The Australian Frontier War on the Sunshine Coast

- The instructions to Governor Philip (portrait) exhorted him to treat the Aborigines with amity and kindness.
- Constant attacks on small parties
 working or travelling on the outskirts
 of settlement could not be prevented.
 Local aboriginal bands often could not
 be found or could not be caught by
 encumbered soldiers with little
 knowledge of the country. The regular
 attacks led Governor Philip to express
 his exasperation with what he called
- "this state of petty warfare and endless uncertainty".
 - W. Tench Sydney's first 4 years.p137



- The settlers responded when they could with volleys fired by quickly assembled attachments. such action was unfortunate but necessary as Lieutenant David Collins explained to readers in Britain.
- "It was much to be regretted" he wrote "that any necessity existed for adopting these sanguinary punishments and that we had not yet been able to reconcile the natives to the deprivation of those parts of this harbour which we occupied.
- While they entertained the idea of our having dispossessed them of their residences, they must always consider us as enemies; and upon this principle they made a point of attacking the white people whenever opportunity and safety concurred."
 - D. Collins An account of the English colony in NSW vol 1 p122

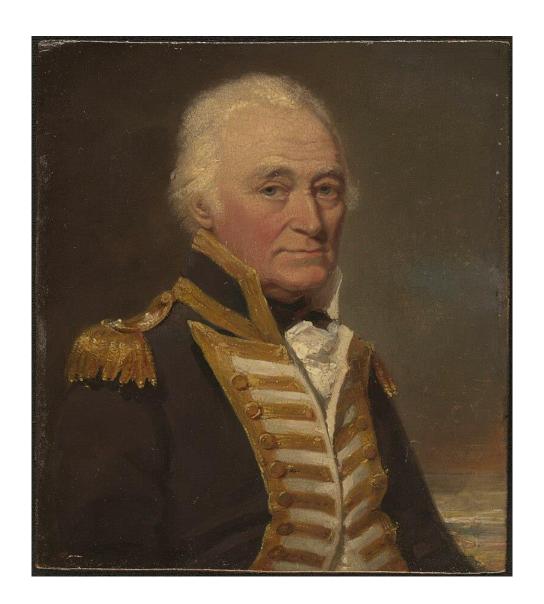
An Account of The English Colony in New South Wales Volume 1

With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, Etc. of The Native Inhabitants of That Country, to Which Are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand; Compiled, By Permission, From The Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King.

David Collins

- On the evening of the 9th of December 1790 a small party set out from the settlement of Sydney on a hunting expedition.
- Early in the morning they were attacked and a convict called McEntire, known as the governor's gamekeeper, was speared in the chest. He was carried back to the settlement badly wounded.
- Two days later the governor issued what was known as a general order, which read:
- Several tribes of the natives still continuing to throw spears at any man they meet unarmed, by which several have been killed or dangerously wounded, the governor, in order to deter the natives from such practises in future, has ordered out a party to search for the man who wounded the convict in so dangerous a manner ... and to make a severe example of that tribe.
 - General Orders of 13 December 1790 vol 1 p293

- The chosen leader lieutenant Watkin Tench left a compelling account of the governor's motivation. Philip initially wanted Tench to capture two members of what was presumed to be the offending tribe and kill ten others whose heads were to be chopped off and brought into the settlement Tench suggested a slightly less sanguinary venture he was to capture 6 Aborigines and bring them into the settlement two were to be hanged and the four others sent to Norfolk island but if capture was impossible the six were to be shot and decapitated. But the two expeditions failed to come up with the targeted Aborigines.
- Captain John Hunter (portrait) remarked that Phillip was convinced that "nothing but a severe example, and the fear of having all the tribes who resided near the settlement destroyed, would have the desired effect" of bringing all resistance to an end.
- And while there was danger that 'the innocent might suffer", the punishment inflicted on a few would in the end be what he termed "an act of mercy to numbers" because peace would be imposed.
 - J Hunter An Historical Journal Port Jackson & Norfolk Island p326-45



- Tench noted in his journal:
- His Excellency was now pleased to enter into the reasons which had induced him to adopt measures of such severity. He said that since our arrival in the country no less than seventeen of our people had either been killed or wounded by the natives:- he looked upon the tribe known as Bid-eegal, living on ... the north arm of Botany Bay to be the principle aggressors:- that against this tribe he was determined to strike a decisive blow, in order, at once to convince them of our superiority, and to infuse an universal terror, which might operate to prevent further mischief.
 - W. Tench Sydney's first 4 years.
- Foot soldiers from the infantry regiments were unable to pursue aboriginal warbands in the bush successfully. They moved slowly and noisily, heavily encumbered with guns ammunition and other equipment. Their firearms were cumbersome muzzle-loading, smooth-bore, single shot weapons with flint-lock mechanisms. Such weapons produced a low rate of fire, whilst suffering from a high rate of failure and were only accurate within 50 metres. Dressed in characteristic red coats the soldiers were both easily seen and readily avoided.
- Portrait of Captain Watkin Tench (he retired as a lieutenantgeneral) from a contemporary miniature.



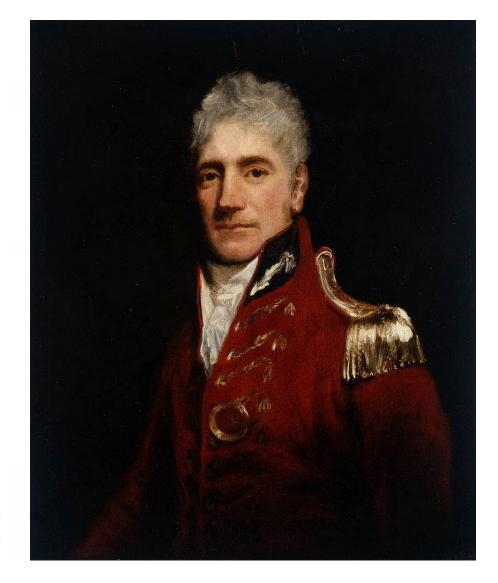
- In 1796 settlers along the turbulent
 Hawksbury valley were officially instructed to
 mutually afford their assistance to each other
 by assembling without a moment delay
 whenever any numerous body of the natives
 are known to be lurking about the farms.
 - Government & General Orders 22 Feb 1796 v1 p688
- In 1801 a similar instruction was even more specific the Aborigines were to be driven back from the settlers habitations by firing at them.
 - GGO 1 May 1801 v3 p250
- In 1816 governor Macquarie declared that if the Aborigines approached the settlers farms with any weapons or refuse to leave any district when told to do so they would have been driven away by force of arms by the settlers themselves.
 - Proclamation Macquarie 8 June 1816

Map

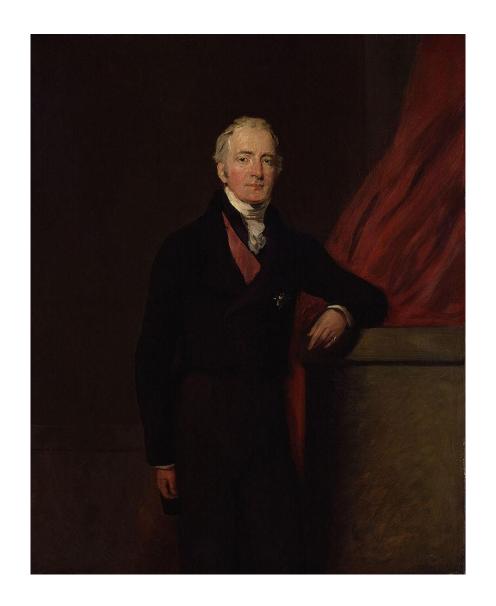
- Hostile Aborigines threatened livelihoods as well as lives. For well over 100 years they raided farms, pastoral stations, mining and timber cutting camps, pearling luggers and even houses in the pioneer townships.
- They were seeking both food to replace diminished traditional supplies and newly desirable European goods such as sugar, tea and tobacco.
- But the pattern of attacks indicated that in many cases the motivation was not just acquisition but destruction of the settlers property. It was a form of economic warfare aimed at both individuals and whole frontier communities. It is clear that many individuals were ruined as a result of successful aboriginal raids on crops and livestock.
- The pattern of systematic raids on the corn crop was first apparent on the Cumberland plain and along the Hawkesbury river in the early years of settlement.
- Massive aboriginal raids on the ripened corn and reprisals from the increasingly desperate farmers and military detachments led to what historian of early Sydney Grace Karskens called the "maize wars".
 - Karskens the Colony p456-69

Map

- In 1816 Lachlan Macquarie was faced with serious Aboriginal resistance on the fringes of settlement to the southwest of Sydney. The need to protect the settlers overrode his humanitarian impulse to bring the Aborigines within the embrace of christianity and civilization.
- In April he dispatched 3 detachments of soldiers to march into the interior to drive any hostile Aboriginies "across the mountains"
- Macquarie told his officers that on any occasion they saw or "fell in" with the natives they were to call on them "to surrender themselves to you as Prisoners of War".
- If they refused to or made "the least show of resistance" they were to be fired upon.
- Those killed in the operation were to be hung in the trees so as to "Strike the Survivors with the greater terror" against committing similar acts of violence in the future.
- Reporting on the expeditions Macquarie wrote.
- And although ... some few innocent Men Women and Children may have fallen in these Conflicts yet it is earnestly to be hoped that this unavoidable Result, and the severity which has attended it, will eventually strike Terror among the surviving tribes and deter them from the further Commission of such sanguinary Outrage and Barbarities.
 - Karskens The Colony: A History of Early Sydney
 - Portrait Lachlan Macquarie attributed to John Opie (1761/1807) 2024

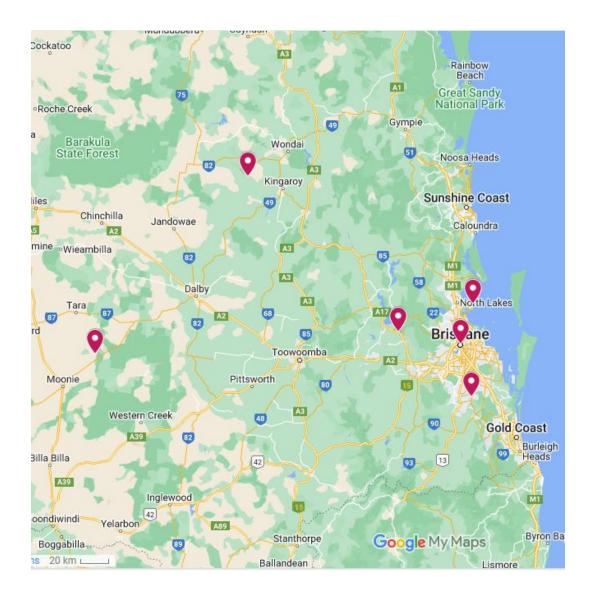


- In 1825 the Secretary of State for the colonies, Lord Bathurst, provided his Australian governors with guidance as to "the manner in which the Native Inhabitants" were to be dealt with when "making hostile incursions for the purposes of plunder". they were to:
- Understand it to be your duty, when such disturbances cannot be prevented or allayed by less vigorous measures, to oppose force by force and to repel such aggressions in the same manner, as if they proceeded from the subjects of any accredited State.
 - Bathurst to Darling 14/7/1825 p21
 - Portrait Henry Bathurst, 3rd Earl Bathurst, by William Salter (died 1875).

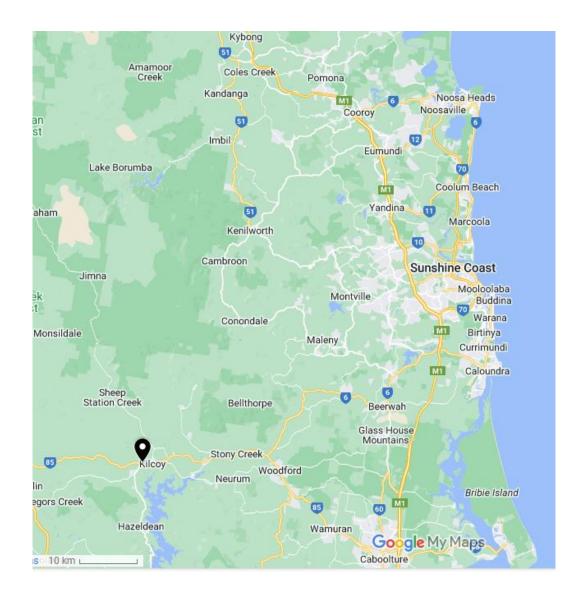


1840s

- The European settlement of what is now Queensland commenced as the Moreton Bay penal settlement from September 1824. It was initially located at Redcliffe but moved south to Brisbane River a year later.
- Free settlement began in 1838, with settlement rapidly expanding in a great rush to take up the surrounding land in the Darling Downs, Logan and Brisbane Valley and South Burnett onwards from 1840, in many cases leading to widespread fighting and heavy loss of life.



- In 1842 on the outskirts of Kilcoy Station, owned by Sir Evan MacKenzie, 30–60 people of the Kabi Kabi died from eating flour laced with strychnine and arsenic.
- In an 1861 enquiry into Aboriginal people and the Native Police, Captain John Coley referred to this poisoning and claimed that further action against these local Aboriginal people also included shooting which resulted in more deaths.
- He also confirmed that "strychnine goes by the name of Mackenzie among the blacks".
- Evan MacKenzie received only a caution from John Plunkett, the Attorney-General of New South Wales, for this well reported massacre.
 - (Queensland. Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Select Committee on Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally. (1861), Report from the Select Committee on the Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally together with the proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence, Fairfax and Belbridge.



- Born in 1816 at Portobello, near Edinburgh, Evan Mackenzie (portrait) was the second son of Sir Colin Mackenzie of Kilcoy on the Black Isle.
- After his education at Eton College and a short period of service in the Austrian army as a cavalry officer, Evan and his younger brother, Colin, decided to ride on the wave of capitalist investment in Australia and found a successful sheep station. They arrived in Sydney in March 1841.
- Following advice from the surveyor-general of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Mackenzies made their way to Moreton Bay which was on the eve of being thrown open for free settlement.
- Acting on local counsel, the brothers selected their station on the upper Brisbane River Valley and named it Kilcoy. In common with other pastoralists in the district, they established their run at the expense of the local Aborigines.
- Fierce resistance and counter-attack followed.
 Basically the Mackenzies enforced a policy of
 keeping the Aborigines at a distance from their run
 but were ruthless in retaliation for the murder of
 their workers and the dispersal of their flocks.



