massacre by Aborigines", Queensland Geographic Journal, Vol.58-59, No.44, 1959.

Feeken, Erwin H.J., Feeken, Gerda E.E. and Spate, O.H.K., The Discovery and Exploration of Australia, Melbourne, 1970.

Fox, Gwen. Pioneers of the Taroom and Wandoan District: Historical Notes on the Shire of Taroom, Taroom, 1960.

Fox, Matthew, History of Queensland, Its People and Industries, Vol.I, Brisbane, 1919.

Fraser, D.W. "Settlement in Queensland in the 'Logan' Period", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.VII, No.3, 1964-65.

Gunn, Donald. Links with the past, Brisbane, 1937.

Hannah, Isobel. "The Royal Descent of the First Postmaster-General of Queensland", Queensland Geographical Journal, 1953, Vol.LV, No.41.

Harrison, Brian. "The Myall Creek Massacre", McBryde, Isabel (ed.), Records of Times Past, Ethnohistorical Essays on the Culture and Ecology of the New England Tribes, Canberra, 1978.

Hartwig, M.C. "Aborigines and Racism: An Historical Perspective", F.S. Stevens (ed.), Racism: The Australian Experience, A Study of Race Prejudice in Australia. Vol.2: Black Versus White. Sydney, 1972.

Healy, J.J. Literature and the Aborigine in Australia, Brisbane, 1978.

Hogan, Janet. Building Queensland's Heritage, Richmond, Victoria, 1978.

17. Denh

18. Stre
Abor

Holthouse

Improved
Office, Wa

Jensen, H.
Springsur
Brisbane,

Joint Sub
Legal Serv
Research
and Torres
[Brisbane]

[Joyce, W.
Queensland
8 July 19
been Will
appeared
1975, and

Keegan, P.
Disposal
Area, Cent
Queensland

Koepping,
Settlement
R.M. Bern
meeting of

Lack, Cle
Brisbane,

Larsen, K
Working F

Laurie, A
the Royal
1959.

Laurie, A
Royal Hist

Little, J
Citizens"
Experiences
Black Vers

Long, J.P.
Instituti
1970.

Long, W.J.
Valleys,

17. Denholm, thesis, pp.343-44.
18. Strehlow, T.G.H. The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies, Melbourne, 1956, p.14.

Holthouse, Hector. Up Rode the Squatter, Adelaide, 1970.

Improved Lunar Ephemeris, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1958.

Jensen, H.I. "Geological Reconnaissance between Roma, Springsure, Tambo and Taroom", Queensland Geological Survey, Brisbane, 1926.

Joint Submission of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Legal Service and Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action Concerning Review of Aborigines Act 1971-75 and Torres Strait Islanders Act, Vol.1: Background 1971-75 [Brisbane? 1975?]

[Joyce, William] "Vengeance Rider Slew 100 after Queensland's Grimest Massacre", Daily Mirror, Sydney, 8 July 1957. Author's name not printed but believed to have been William Joyce. The same article, with slight changes, appeared in the Northern Territory News, Darwin, 14 October 1975, and the Sunday Sun, Brisbane, 30 November 1975.

Keegan, P.L. "Some Observations concerning Methods of Disposal of the Dead as Practised in the Carnarvon Range Area, Central Inland Queensland", Anthropological Society of Queensland Newsletter, No.43, December 1971.

Koepping, Klaus-Peter. "Cultural Pattern on an Aboriginal Settlement in Queensland", Aborigines and Change, ed. R.M. Berndt, Canberra, 1977. A paper presented to the 1974 meeting of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Lack, Clem, and Stafford, Harry. The Rifle and the Spear, Brisbane, 1969.

Larsen, Knud S. "White Attitudes towards Aborigines: A Working Framework", in Australian Quarterly, December 1978.

Laurie, Arthur. "The Black War in Queensland", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.VI, No.1, 1959.

Laurie, Arthur. "Hornet Bank Massacre", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, No.5, 1957.

Little, J. "Legal Status of Aboriginal People: Slaves or Citizens", F.S. Stevens (ed.) Racism: The Australian Experience, a Study of Race Prejudice in Australia. Vol.2: Black Versus White. Sydney, 1972.

Long, J.P.M. Aboriginal Settlements: A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia, Canberra, 1970.

Long, W.J. History of Mount Morgan, Callide and Dawson Valleys, Rockhampton, 1962.