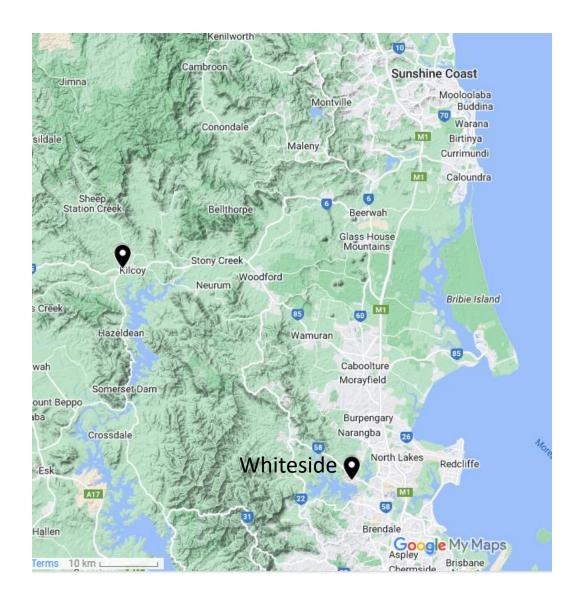
- by 1842 there were attempts to occupy land in and near the Lockyer Valley, Darling Downs and upper Brisbane areas.
- These were met with resistance from the local alliance of "mountain tribes".
- After the 1842 deliberate poisoning of 50 or 60 Aboriginal people on Kilcoy Station, the resistance gathered momentum.
- The aboriginies began ambushing the mountain road that was the only route for bringing supplies from Brisbane to the Downs.
- In September 1843, a large group of squatters organised a "cavalcade" consisting of 18 armed men and three drays pulled by about 50 bullocks.
- At a location known as One Tree Hill, (now known as Tabletop Mountain), near Toowoomba, the group was ambushed by about 100 men, having been forced to stop at barricades previously erected by the attackers.
- The squatters fled back to Bonifant's Inn, their starting point for that trip, about 34 kilometres away. The warriors held a corroborree after sacking the drays, feasting on bullock meat.
 - Uhr, Frank (May 2003). "September 12, 1843, the Battle of One Tree Hill: a turning point in the conquest of Moreton Bay". Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland.
 - The Raid of the Aborigines (Continued from Our Last), Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer, 11 January 1845 p 4



- The squatters organised a revenge party, comprising all of the men at the Inn, including servants, numbering between 35 and 50 men. At nightfall on 12 September they arrived near what was left of the drays, and camped about 2 kilometres from Mt Tabletop.
- They managed to surprise the group of Aboriginal people by arriving at their camp very early the next morning, and the two groups engaged in a full-on battle. Quite a number of Aboriginal people were wounded or killed, but the settlers were hindered by getting bogged in the mud, and one was wounded.
- The majority of the remaining warriors staged a retreat up the steep slopes of the mountain, where they had stored heaps of boulders. They were then able to throw spears and stones and roll boulders down the slopes, wounding some of the squatters and shattering many of their muskets, until they were forced to retreat.
- The squatters awaited the border police of Dr Simpson, but when the six men found the road barricaded again, decided not to attempt an attack on the warriors.
- Following this defeat, there was an unusually large-scale response to the Battle of One Tree Hill. A campaign began to remove the warriors out of the area.
- Dr Simpson gathered forces from Brisbane and Ipswich until he had a total of 35–45 men. The 16 station owners and overseers sent out a call, gathering 40 to 60 men. Eventually, about 75 to 100 settlers, including most of Moreton Bay's soldiers and police, chased the warriors from the pass. Many were killed in the Lockyer Valley area.
- Conflicts continued as the warriors camped in the Rosewood Scrub and Helidon Scrub areas and mounted raids on the settlers.
- In October 1843, using an Aboriginal tracker, the squatters found and stormed the camp, killing leaders and many others.
- Attacks and raids in the area continued for another five years.



- In April 1847 flour laced with arsenic was left in a hut on the Whiteside sheep station of Captain Francis Griffin with the expectation that Aboriginal people "would visit the hut and make use of the mixture";
- the act was reportedly in revenge for an Aboriginal attack on a hutkeeper, who had been blinded by a blow to the head with a waddy.
- 50–60 people were killed.
 - ("Moreton Bay". The Australian. Sydney. 13 April 1847. p. 3.)



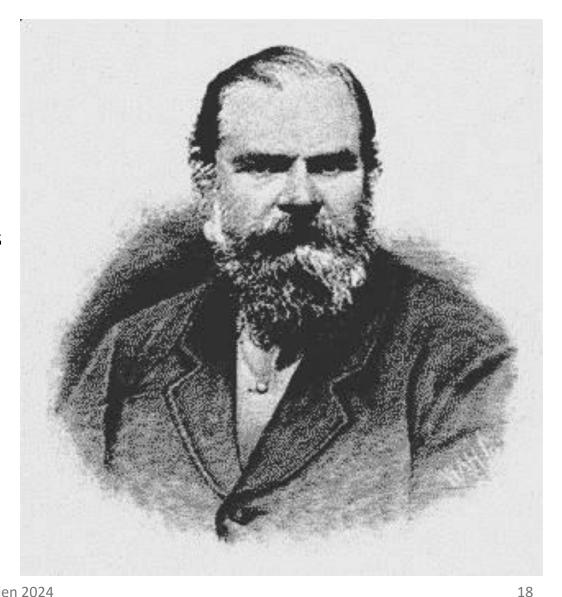
MORETON BAY.

A gentleman recently returned to Sydney from Moreton Bay, gives us the following news. Some months since a paragraph appeared in the Moreton Bay Courien, stating that a hutkeeper on Captain Griffin's station at the Pine River had received a blow with a waddy on the head from a black fellow, and that in consequence he became blind. This was followed from time to time by hints that the blacks had threatened to attack the station, and kill Captain Griffin and all his people, &c. The following facts may perhaps throw some light on these announcements. A few days ago a servant of Captain Griffin, named Brown, went to the Police Magistrate and stated that, when Captain Griffin's men left the station at the lambing season, they mixed together a quantity of arsenic and flour, and then left it in the hut, expecting the blacks would visit the hut and make use of the mixture. On their return they found that the mixture had been eaten. Brown mentioned the name of a fellow servant (Brady) then in Brisbane, who he said knew more of the matter than himself, although he rather thought he would be an unwilling witness. Brady was brought up, but denied at first all knowledge of the matter. However, on being sworn, he recollected himself, and confirmed Brown's statement, naming two other servants who were also aware of the fact-namely, the hutkeeper who had been wounded, and another named Coppin, the latter of whom he said had mixederry the arsenic with the flour. On learning what

had assumed Carrie Caidle who was then to

the arsenic with the flour. On learning what had occurred, Captain Griffin, who was then in Brisbane, started for his station. The Police Magistrate also despatched a constable to bring in the two other men. Captain Griffin was, however, the first to reach the station, and was on his way back to Brisbane before the constable arrived at the Pine River. When the constable at length reached the men, they were of course prepared to accompany. They had not absconded, but came down at once. They denied that any mixture had been deliberately made of the flour and arsenic by any one, but admitted that a quantity of flour only had been left in the but, and that the blacks themselves had mixed it in a dish in which there were some remains of arsenic that had been used in a preparation for the sheep. The evidence of these persons has been sent to the Attorney General, who will probably institute some further inquiries on the subject. In the mean time, as the local paper (which was so ready, and so persevering in publishing the threats of the blacks) has, with its usual servility to its "customers," taken no notice of this investigation, which shows the cause of those threats, I have thought it right to give the above simple statement to you, who are not sworn either to suppress all evidence on one chien 2024r to magnify and colour whatever may appear on the other.

- From 1839 the main frontier policing force in the colony were divisions of mounted convict soldiers known as the Border Police.
- However, in the late 1840s with the end of convict transportation looming, a new source of cheap and effective troopers were required to subdue resistance along the ever-extending frontier.
- The need was especially apparent in the north as conflict between squatters and Aboriginal people toward the Darling Downs area was slowing pastoral expansion.
- As a result, the NSW government passed legislation in 1848 to fund a new section of Native Police based upon the Port Phillip model.
- Frederick Walker (photo), a station manager and court official residing in the Murrumbidgee area, was appointed as the first Commandant of this Native Police force.
- Walker recruited 14 native troopers from four different language groups along the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Edwards Rivers areas.



- This force was trained by Walker at Deniliquin before traveling to the Darling River where the first Aboriginal attack occurred 100 miles below Fort Bourke at a place called Moanna, resulting in at least 5 natives being killed by the troopers.
 - COLONIAL EXTRACTS". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. III, no. 154. Queensland. 26 May 1849. p. 4.

WARIALDA-ARRIVAL OF THE POLICE, &c .-On the 24th April Mr. Walker, Commandant of Native Police, arrived here with a party of native police, after a journey of eleven hundred miles he found the large tribes of blacks on the Darling very friendly, with the exception of a few, who attempted to murder two of the troopers of native police, 100 miles below Fort Bourke. seems the policemen were looking for their , when two of them, named Geegwaw and airy, encountered twelve blacks, who at first appeared friendly, but on a sudden one of them attempted to wrench the carbine out of Geegwaw's hands, and another threw a jagged spear at Lairy, who had no carbine with him; Lairy caught the spear, and immediately killed the black who was attacking Geegwaw. Most fortunately moment Mr. Walker came up, with four more troopers, who immediately shot four of the hostile blacks. During the last three hundred miles of their journey, the horses of the policemen were much distressed and exhausted for want of grass and water, owing to the continued drought, and some of the horses died; and the last two hundred miles the whole party travelled on foot. During

- In Brisbane one night in December 1849 a rumour swept the community that the blacks were gathering ready to advance into town.
- The local military detachment mobilised, marched out to Breakfast Creek and fired a volley into the unsuspecting and certainly innocent camp of "town blacks".
- The local paper justified the sorry affair: the military sortie was understandable given the alarming rumour that the "natives were in arms for hostile purposes".
 - Moreton Bay Courier Editorial 8/12/1849

wards confirmed by a written one. The soldiers are marched away immediately, and a few of the inhabitants follow them. The reader might naturally expect to hear that the Magistrate and the Chief Constable at least accompanied, if they did not precede, the military to the scene of the supposed riot; but no such thing occurred. The Magistrate returned home, and the Chief Constable remained in his bed. It next appears that on the soldiers reaching the camp, the blacks threw a boomerang at the left sub-division of the party, and some of the men immediately fired, wounding four of the natives, although not dangerously. We then catch a glimpse of

- In 1849 Walker mobilised his force north beyond the MacIntyre River to conduct missions to police the out-stations.
- Once arriving on the Macintyre River on 10 May 1849, the force checked the aggressions of the local Aboriginal people, and when trying to capture six Aboriginal men charged with murder, there were "some lives lost".
- They were then deployed to the Condamine River where the "Fitzroy Downs blacks" were routed and another group were "compelled to fly" from the area.
 - "No. 2". The Sydney Morning Herald. Vol. XXVII, no. 4081. 15 June 1850. p. 3.
- One of these skirmishes was described as a dawn raid on an Aboriginal encampment where around 100 native people were killed and two Native Police troopers were fatally injured.
 - Telfer, William; Milliss, Roger, 1934– (1980), The Wallabadah manuscript: the early history of the northern districts of New South Wales: recollections of the early days, New South Wales University Press

No. 2.

Copy of a letter from the Commandant of Native Police, Middle District, to the Colonial Secretary.

Sydney, 31st December, 1849.

Sig.—I do myself the honor to furnish you with a Report of the proceedings of the Native Police under m, command from the period

A. From the 18t a May to the 14th June, the Native Troopers were entirely employed checking the aggressions of the aboriginal natives; and I have reported, that owing to the resistance made by them to me when I was attempting the apprehension of six blacks, charged, on oath, with a most atrocious murdur, there had been some lives lost, and that two of my party were wounded. During a great portion of this period the duty was done by the police on foot, frequently walking from 20 to the miles a day, and being many days without food.

6. I found the Condamine country in a most disturbed state, several of the stations had been abandoned, twelve white men had been murdered, and the loss in cattle and sheep was immense. The greatest danger existed at the station of the late Mr. John Danger, where the store had been robbed and burnt, and damage done to the amount of £250; the hut-keeper was killed.

Roy Downs, Dawson, and Condamine blacks, about 150 men in number, to repeat their attack on this station, brought on two collisions with the Native Police. On the first occasion, the Fitz Roy Downs blacks, the same who had killed seven men of Mr. Macpherson's, and Mr. Blythe's shepherd, besides spearing himself, and also murdering two of Mr. Hughes' men, suffered so severely, that they returned to their own country, a distance of 80 miles.

On the second occasion, having been informed that some blacks were on the Tannin, near Mr. Dangar's, among whom were some who had been sworn to by the survivor of Mr. Edwards' three men as the murderers of the other two, I proceeded in pursuit.

other two, I proceeded in pursuit.

The Native Police tracked them for eight days; and at sundown, on the eighth day, I found that we were within one mile of their camp, but the Condamine much flooded between us; at 12 o'clock at night we swam the river, each man carrying his carbine and ammunition; the water was so cold that two of the settlers who accompanied us were nearly drowned; they were pulled out by my men. At daybreak we approached the camp, when we were perceived by the blacks; they seized their spears and an engagement ensued; but they were soon compelled to fly, leaving us the camp, spears, &c., and agreat deal of damaged property identified as belonging to Mr. Dangar.

8. Having replaced Messrs. Blyth and Chauvel, and also Mr. Ewer, in their stations, and re-established confidence among the other settlers, I returned to the Macintyre, where I was much pleased to find peace had not been broken in my absence, that the blacks were flocking into the stations, and that the settlers would all have large quantities of fat stock, which was unprecedented on this river.

O Slines than the nolise have willted the

I have, &c.,

FREDERICK WALKER,
Commandant Native Police.

To the Honorable the Colonial Secretary.

- Walker found most of the squatters in the region thought the Native Police existed to shoot down the natives so they would not have to.
- Walker advocated a method of "bringing in" the Aboriginal people, allowing them onto pastoral stations, where they could obtain a lawful means of a livelihood.
- Those who stayed away were consequently regarded as potential enemies and were at high risk of being targeted in punitive missions.
- Walker's measure of success was the resulting increase in land values.
 - "NATIVE POLICE". The Sydney Morning Herald. Vol. XXXII, no. 4708. 16 June 1852. p. 1 (Supplement to the Sydney Morning Herald).
- These first actions of the Native Police reduced to great effect Aboriginal resistance against squatters in the Macintyre and Condamine regions.
 - Skinner, Leslie Edward (1975). Police of the Pastoral Frontier. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. ISBN 0702209775.

NATIVE POLICE.

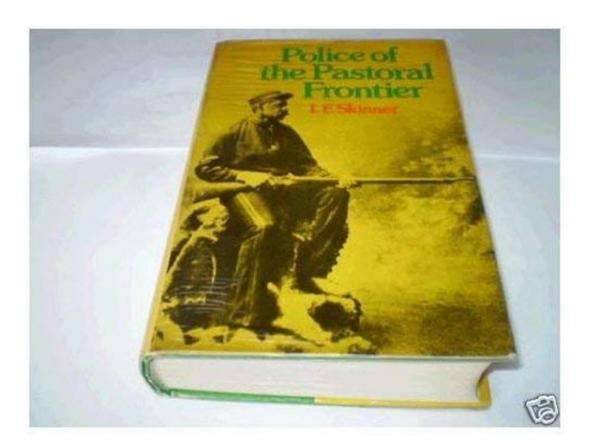
COPY OF A Letter from THE COMMANDANT OF THE NATIVE POLICE tO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Callandoon, 1st March, 1852.

- 2. Two settlers stated that the Government would not allow the squatters to shoot blacks, but have sent up the Native Police to do so; a similar opinion was expressed in Sydney by a Mr. Cowper, and many settlers have satisfied me that such were their views.
- 7. In many districts the settlers succeeded in putting a stop to the hostilities of the aborigines, but in some they signally failed; for instance, the Macintyre, where, after nine years' warfare, the blacks were as far from subdued as ever.
- 14. I now come to the third cause of dissent. When the experimental force was raised, it was first sent to the Macintyre. With the exception of three stations, the blacks in that portion of the Darling Downs District were in a manner outlawed in their own

country, being hunted from the river and creek frontages, and thus deprived of means of lawfully obtaining food. Driven to desperation, they carried on a constant war of retaliation with the whites, and lived solely on cattle. So accustomed were they become to this life, that force had to be resorted to, to make the ringleaders submit. The Native Police arrived in May, 1849; in October, the settlers laid aside their weapons; the blacks were admitted everywhere at the stations; and a run which would not have fetched £100 in May, 1849, was disposed of in January, 1850, for £500, so much had property risen in value by the increased security of life and property. One

- the squatters on the Condamine reported that over a four month period they had lost 6000 sheep and eight shepherds had been speared.
- Walker returned to Deniliquin in July 1850 to recruit 30 new troopers[53] in order to enable an expansion into the Wide Bay— Burnett region.[54]
- With these fresh reinforcements, he created four divisions of Native Police, one based at Augustus Morris' Callandoon station, one at Wide Bay–Burnett, one in the Maranoa Region, and one roving division.
- While Walker was away, the squatter at Goondiwindi station, Richard Purvis Marshall, assumed command of the Native Police operations. Marshall, with the native troopers and contingents of armed stockmen, conducted punitive raids at Tieryboo, Wallan, Booranga and Copranoranbilla Lagoon, shooting Aboriginal people and destroying their camps.
- This resulted in an inquiry by the local Crown Lands Commissioner and a vaguely worded official reminder from the NSW Attorney General to only shoot in "extreme cases".[6]
- In 1851, Commandant Walker with his newly appointed officers Richard Purvis Marshall, George Fulford, Doolan and Skelton conducted wide-ranging and frequent operations resulting in many dispersals and summary killings.
- Dispersals of large numbers of Aborigines occurred at Dalgangal, Mary River, Toomcul, Goondiwindi and at various places along the Maranoa River.
- Governor Fitzroy noted in the 1851 end of year report that a great many blacks were killed, however no official action was taken to change the aggressive functioning of the Native Police.[6]
 - 6. Skinner, Leslie Edward (1975). Police of the Pastoral Frontier. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. ISBN 0702209775.
 - 53. "EDWARD'S RIVER". The Melbourne Daily News. Vol. XIII, no. 7336. Victoria, Australia. 15 August 1850. p. 2.



1851/2

- On 18 February 1851, a meeting of magistrates was held at the newly established town of Maryborough. Three Native Police officers, Commissioner Bidwill and squatter Edmund B. Uhr were present, issuing warrants against a number of Aboriginal men accused of murder and felony.
- The nearby Fraser Island was being used as a sanctuary for these Aboriginal people (the Badtjala people). It was not until late December 1851 that the force was ready to search Fraser Island. Walker, Marshall, Doolan with their three divisions of troopers, together with local landholders the Leith Hay brothers and Mr Wilmot set out down the Mary River aboard Captain Currie's Margaret and Mary schooner.
- Aboriginal people in a stolen dinghy were shot at along the way and the boat seized.
- The force landed on the west coast of the island where the divisions split up to scour the region. During the night a group of Aboriginal men attempted to surprise Marshall's section resulting in two Aboriginal men being shot. Bad weather hampered operations and Commandant Walker subsequently allowed his division to track down other groups of Badtjala without him.
- This group followed the local Aboriginal people across to the east coast where they "took to the sea"
 - "To the Editor of the Moreton Bay Courier". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. VII, no. 327. Queensland, Australia. 18 September 1852. p. 2.
- The force returned to Maryborough in early January 1852 and Captain Currie received a reward of £10 for his contribution.
 - Skinner, Leslie Edward (1975). Police of the Pastoral Frontier. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. ISBN 0702209775. Jerry McBrien

You may remember marderers, to do the deed. that in December last the whole of the black police were taken down to Frazer's Island; and, as a writer in the Herold faceciously said, "great preparations were made for the jaunt; squatters and storekeepers swelled the party; moist and dry provisions were abundantly laid in, &c., &c., You may likewise recollect that frequent allusions have been made to the extraordinary secresy of the result of that jaunt, and much serprise expressed at the profound silence maintained concerning their exploits, by this most beterogeleous body of black hunters. True, now and then we receive little bits of information from Sydney. of all places in the world), that rumours are afloat that the natives were driven into the sea. and there kept as long as daylight or life lasted ; but even this we need not believe, although it would in some measure secount for the unusual would in some measure account for the unusual barbarity displayed by the inhabitants on that part of the coust, towards the passengers and crew of the Thomas King, and verify the prophecies made by many Maryborough people, when they saw the police going down there. Again, the conduct of the natives before the jannt, to the wrecked crews of the Countess of Minto and Rokeby Castle, was so kind, so opposite to their behaviour since, that it is difficult to find reasons for the change, except from a spirit

- The year 1852 saw expansion of the Native Police to eight divisions. Forty-eight new troopers were signed up mostly from the northern inland rivers of NSW. Lieutenant John Murray was appointed to the 4th Division, Lieut. Blandford to the 3rd Division and Sergeants Skelton, Pincolt and Richard A. Dempster were also appointed as officers in charge of other divisions.
- The Traylan barracks on the Burnett River near the nowabandoned site of Ceratodus, north of present-day Eidsvold, was established while the other major barracks, besides Callandoon, was at Wondai Gumbal near Yuleba.
- Sgt. Dempster was responsible for several large scale dispersals in 1852. The first was at Wallumbilla where an extrooper named Priam and a number of others were shot dead.
- Dempster then traveled to Ogilvie's Wachoo station near St. George and shot a large number of Aboriginal people with the aid of a man named Johnson who was the superintendent of the property.
- Johnson also shot dead a White storeperson in a "friendly fire" incident during this dispersal.
- Dempster, having fallen sick, then allowed Johnson to take charge of his division and lead it to Yamboukal (modern-day Surat) where a lot of Mandandanji working peacefully on this pastoral station were subsequently killed. [56]
 - 56. "PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS". The Sydney Morning Herald. Vol. XXXVIII, no. 6057. 4 November 1857. p. 2.
- As a result of this, Dempster was suspended for 3 months. It appears that neither Johnson nor Dempster faced any legal Jerry McBrien 2024 repercussions.[6]

The Commandant of Native Police to the Colonial Becretary.

Gayndah, 28th March, 1867. Sir,-I observed lately that Mr. T. G Rusden had in the Council asked you some question relative to an alleged attack upon Native Blacks, on account of which a serjeant had been suspended. He also quoted Mr. Marshall as his authority.

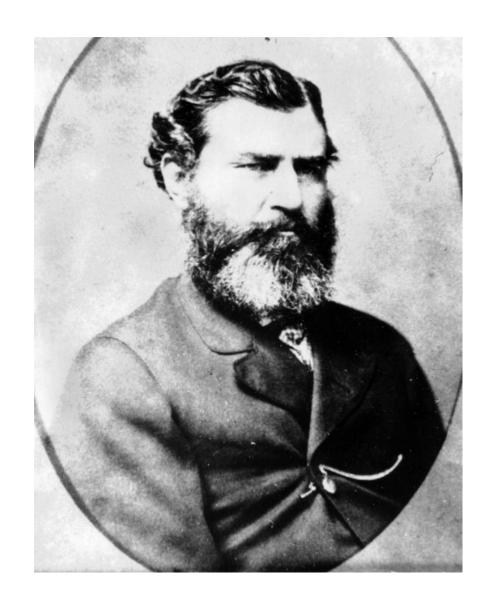
suppose the matter refers to a case reported by me to your office, either in August or September, 1852, the result of which was the dismissal of Berjeant Richard Dempater.

The facts were as following: Berjeant Dempeter being ill with ague, improperly sent the men out on patrol with no responsible person in command; when they were out, the police met with a Mr. Johnson, somewhere on the Balonne, below Surat. This person opened a letter, addressed to Serjeant Dempater, which letter was to the effect that the police were im -

mediately required at Yamboukal, a station of Mr. Hall's, only one mile from the Court of Petty Sessions at Surat. He persuaded the police to accompany him, stating he had orders to that effect. Hence ensued the attack referred to. I am at a loss to conceive how Mr. Marshall makes it out that they were Station Blacks. The letter from Yamboukal would show contrary to that. I do not know Mr. Marshall asserted this, at all events he never saw any of the correspondence. The serjeant, you will perceive, was dismissed, not, as stated, for having been present, but because he had not been.

FREDERICK WALKER. The Hon, the Colonial Secretary.

- Sgt. Skelton also led a number of dispersals across the Dawson River area and down to Ukabulla (also near Surat) where Mandandanji leader Bussamarai was killed.[57]
- Collisions also occurred between John Murray's (photo) troopers and Kabi Kabi at Widgee and with Walker's forces and the Bigambul south of Callandoon.
- Native Police were also employed tracking down Chinese coolie labourers who had run away from the stations of powerful squatter capitalists such as Gordon Sandeman.
 - 57. Collins, Patrick (2002). Goodbye Bussamarai. St Lucia: UQP



- In 1853 several new Sub-Lieutenants were appointed including John O'Connell Bligh, Edric Norfolk Vaux Morisset, Frederick Keen, Samuel Crummer, Francis Nicoll and Frederick Walker's brother Robert G. Walker.
- The Sydney Morning Herald described the operations of Lieutenants Marshall and John Murray along the Burnett River as "taking and shooting hosts of murderers, never stopping, never tiring".[58]
 - 58. "WIDE BAY THE BURNETT DISTRICT". The Sydney Morning Herald. Vol. XXXIV, no. 4987. 11 May 1853. p. 2 (Supplement to the SMH). Retrieved 10 September 2017 – via National Library of Australia

station as they committed depredations.

Lieutenants Marshall and Murray-with a courage, with an indefatigability, with an enterprise and a zeal which has never been surpassed, not even by Sir Charles Napier in his memorable Scindian campaign, and under a like scorching sun, and sickly climate-ill or well, hungry or thirsty, whether half blind with sandy blight, or suffering from fever and ague, from rheumstic pains, and all the diseases to which this worst of Australian climates is subject, with the thermometer ranging between 100 and 125 degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade -early and late, night and day, week after week, with knocked up horses or on foot, deterred by nothing, never daunted, never discouraged, never delaying, never halting, till the men and horses gave in under them,sometimes without water, for days together without food, save an occasional snake, an iguana, or an opossum, snatched up hastily, in passing, by a native trooper, which was shared by the division, -onward these courageous and indefstigable officers marched their men, subduing tribe after tribe, recovering thousands of sheep, carried away by the wild savage. Protecting one station from incendiarism, another from murder, taking and shooting hosts of murderers, never stopping, never tiring, until every station in the Burnet district

until every station in the Burnet district was as secure as those within 100 miles of Sydney, The Burnett country is now as quiet as any district in the colony that has been inhabited for fifty years. This district, in

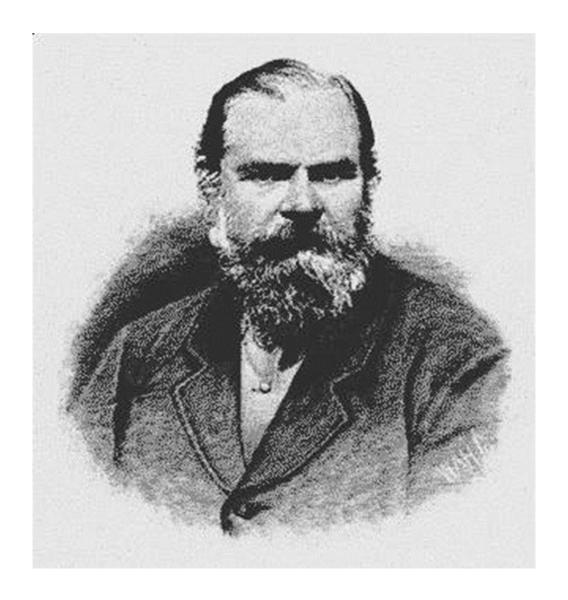
- New barracks were built at Rannes, Walla and at Swanson's Yabba station at the top of Yabba Falls. Squatters Holt and Hay pursued an overland path to the taking up of lands toward Port Curtis. Two men accompanying them were killed by Aboriginal people and as a consequence, the 1st Division of Native Police under Commandant Walker was sent into the area.[59]
- Additionally, Lieutenant John Murray and the 3rd Division with the troopers of Sgt. Doolan were deployed by ship to Gladstone to ensure a strong garrison at the fledgling settlement there. The surveyor sent to mark out Gladstone, Francis MacCabe, felt so unsafe that he established the camp in an area close to the coast, two miles away from any freshwater.[60]
 - 59. "Sydney News". The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser. Vol. XI, no. 934. New South Wales, Australia. 15 June 1853. p. 4. Retrieved 10 September 2017 – via National Library of Australia.
 - 60. "PORT CURTIS". The Empire. No. 908. New South Wales. 8 December 1853. p. 8. Retrieved 11 September 2017 – via National Library of Australia.

OUTRAGES BY THE BLACKS .- We regret to learn that two men accompanying Messrs. Hay and Holt's party to the Port Curtis district have been killed by the blacks, and two flocks of sheep gone astray in the bush. The 1st section of the native police were to proceed to the assistance of Messrs. Hay and Holt's party on the 14th inst., where most probably they will have a month's sharp shooting .- Moreton Bay Free Press,

May 31.

THE NATIVE POLICE.—Commandant Walker with the 5th and 8th sections of the native police arrived in Brisbane on Sunday afternoon, and will take his departure again for Wide Bay with the 8th section in a few days. The 5th proceed to the Clarence. This morning they go in pursuit of some blacks who have been committing depredations in the localities of Breakfast Creek and the German's Station. Walker, we regret, has been suffering from fever and ague, incident to the Burnett district, from the effects of which he is still suffering, and as there are two or three of the detachments without European lieutenants, the commandant has been compelled to perform very laborious and harassing duties. Lieutenant Morisset, who was to have joined the Commandant three months since, has not yet made his appearance. Moreton Bay Free Press, May 31.