Loos, Noel
Queensland
1976, 22(3)

Miller, E.
Beginnings

Molony, Jo
Plunkett i

Mulvaney,

Mulvaney,

Mulvaney,
Geomorphol
Queensland
Society fo

Oates, W.J.
Australia,

Oates, Lyn
Linguistic

Pike, Glen

Pilling, A
of Publica

Queensland
Mounted Po
by the Pub
based on a
meeting of
23 July 19

Randell, J

Reece, R.H

Reynolds,
Historical

Reynolds,
Problems a
No.3, June

Reynolds,
of the Abc
No.3.

Reynolds,
Frontier",
University

Loos, Noel, and Reynolds, Henry. "Aboriginal Resistance in Queensland", Australian Journal of Politics and History, 1976, 22(3).

Miller, E. Morris. Australian Literature from its Beginnings to 1935, Vol.1, Melbourne, 1940.

Molony, John N. An Architect of Freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales 1832-1869, Canberra, 1973.

Mulvaney, D.J., and Joyce, E.B., 1965, Vol.XXXI, pp.147-212.

Mulvaney, D.J. Cricket Walkabout, Melbourne, 1967.

Mulvaney, D.J., and Joyce, E.B. "Archaeological and Geomorphological Investigations on Mt Moffat station, Queensland, Australia", Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1965, Vol.XXXI, pp.147-212.

Oates, W.J. and Lynette F. A Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia, Canberra, 1970.

Oates, Lynette F. The 1973 Supplement to a Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia, Armidale, 1975.

Pike, Glenville. Queensland Frontier, Adelaide, 1978.

Pilling, Arnold R. Aboriginal Cultural History: A Survey of Publications, 1954-1957, Detroit, 1962.

Queensland Police Department. A History of the Native Mounted Police in Queensland, a typescript pamphlet issued by the Public Relations Branch, Brisbane, n.d. Apparently based on a paper read by Sergeant A. Whittington at a meeting of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland on 23 July 1964.

Randell, J.O. Yaldwyn of the Golden Spurs, Melbourne, 1980.

Reece, R.H.W. Aborigines and Colonists, Sydney, 1974.

Reynolds, Henry. "The Other Side of the Frontier", Historical Studies, Vol.17, No.66, 1976.

Reynolds, Henry. "Aboriginal-European Contact History: Problems and Issues", in Journal of Australian Studies, no.3, June 1978.

Reynolds, Henry. "Progress, Morality and the Dispossession of the Aborigines", Meanjin Quarterly, Spring 1974, Vol.33, No.3.

Reynolds, Henry. "Settlers and Aborigines on the Pastoral Frontier", Lectures on North Queensland History, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, 1974.

Reynolds,
James Cook
Department

Robins, R.
Essence of
Archaeoloc

Roderick,
Rosa Praed

Roth, H. L.
Mackay, Qu

Rowley, C.
Aboriginal

Russell, C.
1840-1953,

Skenner-ton
1975.

Skinner, L.
Police 184

Skinner, L.
of Darling
Queensland

Stanner, W.
Estate, Ra
September

Stanner, W.
Aborigines

Steele, J.
Brisbane,

Strehlow,
Aboriginal

Taylor, R.
Area", Jou
Queensland

Taylor, R.
Brisbane,

Tennant Ke
Queensland

Tindale, N.
Terrain, E
Proper Nam

- Gresley Lukin, according to Rusden, p.245.
20. For a discussion of social attitudes towards Aborigines in Queensland and the punitive element in racism, see Knud S. Larsen, "White Attitudes towards Aborigines: A Working Framework", Australian Quarterly, December 1978.

275

Reynolds, Henry. "Racial Violence in North Queensland", in James Cook University of North Queensland, History Department, Lecture notes, Second Series, 1975.

Robins, R.P. and Walsh, G.L. "Burial Cylinders: The Essence of a Dilemma in Public Archaeology", Australian Archaeology, No.9, Sydney, November 1979.

Roderick, Colin. In Mortal Bondage: The Strange Life of Rosa Praed, Sydney, 1948.

Roth, H. Ling. Discovery and Early Settlement of Port Mackay, Queensland, Halifax, 1908.

Rowley, C.D. The Destruction of Aboriginal Society: Aboriginal Policy and Practice, Vol.1, Canberra, 1970.

Russell, C.W. Jimbour: Its History and Development, 1840-1953, Brisbane, 1953.

Skenneron, Ian D. Australian Service Long Arms, Brisbane, 1975.

Skinner, L.E. Police of the Pastoral Frontier: Native Police 1849-59, Brisbane, 1975.

Skinner, L.E. "The Days of the Squatting Acts: Districts of Darling Downs and Moreton Bay", Parts I, II and III, Queensland Heritage, Vol.3, Nos 6, 7 and 8, 1977.

Stanner, W.E.H. "Aboriginal Territorial Organisation: Estate, Range, Domain and Regime", Oceania, Vol.XXXVI, No.1, September 1965.

Stanner, W.E.H. "Continuity and Change among the Aborigines", White Man Got No Dreaming, Canberra, 1979.

Steele, J.G. Brisbane Town in Convict Days, 1824-42, Brisbane, 1975.

Strehlow, T.G.H. The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies, Melbourne, 1956.

Taylor, R.B. "Early Settlement in the Surat-Mount Abundance Area", Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.V, No.4, 1956.

Taylor, R.B. The History of Roma and District 1846-1885, Brisbane, 1975.

Tennant Kelly, C. "Tribes of the Cherbourg Settlement, Queensland", Oceania, Sydney, 5 (4), pp.461-473.

Tindale, Norman B. Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits and Proper Names, Canberra, 1974.

Walsh, G.L. Australian pp.33-41.

Ward, Russe

Warner, W. published

Wheeler, G. Australia,

Windeyer, V. Events of

Wood, C.T. the Wish and Historical

Walsh, G.L. "Mutilated Hands or Signal Stencils?"
Australian Archaeology, No.9, Sydney, November 1979,
pp.33-41.

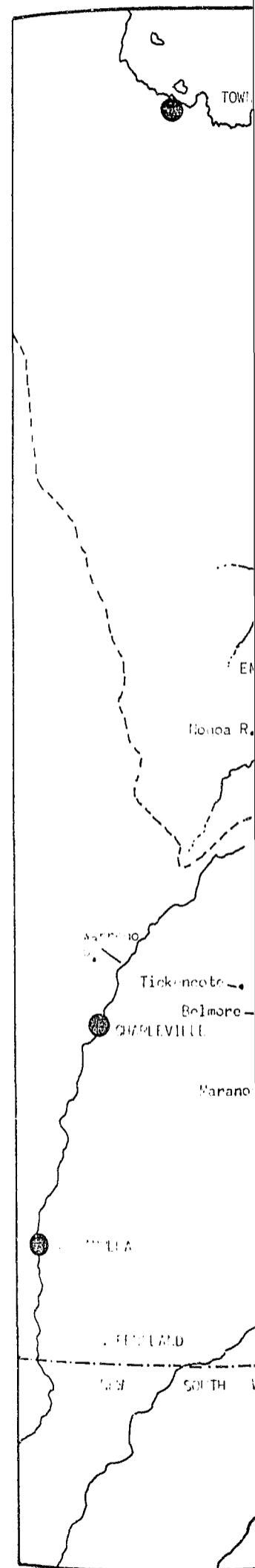
Ward, Russel. Australia, revised edition, Sydney, 1970.

Warner, W. Lloyd. A Black Civilisation, originally
published New York, 1937; reprinted New York, 1958.

Wheeler, G.C. The Tribe And Intertribal Relations in
Australia, London, 1910.

Windeyer, Victor. Charles Windeyer, 1780-1855, and some
Events of his Time, Sydney, 1977.

Wood, C.T. "The Queensland Sugar Industry, as Depicted in
the Wish and Davidson Diaries", Journal of the Royal
Historical Society of Queensland, Vol.VII, No.3, 1964-65.