- The size of the Native Police expanded further in 1854 to 10 Divisions.
- Commandant Walker (portrait) was suspended from duty in September and the inquiry, to be held in Brisbane, was set for December. The inquiry was closed to the public and the report was kept secret for two years and even then only fragments of information were released.
- It revealed that Walker arrived at the inquiry completely drunk and surrounded by nine of his black troopers. The troopers were denied entry, and after an attempt to continue with proceedings, the inebriation of Walker forced an adjournment to the inquiry which was later quickly and conveniently abandoned altogether.
- An attempt by 2nd Lieut. Irving to confront Walker, resulted in the ex-Commandant drawing a sword against him.[99]
- Eventually, Walker wandered off and was subsequently dismissed from the Native Police. He was later apprehended at Bromelton, charged with the embezzlement of £100 and sent to Sydney.[100]
 - 99. "BRISBANE". The North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser. Vol. I, no. 15. Queensland. 8 January 1856. p. 3. Retrieved 11 September 2017 via National Library of Australia
 - 100. "Domestic Intelligence". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. X, no. 503. Queensland. 29 September 1855. p. 2. Retrieved 11 September 2017 – via National Library of Australia.



- After the dismissal of Frederick Walker, the force entered a period of poor funding and uncertainty. Many troopers either deserted or were discharged. Richard Purvis Marshall was promoted to Commandant but was soon discharged from the position after complaining of the trooper reductions.
- With the force in a weakened state, aboriginal resistance became more bold.
- In September 1855, in retaliation against two previous dispersals and for the stealing of women, Gangulu warriors attacked the Native Police barracks at Rannes, killing three troopers of R. G. Walker's division.
- Mt. Larcom station was also attacked around this time, resulting in the deaths of five station-hands. Multiple punitive missions were conducted by John Murray and R. G. Walker's sections after these attacks, including one which went north of the Fitzroy River.
- Charles Archer of Gracemere provided assistance with this dispersal by attaching his own private native troopers to the corps. This augmented party killed 14 Aboriginal people.[6]
- In revenge, these Aboriginal people then attacked Elliot's new pastoral run at Nine Mile on the Fitzroy River, killing one person and wounding three including Elliot.
 - 6. Skinner, Leslie Edward (1975). Police of the Pastoral Frontier. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. ISBN 0702209775

- Charles Archer had arrived in Gracemere in August 1855 with an escort of 35 people including four Native Police troopers and four "Burnett boys".
- Once arrived, he obtained the protective services of a local Fitzroy River clan led by "King Harold" which Archer utilised to "restrain the outside blacks".[101]
- In July 1856, Richard E. Palmer travelled to the Fitzroy River from Gladstone, escorted by sub-Lieutenant W. D. T. Powell and his troopers, to set up the first store at Rockhampton.
- Powell went first to this area and constructed a Native Police barracks. This was the first habitable dwelling erected by European colonists in Rockhampton. It was on the south side of the river at the end of Albert Street.[102]

- 101. "ROCKHAMPTON". The Capricornian. Vol. 8, no. 52. Queensland. 30 December 1882. p. 5 (The Capricornian ILLUSTRATED CHRISTMAS SUPPLEMENT 1882.). Retrieved 6 October 2017 – via National Library of Australia.
- 102. "ROCKHAMPTON IN THE EARLY DAYS". The Capricornian. Vol. 29, no. 23. Queensland. 6 June 1903. p. 9. Retrieved 6 October 2017 – via National Library of Australia.

- With increased attacks around this time and reports of discharged troopers conducting armed robberies around the region,[103] squatters began to call for an immediate re-strengthening of the Native Police.[104]
- A select committee inquiry into improving the Native Police was implemented and in late 1856 the control of the Native Police was transferred from the Inspector General of Police in Sydney to John Clements Wickham who was the Government Resident in Brisbane.
- New officers such as Moorhead, Ross, Powell, Allman, Williams, Carr and Phibbs were appointed.
- In May 1857, the vacant position of Commandant was filled by E. N. V. Morisset and the headquarters of the Native Police was shifted from Traylan to Cooper's Plains just west of Maryborough.
- However, even with this reorganisation, strong indigenous resistance continued.
 - 103. "OUTRAGE BY DISCHARGED NATIVE POLICEMEN".
 Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser. Vol.
 XVI, no. 1205. Victoria. 28 July 1856. p. 3 (EVENING.).
 Retrieved 12 September 2017 via National Library of
 Australia
 - 104. THE NATIVE POLICE". The North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser. Vol. I, no. 26. Queensland. 25 March 1856. p. 3. Retrieved 12 September 2017 – via National Library of Australia

Moreton Bay, 31st January, 1856.
Sir,—We, the undersigned, freeholders, occupiers of Crown lands, stockholders, and others, resident and deeply interested in the Northern Districts of the colony, desire in the most earnest manner to represent, for the consideration of his Excellency

recent murders and outrages committed in the districts of Wide Bay and Port Curtis by the aboriginal blacks urgently require investigation at the hands of the Government.

We do not hesitate to declare, that these outrages and murders are the result, in our opinion, of the recent reduction and disbanding of a considerable portion of, and other changes lately effected in, the Native Police Force stationed in the Northern Districts.

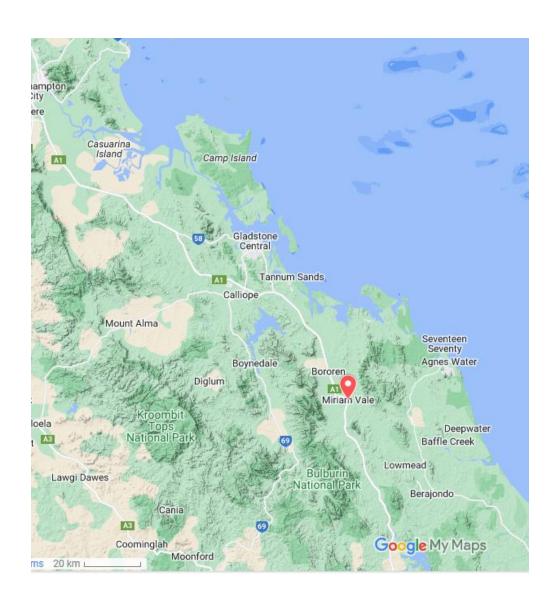
We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servants.

(Here follow the signatures of upwards of sixty
of the most respectable inhabitants of the
Northern Districts.)

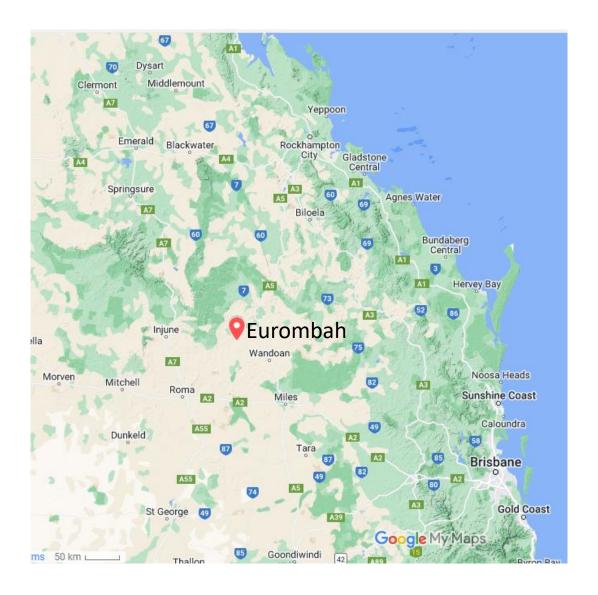
The Honourable the
Colonial Secretary, Sydney.

 After an aboriginal ambush at Miriam Vale near Gladstone, it was determined that Curtis Island (like Fraser Island previously) was a safehaven for natives that should be breached. 2nd Lieutenant R. G. Walker organised a seaborne punitive expedition that included several troopers, 2nd Lieut. Powell and local squatters J. Landsborough and Ranken. The mission was a failure and despite shooting two Aboriginal people in a canoe, Curtis Island was deemed dangerously populated.[6]

6. Skinner, Leslie Edward (1975). Police
 of the Pastoral Frontier. St Lucia:
 University of Queensland Press. ISBN
 O702209775



- On the Dawson River at Eurombah station 2nd Lieut. Ross with local squatter Boulton carried out several punitive missions killing at least 10 Aboriginal people. Trooper desertions continued to be a problem in this area and containment of aboriginal resistance was problematic.
- On 27 October 1857, a combined Aboriginal offensive on neighbouring Hornet Bank station resulted in the death of eleven settlers. This was, at the time, the largest loss of life suffered by European settlers in conflicts on the Australian frontier and with the concurrent Indian Mutiny being brutally suppressed, the military response was merciless.
- Officer W. D. T. Powell was the first Native Police officer to arrive and immediately tracked down and killed at least eight Aboriginal people.
- Multiple punitive missions conducted in the subsequent months under Powell, Carr and Moorhead killed at least 70 Aboriginal people.
 - 6. Skinner, Leslie Edward (1975). Police of the Pastoral Frontier. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. ISBN 0702209775



- In addition to the official government Native Police response, there were at least three other private militias formed in the Dawson River area to conduct wholesale killings of Aboriginal people.
- The first was the private native police formed by excommandant Frederick Walker. This group consisted of ten ex-Native Police troopers which conducted missions as far south as Surat.[105]
- The second was the so-called "Browne's" death squad that consisted of a posse of twelve local squatters which killed around 90 Aboriginal people.[8]
- The last was the group associated with William Fraser, who had most of his family killed in the Hornet Bank massacre. This group killed around 40 Aboriginal people, some of which were buried beside a lagoon on Juandah creek.[106]
 - 8. Bottoms, Timothy (2013). Conspiracy of Silence. Sydney: Allen & Unwin. ISBN 9781743313824. (Letter from G.D. Lang, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. A63.)
 - 105. "GAYNDAH". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. XII, no. 630. Queensland. 6 March 1858. p. 2.
 - 106. "JUANDAH TO HORNET BANK". The Australasian. Vol. CXL, no. 4, 541 (METROPOLITAN ed.). Victoria. 18 January 1936. p. 4.

THE NATIVE POLICE. — Two native troopers, late of the native police, arrived here the other day, recruiting the discharged troopers of that corps, to form an independent or private troop, under the late commandant Walker, it is got up,

again brought into requisition. I look only to facts, and I have taken some little trouble to collect the following. I

little trouble to collect the following. I am not aware of any authentic record of the victims being kept, and what I give are only the murders that are distinctly remembered in these far north districts. It will therefore be much under the actual number, and I may have classed one or two wrongly. Distinctly remembered murders number 44, and 5 wounded, which I have classed or divided thus:—

	Before the Native Police was	Murdered.	Wounded
	established	7	2 *
-	During the time Walker com- manded the Native Police. During the time Morriset and Marshall commanded, viz.,	5	01
	to the present time	32	3;
	A SECURITY OF THE PARTY OF THE	-	
١	Total.	. 44	5

 Messra. Tiverton, Streets, Blacksland, 2 boys named Pegg, Wm. Eat, and an English woman, killed; 2 men at Blackslands, wounded.

+ M'Claren, and 2 meu with him; a man and his daughter, at Messrs. Wilkin and Holt's, Yenda, killed.

† Five on the station of Wm. Young; a man travelling, murdered near Broom's, Agnes Vale; Furbar and his son-in-law; 2 men at Carlo O'Connel's; John Hillory, at Cheval and Tolson's; a German woman, on the Dawson; a boy at Mackay's, Dalgangale; 2 at Gigoomgan; 6 at Cardew's; and 11 at Fraser's killed. Mr. Elliott speared; 2 men on Charlton's Run tomahawked and left for dead.

" By your works ye shall be judged."

- In the still unconquered Pine Rivers region just north of Brisbane, Lieut. Williams' patrol was attacked by around 300 Ningi Ningi warriors. Many of them were shot but of the eight troopers with Williams, one was killed and two were seriously wounded.
 - "The Moreton Bay Courier". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. XII, no. 644. Queensland. 24 April 1858. p. 2.

BLACKS. NATIVE POLICE.-A few days ago, as a party of eight native troopers under the command of Lieut. Williams were patrolling at the head of the Pine River, they were attacked by about 300 blacks, who were encamped in one of The onset of the blacks was sudden, as hostilities were not expected, partook almost of the nature of a surprise. A trooper riding immediately on the left of his commander fell dead, pierced with numerous spears. Two other troopers were wounded. Lieut. Williams and

his men sustained the attack with determination, and succeeded in utterly routing and dispersing the blacks. About 40 rosewood spears were left in the camp by the assailants which the lieutenant and his men destroyed. The trees were hung with choice portions of beef, doubtless the produce of the plunder of adjacent runs. The trooper was buried on the spot. The actual loss of the blacks is not known. They belong to the Ningi-ningi, and when they were making their onslaught cried out in English, "kill the white fellow," and (ad-

number opposed to them, it is believed that the blacks have received a severe chastisement. There are now only five men effective under the Lieutenant. We must express our opinion that the party are neither sufficiently armed nor mounted. Each man is supposed to have two horses, but we hear the party only possesses half that complement, and no provision appears to have been made for remounting them. It is probable that the blacks will not encamp in the neighbourhood of the Pine River for sometime to come. The severe punishment they have received may deter them from future at tacks, but the force appears to have been wholly inadequate for active pursuit. An

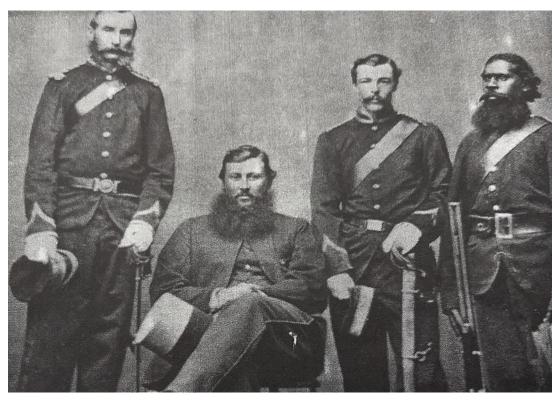
- Seven "station blacks" were shot dead at Couyar by Native Police,
 - THE NORTH AUSTRALIAN. IPSWICH, TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 1858". The North Australian, Ipswich And General Advertiser. Vol. III, no. 144. Queensland. 29 June 1858. p. 3.

THE NORTH AUSTRALIAN

IPSWICH, TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 1858.

In our last issue we called attention to an aggression on the blacks by the Native Police on the station of Couyar, in which seven unoffending men-including two who, the day previous, had been employed shepherdingwere shot. We denounced this outrage as murder, and pointed out the inevitable consequence We have now to record the slaughter at the adjoining station of Collington of two Chinese shepherds, Hong Tine and HER, on the 20th instant. "One body was found under the table, the other at the door of A party of blacks are suspected, among others one named 'SPRIGHTLY.' robbery had been committed."

- Another government inquiry in Sydney was ordered in July 1858 which concluded with the recommendation that "there is no alternative but to carry matters through with a strong hand and punish with necessary severity all future outrages".[107]
 - 107. NSW Legislative Assembly. "1858 Report from the Select Committee on the Murders by the Aborigines on the Dawson River". Archived from the original on 4 August 2017.
- New officers were appointed including Frederick Wheeler and George Poultney Malcolm Murray and in August, Commandant Edric Morisset organised a large combined force of 17 troopers under Phibbs, Carr and G. P. M. Murray with a month's rations to scour the Upper Dawson area.
- The explorer A. C. Gregory accompanied this force and partook in their actions. Officers Bligh and Moorhead at the same time patrolled the stations adjoining the scrubs in the region.[6]
- Gwambegwine and Kinnoul near Taroom became barracks for the Native Police.



Inspectors John Marlow, G. P. M. Murray and Walter Compigne with Trooper Billy

 Ex-Commandant Walker wrote several letters to the Attorney General admonishing the murders of innocent Aboriginal people including that of Tommy Hippi, Tahiti and the massacre of Aboriginal people at a Juandah courthouse after they were found not guilty of crime.[108]

> 108. THE NATIVE POLICE". The North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser. Vol. VI, no. 377. Queensland. 9 August 1861. p. 3.

THE NATIVE POLICE.

The following is a copy of a letter addressed to the Hon, the Attorney-General :-

> COPY. Nullalbin Post-office, 10th July, 1861.

Sir.—I was much pleased to see in a report of a speech made by you, in the Legislative Assembly, that you stated it was the duty of magistrates to protect the aborigines quite as much so as it was their duty to protect the Enropeans.

This from the Attorney-General of the colony is a valuable admission, but I would ask you of what use are such truisms, when it is notorious that they are

ignored in practice?

strated.

At the Juandah massacre, the blacks who had been proven to the satisfaction of five magistrates to be innocent of any participation in crime, were subsequently mardered, some in the verandah, some in the kitchen of a magistrate, who in vain remon- Jerry McBrien 2024 The Hon. the Attorney-General.

Two blacks who had by some whim been spared were then made to bury the victims, and one ruffian said to the other, what shall we do with the sextons? The answer was, shoot them; one was accordingly shot, why the other was spared, I know not, -possibly the supply of cartridges was running short.

Again, when "Tahiti," a native of the colony of Victoria, who had faithfully served the government for eight years, was murdered, it was from the station of a magistrate that he was illegally taken in irons, and notwithstanding the urgent protest of that magistrate.

When, after the delay of ten months, the government caused an enquiry to be held, Mr. Commissioner Wiseman, a magistrate, instituted a mock inquiry, and, -I dare him to controvert it -did his utmost to screen the murderer.

I am informed by a gentleman of known respectability that not long ago the beach of magistrates at the Condamine refused to entertain the claim of a black to a horse which had been given to him, upon

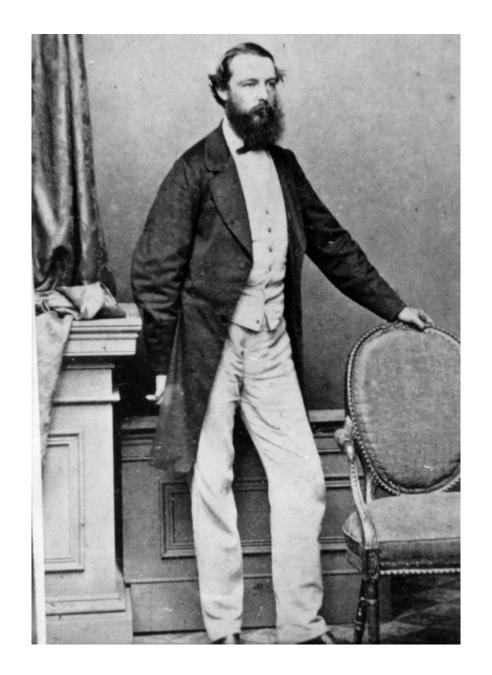
the plea that the blacks were aligns, and could hold no property. Was it ever heard of before, proclaiming a man to be an alien in his own fatherland?

I could name other cases wherein magistrates, either through ignorance, or want of moral courage, have not extended to the aborighes the protection they are by law entitled to; one magistrate told me. notwithstanding the repeated decisions of the judges of the Supreme Court, that the aborigines were not British subjects, and not amenable to Uritish law.

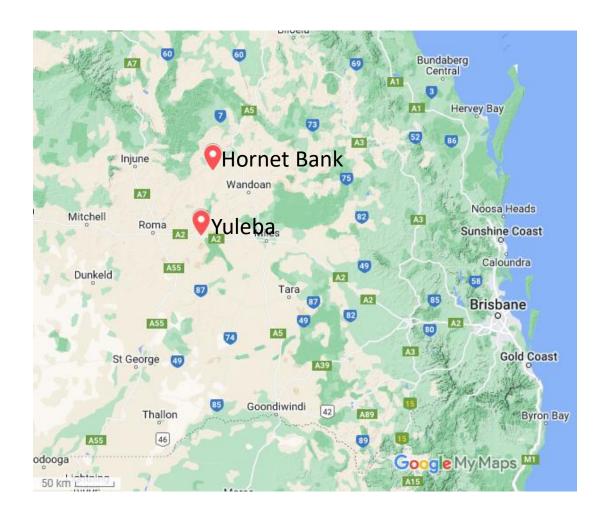
> I remain, sir. Your obedient servant.

FREDERICK WALKER.

- The colony of Queensland separated from New South Wales, becoming a self-governing British colony in December 1859.
- E. N. V. Morisset (photo), in addition to retaining his role as Commandant of the Native Police, also became the Inspector General of Police in the new colony.
- Under this new administration, the Native Police had even fewer checks and balances than it had previously.
- Morisset appointed new officers such as A. M. G. Patrick, A. F. Matveieff, J. T. Baker, as well as his own brother Rudolph S. Morisset.



- 18 Shipwrecked sailors from the ship Saphire were murdered by aborigines in North Queensland. [111]
- In 1860 near Yuleba, a two-hour stand up battle between Lieutenant Carr's Native Police and the "Dawson blacks" led by Baulie (also known as Bilbah) resulted in Carr being wounded and Baulie and fifteen other Yiman being shot dead.[111]
 - 111. (Untitled)". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. XIV, no. 845. Queensland. 27 March 1860. p. 2. Retrieved 17 September 2017 – via National Library of Australia



The Moreton Bay Conrier.

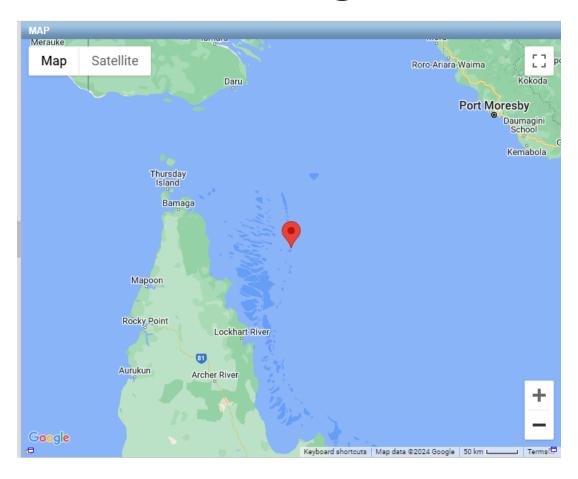
TUESDAY, MARCH 21, 1860,

The particulars of the wreck of the Sapphire having transpired, and with them the account of the murder of eighteen seamen by the aborigines of Queensland, we would direct the attention of the Executive and the public to the position of affairs; and also suggest a vindication of the prowess of the whites, so that respect may be felt, even by savages, for those who may, by adverse circumstances or the pursuit of exploration, be cast into their power. There are but two

residents have become familiar, through repetition, with murderous onslaughts made by the blacks on simple unoffending sher, herds; the tragedy at Hornet Bank, and the murders in the bay, are engraven upon our memories; and while we read of the murder of eighteen of the crew of the Sapphire we are also compelled to become acquainted with the fact, that in the Maranoa district the blacks stood their ground for two hours in a battle with the native police. We believe that fifteen aboriginals were slaughtered in the fray to which we allude; and that the blacks had an advantage of three to one over the whites in point of numbers. But the fight at Maranoa was distinct in its nature from the murders on the coast. the case of the crew of the Sapphire the famishing were helpless; seamen after seeking supplies, starving men

Australasian Underwater Cultural Heritage Database

- The 'Sapphire' was an immigrant ship. The 'Sapphire' sailed from Sydney for Madras in August 1859 (Sydney Morning Herald 10/12/1859:6).
- On the 23rd of September 1859 the 'Sapphire' was dragged onto the reef near Raine Island (Paterson 2003:106). According to the Sydney Morning Herald (09/03/1860:4) the vessel was wrecked on a reef ten miles north of Raine Island passage.
- The following day the vessel began to break up (Paterson 2003:106). The captain and crew abandoned the 'Sapphire' (Sydney Morning Herald 10/12/1859:6).
- On the 28th of September they arrived at Sir Charles Hardy's Island in the ship's boats (Moreton Bay Courier 24/03/1860:2).
- At Sir Charles Hardy Islands the shipwrecked crew came upon the abandoned ship 'Marina'. They repaired the 'Marina' and sailed for Port Curtis on the 26th of November 1859, where they arrived, three months later, on the 17th of February 1860 (Moreton Bay Courier 24/03/1860:2).



Eighteen lives were lost (Stone 2006:802).

1860-61

- In 1860, a number of settlers sent letters requesting Lieutenant Wheeler's aid in the Broadsound region, which was suffering from Aboriginal raids.
- On 24 December 1860, Lieutenant Wheeler and six of his Aboriginal troopers went to John Hardies' out station located at Fassifern and shot dead three Aboriginal males.[112] The subsequent newspaper coverage pushed the Queensland Government into organising an inquiry into the Native Police. [113]
 - 112. "SHOOTING OF BLACKS AT FASSIFERN". The North Australian, Ipswich And General Advertiser. Queensland, Australia. 19 February 1861. p. 4.
 - 113. Queensland. Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Select Committee on Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally. (1861), Report from the Select Committee on the Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally together with the proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence, Fairfax and Belbridge, retrieved 17 September 2017

SHOOTING OF BLACKS AT FASSIFERN.

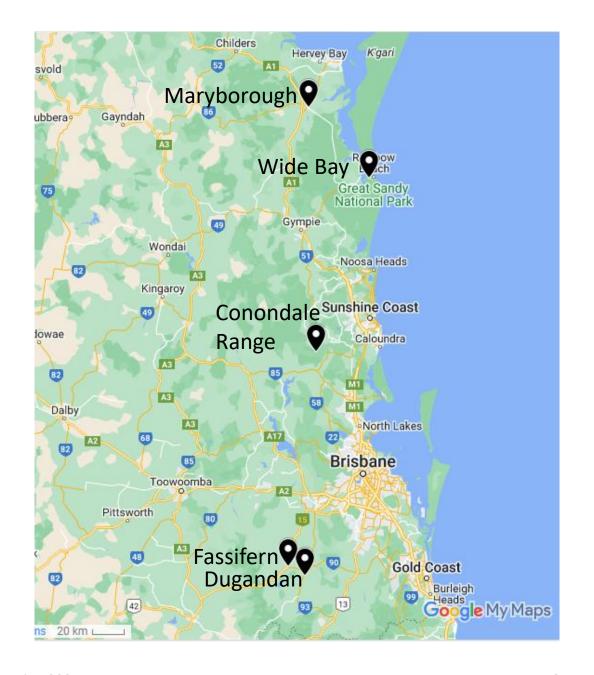
We are favoured by Dr. Challinor with the evidence in this case, as follows :-

Francis Henry Farrington, being duly sworn, states: I am a carpenter performing a contract for Messrs. Hardie and Wienholt, of Fassifern; I am working at the head station; I remember the 24th of December last year; about mid-day I heard several shots fired in or about the scrub; it was possite to where I was working, and about three hundred yards off. There were several blacks about the head station; as soon as they heard the firing they looked very frightened, and pointed towards the scrub. One of the blacks said to me, " Black police like him come and shoot old men like him camp." Shortly afterwards, that is, about twenty ningtes, I saw six troopers of the Native Police the scrub to Mr. Hardie's house. He dismounted from his horse and gave it to one of the police; he had a pistol in his hand when he dismounted; he ordered the troopers to camp outside

and shepherd Tommy were shooting the blacks' dogs at the camp, I went into the scrub to drive out the puppies. After I had killed two, I went further into k to be three bullet-wounds on one blackfellow: this was the first body I saw, and it was about 40 yards from the camp. I did not examine the other two. One pail seemed to have entered the top of the skull, another the chest, the other was lower down on the opposite side. He was lying on his back. None of the bodies had then been burnt. They were all grey-headed, one was very much so. Mr. Mardie 45

1860-61

- In evidence given at the 1861 Select Committee report on the Native Police, Lieutenant Carr gave many other examples of shootings of Aboriginal people in the area.[113]
 - Lieut. Wheeler shot several innocent Aboriginal people at Dugandan,[116]
 - Lieut. John Murray conducted a massacre in the Wide Bay area[117]
 - and officers John O'Connell Bligh and Rudolph Morisset indiscriminately shot "station blacks" on properties around the Conondale Range.[118]
 - In a separate incident, Bligh also chased and shot dead some Aboriginal people along the main street of Maryborough and into the river in broad daylight. Bligh received a special ceremony and a commemorative sword from the citizens of that town for his exploits.[119]
 - 113. Queensland. Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Select Committee on Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally. (1861), Report from the Select Committee on the Native Police Force and the Condition of the Aborigines Generally together with the proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence, Fairfax and Belbridge, retrieved 17 September 2017
 - 116. "CORONER'S INQUEST". The North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser. Vol. VI, no. 313. Queensland. 28 December 1860. p. 3.
 - 117. "THE NATIVE POLICE". Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. Vol. I, no. 20. Queensland. 4 April 1861. p. 4.
 - 118. "THE NATIVE POLICE". The Courier. Vol. XV, no. 1039. Brisbane. 4 June 1861. p. 2.
 - 119. "MARYBOROUGH". The Moreton Bay Courier. Vol. XIV, no. 830. Queensland. 21 February 1860. p. 4.



Jerry McBrien 2024 46

LIEUTENANT FREDERICK WHEELER called in and examined :-

1. By the CHAIRMAN: You are an officer in the Native Police Force? Yes.

2. How long have you been in the Force? Four years.

3. Where have you been stationed during that period? At Rockhampton, at Port Curtis, and down here.

4. How long have you been down here? Two years,—at Sandgate.

5. How many men are there in your detachment? Eight.

6. Are they the same men you had at first ? No, the ten men I had at first bolted; that was at Rockhampton.

7. I refer to your present detachment? Yes, they are the same men.

- 8. Do you remember the affair at Coochin in December last? Nothing took place at Coochin; it was near Dugandan.
- 9. Were you sent for upon that occasion? Yes, I received four or five letters from settlers -Mr. Henderson, Mr. Compigné, Mr. Hardie, and others-telling me that the blacks had been robbing the huts, stealing the sheep, and threatening the shepherds. Mr. Compigué had left part of his run on that account, and brought the sheep to the head station.