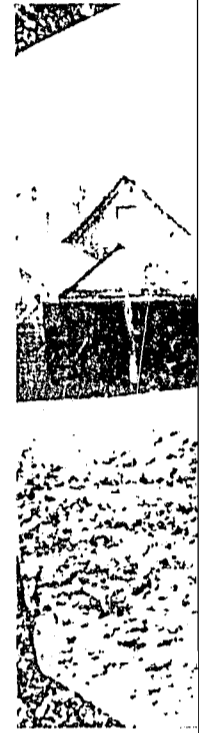
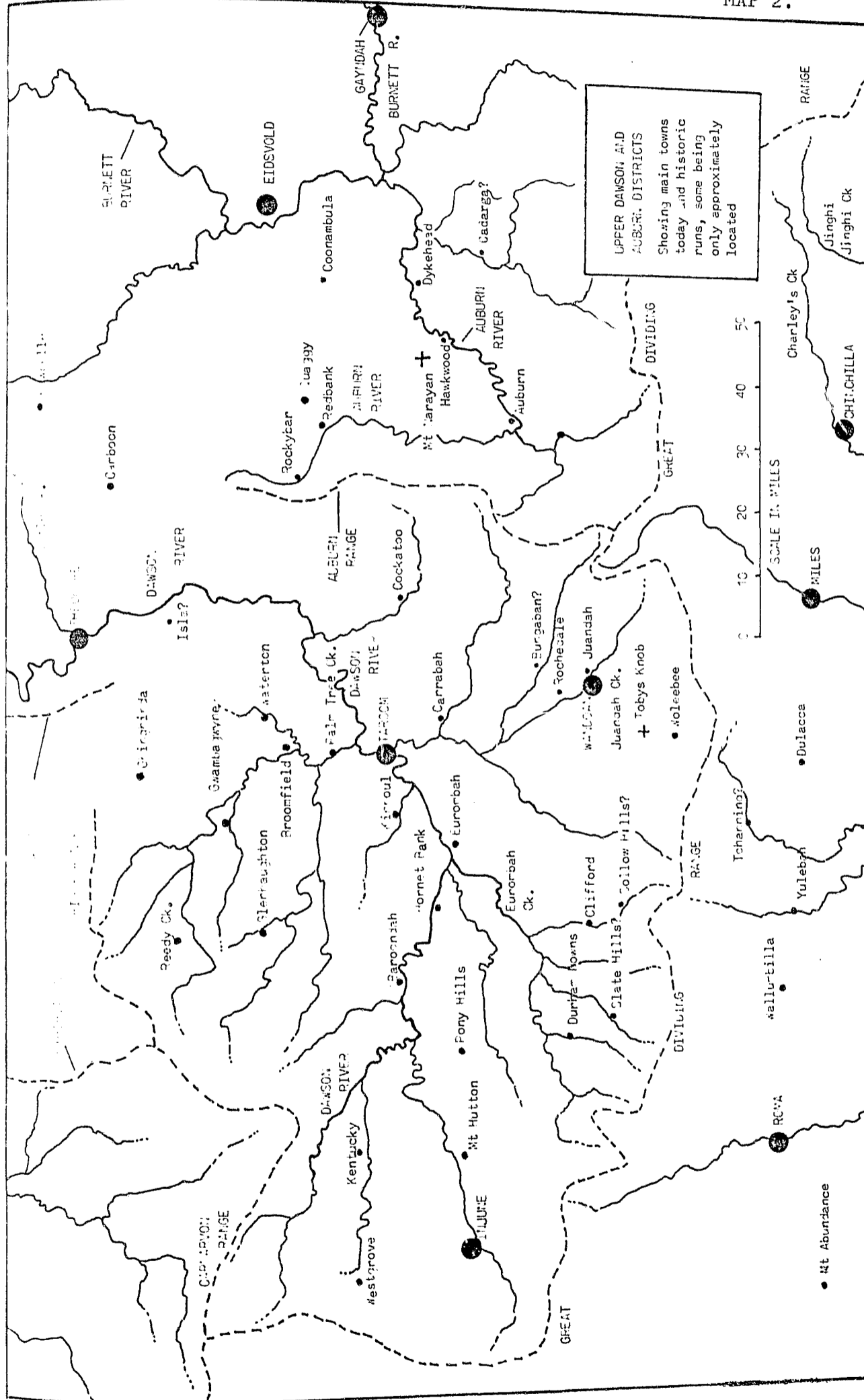


1861-874", M.A. qualification thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1970.

Loos, Noel. "Aboriginal-European Relations in North Queensland, 1861-1896", Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1976.

Voss, Vivian
Coastal Distr
University of

MAP 2.



The Scott main house the right that time small bui



Christina (Oxley Li

Andrew So of Hornet (Mitchell



The Scott family at Hornet Bank station in the 1880s. The main house at the time of the massacre is the second from the right, the one on the right not having been built at that time. The kitchen and the tutor's room were in the small building third from the right. (Oxley Lib. photo)



Christina Scott
(Oxley Lib. photo)



Andrew Scott, founder
of Hornet Bank station.
(Mitchell Lib. photo)

Queensland Registrar-General, Brisbane and Ipswich. Various
certified copies of marriages and deaths concerning the
Fraser family, provided 1979.

Chinchilla N

Darling Down

Moreton Bay