10. Did you go up there with your detachment? I went up directly I received the letters to Mr. Compigné's station on the Logan.

11. Where is Dugandan? On the Teviot Brook.

12. What did you do when you came from Mr. Compigné's station? I went first to Mr. Compigne's, and from that to where the Albert runs into the Logan, but I did not find any blacks there. I then went over to the sea-coast, and followed it down to Point Danger. Finding no tracks there, I went over the mountains back again to Compigne's, and thence to Telemon; followed up Christmas Creek till I came underneath McPherson's Range and Mount Lindsay. I found the tracks underneath the ranges there, heading towards the large Dugandan scrub, between the Ten-mile and Fifteen-mile stations. I found the blacks in the large Dugandan serub.

13. What did you do then? I dispersed them.

14. How did you know they were the blacks who committed the outrages? I followed their tracks for a fortnight.

15. Had you any other evidence-were any of them recognized by wearing clothes or blankets? They were all naked.

16. How many of them were there? The camps extended for about three miles; there were several different tribes; they had been congregating there for some time. They usually come down there before Christmas time; it is on the high road to Ipswich, between that and the salt water.

17. Had you any direct evidence to shew that they were the blacks who had committed the outrages complained of? The shepherds at Mr. Compigne's told me that the blacks had come down from the Telemon side of the range.

18. Had they been by the Bunya scrub? No.

19. Did they make any resistance? I only dispersed the Telemon mob.

20. Not the whole of them? No, none of the others.

- 21. What led you to disperse the Telemon blacks? They always do the mischief; the same mob had been robbing Mr. Collins's station at Telemon.
- 22. Were there any warrants out against those blacks? No. Warrants are never given out against the blacks for cattle-stealing, which is done by the whole tribe.

23. Did you recognize any of them? It was getting dark, but I recognized two or three of them.

24. Had you any information to prove that they were the same blacks who robbed Mr. Collins's station? No, I only know from what the shepherds told me, that a certain tribe of blacks committed the depredations, and that they had headed towards the sca-ccast.

25. When you come into contact with the blacks in that way, have you a proper control over your troopers? Oh, yes.

26. Do they ever get out of your sight? Yes, when they go into the scrub; they then dismount and take off their trousers.

27. Did you go into the scrub on this occasion? No, I went round the scrub to get the

Dugandan blacks away, so that they might not get shot.

28. How were you enabled to discern one portion of the blacks from the other? They form separate camps. Every squatter will tell you that the Telemon blacks are the blacks who do all the mischief.

29. I wish to know upon what evidence or appearance you acted in separating the blacks, dispersing one portion of them, and leaving the others? The Dugandan blacks never go over to Compigne's; it is always the Telemon blacks; they come from Captain Collins's station. It was just sundown at the time, and I got a boy (Jemmy Murphy) to shew me the different camps.

30. You say that you have proper control over your troopers—are they generally under the proper control of their officers? I cannot say; I have never been out with other officers.

31. At the time of this affray the troopers were out of your sight? Yes, they were out of my sight for about half-an-hour.

32. Do those troopers understand English sufficiently to comprehend your orders? Oh,

33. Did you give them orders to go into the scrub? Yes.

34. What was the nature of those orders? I told them to surround that camp of Telemon blacks, and to disperse them.

35. What do you mean by dispersing? Firing at them. I gave strict orders not to shoot any gins. It is only sometimes, when it is dark, that a gin is mistaken for a blackfellow, or might be wounded inadvertently.

36. Do you think it is a proper thing to fire upon the blacks in that way? If they are the right mob, of which I had every certainty.

37. If I understand you aright, your instructions were to surround the camp, and fire upon it, and that the troopers were allowed to go out of your sight. Now, you must be aware if they received these orders, and were not under your immediate control, that there was considerable risk of loss of life, particularly of gins. Was there any necessity for such an indiscriminate slaughter upon that occasion? I don't think there was any indiscriminate slaughter: there were only two blacks shot.

28. But you did not see it? I was in the scrub, but I was away for about half-an-hour in another direction, to get the Dugandan blacks round me, to prevent their being shot.

- 39. I can understand this—if there are warrants out against certain men, and they take to the scrub, that your troopers are ordered to follow them, and, if they do not stop when called upon in the Queen's name, to fire upon them; but in this case there were no warrants out. I wish to know what induced you to give those orders? The letters I had received from several squatters, complaining that the blacks were robbing their huts, threatening their lives, and spearing their cattle and sheep.
- 40. What are the general orders of your Commandant? It is a general order that, whenever there are large assemblages of blacks, it is the duty of an officer to disperse them. There are no general orders for these cases; officers must take care that proper discretion is exercised.
- 41. Did you see any of the property taken from the shepherds? No, it was Mr. Compigné.
- 42. Was he with you on this occasion? No, I never take any white people with me.
- 43. Then it was on the evidence of Mr. Compigné that you surrounded the scrub and fired on the blacks? On that of Mr. Compigné, the Messrs. Collins of Telemon, Mr. Henderson of Tabragalba, Mr. Hardie, and other squatters.
- 44. How many dead bodies were there? I saw two.
- 45. Was not there a gin shot? Yes.
- 46. Don't you consider this is a very loose way of proceeding—surrounding blacks' camps, and shooting innocent gins? There is no other way.
- 47. When the blacks were called upon to disperse, did they offer any resistance? Yes, they threw everything they had at the Native Police.
- 48. But you were not present? I was with them when the gin was shot; I thought it was a blackfellow. I could not follow them at the time, and it is no use calling after them in the scrub.
- 49. Then it is clear they were not under your control when the gin was shot? That was a mistake; it was getting dark.
- 50. After this affair at Dugandan where did you go to? I went to Fassifern, following up the same track.
- 51. What occurred there? I came upon the tracks there; I think it was in the middle of the following day or the next. I found a small camp of blacks, and dispersed them.
- 52. What number of blacks were killed on that occasion? Two.
- 53. Did you see the dead bodies? Yes.
- 54. Was not one of them an old man? A middle-aged man.
- 55. Had he grey hair? Not particularly so.
- 56. Were you with the Police then? Yes.
- 57. With your troopers? Yes, I dispersed that mob on account of having received a letter from Mr. Hardie, stating that a mob of blacks had been threatening him, and that he could not get rid of them.
- 58. Had they been spearing Mr Hardie's cattle? He said they had been spearing the cattle at Moograh, and threatening the lives of the men.

Report to Parliament

Your Committee cannot but express their regret that more than one witness, capable of affording important information regarding the Native Police, should have refused to submit themselves to an examination.

II. The charges brought against the Officers of the Native Police have been investigated as far as practicable.

Your Committee, although aware how difficult it may be in cases where depredations are committed by the blacks to make them amenable to British Law, cannot countenance the indiscriminate slaughter which appears on more than one occasion to have taken place.

DR. CHALLINOR, M. P., called in and examined:-

". 1. By the CHAIRMAN: You are the Coroner of the Police District of Ipswich? I am.

queseion

20. You have stated in your letter to the Attorney-General that "the shooting of the said blacks is now distinctly and unequivocally traced to Lieutenant Wheeler, and the detachment of the Native Police under his command, on the 24th day of December last"—(vide Appendix. Letter of Dr. Challinor to the Honorable the Attorney-General, January 29th, 1861)—I now ask you, how have you come to that conclusion? From the depositions—the sworn depositions.

21 The denseitians now before me (referring to Report of Transier in the Inquich Headle)

JACOB LOWE, Esq., called in and examined :-

1. By the Chairman: You are a squatter of some years' standing, I believe? Yes.

10. What was the state of matters between the squatters and the natives? The state of matters between the squatters and the blacks was as bad as could be previous to that time. The settlers were all driven away by force from their stations, and when I came up, in 1846, I was only taking up runs from which the settlers had been driven by the natives, and which had been abandoned

11. What is the state of that part of the country now? At the present day there are no blacks to disturb the settlers in any shape whatever. There are none now.

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THE NATIVE POLICE.

Sir,—The Courier of the 2nd instant has just reached us, and by it we have learnt that a committee has been appointed to inquire into, and report upon, the management, &c., of the native police force. The Colonial

but we do know that the fear of Bligh acts like a hangman's whip on the blacks in our quarter. And yet we never knew him guilty We have known him to follow days and weeks, but he seems to point to punish only the guilty, and also a oint that the guilty shall not escape, and s we think is what gives to his name a race in our quarter. cannot conveniently apprehend a black that uses his carbine; and if he is sure the he has the right man, we think there is no great harm done, for we have no don punishment is the effective way of preventing crime amongst the aborigines; and as prevention



John O'Connell Bligh

1860-61

CORONER'S INQUEST.

An inquest was held by Dr. Challinger, coroner, on Monday last, at Normanby, on the body of an aboriginal named Tommy, who was shot by the Native Police, together with a gin, four or five others being desperately wounded at the same time. The first evidence tendered was that of Dr. Lucas, who deposed

Verdict: That the deceased, "Tommy," an aboriginal, found dead in the Dugandan scrub, on the Mount Flinders' run, died from a gun-shot wound in the head; but by whom he was killed there is no evidence to show, beyond the statements of the aboriginals at present camped at the head station, Normanby.

THE NATIVE POLICE.

(From the Courier, 19th March.)

WHENEVER an advocate steps forward in favour of the Native Police, it generally happens that something instantly arises to strengthen the universal feeling of condemnation with which that force is now regarded. A squatter in the outside districts may perhaps attempt a panegyric in favour of a troop whose commanding officer haseftentimes proved himself a "jolly good fellow" at an impromptu dinner; but unluckily for him and for his cause, that very detachment may be immediately thereafter roundly anathematised in language embracing every expressive adjective in the English vocabulary. The inhabitants of Maryborough--who not long since "delighted to honour" a native police lieutenant to such an extent as to present him with a "handsome cavalry sword" for shooting or capturing a blackfellow or two - are now becoming indignant at the conduct of another lieutenant who, together with his troopers, has lately made an onslaught on the aborigines, and is said to

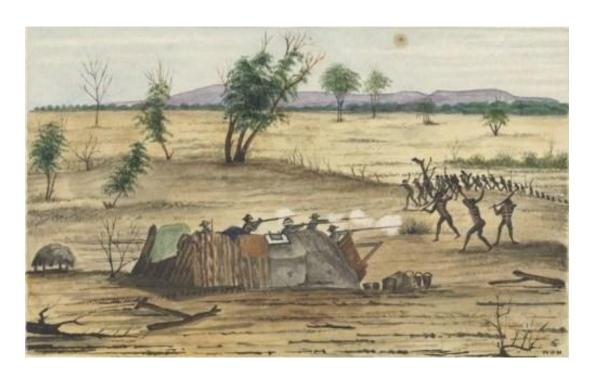
slaught on the aborigines, and is said to have massacred the inmates of a campindiscriminately. Whatever may be the actual circumstances of the case, we know positively that a slaughter has lately taken pace in a district contiguous to Wide Bay, and if half of the horrors described as attendant upon it have any foundation in fact, civilisation has been again disgraced by a cowardly and cold-blooded deed. It is reported that some thirty or thirty-five blacks - including men, women, and children - have been butchered - there is no other term for it-by a detachment of native police; and it is further stated that this detachment was under the command of Lieut. Murray, but we hope, for the credit of that officer, and for the sake of his past reputation for efficiency, that the rumour is untrue., Whether this be the case or not, it is very certain that an outrage has been committed in the Wide Bay and Burnett district, for the advertisement which appeared in our columns of Saturday, does not emanate from men regardless of truth, or accustomed to exaggeration. The Messrs. Mortimer are sufficiently known in the colony to entitle

MARYBOROUGH.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

On Friday morning last, this place was roused by shouts of "stop him," yells, and the stamping of norses. It turned out to be Lieutenant Bligh, with a troop of Native Police, chasing a tribe of long known depredators. He had been after them for some time, and after much watching, tracking, and hardship, came on their final track on Thursday last, about the Six Miles Waterholes. He tracked them to Mr. Cleary's, and from thence into the town. This was early on Friday morning. They (the blacks) scampered all ways, and made for the places they thought the best protection would be given by the inhabitants. In this, however, they were " Blighted ;" for thing but their capture or death would satisfy. They called lustily to one or two for assistance, but that assistance was impossible. Lieut. Bligh tried all he could

impossible. Lieut. Bligh tried all he could to induce them to surrender, but without effect, and the consequence was one long known "darkie" was shot by a native trooper in full pursuit, just as he was enter-ing the scrub. This Darkie had been committed for felony, and had made his escape in irons from the steamer, for which the constable in charge got six months, I believe, at the Brisbane Assizes. Of course this could not pass off without various opinions, and a few, but very few, cries of "shame," and "oh, the poor blacks." These few, however, considering the quarter from whence they came, were sufficient to bring out the inhabitants to express their opinions, for which purpose a meeting was called, and held at the court-house on Monday evening, and from a report of it you will learn more fully our feelings here.



- Fighting between Burke and Wills' supply party and Indigenous Australians at Bulla, Queensland during 1861.
- By William Oswald Hodgkinson
- between 1861 and 1865
- https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-147598648

Jerry McBrien 2024

- The violence of the early 1860s culminated in the Cullin-la-ringo massacre which occurred on 17 October 1861. Aboriginal people from the Nogoa River area, near modern-day Emerald, attacked Horatio Wills' newly formed pastoral station, resulting in the deaths of nineteen white settlers.
- One of the survivors, cricketer and Australian rules football founder Tom Wills, blamed the incident on Jesse Gregson, a local property manager who had previous to the attack went out and conducted a punitive mission with the aid of a detachment of Native Police under the command of A. M. G. Patrick against Aboriginal people in the area.
- Gregson and other squatters were involved in the initial punitive raids after the massacre, with Lieutenant Cave being the first Native Police officer on the scene not long after.
- He was soon joined by officers G. P. M. Murray, Morehead and the Commandant John O'Connell Bligh, and together they conducted a number of shooting patrols.
- The Queensland Governor estimated that up to 300 Aboriginal people were indiscriminately killed in these retaliative operations.[120]

- In mid-October 1861, a party of squatters from the colony of Victoria, under Horatio Wills, set up a temporary tent camp to start the process of establishing a cattle station at Cullin-la-ringo, a property formed by amalgamating four blocks of land with a total area of 260 square kilometres (100 sq mi).
- Wills's party, an enormous settlement train, including bullock wagons and more than 10,000 sheep, had set out from Brisbane eight months earlier.

^{120.} Reid, Gordon (1982). A Nest of Hornets. Melbourne:
Oxford University Press. pp. 129–134.

Jerry McBrien 2024

1861-62

 Elsewhere in the colony, Lieutenant Wheeler and his detachment of Native police killed eight innocent Aboriginal people at Caboolture.[121]

> 121. "The Late Massacre of Blacks at the Cabulture". The Courier (Brisbane). Vol. XVII, no. 1453. Queensland, Australia. 4 October 1862. p. 2.

THE LATE MASSACRE OF BLACKS AT THE CABULTURE.

SINCE we first gave publicity to the fact that several blacks had been shot by the Native Police at the Cabulture, we have made some enquiries relative to the matter, inasmuch as it was insinuated in certain quarters that our statements were exaggerated. The result of our investigations has been the establishment of the truth of all that we previously asserted, and the confirmation of the impression that the attack upon the blacks was most wanton and unprovoked.

It appears that, upon the occasion of the massacre, the blacks were holding a corroboree, and that, while they were so engaged, the Native Police surprised their camp, fired upon them, and killed seven men and one gin, besides wounding others, one of whom, an old gin, has not yet recovered. Most of the bodies have been removed by the blacks themselves, but two were still lying at the scene of the slaughter when one of our informants last visited the spot. One of the men shot was well known about town by the soubriquet of Harry Pring, and was not altogether an immaculate being, but we are not aware that his murderers were justified in shooting him down in cold blood, together with seven of his companions.

We cannot gather that the blacks had lately been troublesome in the locality where the massacre occurred; our informants state positively that they had been very peaceably and quietly disposed of late, and had done nothing to justify the attack made by the Native Police. Lieutenant Wheeler, the officer in charge of the detachment, we are told defends his conduct on the ground that his instructions compel him to disperse the blacks wherever they may have congregated, but we have yet to learn that those instructions warrant such an act as that to which we refer.

Setting aside the inhuman and diabolical character of such butcheries, we have also to consider the peril which accrues to the white settler in consequence. Revenge is a mere instinct with the savage, and when an opportunity occurs to gratify his lust for vengeance, he does not stop to inquire whether the person he is about to attack was a participator in the crime he seeks to avenge. The consequence is, that many a white man, innocent of the blood of a black, falls a victim to this terrible instinct...

We are aware that the matter has been mentioned to the Attorney-General, and that no report of the circumstance had been sent to that officer up to that time, but we have no doubt that, if the circumstances were laid before him in a proper way, Mr. Pring would institute an inquiry.

1861-62

- Lieutenant John Marlow and his Native police were attacked in the Maranoa Region, resulting in the deaths of thirteen Aboriginal males.[122]
- In April 1861, George Elphinstone Dalrymple, the lands commissioner for the Leichhardt district, utilised two detachments of Native Police. Lieutenant Powell later conducting operations in that region.[123]
- The Queensland government budget for the force in 1862 was £14,541 which allowed for 17 officers, 11 NCOs, 7 cadets and 134 troopers.[124]
 - 122. "Intercolonial". Freeman's Journal. Vol. XII, no. 787. New South Wales, Australia. 30 November 1861. p. 3.
 - 123. "PORT DENISON". The Courier (Brisbane). Vol. XVI, no. 1208. Queensland, Australia. 23 December 1861. p. 3.

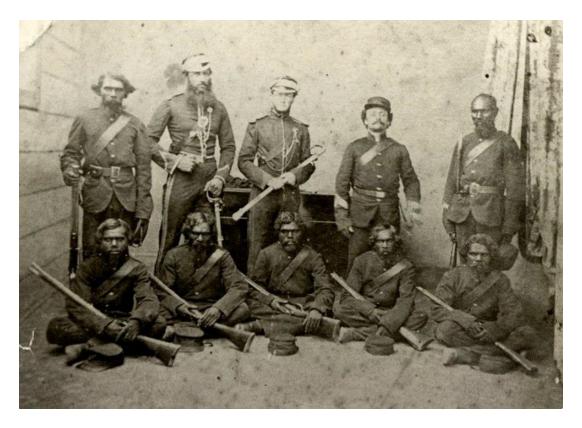


Inspectors John Marlow, G. P. M. Murray and Walter Compigne with Trooper Billy

- In 1864, all sections of police in Queensland underwent a major restructuring. Administration of the police, including that of the paramilitary Native Police, became centralised in Brisbane under the command of the Queensland Police Commissioner.
- The role of Commandant of the Native Police was abolished and the title of Lieutenant was replaced with Inspector.
- The new Commissioner, David Thompson Seymour (photo), took up the position after resigning from the role of commanding officer of the British Army detachment in Queensland.
- Seymour recognised the importance of the Native Police in the colonisation of Aboriginal lands and was focused on improving and expanding its capabilities.[125]
- Seymour remained in the commanding role of the Native Police for thirty years.
 - 125. "FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE". Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald And General Advertiser. Vol. IV, no. 481. 29 June 1865. p. 4.



- The mid 1860s was a period of great expansion of European colonisation into the coastal and inland areas of north-eastern Australia. All these areas were inhabited by local Indigenous communities and the restructured, re-enhanced Native Police had a major role in the elimination of Aboriginal custodianship of the land.
- For example, in April 1864 the first surveying group to assess the future site of Townsville left Bowen with the armed protection of eight troopers under the command of Inspector John Marlow and sub-Inspector E. B. Kennedy.
- This unit of Native Police conducted around four dispersals on this journey resulting in the deaths of at least 24 Aboriginal men. An unknown number of women and children were killed but it is recorded that 15 females were abducted by the troopers and taken back to the Don River barracks as "wives".[127]
 - 127. Kennedy, E. B. (Edward B.) (1902), The black police of Queensland: reminiscences of official work and personal adventures in the early days of the colony, J. Murray.



Native Police, Rockhampton, 1864

Jerry McBrien 2024

- Inspector Marlow, who had replaced Inspector Powell at Bowen in 1863,[128] continued his work of "clearing the blacks" off the land after returning from this foundation expedition to Townsville.[129]
- Earlier on in that year, Marlow had also provided a Native Police escort for the voyage of George Elphinstone Dalrymple to establish the town of Cardwell. Marlow's troopers here also "dispersed" and "rather cut up" some local Aboriginal people.[130]
 - 129. "BOWEN". Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. Vol. IV, no. 214. Queensland, Australia. 9 November 1864. p. 2.
 - 130. JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION TO BUCKINGHAM BAY". Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. Vol. IV, no. 179. Queensland, Australia. 21 April 1864. p. 1 (Maryborough Chronicle, SUPPLEMENT).

• 129. **BOWEN.**

LIEUT. MARLOW, with three troopers (all he had in the camp at the time), left on Monday morning last for the Burdekin, with the view of clearing the blacks off Mr. M'Lellan's station, where two shepherds wee lately murdered.

AN EXPEDITION JOURNAL OF ROCKINGHAM BAY. BY MR. JAMES MORRILL.

(From the Port Denison Times.)

Sunday, Jan. 24.—Lieut. Marlow and native police, Messrs. Dalrymple, Sellheim and black boy went on horseback to look at the back country and examine the range with the view of finding a road. Shortly after, the cutter Anna Maides hove in sight round Goold Island. The ship's boat and our cutter went off to meet her, and Peter went on board and brought her alongside the Policeman at 3 p.m. It appears that a party of armed blacks had been lying in wait at the back of the camp, in order to take advantage of the greater portion of the party being absent, but they were set upon suddenly by Mr. Dalrymple's men and rather cut up. The Anna Maides anchored off the beach, and the passengers visited the shore.

Monday, Jan 25 .- The cutter got under-

Note. "Policeman" was the name of the expedition's largest boat.

- In May 1865, after leading a shooting raid upon a camp of Aboriginal people at Pearl Creek near the modern day town of Duaringa, Inspector Cecil Hill was assassinated in a surprise revenge attack.
- Hill was the first Native Police officer in Australia to be killed in the Australian frontier wars. Chief Inspector G. P. M. Murray sent sub-Inspector Oscar Pescher and his troopers to conduct a series of reprisal raids in the district.
- Pescher's detachment was later reinforced by officers Blakeney and Bailey and their 12 troopers, the combined forces effecting a large massacre in the Expedition Range.[131]

 131. "MASSACRE OF THE BLACKS IN QUEENSLAND". The Empire. No. 4, 308. New South Wales, Australia. 2 August 1865. p. 8. Retrieved 13 December 2018 – via National Library of Australia.

MASSACRE OF THE BLACKS IN QUEENSLAND.

Mr. Gideon S. Lang, in a lecture delivered in Melbourne on the 13th ultimo, on the subject of the Aboriginal blacks, spoke in the following terms of the wholesale slaughter of these people, which is being perpetrated in Quoensland, under the sanction apparently of the Government of that colony. We may say in corroboration of Mr. Lang's statements, that private information which we have received at various times, and from different sources, during the last three or four years, bears out all and more than all that is mentioned below:—

which can be but soldom obtained. But within the last few days it has been officially and unmistakably acknowledged, in the reports describing the death of Lieutenant Hill, during a collision with the blacks on the 22nd of May last. This is an extract from his brother's report. As nearly as possible, I use Mr. Rothery's own words :- Lieutenant Cecil Hill and three troopers rode up to my station (Pearl Creek) on the evening of Monday, 21st May. Lieutenant Hill informed me that he had come down from the Mackenzie, having heard a report that a shepherd on my run had been murdered by the blacks. I told him that an old shepherd had been murdered about eight weeks previously, and till now no police had been down. Mr. Hill and his troopers camped at my station that night. The next morning (Monday, the 22nd), Mr. Hill asked me if I had much to do. I said no. He then asked me, as he did not know the run, to show him where the blacks were camped. I said I would, and we all left the station together-Lieutenant Hill, myself, and three troopers. A little before sunset, we came upon the camp, which Lieutenant Hill and his troopers charged and dispersed; one, I think, was shot. There is the system sanctioned by the Queensland Government. A man is killed by by blacks, and eight weeks afterwards a native camp is charged, and as many are shot as the attacking party can get at. "One, I think, was shot," says the report.

can get at. "One, I think, was shot," says the report. I suspect there were a good many more. The letter goes on to say : - We then camped for the night I wished to camp at a hut a mile off. Mr. Hill told me that I need not be afraid of the blacks returning, as they would not come near his boys. Mr. Hill and myself did not sleep; the night was pitch dark, About three o'clock the next morning (Tuesday, the 23rd), the blacks came upon us. They were on us before one in the camp was aware of it. Mr Hill was the first to jump on his feet with his revolver in his hand. He staggered a few paces, and then fell flat on his face He died immediately, and his death is to be deeply regretted; but the attack of the blacks was a legitimate retaliation, carried out in the ordinary manner of native warfare Now for the sequel, as told by a paragraph in the Sydney Herald of the 30th June :- The following report from Acting Sub-Inspector O. C. Oscar Pescher, N.M.P., dated 16th June, has been handed to us for publication by the Commissioner of Police, It is addressed to Mr. G. P. M. Murray, I.N.P., Rockhampton: "I have the honour to report that, on receipt of instructions contained in a telegram bearing date the 26th May, ultimo, which reached me on the 28th May, I proceeded at once to Coomooboolano. I found acting sub-inspector Hill having been killed by the blacks, and trooper Fred being severely wounded and confined to bed at the Pearl Creek station. On my way to Compoboolano, via Cooroorah, I met with numerous fresh tracks of blacks, and followed them up towards Springton, where, an the evening of 2nd J ... instead, a collision took piace between my detachment of native mounted police and a mob of blacks; they dispersed in the Forty-mile Scrub, Lower Dawson-road I have the honour to

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Scrub, Lower Dawson-road I have the honour to report that I visited the stations named in the margin-Sanders, Mackenzie, Cooroorah, Springton, Tryphinia Vale, Pearl Creek, Coomooboolano, Wooroona; and that the following collisions took place between the native police under my command and the aboriginals, namely :- June 4th. On the Sanders Run, near the Expedition Range: the blacks dispersed towards the Comet Range. June 5th. On the foot of the Comet Range; the blacks dispersed. June 7th. In a scrub near the Tryphinia Vale Station; the blacks dispersed. Sub-inspector Blakeney and three troopers arrived on the 7th June, and sub-inspector Bailey with nine troopers on the 9th of June instant, Early on the morning of the 10th of June a collision took place in the Expedition Range between the four detachments of the native mounted police and a party of aboriginals, when the latter were dispersed. I have the honour to state that I consider the blacks to have left the district for a time, but they will, no doubt, return to the Expedition Range; and in the Lower Dawson district they are very numerous, and of a hostile disposition towards the Europeans. I consider it my duty to submit to you the urgent necessity for immediate and permanent police protection against the natives of that district." It will be observed that there

 In the 1860s Native Police operations with numerous aboriginal deaths were reported at Belyando,[132], Natal Downs.[133],Glenmore,[134],Morinish[135], Yaamba.[136], Mackay[137] and Nebo,[138].

- 132. "CLERMONT". Rockhampton Bulletin And Central Queensland Advertiser. No. 37[?]. Queensland, Australia. 20 December 1864. p. 1 (Supplement to the Rockhampton Bulletin).
- 133. Fetherstonhaugh, Cuthbert (1917). After Many Days. Melbourne: E. W. Cole. pp. 272–274
- 134. "MELBOURNE". Rockhampton Bulletin And Central Queensland Advertiser. No. 469. Queensland, Australia. 18 July 1865. p. 2.
- 135. THE BLACK POLICE". Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald And General Advertiser. Vol. VI, no. 801. 20 July 1867. p. 3.
- 136. "ROCKHAMPTON". Mackay Mercury And South Kennedy Advertiser. No. [?]. Queensland, Australia. 20 March 1867. p. 2.
- 137. Untitled". Mackay Mercury And South Kennedy Advertiser. No. 56. Queensland, Australia. 24 April 1867. p. 2.
- 138. "MACKAY". Rockhampton Bulletin And Central Queensland Advertiser. No. 1005. Queensland, Australia. 26 December 1868. p. 2.

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- while officers John Murray and Charles Blakeney headed sweeping destructive raids on the local people north of Cardwell.[139][140]
- Inspector John Marlow, aided by the detachments of sub-Inspectors John Bacey Isley and Ferdinand Tompson, also continued his punitive missions around the Bowen and Proserpine areas.[141]
- While in the Gulf Country of the colony, officer Wentworth D'Arcy Uhr and his troopers massacred around 60–100 native people in series of raids around Burketown.[142]
- Near Hughenden sub-Inspector Frederick Murray also conducted several large "dispersals".[143]

- 139. Poignant, Roslyn (2004), Professional savages: captive lives and western spectacle, University of New South Wales Press, ISBN 978-0-86840-743-2
- 140. "ROCKINGHAM BAY". Rockhampton Bulletin And Central Queensland Advertiser. No. 426. Queensland, Australia. 8 April 1865. p. 3.
- 141. BOWEN". The Queenslander. Vol. I, no. 23. 7 July 1866. p. 8. Retrieved 13 December 2018 – via National Library of Australia
- 142. "TAROOM". The Brisbane Courier. Vol. XXII, no. 3, 337. 9 June 1868. p. 3.
- 143. "PORT DENISON". Rockhampton Bulletin And Central Queensland Advertiser. No. 727. Queensland, Australia. 14 March 1867. p. 2.

- Cecil Hill's brother, W. R. O. Hill, was also a Native Police officer and in 1867 he and his troopers were accused of killing up to ten Aboriginal people.[144]
- In the same year, Native Police under the command Inspector Frederick Wheeler together with a number of armed pastoralists, perpetrated a very large massacre of native people at Goulbulba Hills near Emerald.[145]
 - 144. "The Native Police". The Brisbane Courier. Vol. XXII, no. 3, 162. 29 November 1867. p. 3.
 - 145. "ST. HELENS". Morning Bulletin. Vol. LXI, no. 10, [?]47. Queensland, Australia. 4 August 1899. p. 7.
 - Photo: Native police unit in 1870. Source memoir from W.R.O. Hill.



- As European pastoralists moved further into the north and the west of the colony, so too did Commissioner David Thompson Seymour expand the operations of the Native Police even as far as New Guinea and Birdsville.
- Not only were the numbers of troopers and officers increased but their weaponry also became more effective. Long range, large bore Snider rifles gradually replaced the carbines and double-barreled rifles previously used.
- These weapons, when used on open ground and combined with the superior mobility provided by horses to surround and engage groups of Indigenous Australians, often proved very destructive against Aboriginal groups utilising more short-ranged weaponry like spears, waddies and boomerangs.[126]



The British .577 Snider—Enfield was a breech-loading rifle. The American inventor, Jacob Snider created this firearm action, and the Snider—Enfield was one of the most widely used of the Snider varieties. The British Army adopted it in 1866 as a conversion system for its ubiquitous Pattern 1853 Enfield muzzle-loading rifles and used it until 1880 when the Martini—Henry rifle began to supersede it.

• 126. Kennedy, E. B. (Edward B.) (1902), The black police of Queensland: reminiscences of official work and personal adventures in the MCBrien 2024 early days of the colony, J. Murray.

- Farmers on the Don river near Bowen petitioned parliament in 1872 complaining that it was not uncommon to lose as much as 100 bushels of corn in a single week and in some places the whole crop.3/56
- In April 1877 a Herbert Valley farmer lost a large quantity of sweet potatoes all his bananas and much of his corn crop and as a result faced ruin.3/57
- One of The Pioneers of the Bowen district petitioned the QLD parliament listing his losses two flocks of sheep amounting to 1300 animals worth over 500 pounds 36 valuable Rams were run off and all his stores taken his losses totalled 800 pounds and he abandoned the station.3/63
- Writing to his father a central QLD squatter reported that the local band destroyed his sheep not to satisfy their hunger but their spite as in some of their camps were more than 50 lying dead.3/65

- 3/56 Qld Colonial Secretary Office Correspondence inwards QSA, Col/A163(846893) 1871
- 3/57 Cooktown Courier 11/4/1877
- 3/65 Macmillan Bowen Downs 1863- 1963 p22

- At this time the northern goldfields at Palmer River, Cape River, Hodgkinson River and the Normanby River opened up, causing a massive influx of prospectors and miners.
- Native Police camps were quickly established in these areas. Sub-Inspectors Alexander Douglas-Douglas, Aulaire Morisset, George Townsend, Lionel Tower, Tom Coward and Stanhope O'Connor amongst others, conducted regular "dispersals" throughout the 1870s at these sites.
- In an 1876 first-hand description of one of these Native Police dispersals, Palmer River prospector Arthur Ashwin writes:
- "Just as daylight was breaking we heard volley after volley of rifles. Jack said the black trackers had got on to a mob of wild blacks. We went over the next day and found the niggers camp, they must have been a hundred strong. There were two large fires still alight where the trackers had burnt the dead bodies. We were very lucky the trackers were ahead of us and cleaned this bit of country of the blacks"[157]
 - 157. Ashwin, Arthur C. (Arthur Cranbrook); Bridge, Peter J. (Peter John), 1943— (2002), Gold to grass: the reminiscences of Arthur C. Ashwin, 1850—1930, prospector and pastoralist, Hesperian Press, ISBN 978-0-85905-284-9



Native Police trooper said to be 1870.

- In 1876, two officers in the force were charged with murder.
- In the first case, Sub-Inspector John Carroll stationed at Aramac, shot one of his troopers dead and flogged another after one of them attempted to poison them. He was also charged for chaining up an Aboriginal woman by her legs continuously for a month. All charges were thrown out.[170]
- In the second case, Inspector Frederick Wheeler was charged after a prolonged and brutal flogging of an Aboriginal man, who later died from peritonitis at the Belyando barracks.[171]
- Public incidents like these forced the government into a commission of enquiry in regards to ameliorating the condition of Aboriginal people.
- After some initial research, the commission requested a grant of £1600 from parliament to implement reserves for the Indigenous population. Parliament quickly denied these funds and in 1878 the commission was wound up.[172]

- 170. "Serious Changes against an ex-Native Police Officer". The Queenslander. Vol. XI, no. 60. 7 October 1876. p. 32. Retrieved 16 December 2018 – via National Library of Australia.
- 171. "Charge of Murder against Inspector Wheeler, of the Native Police". Toowoomba Chronicle and Darling Downs General Advertiser. No. 1104. Queensland, Australia. 29 April 1876. p. 3. Retrieved 16 December 2018 – via National Library of Australia.
- 172. The Aboriginal Commission". The Brisbane Courier. Vol. XXXIV, no. 4, 072. 9 June 1880. p. 3. Retrieved 17 December 2018 – via National Library of Australia.

- 1880s summary
- The Native Mounted Police expanded in the early 1880s. By 1882 Commissioner Seymour (photo) had 184 officers and troopers in this force at his disposal.[173]
 - 173. "The Police Department".
 Toowoomba Chronicle and Darling Downs General Advertiser. No.
 3081. Queensland, Australia. 6
 October 1883. p. 2.



- Raids conducted by the Kalkadoon held settlers out of Western Queensland for ten years until September 1884 when they attacked a force of settlers and native police at Battle Mountain near modern Cloncurry.
- The subsequent battle of Battle Mountain ended in disaster for the Kalkadoon, who suffered heavy losses.
 - Coulthard-Clark, Chris D. (2001). The Encyclopedia of Australia's Battles (Second ed.). Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin. ISBN 1865086347.
- Fighting continued in North Queensland, however, with Indigenous raiders attacking sheep and cattle while native police mounted punitive expeditions.
 - Connor, John (2008). "Frontier Wars". In Dennis, Peter; et al. (eds.). The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History (Second ed.). Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia & New Zealand. ISBN 978-0-19-551784-2
- Two reports from 1884 and 1889 written by one of the prime combatants of the Kalkadoons, Sub-inspector of Native Police (later Queensland Police Commissioner) Frederic Charles Urquhart (photo) described how he and his detachment pursued and killed up to 150 Aboriginal people in just three or four so-called "dispersals" (he provided numbers up to about 80 of these killings, the rest was just described without estimating the actual toll).
 - Queensland State Archives A/49714 no 6449 of 1884 (report); QPG re 13 July 1884, Vol 21:213; 21 July 1884 COL/A395/84/5070; Q 16 August 1884, p253; 20 August 1884 Inquest JUS/N108/84/415; POL/?/84/6449; 15 Queensland Figaro November 1884 and Queensland State Archives A/49714, letter 9436 of 1889.



- Examples of the further conflict include reports by sub-Inspector James Lamond, based at the Carl Creek barracks near the Lawn Hill run of Frank Hann, that the Native police shot "over 100 blacks" from 1883 to 1885 on that pastoral lease alone.
- Frank Hann, his property manager Jack Watson and Frank Shadforth on the neighbouring Lilydale station also shot large numbers of Aboriginal people in this region themselves.[188] A visitor to Lawn Hill described how Jack Watson had 40 pairs of ears taken from Aboriginal people shot in reprisals and nailed them to the walls of his residence.[189]
- Hann himself was wounded in a violent encounter on Lawn Hill station with the Aboriginal outlaw, Joe Flick. In this shootout, Flick killed Native Police sub-Inspector Alfred Wavell before dying of wounds himself.[190]
- Near the Batavia River in the extreme far north, sub-Inspector Frederic Urquhart dispersed a large number of Aboriginal people following the killing of pastoralist Edmund Watson,[191] with Urquhart being speared in the leg during this operation.[192]
 - 188. Roberts, Tony (2005). Frontier Justice. St Lucia: UQP. ISBN 0702233617
 - 189. Creaghe, Emily Caroline; Monteath, Peter, 1961- (2004), The diary of Emily Caroline Creaghe: explorer, Corkwood Press, ISBN 978-1-876247-14-0
 - 190. "JOE FLICK AT BAY". The Capricornian. Vol. 15, no. 45. Queensland, Australia. 9 November 1889. p. 27. 191. "QUEENSLAND NEWS". Morning Bulletin. Vol. XLII, no. 8039. Queensland, Australia. 20 May 1889. p. 6.
 - 192. "NORTHERN MAIL NEWS". Morning Bulletin. Vol. XLII, no. 8089. Queensland, Australia. 19 July 1889. p. 6.



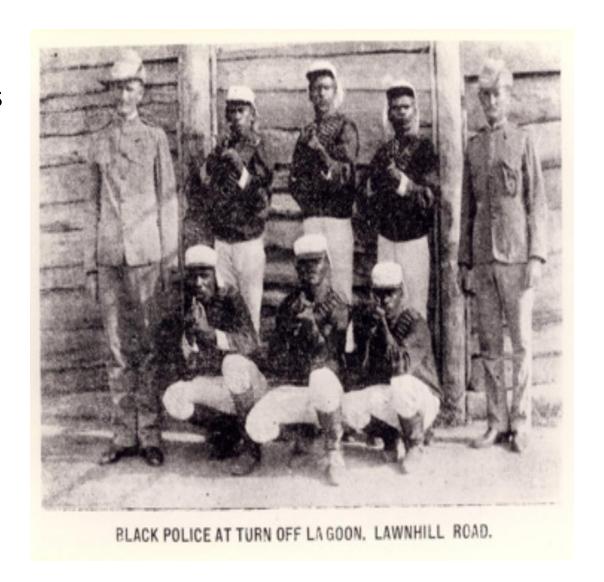
- Continued newspaper focus on incidents, an increasingly influential social criticism, and the shifting of the colonial frontier into the Northern Territory and British New Guinea eventually had some effect on changing the Queensland government's policy of "dispersal".
- In 1889, two police officials in the Herberton area, Charles Hansen and Andrew Zillman, experimented with allocating rations to displaced Aboriginal people instead of shooting them.
- They found that the trial was a success with an almost complete reduction in the spearing of cattle and settler casualties.
- Leading officials of the Queensland government, in particular the Colonial Secretary Horace Tozer (photo), opted to expand the funding of the rationing experiment. As a result, the Native Police budget was dramatically reduced with only 45 troopers and a handful of officers being employed in 1895.
- Even though the immediate disbanding of the Native Police was recommended this was rejected with Native Police units continuing to operate out of a number of barracks on the Cape York Peninsula and in the Gulf Country.
 - Sir Horace Tozer was from 1871 to 1909 Member of the Legislative Assembly for Wide Bay and from 1890 to 1898 Colonial Secretary then Home Secretary.



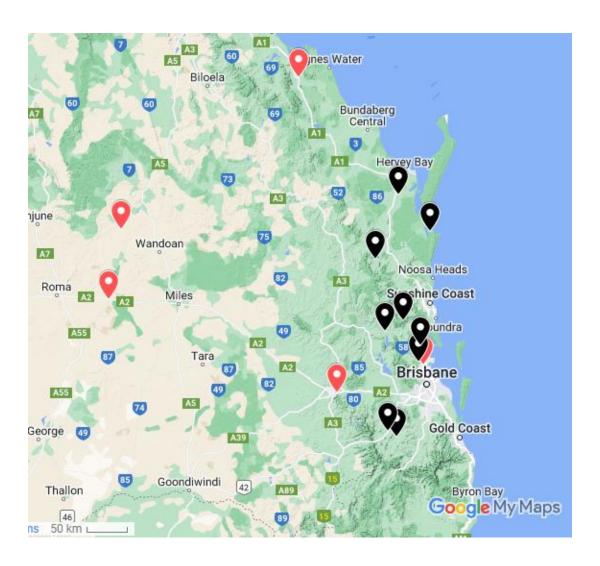
Sir Horace Tozer, Brisbane, 1890.

1896-1929

- Toward the border with the Northern Territory in the Gulf Country, the last operational barracks in this region was at Turn Off Lagoon near to the modern community of Doomadgee.
- In 1896 after the murder of Cresswell Downs manager, Thomas Perry, this unit shot a large number of Aboriginal people in that region.
- Indiscriminate dispersals also followed the spearing of Harry Shadforth at Wollogorang Station in 1897.
- By 1909, the only functional Native Police barracks remaining was at Coen but this was manned by only several veteran troopers. This barracks finally closed in 1929.



• Frontier Warfare events around the Sunshine Coast.



- Conflict broke out between invading settlers and resident Aborigines within a few weeks of the foundation of Sydney and was apparent on every frontier for the next 140 years.
- The large scale killing of Warlpiri people by a police party at Coniston in central Australia in 1928 can be used as a convenient date to mark the end of the officially endorsed killing.
- All sorts of private brutality persisted for far longer in the remoter parts of the country.
- There are very few records or reports of the operations of the Queensland Native Mounted Police in the Queensland State Archives. This account only includes activities which have accidentally come to light in the press, private records or in Parliamentary enquiries and can therefore only report a small percentage of the total.

- Edward Curr compiled a four volume ethnography entitled "the Australian race" he is worth quoting at length:
- "In the first place, the meeting of the aboriginal tribes of Australia and the white pioneer results, as a rule in war, which lasts from six months to 10 years according to the nature of the country, the amount of settlement which takes place in a neighbourhood and the proclivities of the individuals concerned. When several squatters settle in proximity, and the country they occupy is easy of access and without fastnesses to which the blacks can retreat, the period of warfare is usually short and the bloodshed not excessive. On the other hand, in districts which are not easily traversed on horseback, in which the whites are few in number and food is procurable by the blacks in fastnesses, the term is usually prolonged and the slaughter more considerable."
- Detailed work has also been completed by a number of scholars on settler casualties. In relation to QLD it is estimated that as many as 1500 settlers were killed and no doubt as many wounded.
 - Atwood & Foster Frontier Conflicts The Australian Experience.

- In the QLD parliament in 1880 John Douglas observed that the troopers:
- "did nothing else but shoot them down whenever they could get at them. That was the sole function of the native police. As far as could be judged from their instructions and practice, they were chiefly kept as a military force dispersing natives when they congregated, and patrolling districts to drive the blacks into positions where they would not come into contact with the European settlers."
- Douglas had been in parliament since 1863, a minister between 1866 and 1869 and premier in 1877 and 78. In those two years he had ministerial responsibility for the force.
- Qld Parliamentary Debates vol33 1880 p1134.
- Engraving of John Douglas, Premier of Queensland (1877-1879)



- Thanks for your attention.
- Next week World War 1 in the Asia Pacific
- Next Week is the last of this course.
- I would be happy to have a drink afterwards if anyone is interested.
- See the U3A website in a week or two for courses for the rest of this year.